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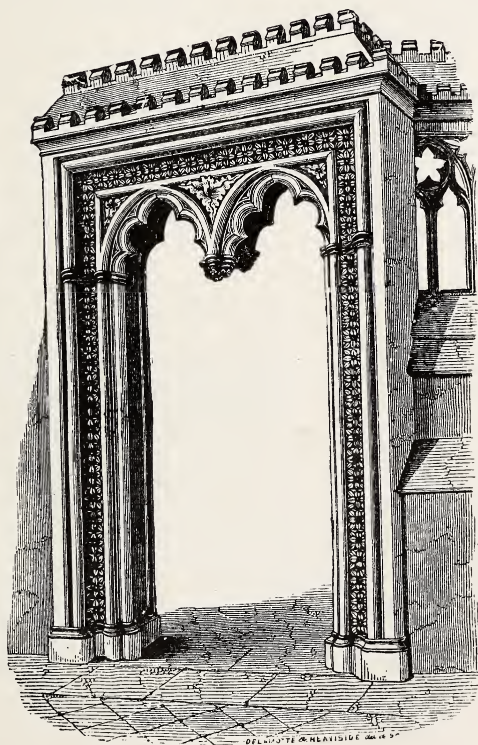
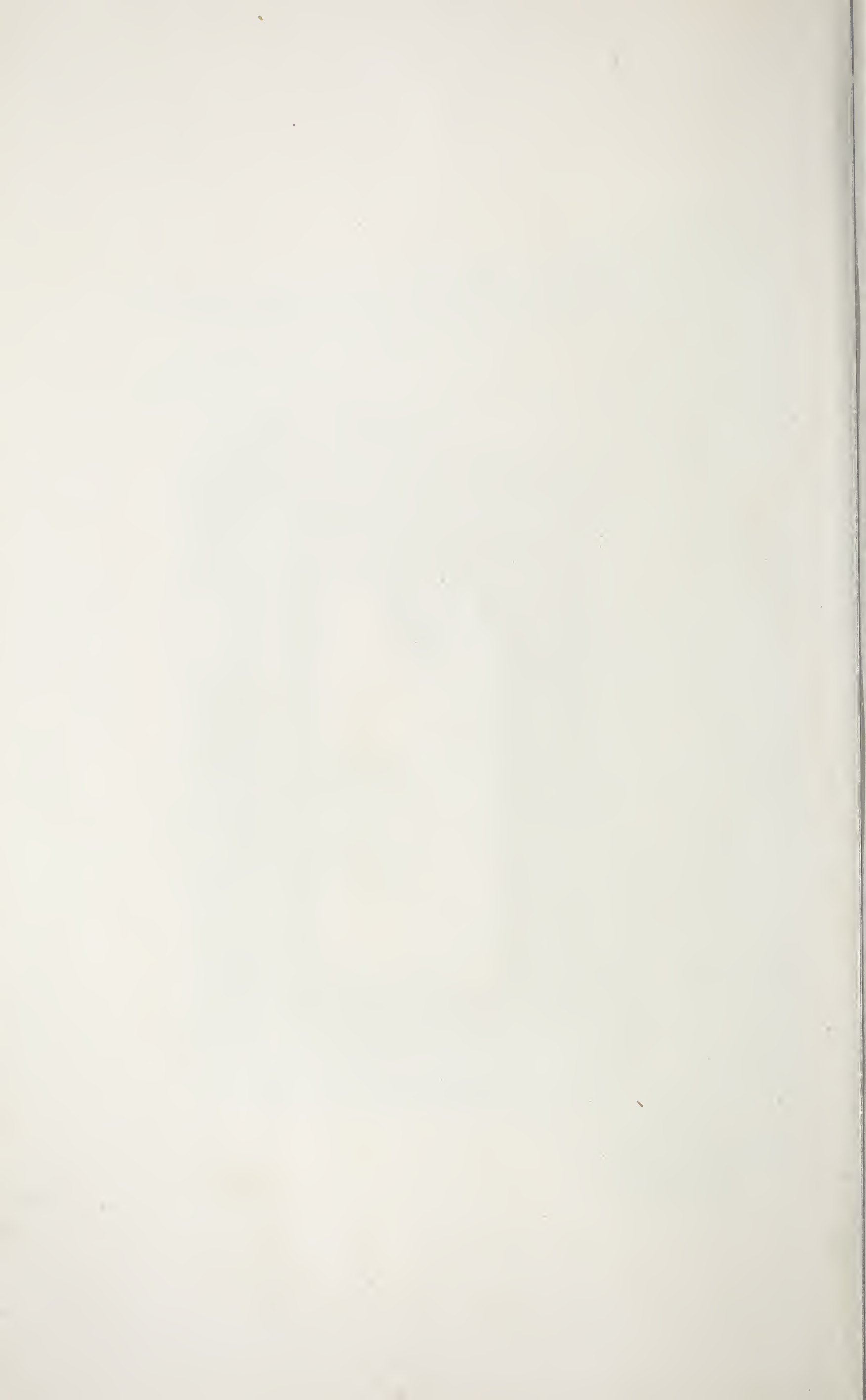
FRONTISPIECE

GENERAL VIEW FROM THE NORTH-WEST

CANTERBURY CATHEDRAL.



NORTH DOOR OF DE ESTRIA'S CHAPEL, OUTER FACE.



HANDBOOK

TO THE

CATHEDRALS OF ENGLAND.

Southern Division.

PART II.

CANTERBURY.—ROCHESTER.—CHICHESTER.

ST. ALBAN'S.

With Illustrations.

LONDON:
JOHN MURRAY, ALBEMARLE STREET.
1876.

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS.

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THE documentary authorities for the history of Canterbury Cathedral have been carefully collected and translated by Professor Willis in his 'Architectural History' of the building, London, 1845. The most important is the tract of Gervase, a monk of Canterbury, 'De Combustione;' a narrative of the rebuilding of the Cathedral after the fire of 1174. Gervase was himself a witness of this fire. His treatise will be found at length in the *Decem Scriptores*. Great use has been made of the 'Architectural History' of Professor Willis in the following description of the Cathedral.

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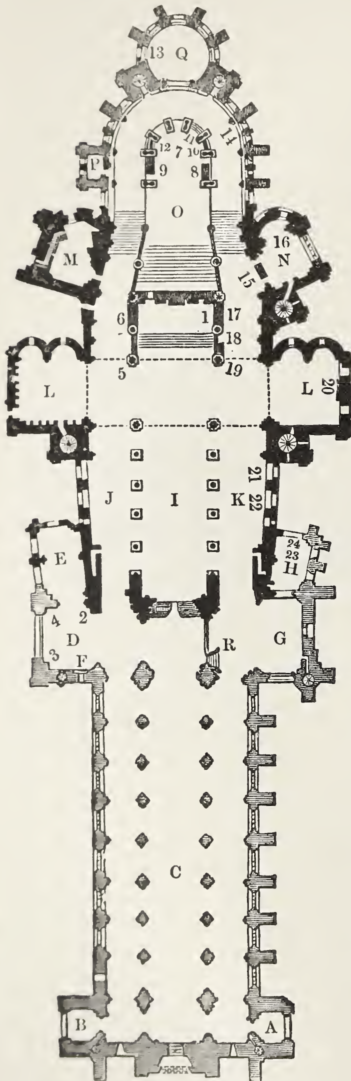

REFERENCES.

A *South Porch and Dunstan Tower.*
B *North-west Tower.*
C *Nave.*
D *North-west Transept (or Transept of the Martyrdom).*
E *Dean's or Lady-chapel.*
F *Door into Cloisters.*
G *South-west Transept.*
H *St. Michael's or the Warrior's Chapel.*
I *Choir.*
J *North Choir-aisle.*
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GROUND PLAN, CANTERBURY CATHEDRAL.

Scale 100 ft. to 1 inch.

CANTERBURY CATHEDRAL.

PART I.

History and Details.

THE site of the existing cathedral of Canterbury is the same on which stood the primitive Roman or British church attributed to the shadowy King Lucius, and granted (A.D. 597) by Ethelbert to Augustine. Eadmer[a] expressly tells us that it resembled in its arrangements the old Basilica of St. Peter at Rome, destroyed in the sixteenth century. As at St. Peter's, the altar seems to have been originally placed in an apse at the west end, with the episcopal throne behind it; there was another apse at the east end, which when Eadmer wrote, contained the principal altar; and there was here, as at St. Peter's, a crypt in imitation of the ancient catacombs in which the bones of the apostles were originally found. This crypt or

[a] Eadmer 'the singer' (cantor or precentor) was a boy in the school of the monastery when Lanfranc began to pull down the Saxon cathedral. He lived under the rule of Archbishops Anselm and Ralph. He describes the Saxon church in a tract entitled 'De Reliquiis S. Audoeni,' and his description is inserted by Gervase in his treatise 'De Combustione.' A full comparison between this Saxon cathedral and the Basilica of St. Peter is made by Willis, in the second chapter of his 'Architectural History.'

"confessio" at St. Peter's, contained a coffer of bronze, enclosing another of silver, which contained, as it was believed, the remains of the apostle. The crypt in the Saxon church at Canterbury may be regarded as the first beginning of that which now exists. It is impossible to say when or by whom these arrangements were originally made. Augustine may have retained the Roman church as he found it, or it may have been altered by one of his successors. It is more probable, however, that it remained with little change from the time of Augustine to that of Archbishop Odo (942—959), who, it is expressly recorded by Eadmer, restored the roof and heightened the walls of the church. The building remained uncovered for three years; during which time, says Eadmer, no rain fell within its sacred enclosure. The renewed church was greatly injured during the sack of Canterbury by the Danes (1011), when the "beata monachorum plebs" were massacred, and Archbishop Alphege carried off to Greenwich, where he afterwards shared their fate. Canute repaired it in expiation, hanging up his crown in the nave, and restored the body of the martyred Alphege to the monks. The church was completely burnt down during the troubled times of the Conquest (1067), together with the many bulls and privileges of kings and popes which it contained.

Of this *first* or *Augustine's* church, no fragment remains. There are memorials of it in the *name* of the cathedral (Christ's Church), agreeing with Bede's statement that Augustine consecrated the Roman church he

found in Canterbury "in nomine sancti Salvatoris Dei et Domini nostri Jesu Christi;" in the present *crypt*, which succeeded the earlier one; and in the *southern porch*, which is the principal entrance at present, as it was in the Saxon church.

II. Lanfranc, the first archbishop after the Conquest (1070—1089), found his cathedral church completely in ruins, pulled down the few remains of the monastic buildings, and reconstructed both church and monastery from their foundations. His new church occupied the same site as the Saxon cathedral, and was finished in seven years. Under Anselm, the next archbishop (1093—1109), the eastern part of this church was taken down (no reason is given; it had not been finished more than twenty years), and re-erected with far greater magnificence, by the care of Ernulph, prior of the monastery. His successor, Prior Conrad, finished the chancel, and decorated it with so much splendour that it was henceforth known as the "glorious choir of Conrad." By this rebuilding of the choir the area of the church was nearly doubled; and the church thus finished was dedicated by Archbishop William in 1130. Henry, King of England, David, King of Scotland, and all the bishops of England, were present at this dedication, the "most famous," says Gervase, "that had ever been heard of on the earth since that of the temple of Solomon." (See Appendix, Note I., the churches of Lanfranc and Anselm.)

It was in *this* church that Becket was murdered (1170); and in the "glorious choir of Conrad" that

his body was watched by the monks throughout the succeeding night.

III. Four years later (1174) this choir was entirely burnt down. "The people," says Gervase, himself a monk of Christ Church, and an eye-witness of the fire, "were astonished that the Almighty should suffer such things, and, maddened with excess of grief and perplexity, they tore their hair, and beat the walls and pavement of the church with their hands and heads, blaspheming the Lord, and His saints the patrons of His church;" a frenzy rather Italian than English, but curiously illustrating the fierce excitability of mediæval times. The rebuilding was entrusted to William of Sens, an architect of "lively genius and good reputation," who, beginning in September, 1174, continued the work until 1178, when, just after an eclipse of the sun, which Gervase seems to intimate had something to do with the accident, "through the vengeance of God or spite of the devil," he fell from a scaffolding raised for turning the vault; and was so much injured that he was compelled to return to France. Another William succeeded him as master architect, "English by nation, small in body, but in workmanship of many kinds acute and honest." Under the care of English William the choir and eastern buildings beyond it (including the corona) were completed in 1184, ten years from the burning of Conrad's choir.

IV. Lanfranc's nave still remained; but was taken down, and a new nave and transepts were built, under Prior Chillenden, the works extending over the years

between 1378—1410. The great central tower, at least that part of it which rises above the roof, was added by Prior Goldstone II. about 1495.

V. The *present* cathedral consists either of *portions* or of the *whole* of these different works, from the rebuilding by Lanfranc to the death of Prior Goldstone; a period of more than four centuries. It thus exhibits specimens of nearly all the classes of pointed architecture, the principal being Transitional-Norman and Perpendicular. Its enlargement under Anselm, as well as its general arrangements, arose mainly from the great wealth of relics possessed by the church, and the necessity of finding shrine room for displaying them. The Saxon church contained the bodies of St. Blaize (bought by Archbishop Plegmund at Rome "for a great sum of gold and silver"); St. Wilfrid, brought from Ripon, ruined by the Northmen in 950; St. Dunstan, St. Alphege, and other sainted archbishops of Canterbury; St. Audoen, or Ouen, of Rouen, brought to Canterbury by four clerks, about 957 (there was unfortunately another body at Rouen); besides the heads of St. Swithun, St. Furseus, and others, and the arm of St. Bartholomew. All these were enclosed in various altars, and in different chapels; and were carefully removed from the ruined church by Lanfranc. They were replaced in the new cathedral, where other similar treasures were added to them, and where they were at last joined by the greatest of all—the body of the martyred St. Thomas of Canterbury. It should also be remarked that the existing cathedral, although

of such various dates, covers the ground occupied by the original Saxon church, and by Lanfranc's cathedral, which replaced it. The latter probably ended eastward in an apse, two bays beyond the central tower. All the church east of that was an addition.

VI. The principal ascertained dates of the different portions of the cathedral, together with their builders, may here be briefly recapitulated.

Nave	1378—1411	Prior Chillenden.
Choir	1174—1184	William of Sens, English William, architects.
Choir screen. . . .	1304–5 . .	Prior Henry de Estria.
Towers of St. Andrew and St. Anselm	1070—1109	Archbishop Lanfranc, Prior Ernulf.
Retro-choir and corona	1178—1184	English William, architect.
Crypt as far as Trinity Chapel . .	1070—1109	Lanfranc and Ernulf.
Crypt eastward of Trinity Chapel. .	1178—1184	English William.
Central or "Bell-Harry" Tower (above the roof . .	1495 . . .	Prior Goldstone II.

The great shrine of St. Thomas, the special treasure of the church, was destroyed in 1538 (§ XXVII.). The cathedral at that time underwent a very great change; but the actual fabric suffered far more during the Civil War. The Puritan troopers, encouraged by a certain Richard Culmer, generally known as "Blue

Dick," did all the harm in their power. A paper preserved in a volume of documents in the Chapter Library, describes the condition of the cathedral at the Restoration of 1660; and from this it appears that "so little had the fury of the late Reformers left remaining of it besides the bare walles and roofe, and these, partly through neglect, and partly by the daily assaultes and batteries of the disaffected, so shaken, ruinated, and defaced, as it was not more unserviceable in the way of a cathedral, than justly scandalous to all who delight to serve God in the beauty of Holines." The greater part of the windows were battered and broken down; the whole roof "extremely impaired and ruined;" much of the lead cut off; "the church's guardians, her faire and strong gates, turned off the hooks and burned;" the furniture of the choir, the organ, and the altar destroyed; "many of the goodly monuments of the dead shamefully abused, defaced, and plundered of their brasses;" the monastic buildings and the canons' houses either demolished or much injured; and even "the goodly oaks in our common garden, of good value in themselves, and in their time very beneficial to our church by their shelter, quite eradicated and set to sale." The sum expended at this time on the necessary repair of the church, and on "other public and pious uses," was estimated by the dean and chapter at not less than 10,000*l.*[b] The choir was refitted in part, but remained

[b] This paper, "copied from a volume of documents in the handwriting of the well-known scholar and antiquary Somner, who

in a somewhat desolate condition until 1704, when it was cared for by Archbishop Tenison; and the rich carving by Grinling Gibbons, which remains on the east front of the screen, was then erected. (See § XVI.)

In 1834 the north-west tower of the nave, one of the then remaining portions of Lanfranc's work, was taken down in consequence of its dangerous condition; and was rebuilt, in a very different style, under the direction of the late Mr. George Austin. The repairs and restorations which since that time have been carried out in and around the cathedral, were directed and superintended by Mr. Austin and his sons. Much of the stone-work on the exterior of the church has been renewed, but only where it was absolutely needful. The west front has been repaired, and many of the niches have been filled with statues. The turret on the west side of the south (eastern) transept has been taken down and rebuilt, stone by stone. The crypt has been cleared, cleaned, and its windows opened. A new library has been built on the north side of the church, above the ancient dormitory. The ruined arches of the infirmary have been opened, and some houses removed which were built up in them; and, generally, the remains of the monastic buildings, which are of great interest and importance, have received much care, and their disposition is now to be readily understood. All these modern works will best be ex-

was auditor of Canterbury Cathedral from 1660 until his death in 1669," will be found, edited by the Rev. J. C. Robertson, Canon of Canterbury, in the 'Archæologia Cantiana,' vol. x.

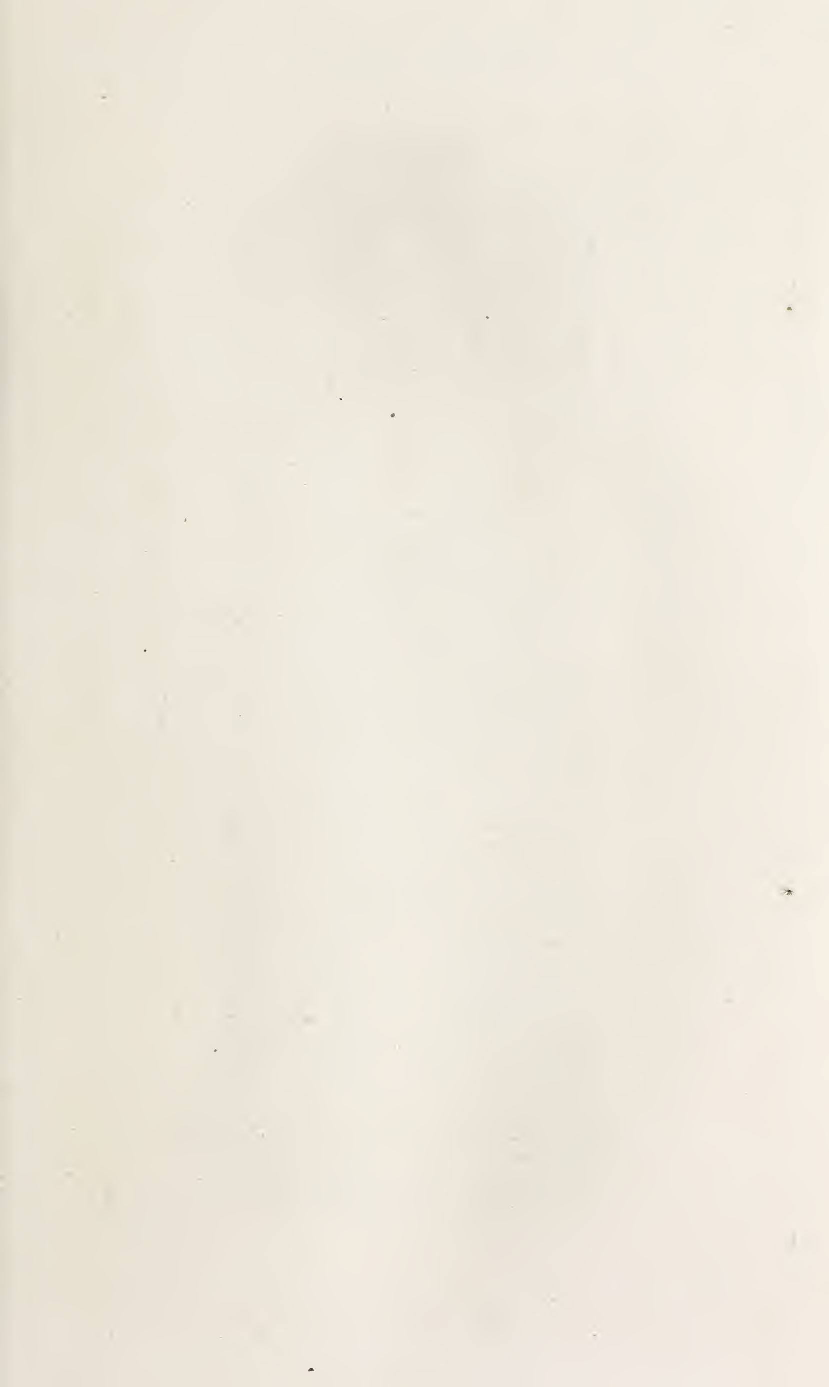
plained in describing the portions of the cathedral to which they belong. Much modern stained glass has been inserted, chiefly in the nave and transepts of the church. It is necessarily brought into close comparison with some of the finest ancient glass in England; and it can hardly be said that it confers an additional grace on the cathedral.

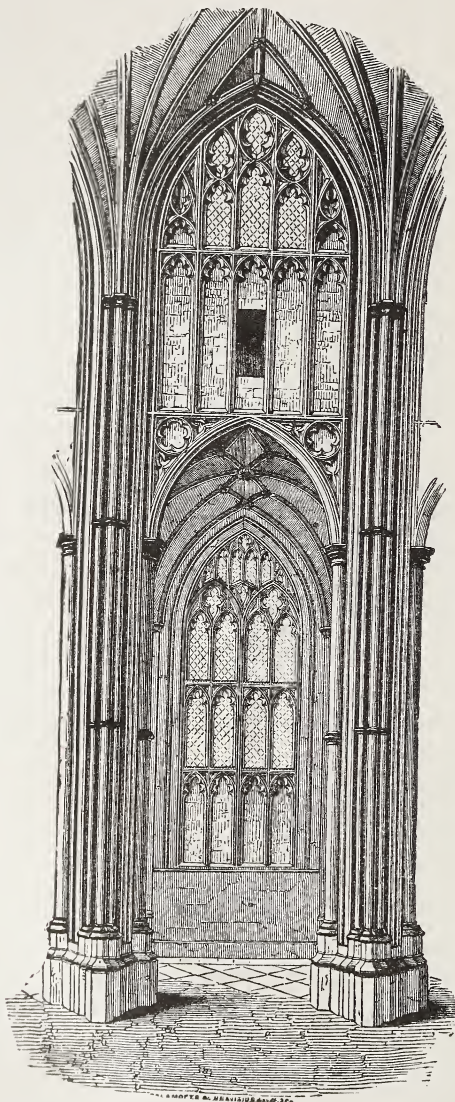
VII. It must not be forgotten that the cathedral of Canterbury served at once as the metropolitical church, and as that of a great monastery; for, as in the case of all missionary churches, Augustine established a convent here in connection with his cathedral. (See Part II.) Lanfranc, after the Conquest, compiled a strict Rule for it and the other Benedictine monasteries throughout England. It was known as the convent of Christ's Church; and the massive wall by which it was surrounded, rendering it a fortress within a fortress, served at once for defence and for seclusion. This exterior wall was greatly strengthened by Lanfranc, and some portions, still remaining, are probably of his time. (For a general notice of the monastery and its buildings, see § XLIV.) The principal entrance from the city is still, as in the days of the monastery, Prior Goldstone's Gate, commonly called "Christ Church Gate" (at the end of Mercery-lane), built 1517 (as we learn from a contemporary inscription), and a very fine example of late Perpendicular. It is lofty, with two stories of chambers above its hall, and towers at the angles. The hall is a square, 19 feet across, and is covered with a ribbed vault in two severies.

The central niche in front was filled by a figure of our Saviour, and the defaced bearings on the shields below were those of contributors towards the work. The battlements with which the gate was originally crested, and the very fine corner pinnacles (these appear in an early drawing by Turner), were taken down not many years ago. Passing within this gate, we enter the precincts of the cathedral; than which no other in England—if perhaps we except Lincoln—more completely dominates over the surrounding town. "Tanta majestate sese erigit in cœlum," says Erasmus (*Peregrinatio Religionis Ergo*), "ut procul etiam intuentibus religionem incutiat." It has all the impressiveness of some great natural feature—rock or mountain—in the midst of a comparatively level district; a worthy shrine for the memorials of almost every reign in English history with which it is thronged. Nearly all the archbishops—"alterius orbis papæ"—(the words are first applied by Pope Urban II. to Archbishop Anselm), before the Reformation, are buried here, and most of their tombs remain. "There is no church, no place in the kingdom, with the exception of Westminster Abbey, that is so closely connected with the history of our country[c]."

VIII. The principal entrance is still, as in St. Augustine's church, the *south porch*. In the Saxon period and later, "all disputes throughout the whole kingdom, which could not be legally referred to the king's court, or to the hundreds or counties," were judged in the

[c] Stanley.





ONE BAY OF NAVE.

"suth dure" or porch of the parish church or cathedral, which was generally built with an apse, in which stood an altar. The present south porch of Canterbury is part of the work of Prior Chillenden, about 1400. On a panel above the entrance Erasmus saw the figures of Becket's three murderers, "Tusci, Fusci, and Berri," whom he describes in his colloquy as sharing the same kind of honour with Judas, Pilate, and Caiaphas, when they appear on sculptured altar-tables: these have quite disappeared. In the portion that remains is still traceable an altar surmounted by a crucifix, between the figures of the Virgin and St. John: at the side are fragments of a sword, marking it as the "altar of the martyrdom." (See § XIX.) The arms in the vaulting of the porch are probably those of contributors toward the rebuilding of the nave; among them are the shields of England and France, the see of Canterbury, Chichester, and Courtenay.

IX. We now enter the *nave*. [Plate I.] The nave of Lanfranc's cathedral, which covered the same ground as that now existing, had in 1378 fallen into a ruinous condition, when Archbishop Sudbury issued a mandate granting forty days' indulgence to all contributors towards its rebuilding. The work was continued under his two successors, Archbishops Courtenay and Arundel, the architect being Thomas Chillenden, prior of the convent[d]. The nave therefore dates from about 1380.

[d] In the Obituary, printed in the 'Anglia Sacra,' it is said that Chillenden 'totaliter renovavit' the nave. This was also recorded in his epitaph, preserved by Somner. The Archbishops assisted

Chillenden died in 1411. "The style is a light Perpendicular; and the arrangement of the parts has considerable resemblance to that of the nave of Winchester, although the latter is of a much bolder character. Winchester nave was going on at the same time with Canterbury nave, and a similar uncertainty exists about the exact commencement. In both a Norman nave was to be transformed, but at Winchester the original piers were either clothed with new ashlaring, or the old ashlaring was wrought into new forms and mouldings where possible; while at Canterbury the piers were altogether rebuilt. Hence the piers of Winchester are much more massive. The side-aisles of Canterbury are higher in proportion, the tracery of the side-windows different; but those of the clerestory are almost identical in pattern, although they differ in the management of the mouldings. Both have "lierne" vaults, and in both the triforium is obtained by prolonging the clerestory windows downward, and making panels of the lower lights; which panels have a plain opening cut through them, by which the triforium space communicates with the passage over the roof of the side-aisles[e]." It should be added that the plinth of the Norman walls still remains within the present nave, on each side of the aisles.

X. The first impression, however, differs greatly

the work with funds and influence; but it was really carried on by the convent, under the immediate direction of the Prior.

[e] Willis.

from that of Winchester, mainly owing to the height to which the choir is raised above the crypt below, and the numerous steps which are consequently necessary in order to reach it from the nave. In this respect Canterbury stands alone among both English and foreign cathedrals. These stately 'escaliers,' combined with the height and grandeur of the piers, breaking up from the pavement like some natural forest of stone, have always produced their effect even in the darkest anti-Gothic periods. "Entering in company with some of our colonists just arrived from America . . . . how have I seen the countenances even of their negroes sparkle with raptures of admiration[f]!" The nave is, perhaps, somewhat too high for its length; and is certainly most impressive when seen across from the aisles, so that its terminations do not appear. The remarkable buttressing arches of the tower (see § XI.), with their bands of reticulated work, attract the eye from all parts of the nave. Here the pilgrims waited, admiring the "spaciosa ædificii majestas," and deciphering the painted windows, until the time came for visiting the great shrine. "The nave contained nothing," says Erasmus, "except some books chained to the pillars, among them the Gospel of Nicodemus, and the tomb of some unknown person[g]." This must have been either the chapel in the south wall, afterwards called Dean Neville's, built in 1447 by Lady Joan Brenchley, and removed altogether in 1787, or

[f] Gostling's Walks through Canterbury,' 1770.
[g] Pereg. Relig. Ergo.'

the tomb of Archbishop Whittlesea (died 1374), now destroyed. The Gospel of Nicodemus had been printed by Wynkyn de Worde in 1509. Of the nave *stained windows* none remain entire, the great west window having been made up of fragments from the others. In this, under the point of the arch, are the arms of Richard II. impaling the Confessor's, those of Anne of Bohemia on the north side, and of Isabella of France south. The modern glass which fills the windows of the clerestory (where it illustrates the *Te Deum*), and many others toward the west end of the nave, is altogether unpleasant; and from its crude colour and utter want of harmony, interferes greatly with the general effect of the architecture. This glass has been inserted at different times since the year 1840. In the *north aisle* are the monuments of Adrian Saravia, the friend of Hooker, who died here a prebendary in 1612; of Orlando Gibbons, organist to Charles I.; and of Sir John Boys (died 1614), founder of the hospital without the north gate of the city. Memorials to officers and men of different regiments engaged in the Indian campaigns have been placed against the walls. Here are also two modern monuments with recumbent figures; for Dean Lyall (died 1857), by Phillips; and for Archbishop Sumner (died 1862). The latter is by H. Weekes, R.A. The archbishop wears bands, and a peculiar but characteristic neck-gear. He is vested in a cope. In the *south aisle* is a recumbent figure, by Lough, in English alabaster, of Dr. Broughton, Bishop of Sydney, an old scholar

of the King's School attached to the cathedral. The six panels in front bear the arms of the six Australian sees.

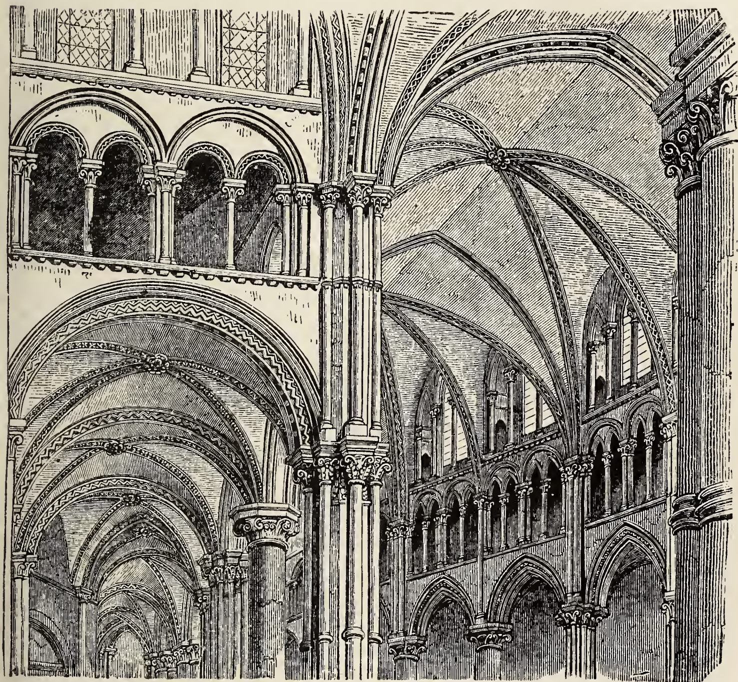
XI. The piers which support the *central tower* are probably the original piers of Lanfranc's erection, cased with Perpendicular work by Prior Chillenden, at the same time with the building of the nave. No portion of the Norman work is however visible, unless it be at an angle on the choir side of the eastern piers, where Ernulf's broad projecting wall, for the sake of greater strength, was made to slope toward Lanfranc's pier. To this, Prior Goldstone II. (1495—1517) added the vaulting of the tower, and all the portion above the roof, together with the remarkable buttressing-arches supporting the piers below, which had perhaps shown some signs of weakness. These arches, which carry broad bands of reticulated work, and are not in themselves ungraceful, have on them the Prior's rebus, a shield with three golden bars or "stones." The central arch occupies the place of the ancient roodloft, and probably the great rood was placed on it until the Reformation. The arches are inserted under the western and southern tower arches only. "The eastern arch having stronger piers, did not require this precaution; and the northern, which opened upon the 'Martyrium,' seems to have been left free, out of reverence to the altar of the Martyrdom."—*Willis.* The result of this, however, has been, that the north-west pier is now much bent eastward. These buttressing arches may be compared with those at Wells

and at Salisbury. A device of this sort is always more or less intrusive and unsightly; but the arrangement at Canterbury is less so than those adopted elsewhere.

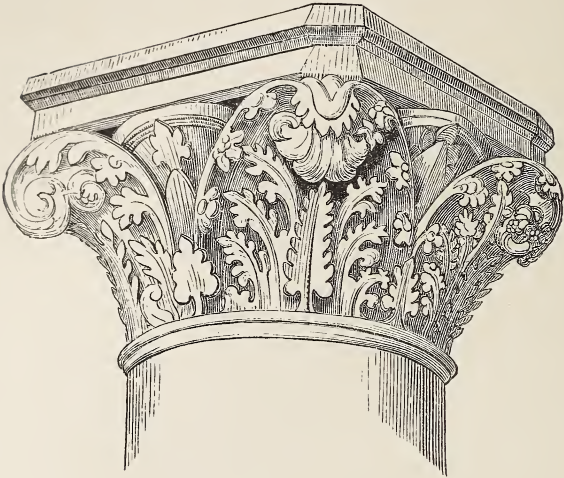
For the *exterior* of the tower, see § XLIII.

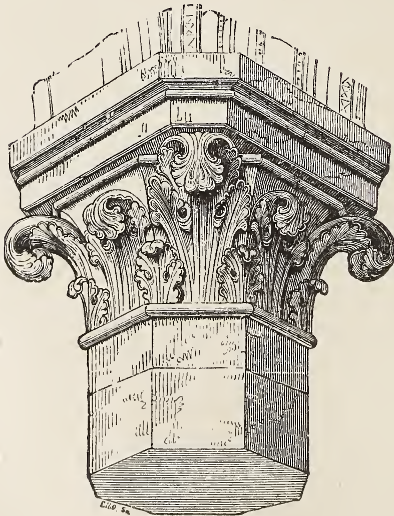
XII. The *western screen*, through which we enter the choir, has no recorded date, but is of the fifteenth century. It is very beautiful and elaborate, and its carvings deserve the most careful examination. Of the six crowned figures in the lower niches the one holding a church is probably Ethelbert; the others are uncertain. That on the extreme right has been called Richard II., who contributed toward the rebuilding of the nave; but it is impossible to determine this. The sculpture deserves the praise of "graceful form, good proportions, and a fine style of drapery," assigned to it by Britton. Figures of the Saviour and His apostles originally filled the thirteen mitred niches encircling the arch, but were destroyed by the Puritan "Blue Dick" and his friends. It should be clearly understood that this western front is an addition to the original "pulpitum" or rood screen, which was part of Prior de Estria's work, to be afterwards described. (See § XVI.) It is an extension, or thickening of the prior's work westward. The changes on the eastern side of the screen are also described in § XVI.

XIII. On entering the *choir* [Plate II.] the visitor is immediately struck by the singular bend with which the walls approach each other at the eastern end of the



PORTION OF THE CHOIR.





CAPITALS IN THE CHOIR.

church, beyond the presbytery. But this remarkable feature, together with the great length of the choir (180 feet; it is the longest in England), and the lowness of the vaulting;—the antique character of the architecture, enforced by the strongly contrasted Purbeck and Caen stone, and the consequent fine effects of light and shadow;—all this produces a solemnity not unfitting the first great resting-place of the faith in Saxon England, and carries the mind more completely back into the past than many a cathedral more richly and elaborately decorated. The choir, as it at present exists, is the work of WILLIAM OF SENS and his successor, ENGLISH WILLIAM (1174—1184), by whom it was rebuilt after the burning of that of Conrad. Gervase, the contemporary monk, supplies full details of all the operations, so that we are enabled to follow the works year by year[h]. The style is throughout Transition, having Norman and Early English characteristics curiously intermixed. The pillars with their pier-arches, the clerestory wall above, and the great vault up to the transepts, were entirely finished by William of Sens. The whole work differed greatly from that of the former choir. The richly foliated and varied capitals of the pillars [Plate III.][i], the great

[h] See the translation of the entire tract of Gervase in Willis's 'Architectural History of Canterbury Cathedral,' pp. 32–62. The original will be found in the collection known as the *Decem Scriptores*.

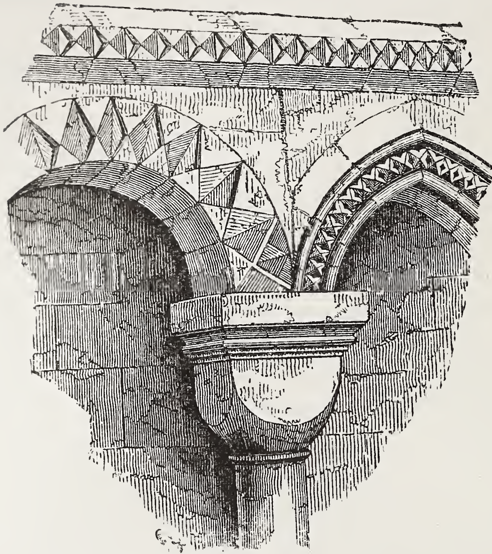
[i] The Corinthian character of these capitals is very striking, and, together with the height of the piers, belongs rather to early French architecture than to English. Indeed, the whole appearance

vault with its ribs of stone, and the numerous slender shafts of marble in the triforia, were all novelties exciting the great admiration of the monks.

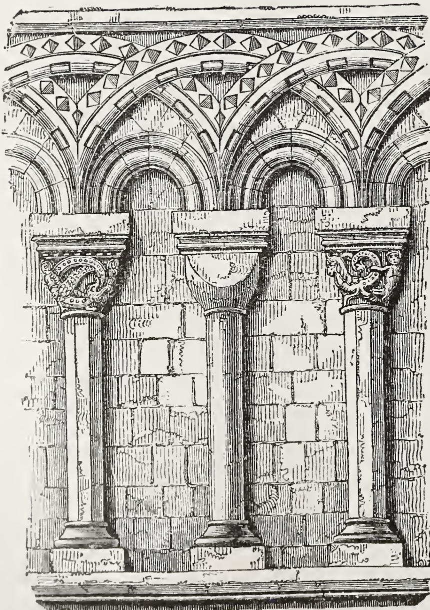
The choir of Lanfranc's church extended, as has been said, only two bays beyond the eastern tower piers. The ground-plan of the church, as enlarged by Ernulf (see Appendix, Note I.), extended as far as the Trinity Chapel, which was square-ended, and projected beyond and between the towers of St. Anselm and St. Andrew. In the rebuilding, under William of Sens, this church was extended farther to the east; and the plan embraced the present corona. This extension and addition were rendered necessary by the contemplated translation of St. Thomas (murdered, 1170; canonized, 1173. The fire which destroyed Conrad's choir took place in 1174. The works of the two Williams were completed in 1184. The translation was made in 1220). This translation was prepared for from the first; and a place for the new shrine was arranged on the site of Trinity Chapel; while the corona seems to have been designed for the reception of an especial relic—the severed scalp of the saint.

The cathedral of Sens, at that time the Canterbury of France and the seat of the Primacy, must have largely influenced the architect William. It dates from 1143 to 1168, and must have been well known at Canterbury from Becket's residence there during his

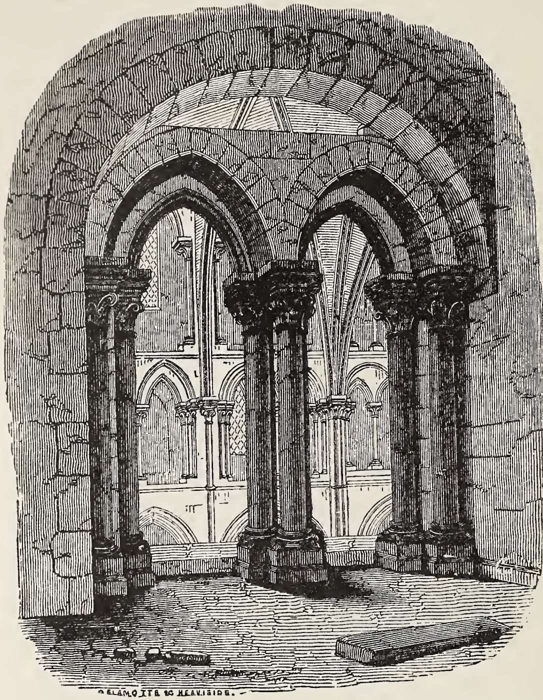
of the choir, with its apsidal east end, is French. Remark the very peculiar capitals of the semi-pillars which abut on the tower-piers.



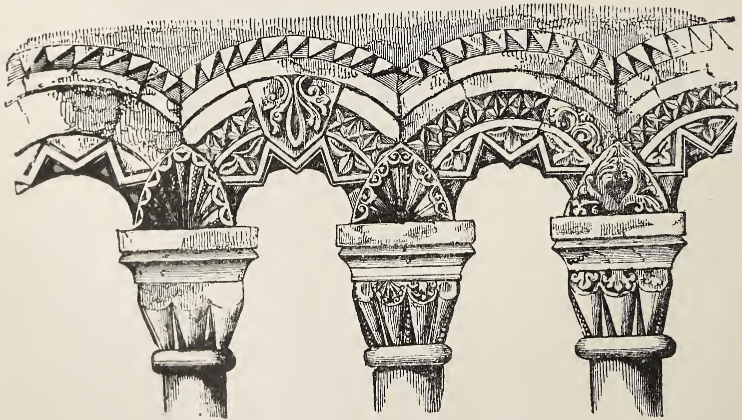
ARCHES IN SOUTH AISLE—JUNCTION OF WORK.



ARCADE, NORTH SIDE, EXTERIOR.



TRIFORIUM IN THE CHOIR: FROM WITHIN.



DETAILS OF THE NORMAN STAIRCASE.

exile. It has several peculiarities in common with Canterbury; for example, double piers, composed of two columns, set one behind the other, foliated capitals, rings on some of the slender shafts, and the same system of vaulting. The mouldings of William of Sens are very varied, exhibiting a profusion of billet-work, zigzag, and dog-tooth [Plate IV.],—the first two characteristics of Norman, the last of Early English; a mixture of ornaments in accordance with the mixture of round and pointed arches throughout. The triforium [Plate V.] exhibits this curiously, the outer arch being circular, the two inner, which it circumscribes, pointed. The clerestory arches are pointed. The stone vault was one of the earliest, if not the very first, constructed in England, and exhibits the same mixture of styles. Some of the transverse ribs are pointed, others round: the diagonal are all round. William of Sens fell from the upper part of the clerestory wall, a height of 50 feet, whilst preparing to turn the portion of this vault between the transepts. Of this part he directed the completion from his bed, and the work was then resigned to English William.

The remarkable contraction at the head of the choir was rendered necessary from the architect's desire of uniting his work with the towers of St. Anselm and St. Andrew, which still remain on either side. These had escaped the fire of 1174, and as they were not to be removed, they "would not allow the breadth of the choir to proceed in the direct line[k]." It was also deter-

[k] Gervase.

mined that a chapel of St. Thomas, the new martyr, should be placed at the head of the church, in the room of the chapel of the Trinity, which had been destroyed; but the dimensions of this chapel were to be preserved, and as it was much narrower than the choir, this last had to be narrowed so as to coincide with it. The second or eastern transepts already existed in the former church, and were retained by William of Sens.

The best general views of the choir will be obtained from the upper stalls, north and south, toward the west end, where the full beauty of these eastern transepts is gained. The effects of light are grand, and the superb windows of ancient glass in the aisles and transepts add not a little to the impression. Colour might perhaps be introduced with advantage throughout the vaulting itself, which is now somewhat cold and ceiling-like.

XIV. The great height to which the altar is raised resulted from the construction of the new crypt under St. Thomas's Chapel, which is much loftier than the older crypt west of it. On the completion of the choir by William of Sens, the high altar stood completely isolated, without a reredos; and behind it, east, was placed the metropolitan chair, its ancient and true position, still to be seen in many early Continental churches (Torcello in the Lagunes of Venice is an excellent example). This was afterwards removed into the corona, and is now in the south choir transept.

The *reredos*, which was erected behind the high altar

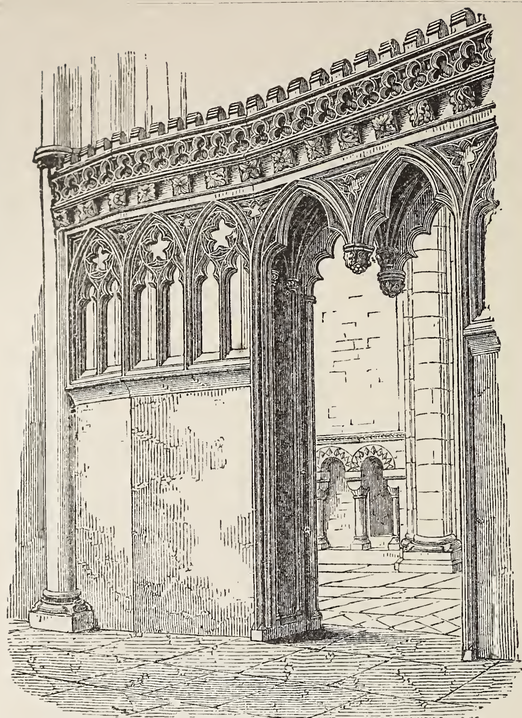
(probably during the fourteenth century), was destroyed by the Puritans in 1642. It was succeeded by an elaborate Corinthian screen, which was removed only a few years since, and replaced by the present reredos, "imitated from the screen-work of the Lady-chapel in the crypt." The high altar before the Reformation was most richly adorned, and in a grated vault beneath was a treasury of gold and silver vessels, in presence of which, says Erasmus, Midas and Crœsus would have seemed but beggars. The Puritans destroyed "a most idolatrous, costly glory cloth," presented by Laud. The existing altar-coverings, of crimson velvet, were the gift of Queen Mary, wife of William III., on a visit to the cathedral. Among the plate is a chalice, an offering of the Earl of Arundel, ambassador of Charles I. to Germany, on his passing through Canterbury in 1636.

Within the choir, before the Reformation, there were, besides the high altar, the altar-shrines of St. Alphege and St. Dunstan. That of St. Alphege, the archbishop martyred by the Northmen in 1011, whose body was restored to Canterbury by Canute, was on the north side, near the present altar. No trace of it exists. On the south wall of the choir, between the monuments of Archbishops Stratford and Sudbury, there still remains some very beautiful diaper work of open lilies, a part of the decoration of *St. Dunstan's altar*, which stood there. It is of the Decorated period. The bodies of St. Alphege and St. Dunstan, co-exiles with the monks after the fire, says Gervase, were re-conveyed into the

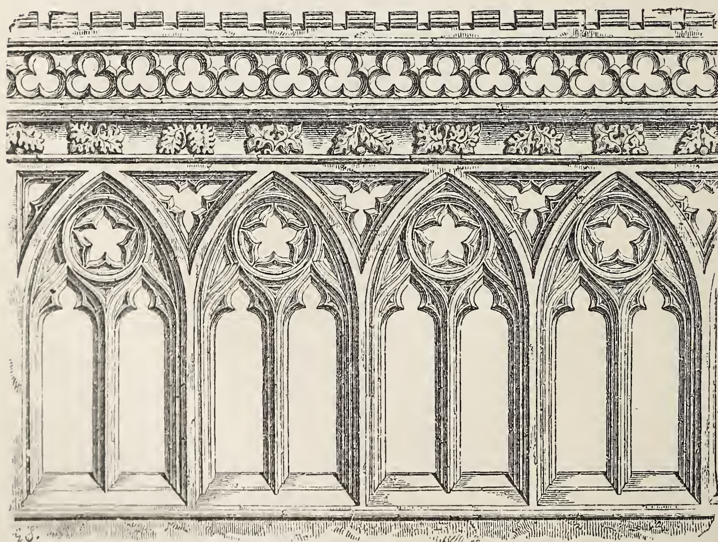
choir with great ceremony. The shrine of Dunstan was opened by Archbishop Warham in 1508, in consequence of a dispute with the monks of Glastonbury, who declared that the body of the Saint had been removed to Glastonbury after the sack of Canterbury by the Danes. A body, however, with a plate of lead on the breast, inscribed "Sanctus Dunstanus," was found on the opening of the shrine. A portion of the Saint's skull was then enclosed in a silver reliquary, made in the form of a head, and placed with the other relics, which in their ivory, gilt, or silver coffers, were exhibited to the pilgrims on the north side of the choir. Among them were pieces of Aaron's rod, some of the clay from which Adam was made, and, especially precious, the right arm of "our dear lord, the Knight St. George." Each of these relics was devoutly kissed, except by such "Wickliffites" as Dean Colet, who visited Canterbury with Erasmus in 1512.

XV. An especial interest belongs to a small portion of the *pavement* of the choir, lying between the transepts. It is of a peculiar stone, or veined marble, of a delicate brown colour, and "when parts of it are taken up for repair or alteration, it is usual to find lead which has run between the joints of the slabs, and spread on each side below, and which is with great reason supposed to be the effect of the fire of 1174, which melted the lead of the roof, and caused it to run down between the paving-stones in this manner[1]." This is, therefore, a fragment of the original pavement of "the glorious

[1] Willis.



NORTH DOOR OF DE ESTRIA'S SCREEN, INNER FACE.



PRIOR DE ESTRIA'S SCREEN.

choir of Conrad," in which the body of Becket was watched by the monks throughout the night following the murder.

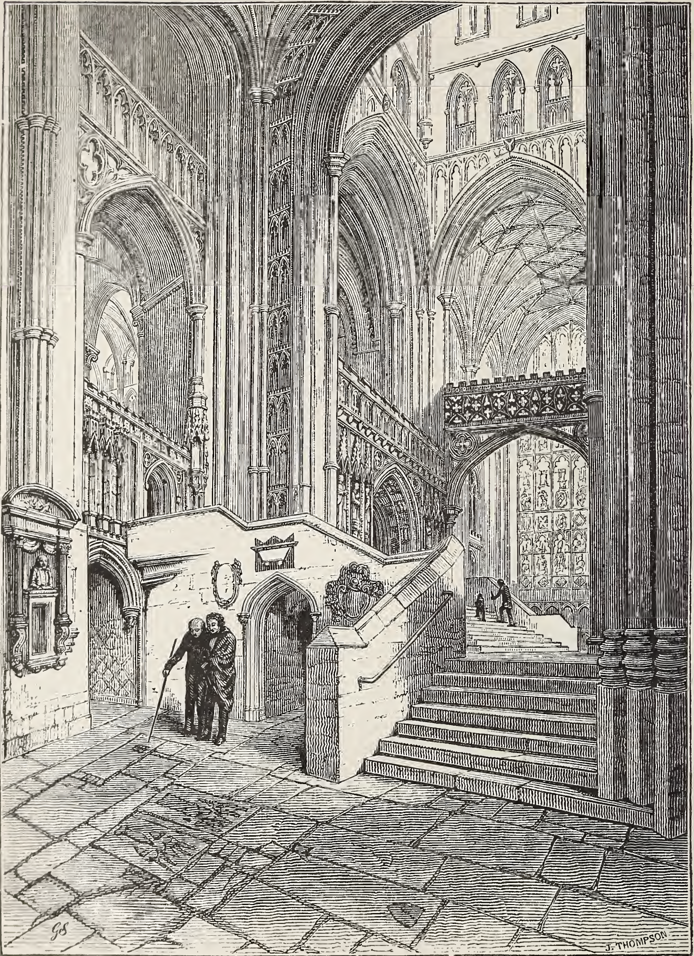
XVI. The *screen* which encloses the choir is the recorded work of Prior HENRY DE ESTRIA (constructed 1304–5) [Plate VI., and Title-page], and is "valuable on account of its well-ascertained date, combined with its great beauty and singularity[m]. In the greater number of English choirs the stalls were, and are, canopied. At Canterbury and Rochester they are not so arranged, but are backed on either side by stone screens. This at Canterbury is pierced with window-like traceried openings, and crowned by a highly-beautiful cornice and parapet. [Plate VI.] The entire height of the screen is fourteen feet. The north doorway [Title-page and Plate VI.] remains perfect, and its central pendant bosses are especially remarkable. The south doorway is much later, and is "manifestly a subsequent insertion."

The western front of this screen, which formed the ancient "pulpitum," is a later addition, as has been explained in § XII. The original wooden stalls, which ranged in two rows on each side below the open work of the screen, were not destroyed in the disorders of the Civil War. They remained until 1704, when, under the direction of Archbishop Tenison, the choir was refitted. The screen was lined with wainscoting, so as to conceal the tracery. Pews were arranged below it; and the archbishop's throne, together with

[m] Willis.

the eastern front of the choir-screen, were fitted with rich carvings by Grinling Gibbons. This arrangement remained unaltered until the episcopate of Archbishop Howley (1828—1848), when the wainscoting which concealed the screen was removed, and the Corinthian throne of Gibbons was replaced by the existing structure, with a lofty stone canopy of tabernacle work. Gibbons' carving against the eastern front of the screen remains: and, since it is a fine example of its kind, and represents a passage in the history of the cathedral, it may be hoped that it will not be displaced. Although the stalls were not destroyed during the Civil War, it is probable that the ancient work had been much shattered and injured, and that Archbishop Tenison's restoration had thus become necessary[n].

[n] The original work of the eastern face of the screen, now concealed by Gibbons' carving and the return-stalls, has (1874) been examined by the removal of parts of the wainscot. The face of the screen is found to be, in its general idea, a continuation of the side-screens, though with some marked variations. The window-like openings are separated by flat, panelled buttresses; the screen is in some parts solid instead of perforated, owing to the stairs at its back; and the two official stalls, those of the Prior and Vice-Prior, now appropriated to the Dean and Vice-Dean, had canopies of stone, unlike all the rest. The original coloured decoration, which has elsewhere disappeared, remains here in a nearly perfect state, and is a valuable example of the decorative painting of the fourteenth century. It is repeated on those parts of the tower-piers which project between the western and the side-screens, so as to prevent them from uniting; and thus a suggestion of the design is continued, where the substance of it could not exist. The space between the stalls and the stringcourse under the traceried openings (about one yard in height) was boarded with



MARTYRDOM TRANSEPT.

The brass desks for the choristers are by SKIDMORE, and were placed here in memory of JOSHUA STRATTON, "per xxxix annos hujus ecclesiæ præcentoris." He died in 1864.

XVII. The *organ*, rebuilt by Samuel Green, 1784, and enlarged by Hill, 1842, formerly stood over the west screen, but has now been "ingeniously deposited out of sight in the triforium of the south side of the choir. A low pedestal, with its keys, stands in the choir itself, so as to place the organist close to the singers, as he ought to be; and the communication between the keys and the organ is effected by trackers passing under the pavement of the side aisles, and conducted up to the triforium through a trunk let into the south wall[o]."

XVIII. The monuments in the choir will be best examined from the side-aisles. Leaving it again at the west door of the screen, we follow in the track of the pilgrims, who were usually conducted into the *north transept*, called the *Transept of the Martyrdom* [Plate VII.], through the dark passage under the choir steps. We are now on the actual scene of the murder; but although the transept was not injured by the fire which consumed Conrad's choir, it was much altered when the central pillar and the upper vault were taken

oak, and decorated in colour, a rich border running along its upper edge, and the rest being powdered with gold rosettes on a green ground. The arrangement and colouring at Rochester (see that cathedral) may be compared. Both works are described and illustrated by Sir G. G. Scott in the 'Archæological Journal,' vol. xxxii.

[o] Willis

down in order that the "Altar of the Martyrdom" might be well seen (see *post*); and still more so when Prior Chillenden remodelled and rebuilt the greater part of it during the construction of the present nave. It covers, however, precisely the same ground as the Norman transept.

Lanfranc's church had closely resembled that of the monastery of St. Stephen at Caen, of which he was abbot, and which was in building at the same time. In the transept of St. Stephen's may still be seen the arrangement which existed in that of Canterbury at the time of Becket's murder. The transept was divided into an upper and lower portion by a vault open on the side of the nave, where it was supported by a single pillar. In the eastern apse of the *lower* part was the altar of St. Benedict, in the *upper* that of St. Blaize. Many of the Saxon archbishops were also buried in the *lower* apse. There was a piece of solid wall intervening between this apse and two flights of steps, one leading down into the crypt, the other upward into the north aisle of the choir. In the west wall a door opened into the cloister. Becket, after the violent scene in his chamber with the knights, was dragged along the cloister by the monks, and entered the transept by this door, which, after it had been barred by his attendants, he flung open himself, saying that "the church must not be turned into a castle;" and the knights, who had followed through the cloister, now instantly rushed into the church. It was about five o'clock, Dec. 29, 1170, O.S., and *Tuesday;* remarked as a significant day in

Becket's life, and afterwards regarded as the week-day especially consecrated to the saint. The church must have been nearly dark, with the exception of the few lamps burning here and there before the altars. Vespers had already commenced, but were thrown into utter confusion on the news of the knights' approach, and when they entered the cathedral all the monks who had gathered about Becket fled to the different altars and hiding-places. There remained with him only Robert, canon of Merton, his old instructor; William Fitzstephen, his chaplain; and a monk named Edward Grim. They urged him to ascend to the choir, and he had already passed up some steps of the eastern flight leading to it, perhaps intending to go to the patriarchal chair at the high altar, when the knights rushed in, and Reginald Fitzurse, who was first, coming round the central pillar, advanced to the foot of the steps, and called out, "Where is the Archbishop?" Becket immediately stopped, and returned to the transept, attired in his white rochet, with a cloak and hood thrown over his shoulders. He took up his station between the central pillar and the massive wall between St. Benedict's altar and the choir steps. There the knights gathered round him, and at first endeavoured to drag him out of the church. But Becket set his back against the pillar, and resisted with all his might, whilst Grim flung his arm round him to aid his efforts. In the struggle Becket threw Tracy down the pavement. After a fierce dispute, in which the Archbishop's language was at least as violent as that of the knights,

Fitzurse, roused to frenzy, struck off Becket's cap with his sword. The Archbishop then covered his eyes with his hands, and commended himself to God, to St. Denys of France, to St. Alphege, and the other saints of the church. Tracy sprang forward and struck more decidedly. Grim, whose arm was still round the archbishop, threw it up to avert the blow; the arm was nearly severed, and Grim fled to the altar of St. Benedict close by. The stroke also wounded Becket, who, after two others, also from Tracy, fell flat on his face before the corner wall. In this posture, Richard le Bret, crying, "Take this for the love of my lord William, the king's brother," struck him so violently, that the scalp or crown was severed from the skull, and the sword snapped in two on the pavement. Hugh of Horsea, the chaplain of Robert de Broc, who was with the knights, then thrust his sword into the wound, and scattered the brains over the floor. This was the final act. Hugh de Moreville was the only one of the knights who had struck no blow. He had been holding the entrance of the transept. The four knights then rushed from the church through the cloisters, and re-entered the palace, which they plundered, carrying off from the stable the horses, on which Becket had always greatly prided himself.

XIX. We have now to see how far the existing transept retains any memorials of this scene, regarded throughout Christendom as unexampled in sacrilege since the crucifixion of our Lord. And *first*, much of the original Norman walls was allowed to remain in

the transepts when Chillenden rebuilt them at the same time with the nave; and portions of Lanfranc's ashlaring are still visible on the west side of the door leading into the cloisters. This is therefore the actual door by which Becket and the knights entered the church. *Next*, the wall between the chapel of St. Benedict and the passage leading to the crypt, in front of which the archbishop fell, still remains unaltered, "for the masonry of the fifteenth century, which clothes every other part of the transept[p], does not intrude itself here, but is cut off many feet above." *Lastly*, it has been generally asserted, although there is the greatest reason for doubting the truth of such an assertion, that the pavement immediately in front of the wall is the same which was in existence at the time of the murder. It is a hard Caen stone, and from the centre of one of the flags a small square piece has been cut out. There can be no doubt that this pavement covers the actual spot on which Becket fell: but it is expressly asserted by Robert of Swaffham[q], that Benedict, who was translated in 1177 from the Priory of Christ Church to the Abbacy of Peterborough, carried off with him the stones "on which the holy martyr fell," and made them into two altars for his new church. This testimony is not lightly to be rejected; and the Canterbury tradition, which asserts that the portion cut out from the existing pavement (being that on which Becket's

[p] Not entirely, as has been seen above.

[q] 'Cenobii Burgensis Historia;' Sparke's 'Peterborough Chroniclers,' p. 101. Robert of Swaffham was a monk of Peterborough.

head had rested) was sent to Rome, where it was preserved as a relic, appears to have originated within the present century. No such relic is known to exist anywhere in Rome[r]. In front of the wall was erected a wooden altar to the Virgin, called "Altare ad punctum ensis," where a portion of the brains was shown under a piece of rock-crystal, and where were exhibited and kissed by the pilgrims the fragments of Le Bret's sword which had been broken on the floor. (The sword worn by Hugh de Moreville was preserved in Carlisle Cathedral, and is still to be seen at Brayton-hall, in Cumberland.) In order that this altar might be better seen, the pillar and vault above it were removed at some uncertain time, but before the new work of William of Sens was completed,—so that it must have been soon after the murder. The stairs also up which Becket was ascending have disappeared, but the ancient arrangement, precisely similar, may still be seen in the south transept. (For the *cloisters*, generally entered from this transept, see § L.; and for the *crypt*, to which a passage opens eastward, see § XL.)

XX. The great window of the north transept was the gift of Edward IV. and his Queen, whose figures still remain in it, together with those of his daughters,

[r] This question, in all its bearings, has been carefully examined by Canon Robertson ('Archæologia Cantiana,' vol. x.). The earlier Kentish topographers do not mention the tradition, and the first appearance of the story seems to be in Woolnoth's 'Canterbury Cathedral,' published in 1816. Thence it was copied by Britton and others. There are some bags at Rome, in the Church of St. Mary Major, which are said to contain portions of the martyr's blood and brains, but no square stone is to be heard of.

and of the two princes murdered in the Tower. The "remarkably soft and silvery appearance" of this window has been noticed by Mr. Winston[s]." In its original state the Virgin was pictured in it "in seven several glorious appearances," and in the centre was Becket himself at full length, robed and mitred. This part was demolished in 1642 by Richard Culmer, called "Blue Dick," the great iconoclast of Canterbury, who "rattled down proud Becket's glassie bones" with a pike, and who, when thus engaged, narrowly escaped martyrdom himself at the hands of a "malignant" fellow-townsman, who "threw a stone with so good a will that if St. Richard Culmer had not ducked he might have laid his own bones among the rubbish." The west window is filled with modern stained glass, in which the story of St. Thomas is displayed in several compartments.

In this transept is the monument of Archbishop Peckham (1279—1292; see Part II.), *temp.* Edw. I., whose marriage with Margaret of France was solemnized on this spot in 1299 by Peckham's successor, Archbishop Winchelsea. Peckham's effigy is in Irish oak. This is the earliest complete monument in the cathedral (see Plate XIV.). Adjoining, "a very handsome specimen of a very common design," is that of Archbishop Warham (1503—1532), the friend and patron of Erasmus: (see Part II.).

XXI. The site of the chapel of St. Benedict, to the altar of which Grim fled, is now occupied by the *Dean's*

[s] 'Ancient Painted Glass.'

or *Lady-chapel*, built by Prior GOLDSTONE (1449—1468) in honour of the Virgin. Until this time the "Chapel of our Lady Undercroft" in the crypt (see § XL.) had contained the principal altar of the Virgin in the cathedral; and indeed it still perhaps continued the more important. The space usually assigned to the Lady-chapel was in this cathedral taken up by the great shrine of the saint. Prior Goldstone removed altogether the apsidal chapel which contained the altar of St. Benedict, and carried his new work much farther to the east. This has a rich fan vault. In the chapel are the monuments of many of the deans. Those of FOTHERBY, a curious specimen of the worst "debased" taste; of Dr. BARGRAVE (died 1642), with the copy of a portrait, by Jansen, now in the Deanery; of Dean BOYS, seated in his study; and of Dr. TURNER, who attended Charles I. at Hampton Court and in the Isle of Wight, are the most remarkable.

XXII. From the Transept of the Martyrdom we advance into the *north aisle of the choir*, up which the pilgrims were conducted on their way to the great shrine. The walls of the side-aisles and of the choir-transepts were not destroyed by the fire which consumed Conrad's choir, and although throughout altered and enriched by William of Sens, still retain large portions of the original work of Prior Ernulf, by whom the rebuilding of Lanfranc's choir was commenced, during the episcopate of Anselm[t]. The arcade at the

[t] See Willis, 'Arch. Hist. of Cant. Cath.,' for a careful distinction between the architecture of Ernulf and William of Sens.

base of the wall in the aisle, is Ernulf's, and his piers and arch-heads were retained in the aisle windows; which, however, were raised by William about 3 ft. 8 in. In the *choir transept*, the clerestory windows of Ernulf's work are the present triforium windows. The arcade-work and mouldings here, and the present clerestory windows, are all William of Sens'. There is a marked difference in the base-mouldings and in the masonry of the vaulting-shafts between the works of Ernulf and William, the first being much plainer. Throughout, William of Sens, whilst improving and enriching, seems to have aimed at harmonising his work with Ernulf's; hence his mixture of round and pointed arches, and a certain imitation in portions of ornamental mouldings, purposely kept simple, although very graceful in outline. "Ernulf's carvings," says Gervase, "were worked by an axe, and not by a chisel like William's;" and the difference can readily be traced. A remarkable junction of the older work of Ernulf and that of William of Sens occurs in the south choir-aisle west of the transept. Ernulf's round arch, with its heavy carving, is there seen in sharp contrast with the finer work of William. (See Plate IV.) On the wall of the north aisle, at its western end, hangs a picture by Cross of Tiverton, representing the murder of Becket. It is historically quite inaccurate. The archbishop is fully vested, whereas he was in his usual dress; and he is placed in front of the altar, instead of before the pillar (see § XVIII.). But the picture is

one of great merit, and is the work of an artist who died too young.

In this aisle, between the two transepts, the windows are filled with *ancient stained glass* of the highest beauty and importance. It is probably contemporary with the rebuilding by William of Sens; or, at any rate, is but little later in date. Many other windows, of the same date and character, exist in this eastern portion of the cathedral, and it is not a little to be wondered at that they should have survived the perils of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The windows in the Trinity Chapel (see *post*, § XXXVIII.) were and are filled entirely with subjects illustrating the miracles of Becket. A list of the subjects contained in the other windows is preserved in Battley's edition of Somner's 'Canterbury' (1703). These were chiefly Scriptural; and it appears that the 'Parable of the Sower' was figured in the north windows of the north-east transept. The glass in this transept has been displaced, and portions of it, conspicuous from their neutral tints, now appear in the lower windows at the west end of the aisle. They deserve the most careful examination. On the corner of the wall adjoining the transept are the remains of a mural painting representing the conversion of St. Hubert. In the *transept* are memorial windows for Dr. Spry and Canon Chesshyre; and one in memory of Dean Stanley's Eastern travels, and of his connection with this cathedral.

In the two eastern apses of this transept were the altars of St. Martin (northward) and St. Stephen, and

over them relics of SS. Swithun and Vulgarius. The remains of many archbishops, removed from the old church after the fire, were buried in these apses. Among them were those of Lanfranc, who had been buried near the altar of the Trinity Chapel (on the completion of Conrad's choir), and whose relics—little more than the larger bones and dust, says Gervase—were now interred close to the altar of St. Martin. The bases of the arches, opening into the apses, are William of Sens' work, and very elegant.

In the north wall of this transept, at the height of about 10 feet above the pavement, are three hagioscope slits. These were connected with an oratory, constructed by Prior Goldstone (1495—1517), as an addition to the Prior's Chapel, which abutted on the transept. The slits enabled a person stationed in the oratory to see, if not to hear, the masses in the transeptal chapels below, in perfect privacy. The sills of these slits, on the oratory side, are at a convenient height and width to receive and support the clasped hands of a person kneeling in front of them. A somewhat similar hagioscope was attached to the Abbot's Chapel at St. Alban's, where it opened toward certain altars in the nave of the Abbey Church.

XXIII. At the end of the aisle, close to the steps ascending to the retro-choir, is the door of *St. Andrew's tower*, part of Ernulf's building, now used as a vestry. It was formerly the sacristy, and in it the privileged class of pilgrims were shewn the 'wealth' of silken robes and golden candlesticks belonging to the church;

Becket's pastoral staff of pear-wood, with its crook of black horn; his bloody handkerchief; and a black leather chest, containing linen rags with which he wiped his forehead and blew his nose. All knelt when this chest was exhibited.

The chapel has an apsidal termination, and shows the peculiar shallow ornamentation of Ernulf over the arch of the apse. The roof and north wall show considerable remains of painting, perhaps dating early in the thirteenth century. A vine with clusters covers the roof with a flowing pattern. The small circular chamber at the south-west angle carried a staircase.

The peculiar manner in which this tower, and the opposite tower of St. Anselm, are set with regard to the ground-plan of the church, results from their having been attached to the bend of the great eastern apse in the church of Ernulf and of Conrad. To their preservation after the fire of 1174 is due the remarkable narrowing of the arcade at the back of the presbytery.

XXIV. On the choir side of the aisle, opposite the transept, is the monument of Henry Chichele (1414—1443), the Archbishop of Henry V. and of Agincourt, the instigator of the last great war of conquest in France. (See Part II.) This monument, in many respects remarkable, was erected by him during his life, and, like his college of All Souls, may possibly indicate his "deep remorse for this sin," which seems also hinted at in a letter to the Pope. All the details of the effigy should be noticed. Angels support the

head, and at the feet are two kneeling monks with open books. Below, and within the arched sides of the tomb, is laid an emaciated figure in a winding-sheet. Most of the small figures with which the niches were filled were destroyed by the Puritans, and those which now exist are of later date. The monument is kept in repair and colour by the Warden and Fellows of All Souls'. Beyond, is a recumbent figure of Archbishop Howley (died 1848), buried at Addington, for which place this monument was originally destined. This was the first monument of an archbishop placed in the cathedral since the Reformation [u]. Between the last two piers of the choir is the monument of the Cardinal Archbishop Bourchier (1454—1486), whose episcopate of fifty-one years—as bishop successively of Worcester and of Ely, and as archbishop—is one of the longest on record in the English Church. The tomb, which has a lofty canopy, much enriched, displays the 'Bourchier knot' among its ornaments: all the details deserve attention.

XXV. We now ascend into the *retro-choir*. A door on the south side of the steps opens to the vault under the high altar, which contained the richest vessels and great treasures of the church. (See § XIV.) The vault of this chamber is simple, and it seems to be part of William of Sens' work. The steep flights of

[u] Most of the archbishops since the Reformation are buried either at Lambeth or at Croydon. Laud and Juxon are interred in the chapel of St. John's College, Oxford; Sancroft lies at Freshinfield, in Suffolk, and Tillotson in the church of St. Lawrence Jewry, London.

steps by which the retro-choir is reached from the choir-aisles were rendered necessary by the great loftiness of the crypt under the extreme eastern portion of the cathedral. Up these steps the pilgrims climbed on their knees, and the indentations on the stones yet tell of the long trains of worshippers by which they have been mounted age after age. At the foot of the stairs were placed receptacles for offerings. This "long succession of ascents by which church seemed piled upon church," may have suggested the hymn to St. Thomas:—

> "Tu per Thomæ sanguinem,
> Quem pro te impendit
> Fac nos Christo *scandere*
> Quo Thomas *ascendit*[x]."

The whole of this part of the cathedral, from the choir-screen to the extreme east end, is the work of English William. It is marked by a lighter character than that of William of Sens, though its main features are the same. The triforium differs from that of the choir, in having its four pointed arches set as a continuous arcade, and not under two circular ones. In the clerestory, two windows are placed over each pier-arch, instead of a single one, as in the choir. In the side aisles, and in the eastern apse or corona, English William's style is best distinguished. His "slender marble shafts" are so detached and combined as to produce "a much greater lightness and elegance of effect than in the work of the previous architect," and

[x] Stanley.

a single order of mouldings is used throughout[y]. The piers, composed of two columns, set one behind the other, occur at Sens; and this form is used for one pair of William of Sens' piers (between the towers of St. Andrew and St. Anselm), with the addition of two marble shafts at the sides.

The outer roof of all this part of the church was destroyed in the fire of 1872. The vault remained firm and uninjured, although it had to support the weight of much fallen and burning timber. (For a notice of this fire, see Appendix, Note II.)

XXVI. The central portion of the retro-choir, between the piers formed by double columns (these piers are shown in Plate X.), is the *Chapel of the Holy Trinity*, or, as it was more generally called, that of *St. Thomas*. In the ancient Chapel of the Trinity, burnt at the same time with Conrad's choir, Becket had sung his first mass after his installation as archbishop; and, after the rebuilding, this was the spot chosen for his shrine, toward the ancient position of which the stranger first turns, in spite of the stately tombs and noble architecture around him. The place where the shrine stood is exactly ascertained by the mosaic of the pavement, a fragment of the *Opus Alexandrinum* with which most of the Roman basilicas are paved. (Portions of a similar pavement remain in Westminster Abbey about the shrine of the Confessor.) Some of the signs of the zodiac, besides representations of virtues and vices, may be traced on it. This

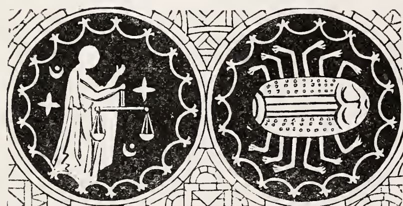
[y] Willis.

mosaic was immediately in front of the shrine, which stood eastward of it. [Plate VIII.] An indentation in the pavement, running for some distance eastward on either side (but not extending round the east end, which was not open), is thought to mark the limit beyond which the ordinary class of pilgrims was not allowed to advance, and at which they knelt whilst the marvels of the shrine were pointed out by the Prior. In the roof above is fixed a crescent, made of some foreign wood, which has not been clearly accounted for. It possibly refers to Becket's title of "St. Thomas Acrensis," given him from his especial patronage of the Hospital of St. John at Acre. His intercession was thought to have driven the Saracens from that fortress. A number of iron staples formerly existed near this crescent, and perhaps supported a trophy of flags and spears[z].

XXVII. Some account of the *translation* of the relics of Becket to this part of the cathedral, of the *shrine* itself, and of its later *history*, may here be given. On the morning after the murder, the body of the Archbishop, for fear of the knights, who threatened yet further to dishonour it, was hastily buried at the east end of the crypt. Here it remained, after the solemn canonization by Pope Alexander III. in 1173, and after the fire of 1174, until the new choir and chapels had for some time been completed, and everything was duly prepared for its translation. This took place on

[z] See Appendix III., for some further remarks on the pavement of the platform of the shrine.

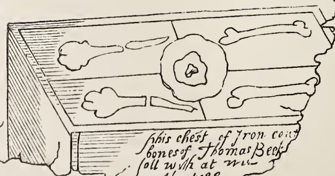
FROM TRINITY CHAPEL.



PAVEMENT ROUND BECKET'S SHRINE.

FROM TRINITY CHAPEL.

TILE PAVING



BECKET'S SHRINE; FROM THE COTTONIAN MS

Tuesday, July 7, 1220, after two years' notice circulated throughout Europe, and before such an assemblage as had never been collected in any part of England before. The archbishop, Stephen Langton, in the presence of all the monks of his convent, opened the tomb in the crypt the night before. The next day, Pandulph the legate, the archbishops of Rheims and Canterbury, and Hubert de Burgh, Grand Justiciary of England, carried on their shoulders the chest containing the bones up to the shrine prepared for them behind the high altar. Nearly all the bishops of the province of Canterbury were present, and the procession was led by the young king, Henry III., then only thirteen. Of the shrine itself a drawing remains among the Cottonian MSS. [Plate IX.], and it is also represented in one of the stained windows. It resembled that of St. Cuthbert at Durham. The altar of St. Thomas stood at the head of it. The lower part was of stone, and on marble arches, against which the sick and lame pilgrims were allowed to rub themselves in hope of a cure. The mass of worshippers did not pass beyond the iron rails that surrounded it. The shrine itself rested on the marble arches, and was covered with a wooden canopy, which at a given signal was drawn up, "and the shrine then appeared, blazing with gold and jewels; the wooden sides were plated with gold and damasked with gold wire, and embossed with innumerable pearls and jewels and rings, cramped together on this gold ground." As all fell on their knees, the Prior came forward and touched the several

jewels with a white wand, naming the giver of each. One was supposed to be the finest in Europe. It was a great carbuncle or diamond, as large as a hen's egg, called the "Regale of France," and presented by Louis VII. of France, who, said the legend, was somewhat unwilling to part with so great a treasure; but the stone leapt from the ring in which he wore it, and fastened itself firmly into the shrine, a miracle against which there was no striving. The "Regale" burnt at night like a fire, and would suffice for a king's ransom. Louis was the first French king who ever set foot upon English ground. He had visited the tomb in the crypt in 1179, and "being very fearful of the water," he obtained St. Thomas's promise that neither he nor any other person crossing from Dover to Whitsand or Calais should suffer shipwreck. Here also came Richard on his liberation from his Austrian dungeon, walking from Sandwich to give thanks to "God and St. Thomas." John followed him; and every succeeding English king, and their great foreign visitors, did repeated homage at the upper shrine. Edward I. (1299) offered here no less a gift than the golden crown of Scotland. Henry V. was here on his return from Agincourt. Emanuel, the Emperor of the East, paid his visit to Canterbury in 1400; Sigismund, Emperor of the West, in 1417. In 1520 Henry VIII. and the Emperor Charles V. knelt here together. "They rode together from Dover on the morning of Whitsunday, and entered the city through St. George's-gate. Under the same canopy were seen both the youthful

sovereigns. Cardinal Wolsey was directly in front; on the right and left were the proud nobles of Spain and England; the streets were lined with clergy, all in full ecclesiastical costume. They lighted off their horses at the west door of the cathedral; Warham was there to receive them. Together they said their devotions—doubtless before the shrine." Myriads of pilgrims, of all countries and of all ranks, thronged year after year toward Canterbury, "the holy blissful martyr for to seek," after the fashion of that immortal company which shines in the pages of Chaucer with a glory more lasting than that of the "great Regale" itself; and churches were dedicated to St. Thomas throughout every part of Christendom, from Palestine to Scotland.

The Vigil of the Translation, July 6, had always been kept as a solemn fast in the English Church until 1537, when, a sign of greater changes to come, Archbishop Cranmer "ate flesh" on the eve, and "did sup in his hall with his family, which was never seen before." In April, 1538 (such at least was the story believed at the time on the Continent, although there is some reason for distrusting it), a summons was addressed in the name of Henry VIII. "to thee, Thomas Becket, sometime Archbishop of Canterbury," charging him with treason, contumacy, and rebellion. It was read at the shrine, and thirty days allowed for Becket's appearance. As this did not occur, the case was tried at Westminster, where the Attorney-General represented Henry II., and an advocate was appointed by

Henry VIII. for Becket. The first prevailed, and sentence was pronounced that the Archbishop's bones should be burnt, and the offerings forfeited to the Crown. The bones, however, were not burnt, but buried; the jewels and gold of the shrine were carried off in two coffers on the shoulders of seven or eight men, and the remaining offerings filled twenty-six carts. (The annual offerings at the shrine, at the beginning of the sixteenth century, when they had much decreased in value, averaged about 4000*l*. of our money.) The "Regale" was long worn by Henry in his thumb-ring. Finally, an order appeared that Becket was no longer to be called a saint, but "Bishop Becket;" that his images throughout the realm were to be pulled down, and his name razed out of all books. This last injunction was rigidly carried out. "The name of Geta has not been more carefully erased by his rival brother on every monument of the Roman empire[a]." At this time, also, Becket's Cornish choughs were removed from the arms of the city.

XXVIII. His figure, however, was still allowed to remain here and there, in *stained windows;* and, fortunately, some of those which once entirely surrounded Trinity Chapel were of this number. The windows here and in the corona should be most carefully examined. They are of the thirteenth century, and among the finest of this date in Europe, excelling in many respects those of Bourges, Troyes, and Chartres; "for excellence of drawing, harmony of colouring, and purity

[a] Stanley.

of design, they are justly considered unequalled. The skill with which the minute figures are represented cannot even at this day be surpassed[b]." Remark especially the great value given to the brilliant colours by the profusion of white and neutral tints. The scrolls and borders surrounding the medallions are also of extreme beauty.

The three windows remaining in the aisles surrounding the Trinity Chapel are entirely devoted, as were all the rest, to the miracles of Becket, which commenced immediately on the death of the great martyr, to whom, as visions declared, a place had been assigned between the apostles and the martyrs, preceding even St. Stephen, who had been killed by aliens, whilst Thomas was killed by his own[c]. The miracles represented in the medallions are of various characters. The *Lucerna Angliæ*, a true St. Thomas of *Kandelberg*, as the Germans called him, restores sight to the blind. Loss of smell is recovered at the shrine of this *Arbor Aromatica*. Frequently he assists sailors, the rude crews of the Cinque Ports in his own immediate neighbourhood. At the Norway fishing his figure came gliding over the seas in the dusk, and descended, burning like fire, to aid the imperilled ships of the Crusaders[d]. In the window towards the east, on the north of the shrine, is represented a remarkable series of miracles, occurring

[b] Stanley's 'Memorials' (third edition), note by George Austin, Esq., p. 281.

[c] Benedict, 'De Miraculis S. Thomæ Cantuar.'

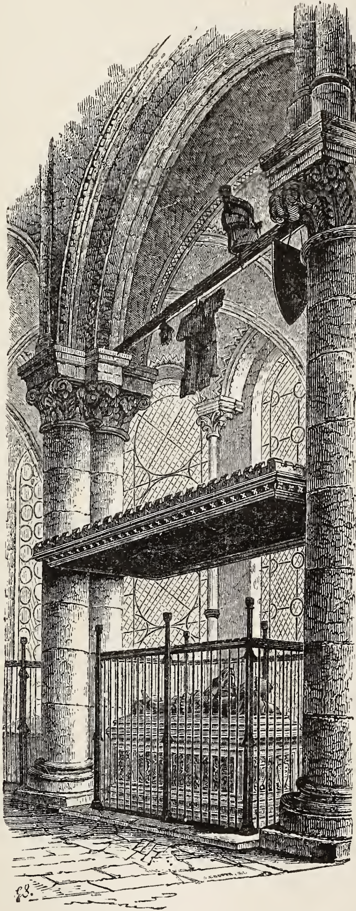
[d] Benedict, Hoveden.

in the household of a knight named Jordan, son of Eisulf, whose son is restored to life by the water from St. Thomas's well, which, tinged with his blood, as it was held to be, was always carried off by the pilgrims. The father vows an offering to the martyr before Mid-Lent. This is neglected; the whole household again suffer, and the son dies once more. The knight and his wife, both sick, drag themselves to Canterbury, perform their vow, and the son is finally restored[e]. On a medallion in one of the windows on the north side is a representation of Becket's shrine, with the martyr issuing from it in full pontificals, to say Mass at the altar. This vision Benedict says was seen by himself.

XXIX. Between the two first piers of Trinity Chapel, south, is the monument of Edward the Black Prince (died Trinity Sunday, June 8, 1376 [Plate X.], "the most authentic memorial remaining of the first of a long line of English heroes[f]." He had already founded a chantry in the crypt, on the occasion of his marriage (1363) with the "Fair Maid of Kent;" and his will, dated June 7, the day before his death, contains minute directions for this monument and for his interment, which he orders to be in the crypt. For some unknown reason this order was disregarded, and he was buried above, his tomb being the first erected in what was then thought to be the most sacred spot in England. The effigy is in brass, and was once entirely gilt, like the cast from it,

[e] Benedict.

[f] Stanley.



TOMB OF EDWARD THE BLACK PRINCE.

which may be seen at Sydenham. The Plantagenet features are traceable, "the flat cheeks and the well-chiselled nose, as in the effigy of his father at Westminster Abbey, and of his grandfather at Gloucester." At the feet is a leopard, the expression of which deserves notice. Above are suspended the brass gauntlets; the "heaume du leopard"—"that casque which never stooped except to time"—lined with leather, "a proof of its being actually intended for use;" the shield of wood, covered with moulded leather; the velvet surcoat, with the arms of France and England; and the scabbard of the sword. The sword itself Cromwell is said to have carried away. These relics are all that now remain of the two distinct achievements, composed of the actual accoutrements, "pur la guerre," and "pur la paix," which, according to the directions in the prince's will, had figured in his funeral procession[g]. They all belonged to the accoutrement "pur la guerre," and no doubt formed portions of a suit actually worn by the great English hero. At the time of the fire of 1872, all the relics were taken down in haste. None received injury but the scabbard, which has since been repaired. Round the tomb are escutcheons of arms, charged alternately with the bearings of France and England, quartered, the shield

[g] The will enjoined that the funeral procession should pass through the west gate, and along the High-street toward the cathedral. Two chargers, with trappings of the Prince's arms and badges, and two men accoutred in his panoply, and wearing his helms, were to precede the corpse. The trappings and armour were to be, severally, those used by the Prince in peace and war.

of war by which Edward had been distinguished in the battle-field, and with the ostrich feathers and the motto "Houmont Ich diene[h]," the shield used by him in tournaments and "justes of peace." Above is the long inscription, chosen by the Prince himself, and inserted in his will (see APPENDIX, Note IV.):—

"Tu qe passez ove bouche close, par la ou cest corps repose
Entent ce qe te dirray, sicome te dire la say.
Tiel come tu es, je autiel fu, tu seras tiel come je su,
De la mort ne pensay je mie, tant come j'avoy la vie.
En terre avoy grand richesse, dont je y fys grand noblesse,
Terre, mesons, et grand tresor, draps, chivalx, argent et or.
Mes ore su je povres et cheitifs, perfond en la terre gys,
Ma grand beaute est tout alee, ma char est tout gastee,
Moult est estroite ma meson, en moy na si verite non,
Et si ore me veissez, je ne quide pas qe vous deeisez
Qe j'eusse onqes hom este, si su je ore de tout changee.
Pur Dieu pries au celestien Roy, qe mercy eit de l'arme de moy.
Tout cil qe pur moi prieront, ou à Dieu m'accorderont,
Dieu les mette en son parays, ou nul ne poet estre cheitifs."

There are traces also of inscriptions on the piers adjoining.

On the canopy of the tomb is a representation of the Holy Trinity, reverenced with "peculiar devotion" by the prince, and on whose feast he died. The absence of the dove between the figures of the eternal Father

[h] These words, about which there is much difficulty, are probably German (Welsh antiquaries insist that the latter motto is Celtic), and "exactly express what was seen so often in the Prince's life, the union of 'Hoch muth,' that is, *high spirit*, with 'Ich dien,' *I serve*. They bring before us the very scene itself after the battle of Poitiers, where, after having vanquished the whole French nation, he stood behind the captive King, and served him like an attendant."—*Stanley*.

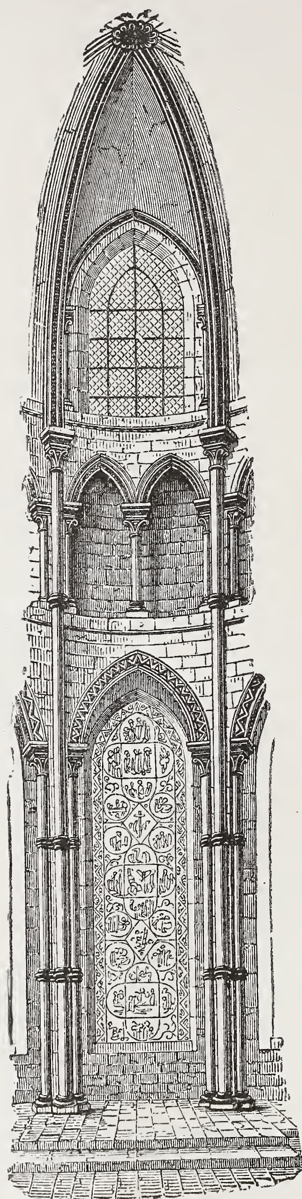
and of the Saviour on the Cross is remarkable; but the omission occurs in similar representations elsewhere. The whole design, with the emblems of the Evangelists at the angles, is very graceful, and should be noticed. Round the canopy are hooks for the hangings bequeathed in the Prince's will,—black with red borders, embroidered with "cygnes avec têtes de dames."

XXX. Immediately opposite, on the north side of the chapel, is the tomb of Henry IV. (died 1413), and of his second wife, Joan of Navarre (died 1437). The King's will ordered that he should be buried "in the church at Canterbury" (he had given much toward the building of the new nave), and his body was accordingly brought by water to Faversham, thence by land to Canterbury; and on the Trinity Sunday after his death the funeral took place in the presence of Henry V. and all the "great nobility." Joan of Navarre died at Havering in 1437, and the monument is probably of her erection. The arms are those of England and France, Evreux and Navarre. The ground of the canopy is diapered with the word "soverayne" and eagles volant, the King's motto and device; and with ermines collared and chained, and the word "atemperance," the Queen's. These are transposed, the ermines being above the King's effigy. It was asserted by the Yorkists that the King's body had been thrown into the sea, between Gravesend and Barking. There had been a great storm, and, after this Jonah offering, a calm. "Whether the King was a good man, God knows," said Clement

Maidstone's informant[1]. The coffin was, however, brought to Canterbury, and solemnly interred. In consequence of this story the tomb was opened in 1832, in the presence of the Dean of Canterbury. Two coffins were found, but that of the King could not be removed without injury to the monument above. The upper part was, therefore, sawed through, and after removing a thick layer of hay, on the surface of which lay a rude cross of twigs, an inner case of lead was discovered, which being also sawed through, the lower half of the head of the body it contained was unwrapped from its foldings, "when, to the astonishment of all present, the face of the deceased King was seen in complete preservation; the nose elevated, the beard thick and matted, and of a deep russet colour, and the jaws perfect, with all the teeth in them, except one fore-tooth, which had probably been lost during the King's life." The King died at the age of forty-six. The whole was replaced after examination. The iron railings about this monument, and about that of the Black Prince are apparently of the same age, and wrought by the same workman, as shown by the ornamental details. This fact has led to a conjecture that the two tombs were placed simultaneously in the positions they now occupy, that of the Prince having possibly been removed here from the crypt (where his will directed it to be placed) when the memorial of Henry was erected.

Opening in the wall of the north-aisle of the retro-choir, and immediately opposite his monument, is a

[1] See the narrative in Wharton, 'Anglia Sacra,' tom. ii.



ONE BAY OF THE CORONA.

small *chantry* founded by Henry IV., " of twey priestes for to sing and pray for my soul." The fan-vault is rich.

XXXI. At the feet of the Black Prince is the monument of Archbishop COURTENAY (1381—1396), the severe opponent of the Wycliffites. There is, however, some uncertainty as to the real place of interment of this archbishop, who died at Maidstone, and whose will directs that he should be buried in the churchyard there. A slab in the pavement of All Saints' Church, Maidstone, from which the brasses have been removed, still shows by their matrices that it once contained the figure of an archbishop, and has accordingly been considered to mark the tomb of Courtenay. On the other hand, the leiger-book of Christ Church, Canterbury, directly asserts that he was buried in the cathedral, which is probably the fact. Why this most distinguished place was assigned to him does not appear. He was, however, executor to the Black Prince, and a great benefactor to the cathedral. Beyond his monument is that of ODO COLIGNY, Cardinal Chatillion, who on account of his Huguenot tendencies, fled to England in 1568, and was favourably received by Elizabeth. He died at Canterbury on his way to France, poisoned by an apple given him by one of his servants.

East of the tomb of Henry IV. is a kneeling figure, by BERNINI, of Dean WOTTON, the first Dean of Canterbury after the foundation of the collegiate church by Henry VIII.

XXXII. The great lightness and beauty of the *Corona* [Plate XI.], the extreme east end of the cathedral,

are remarkable. It is English William's work. When Archbishop Anselm was at Rome in the early part of his episcopate, and attending a council in the Lateran, a question arose as to his proper place, since no archbishop of Canterbury had as yet been present at a Roman council. Pope Pascal II. decided it by assigning to the "alterius orbis papa" a seat in the "corona," the most honourable position[k]. It is just possible that this fact, together with the wish to provide an especial place of honour for the severed scalp of the saint, may have led the architects, on the rebuilding of the choir, to make this remarkable addition. (See § XLII.) In the corona were the shrines of Archbishop Odo and Wilfrid of York, and a golden reliquary in the form of a head, containing some relic of Becket, probably the severed scalp[l]. By a confusion of its proper name with this relic the eastern apse came to be generally known as "Becket's crown." On the north side is the tomb of Cardinal Pole, Queen Mary's archbishop (1556—1558), and the last archbishop buried at Canterbury. His royal blood gave him a title to so distinguished a place of

[k] "In *corona* sedes illi posita est, qui locus non obscuri honoris in tali conventu solet haberi."—*Eadmer*, Hist. Norev., ii. p. 92. See also the notice of Anselm in Part II. The words there quoted from William of Malmesbury (who attributes them to Pascal II.), "Includamus hunc in *orbe nostro*," evidently refer to this corona.

[l] It appears from a comparison of the offerings, called 'Oblationes S. Thomæ,' for ten years, in the early part of the thirteenth century, that the largest sums of money were received at the shrine and in the corona. Then came the Martyrium (the transept of the Martyrdom), and the 'Tumba,' in the crypt. There can be no doubt, therefore, that the corona contained some special relic.

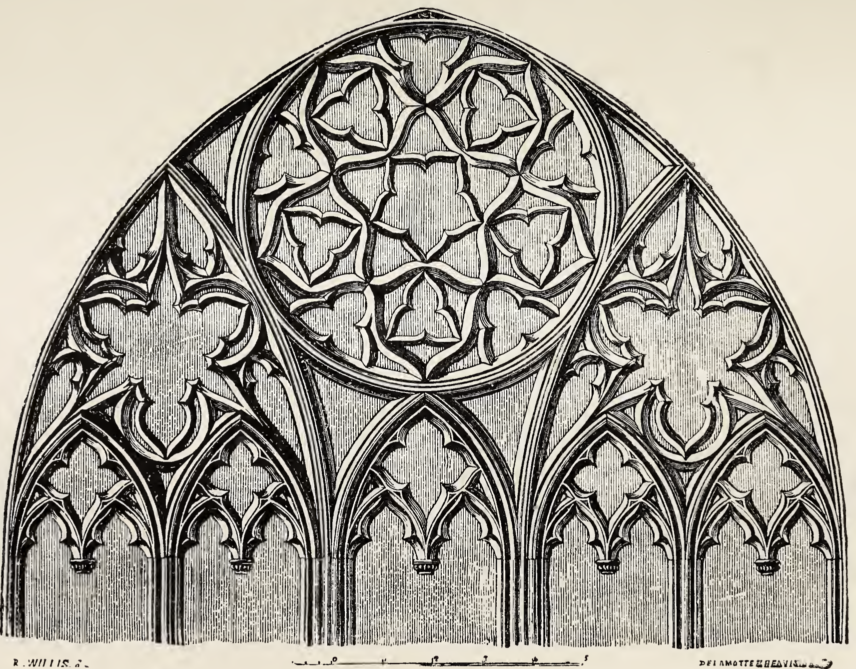
sepulture. The *glass* in the central window of the corona is ancient; the rest is modern.

XXXIII. Descending the *south aisle* of the retro-choir, the first tomb against the wall is an unknown one, in style rather later than the completion of the chapel itself. The sides have an arcade of trefoiled arches. It is attributed to Archbishop THEOBALD (1139—1161), but without reason. Still passing west, down the pilgrim-worn steps, we come to *St. Anselm's tower and chapel.* The screen of the chapel is formed by the tomb of Archbishop SIMON DE MEPHAM (1328—1333), "a beautiful and singular work, consisting of an altar-tomb placed between a double arcade." The arcade carries a canopy, and in the spandrels are trefoils with sculptures, much shattered, as are the rich cornice and cresting. This archbishop was worried to death by Grandisson, bishop of Exeter, who resisted his visitation as metropolitan, and who encountered Mepham with a company of armed followers at the west door of Exeter cathedral. "This affront did half break Mepham's heart," says Fuller, "and the pope, siding with the bishop against him, broke the other half thereof." He returned to Kent and died.

XXXIV. *Anselm's tower* is part of Prior Ernulf's work, like St. Andrew's opposite. Both towers "are at present only of the same height as the clerestory of the Norman church, to which they formed appendages, and consequently they rose above the side-aisles of that church as much as the clerestory did. The external faces of the inward walls of these towers are

now enclosed under the roof of William's triforium, and it may be seen that they were once exposed to the weather."—*Willis.* They possibly once rose much higher, or they would not have been termed by Gervase 'lofty' towers. It seems probable that the arches in this tower—both that by which it is entered from the choir-aisle and the arch of the eastern apse—although, no doubt, originally Ernulf's work, were taken down and rebuilt after the fire. Little real change was however made in them. The mouldings on the side of the arch toward the choir-aisle were slightly altered; but Ernulf's peculiar notched ornament, with the roundels on either side, appears above both arches. The same ornament occurs in all the Norman window-heads remaining. The original south window of this tower was replaced by an elaborate Decorated one of five lights by Prior Henry de Estria in 1336. There were pendent bosses in the heads of the lights, like those of his choir-screen door, but these have disappeared. [Plate XII.] At the east end was the altar of SS. Peter and Paul, and behind it was buried Anselm (1093—1109), of all the archbishops, with the exception of Becket, the most widely-renowned throughout Europe. (See Part II.) Under the south window, then but newly inserted, was buried Archbishop Thomas Bradwardine (died 1349). He was archbishop for three months only. (See Part II.) The shallow projection under the window, and the panelling above it, form what is called his monument.

Above the chapel (entered by a staircase on the



WINDOW IN ANSELM'S CHAPEL.

north-west angle) is a small room, with a window looking into the cathedral, which, as is generally supposed, served as the *watching-chamber*, in which a monk was nightly stationed to keep ward over the rich shrine of St. Thomas. "On the occasion of fires the shrine was additionally guarded by a troop of fierce ban-dogs." The watching-chamber is said, but without authority, to have been used as the prison of King John of France. It is indeed very doubtful whether this can have been the true watching-chamber of the shrine, since the window does not fully command the position of it.

XXXV. West of Anselm's chapel, and on the choir side, is the tomb of SIMON DE SUDBURY (1375—1381), the archbishop who built the west gate of Canterbury and much of the city walls; who reproved the "superstitious" pilgrimages to St. Thomas, crowned Richard II., and was himself beheaded by the Kentish rebels under Wat Tyler. (See Part II.) "Not many years ago, when this tomb was accidentally opened, the body was seen within, wrapped in cere-cloth, a leaden ball occupying the vacant place of the head[m]." In commemoration of the benefits Sudbury bestowed on the town, the mayor and aldermen used to pay an annual visit to his tomb, to "pray for his soul." Next to this monument, west, is the canopied tomb of Archbishop STRATFORD (1333—1348), Edward the Third's Grand Justiciary during his absence in Flanders; and below is the tomb of Archbishop KEMP (1452—1454), sur-

[m] Stanley.

mounted "by a most curious double canopy or tester of woodwork."

XXXVI. The *south-east transept* [the exterior is shown in Plate XIII.], which we have now reached, has the same architectural character as the north; and displays William of Sens' work on Ernulf's walls, completed by English William. In the two apses were the altars of St. John and St. Gregory, with the tombs or shrines of four Saxon archbishops. Below the easternmost window in the south wall are some indications in the broken pillars of the tomb of Archbishop WINCHELSEA (1294—1313), whose contest with Edward I. touching clerical subsidies, and whose great almsgiving—2000 loaves every Sunday and Thursday to the poor when corn was dear, and 3000 when cheap—caused him to be regarded as a saint. Oblations were brought to his tomb, but the Pope would not consent to canonize him. (See Part II.) His monument is said to have been destroyed at the same time as Becket's shrine.

In this transept is now placed the *patriarchal chair* of Purbeck marble, called "St. Augustine's chair;" traditionally said to be that in which the pagan kings of Kent were enthroned, and which, presented by Ethelbert to Augustine, has ever since served as the metropolitical *cathedra* of Canterbury. It is certainly of high antiquity, but the old throne was of a single block—this is in three pieces—and Purbeck stone was (it is said) unused until long after the time of Augustine. It is most probable, as has been suggested by Father

SOUTH-EAST TRANSEPT

Martene, that the chair is of the extreme end of the twelfth century; at which time the half-circles into which the upper part of the back is cut were much used in architectural design, and in forming the heads of floriated crosses. They appear in some of the roundels of the pavement near the shrine. The chair may thus have been formed after the completion of William of Sens' work, and as a necessary part of the furnishing of the new presbytery. In this venerable chair the archbishops are still enthroned, in person or by proxy.

XXXVII. West of the transept, against the south wall of the choir, is the mutilated effigy of Archbishop Hubert Walter (1193—1205), who having accompanied Richard Cœur de Lion and Archbishop Baldwin to the Holy Land, was, on the latter's death, chosen archbishop in the crusaders' camp at Acre. The panelling below the tomb is much later. Beyond is Walter Reynolds (1313—1327), the courtier archbishop of Edward II., whom he deserted in his adversity.

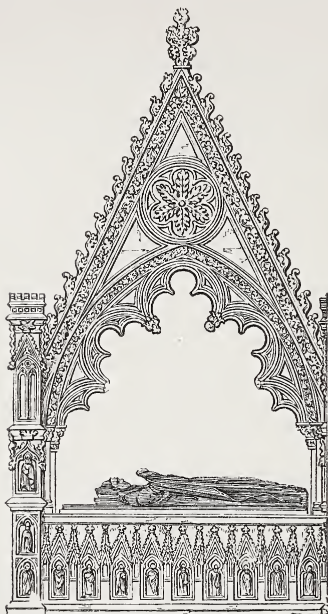
XXXVIII. The steps leading down into the great south *transept* preserve the same arrangement as that of the opposite transept of the Martyrdom at the time of Becket's murder. The transept itself is part of Chillenden's work. The Perpendicular stained glass of the south window should be noticed. In the pavement, close at the foot of the stairs descending from the tower, is the tombstone of Meric Casaubon, Archbishop Laud's prebendary (died 1671); adjoining is that of Shuckford of the "Connection."

XXXIX. Opening east from this transept is *St.*

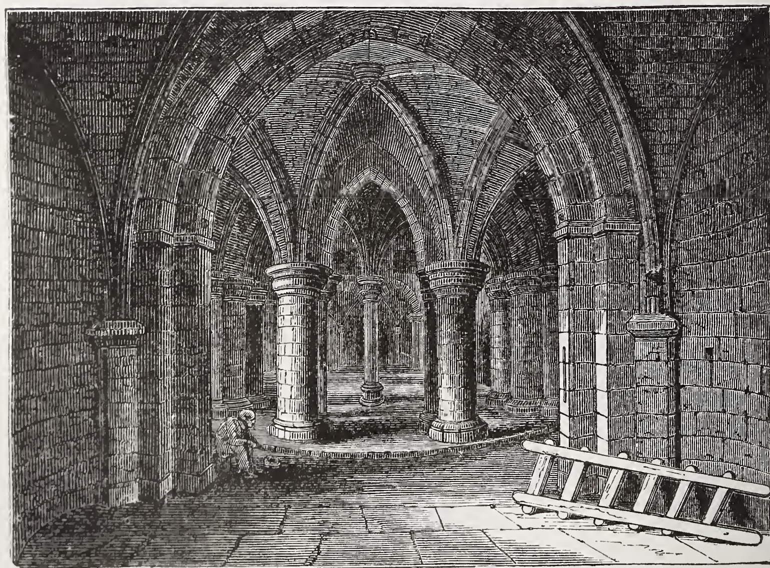
Michael's, or the *Warrior's* chapel. The builder is unknown. It is Perpendicular, about 1370, with a "complex lierne vault." In it are "sundry fair monuments." The central one is that erected by Margaret Holland (died 1437) to the memory of her two husbands, JOHN BEAUFORT, Earl of Somerset, half-brother of Henry IV. (died 1409), *left*, and THOMAS OF CLARENCE, "qui fuit in bello clarus, nec clarior ullus," second son of Henry IV., killed by a lance-wound in the face at the battle of Baugé, 1421, *right*. At the east end, singularly placed, the head alone appearing through the wall, is the stone coffin of STEPHEN LANGTON (1207—1228), the great archbishop of John and Magna Charta, "whose work still remains among us in the familiar division of the Bible into chapters." Professor Willis suggests that the tomb was *outside* when the chapel was built, and that it was arched over by the constructors. The altar-slab must have covered the coffin, a position most unusual, unless for the remains of a distinguished saint. It was that chosen by Charles V. for himself at Yuste, where the church would only allow his wish to be carried out with considerable modification. But the memory of Archbishop Langton was greatly reverenced.

The remaining monuments are of much later date. The Lady THORNHURST'S (died 1609) ruff and farthingale deserve notice. Her virtues, it would seem from her epitaph, were not less remarkable:—

"Si laudata Venus, Juno, si sacra Minerva,
Quis te collaudet, femina? Talis eris."



ARCHBISHOP PECKHAM'S MONUMENT



THE CRYPT.

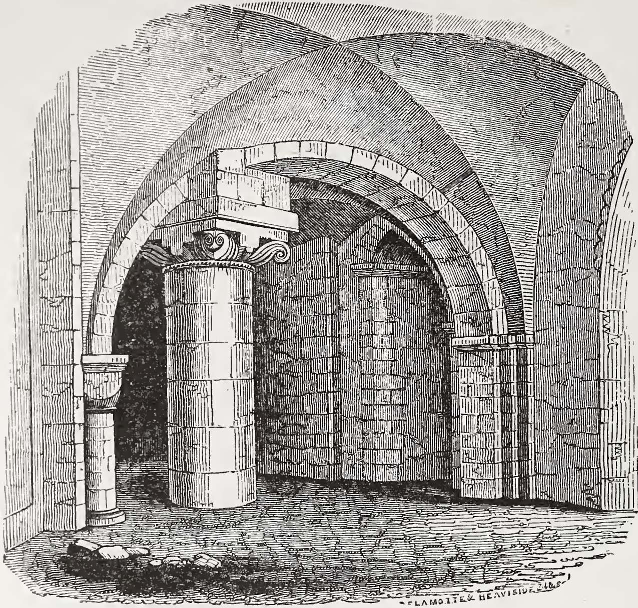


Fig. 1. ERNULF'S WORK.

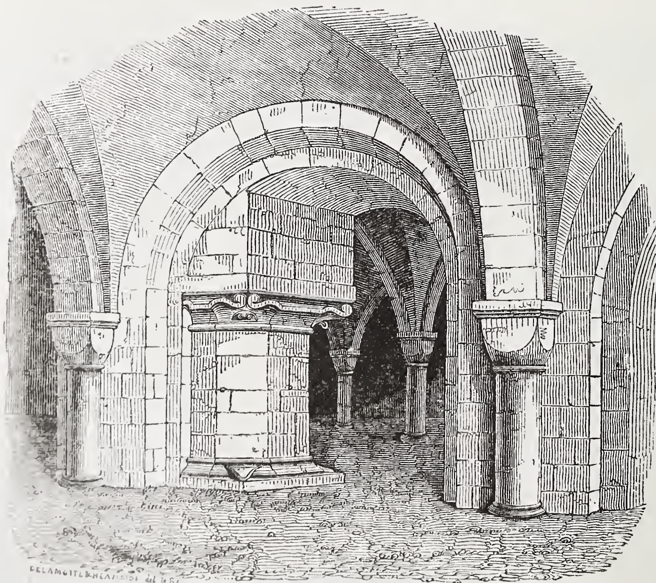
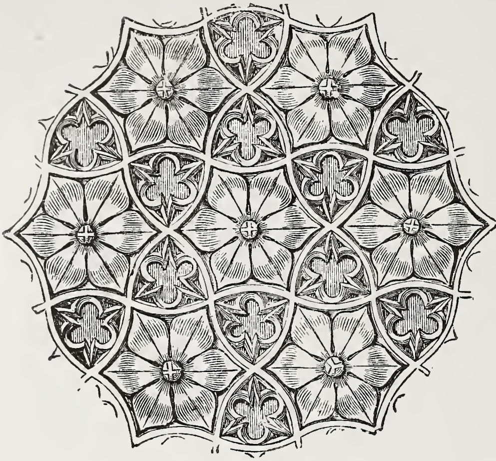
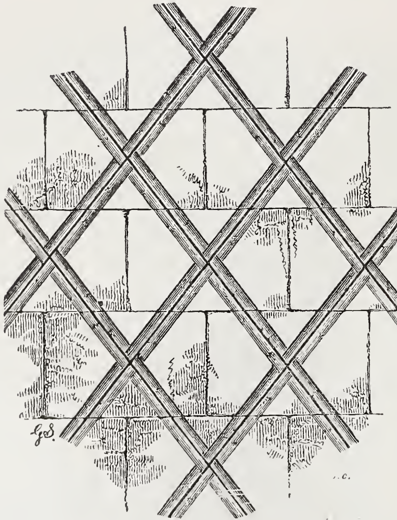


Fig. 2 WILLIAM OF SENS' WORK.

PIERS IN THE CRYPT



DIAPER, SOUTH SIDE OF CHOIR.



DIAPER IN PASSAGE TO CRYPT.

The best modern stained glass in the cathedral is that in the south window of this chapel. It is by Clayton and Bell.

XL. Passing through the gallery under the tower stairs, we return to the Martyrdom transept, and from it enter the *crypt*, or *undercroft*, the same that existed under the choir of Conrad. [Plates XIV., XV.] The walls near the transept are ornamented by a curious diaper [Plate XVI.], also found on a fragment of the chapter-house at Rochester, of which place Ernulf, who constructed this crypt, afterwards became bishop. The crypt of Canterbury is one of five English eastern crypts founded before 1085; the others are Winchester, Gloucester, Rochester, and Worcester. From this time they ceased to be constructed, except as a continuation of former ones[n]. As far as the beginning of the Trinity Chapel, the crypt here is Ernulf's work; although, as Willis suggests, some of the piers of Lanfranc's crypt may have been used by Ernulf, though with a very different spacing. The crypt under Trinity Chapel, and the corona, was added, of course, by William of Sens and English William. The enrichments on the capitals of the columns, very grotesque and varied, are occasionally unfinished, proving that they were worked after being set in place. On one, at the south-west side, two sides of the block are plain; the third has the ornament roughed out; and the fourth is completely finished[o]. Some of the shafts, also, are rudely fluted, whilst others are untouched.

[n] Willis.

[o] See woodcut at end of Part II.

In the roof are rings, each surrounded by a crown of thorns, from which lamps were suspended.

Ernulf's piers, north and south, on the west side of the transept, have been strengthened by half octagons, introduced by William of Sens, so as to enable them to bear the pressure of the pillars in the choir above, which have their centres beyond the edge of the original Norman (crypt) pier. (This is shown in Plate XV., fig. 2.) And at the point where the different plan of the new church required a change in the crypt, a pillar of William of Sens' work is erected in the aisle of the crypt to support the pillar above. (Plate XV., fig. 1.)

The whole crypt was dedicated, by Ernulf, to the Virgin; and toward the east end, is the *Chapel of our Lady Undercroft*, enclosed by late Perpendicular open stone-work. The vault retains the traces of much elaborate painting. This chapel was, says Erasmus, surrounded by a double rail of iron. "Quid metuit Virgo? nihil, opinor, nisi fures." In beauty this shrine exceeded that of Walsingham. Its wealth was indescribable. Only a very few "magnates" were permitted to see it. The niche over the altar for the figure still remains; the bracket has a carving of the Annunciation. In the centre of the pavement is the gravestone of the Cardinal Archbishop Morton (1486—1500). Faithful throughout to Henry VI., he effected the union of the two Roses by the marriage of Henry of Richmond to Elizabeth of York. (See Part II.) His *monument* is at the south-west corner

of the crypt, much defaced by "Blue Dick." The *mort* or hawk on a *tun* is the Archbishop's rebus.

In the south screen of the Lady-chapel is the monument of Lady Mohun of Dunster (about 1395). A perpetual chantry was founded by her.

XLI. The whole of the crypt was given up by Elizabeth in 1561 to the French and Flemish refugees, "they whom the rod of Alva bruised," who fled to England—then, as now, the asylum of Europe—in great numbers. A company of clothiers and silk weavers ("gentle and profitable strangers," as Archbishop Parker called them) established themselves at Canterbury, where their numbers rapidly increased; they were about five hundred in 1676. They had their own pastors and services, with which Archbishop Laud attempted to interfere, but his attention was directed elsewhere by the breaking out of the Scottish war. The main body of the crypt was occupied by their silk-looms, and the numerous French inscriptions on the roof are due to this congregation, which still continues to exist, although their silk trade has long since disappeared. The south side-aisle was separated for their place of worship, and in it they still regularly assemble. The long table is that at which they sit to receive the Sacrament.

Forming the entrance to the French Church, east, is the *chantry*, founded by the Black Prince on his marriage in 1363. On the vaulting are his arms, those of Edward III., and what seems to be the face of his wife the "Fair Maid." For permission to found this chantry.

he left to the cathedral the manor of "Faulke's-hall" (Vauxhall), still the property of the Chapter. Still further east (under Anselm's tower) is *St. John's Chapel*, divided into two by a stone wall, the inner part being quite dark. The date of this division is uncertain; but it is perhaps not very ancient, and may have been (at least in part) the work of the early Flemish refugees; whose looms were apparently set up in the outer part of the chapel. The fire-grate here was inserted by them, and the ridges on the floor were perhaps connected in some manner with looms set above them.

On the roof of both divisions are some interesting tempera paintings. Those in what is now the outer chapel have roundels containing figures, and a scroll-work of foliage between. In the inner chapel (to see which special application must be made, and lights provided) are, on the vault a very fine figure of our Lord in Majesty, surrounded by angels; a Nativity, with the adoration of the kings; and a figure of St. John, with the angels of the seven churches and their candlesticks. All this work seems to be of the thirteenth century; and whether the artist was English or (as in some contemporary instances) Italian, the designs are important, as illustrating the history of art in this country. They are figured in Dart's 'History and Antiquities' of the cathedral, 1727; but have suffered much since that time, and will soon disappear altogether, unless some steps are taken to preserve them.

The chapel has a central pillar, with a broad curved

fluting, marked by deep lines, after the fashion of Durham. The capital displays curious grotesques—among which are a winged goat playing on a fiddle, and another riding on a monster and sounding a horn.

Beyond this chapel is the tomb of Isabel Countess of Athole (died 1292), heiress of Chilham, near Canterbury.

The view of the older crypt from its eastern end is very striking and impressive; although the effect has not been improved by the great pipes of the new warming-apparatus, which are carried along at the sides and close under the vaulting.

Against the great mass of masonry on the south side, which marks the termination of the old crypt, is outlined (on the eastern face) the Saviour in Majesty, with the Evangelistic emblems.

XLII. The *eastern part of the crypt*, under Trinity Chapel and Becket's Crown, is the work of English William, and differs greatly from the sombre gloom of Ernulf's building. "The work from its position and office is of a massive and bold character, but the unusual loftiness prevents it from assuming the character of a crypt[p]." It is, in fact, a lower church; and its massive double piers, constrasted with the slender shafts in the centre, give it a wonderful dignity and beauty. There is perhaps nothing finer of its class in Europe. The windows have been recently opened, and the beauties of the crypt made more apparent. The abaci of the piers are round, a peculiarity which

[p] Willis.

distinguishes English William's work from that of William of Sens.

In the earlier crypt, which existed under the first Trinity Chapel, and which projected for two bays eastward, between the towers of St. Andrew and St. Anselm, Becket was laid in a marble sarchophagus the day after the murder. A wall was built about it, in each end of which were two windows, so that pilgrims might look in and kiss the tomb itself. It was covered with tapers, the offerings of pilgrims, and hung round with waxen legs and arms, and such votive memorials as may still be seen about great continental shrines[q]. Here Becket remained until removed to the upper church in 1220; and in this earlier vault took place one of the most remarkable scenes of the Middle Ages—the penance of Henry II.—who, two years after the murder, when all seemed darkening round him, determined to make a further attempt at propitiating the saint. Living on bread and water from the time of his arrival at Southampton, he walked barefoot through Canterbury, from St. Dunstan's Church to the cathedral, where, after kneeling in the Martyrdom transept, he was led into the crypt. There, removing his cloak, and having placed his head within one of the openings of the tomb, he received five strokes from the *balai* or monastic rod of each bishop and abbot who was present, and three from each of the eighty monks. He passed the whole night in the crypt, fasting, and resting against the central pillar

[q] Benedict, 'De Miraculis.'

which divided the two bays, and finally departed, fully absolved. That very day the Scottish King, William the Lion, was taken prisoner at Richmond; and connecting his capture with the power of the martyr, he founded, on his return to Scotland, the Abbey of Aberbrothic, to the memory of St. Thomas of Canterbury. This earlier crypt was entirely swept away by William of Sens, but the place in the new crypt corresponding to that in which Becket had been laid was known as the "tomb" (tumba), and offerings were made at it by the pilgrims.

XLIII. We may now return to the *exterior* of the cathedral.

The *west front*, which was never brought into great prominence, owing to the want of open space on that side, and the close proximity of the archbishop's palace (see § LIX.), is a composition of no very great interest. The central division is gabled, with a large Perpendicular window, and a narrow porch inserted below it, between the buttresses. In the gable is a window of peculiar form, with a tracery of four trefoils. This centre is flanked by towers, of which that on the south side is known as the Dunstan steeple (probably from a bell so named), and is the work of Archbishop Chichele (1413—1444) and Prior Goldstone II. (1495—1517). The tower on the north is modern, and replaced Lanfranc's Norman structure. This was 113 feet high, and was divided by tablets into five stories, of which the three uppermost were decorated with arcade-work. This tower was called the Arundel steeple, from a ring

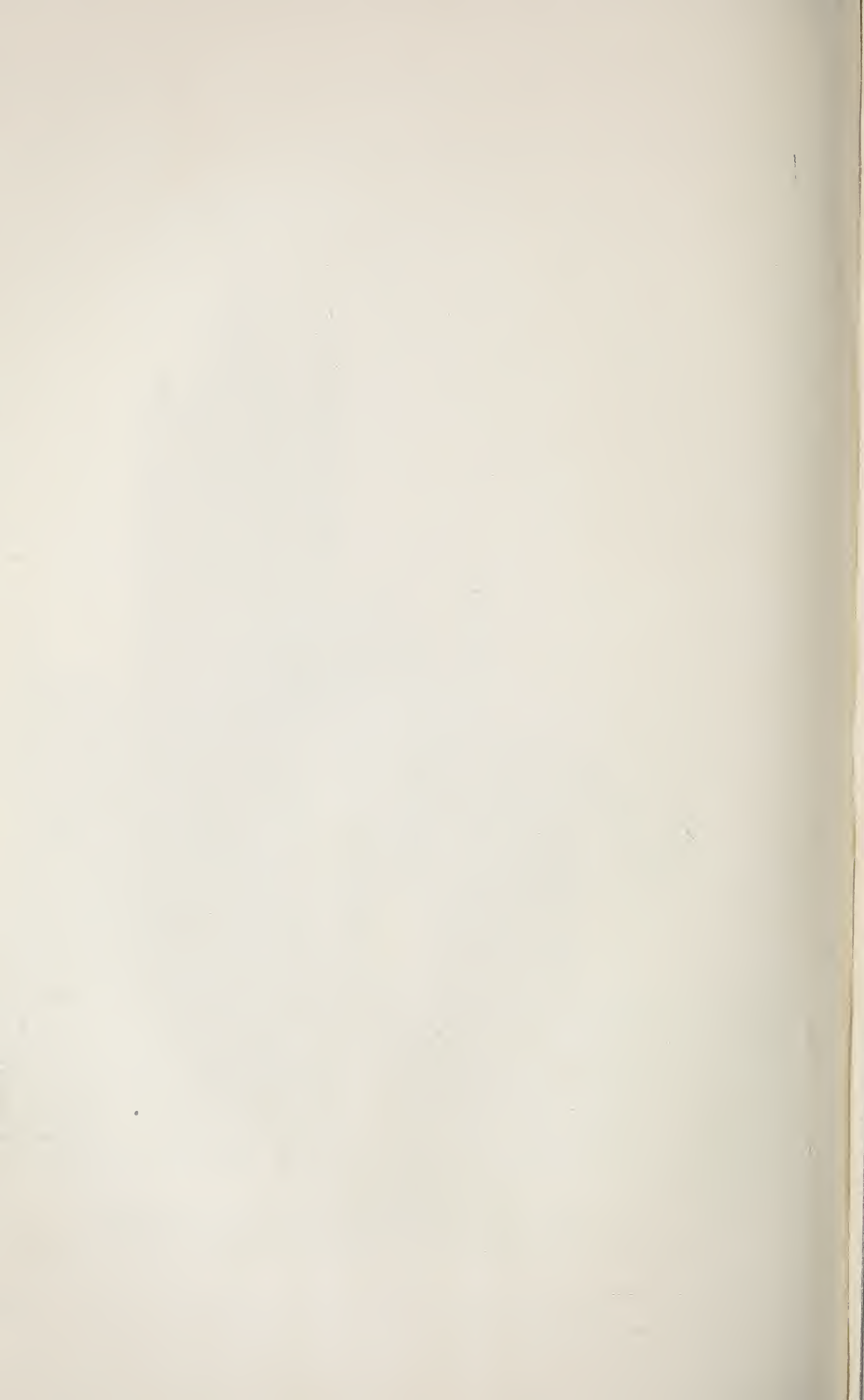
of five bells placed in it by that archbishop, who died in 1414. It is probable that these bells injured the tower; which was taken down in 1834, under the superintendence of the late Mr. Austin. The present tower was completed in 1840. Since that time the whole of the front has been renewed, and modern figures of kings and archbishops have been placed in the niches which decorate it. On the north tower are figures of some deans and other personages who have been connected with the church, including Erasmus, the friend of Archbishop Warham.

The great *central tower*, called "Bell Harry," from a small bell hung at the top of it, is entirely due to Prior Goldstone II. It replaced that called the "Angel Steeple," from the figure of a gilt angel crowning it, the first object that caught the eye of pilgrims advancing to Canterbury. The height of the present tower, one of the most beautiful examples of Perpendicular work existing, is 235 feet. [Plate XVII.] It is well seen from the south side of the precincts; but the best view of it may be obtained from the north-west angle of the cloisters (see § L.), where it groups admirably with the surrounding objects, "being sufficient to give dignity to the whole, but without overpowering any[r]."

The exterior arcades of the chapels [Plate IV.], eastward, indicate the works of Ernulf and Anselm already pointed out from within. The turret at the west side of the south-east transept has been restored;

[r] Fergusson's 'Handbook of Architecture,' p. 851.

CHAPTER HOUSE AND ANGEL TOWER.



together with some capping of the buttresses, but these works had become absolutely needful, and the restoration has in no case been carried to extreme or uncalled-for lengths.

The emblems of the Evangelists occur on the transitional buttresses round the aisle of the Trinity Chapel. The exterior of the Corona at the extreme east end was never completed, and it is perhaps not easy to say in what manner this completion should be effected[s]. The length of the entire cathedral, from the Corona to the west end, is 522 feet.

XLIV. The northern side of the cathedral is so immediately connected with the *monastic buildings*, that they must be considered together[t].

[s] This Corona has been compared with the eastern end, or Corona, of the cathedral at Drontheim, in Norway, which is Early English, of somewhat later date. But the Drontheim Corona does not project beyond the eastern end of an apsidal chapel or retro-choir, like this of Canterbury. It is rather a peculiar arrangement of apse. The end of the actual choir is, internally, made circular by piers and arches; externally, the plan very much resembles what that of Canterbury would be without the Corona, and without the towers of St. Andrew and St. Anselm. The termination is, however, hexagonal, and on each exterior face is a peculiarly formed Early English arcading. At Drontheim the high altar is set at the east end of the so-called Corona. The best ground-plan of Drontheim will be found in the magnificent volume relating to that cathedral lately set forth by the Norwegian Government.

[t] The following account of the monastic buildings has been in great measure abridged from the admirable 'Architectural History of the conventual buildings of the Monastery of Christ Church, in Canterbury,' written by the late Professor Willis, and printed in the 10th volume of the 'Archæologia Cantiana.' No other description of the arrangements and buildings of a great Benedictine house is so complete or so instructive. Every portion of the existing

A Benedictine monastery was, as has been said, attached to the church by St. Augustine, and it continued to exist, in more or less prosperity, until the Norman Conquest. In 1067 a fire entirely ruined the Saxon church, and the greater part of the monastic offices connected with it. When Lanfranc became archbishop in 1070 he found things in this condition, and before the end of his episcopate, in 1089, he had rebuilt his church, besides cloisters, refectory, dormitory, "and all the buildings standing within the enclosure of the curia (or great court of the monastery), as well as the walls thereof." He therefore set out the plan of a complete Benedictine monastery. He added one hundred to the ancient number of monks, and ordained that the total number should always be from one hundred and forty to one hundred and fifty. The rule also was rearranged; and the "regula" provided by Lanfranc became that under which all the Benedictine houses in England were afterwards supposed to live. The early archbishops dwelt in common with the monks. Lanfranc's rule first gave the house a *prior*, and the archbishops from this time were more separated, though they still continued the nominal heads of the convent, and the monks long insisted that the archbishop should always be a Benedictine. The priors, personages of great importance, had the right of wearing the mitre and of carrying the episcopal staff.

emains has been most carefully examined, and all the documentary evidence available has been brought to bear on the subject. Those who desire fuller information than can here be given should refer to this paper.

The buildings attached to a great monastery may be divided into four groups. 1. Those connected with the actual life of the monks. These buildings were gathered round the great cloister which almost always adjoined the nave of the church, the transept forming part of its eastern side. The chapter-house, the dormitory, the refectory, the kitchen, and other necessary offices were placed here. 2. The infirmary, or hospital, with its chapel, for sick monks. This was always an important part of the monastery, and was usually placed east of the church. 3. The halls and chambers needful for the exercise of such general hospitality as the monks were bound by their rule to exhibit. Of these buildings there were three groups. Those for guests of honour and of high degree, usually placed near to, and in some connection with, the house of the abbot or prior; those for inferior guests, near the cellarer's hall and lodgings; and those for wanderers and the poor, generally near the outer gate of the main court. 4. The last group is that of the menial buildings—stables, granary, barn, bakehouse, brewhouse—where the lay servants of the establishment worked. These were placed at some distance from the other edifices.

The great church was, of course, the centre of all these arrangements, and the whole was bounded by a wall. Wherever it was possible, the monastic cloister and buildings were placed on the south side of the church, for the sake of sun and shelter. But it often happened that the ground belonging to the convent

was too confined on that side. This was the case at Canterbury, where the city closely adjoined the south side of the monastic precincts. On the north the monks possessed all the land between their church and the city wall, and that space was accordingly devoted to their buildings.

XLV. This general description will enable the visitor to understand more readily the existing remains at Canterbury.

The space into which he enters by Christchurch Gate which fronts Mercery Lane (see it described, § VII.) was the *exterior cemetery*, in which the townsmen might be buried. A wall, with a Norman door, anciently ran across from St. Anselm's chapel to an enclosure on the opposite side, and separated this exterior cemetery from the inner, or cemetery of the monks. The Norman doorway has been inserted in a wall at the eastern end of this inner cemetery—which is now known as "the Oaks." Adjoining the original wall of division, on a mound at the south side, stood a campanile or bell-tower, which has entirely disappeared. The houses on the south side are all comparatively modern, and it was not until a late period that the ground on which they stand was acquired by the monastery.

Passing round the east end of the cathedral, the house in the north-east angle of the enclosure, now attached to the eleventh prebendal stall, should be specially noticed. The ground on which it stands, together with some adjoining it on the north, was an-

ciently known as the *Homors* or *Mayster Homors*—a name which appears to be a corruption of *Ormeaux*, and to signify "the Elms." It was here that an important building was placed, and devoted to the reception of guests of distinction. The great hall, with its kitchens, remains in the house already mentioned. The building, before it was altered for modern use, consisted of a hall, eastward, with opposite oriel windows rising to the roof. At the western end of the hall was a dividing wall, and here were two stories—the lower being the kitchen, the upper either a separate apartment or an unusually wide gallery open to the hall, and approached by a large newel stair-turret. This hall of the Mayster Homors was, it is said, entirely rebuilt by Prior Chillenden, and the Perpendicular character of the architecture seems to confirm this statement.

XLVI. Running westward from this house are the ruins of the *Infirmary*, chapel, and hall. It is hardly necessary to direct attention to the exquisite effects of colour, and to the picturesque grouping which this portion of the precincts affords at every step. In these respects no English cathedral is more fortunate than Canterbury; owing in great part to the extensive and striking remains of its ancient monastery, and to the manner in which these, and the walls and towers of the vast church itself, are brought into contrast with the fresh green of trees and soft turf.

The infirmary at Canterbury, as at Ely, Peterborough, and in other Benedictine monasteries, con-

sisted of a long hall or nave, with arcades and aisles, and a chapel toward the east. The arrangement resembled that of some ancient hospitals, the best existing example being St. Mary's Hospital at Chichester. The nave, with its aisles (which were sometimes portioned off into distinct cells) was the general abiding-place of the sick. The chapel was only separated from it by a screen, so that the sick could assist at the offices without inconvenience. After the dissolution, the infirmary at Canterbury was formed into prebendal houses, which remained until about 1860, when they were pulled down, and such piers and arches of the ancient infirmary as they contained were exposed to view. They now form the ruins between the "Omers" and the short cloister called the "dark entry."

The Norman infirmary continued in use until the dissolution, but its south aisle was, before the fifteenth century, altered and fitted up as a hostry or "camera" for the sub-prior; and the Norman chancel, which terminated the chapel eastward, was remodelled toward the middle of the fourteenth century. The Norman walls were allowed to remain; but a large window was inserted at the east end, and a three-light traceried window in either side. The great east window has lost all its tracery. The window of the north side is a very beautiful example of Curvilinear Decorated, and deserves attention. In the wall, east of it, is a curious small opening, commanding the altar, for the use of some apartment which is altogether

destroyed. West of the chancel, the complete southern range of the piers and arches of the chapel is standing, with remains of a clerestory. The piers are compound, with carved capitals, resembling those in the great crypt. Some remains of painting on the wall have been protected by glass, but the whole has too completely perished for the design—which showed part of a town, with walls and towers—to be intelligible. West of the chapel, five Norman piers and arches of the hall remain. The piers lean much toward the south, and one has accordingly been buttressed. All the masonry here shows marks of the great fire of 1174 (that in which the choir of Conrad perished), which completely reddened the stone. The piers here are plain cylindrical columns, with scalloped capitals, resembling those in the Norman staircase (see § LVIII).

Prior Hathbrande (1338—1370) added on the north side of the infirmary a so-called "Table-hall," or refectory, for those who were able to quit their cells. The walls of this hall remain, partly worked into one of the adjoining prebendal houses.

XLVII. Adjoining St. Andrew's Tower, on the north side of the cathedral, is the *vestiarium* or *treasury*; Norman work of a late character, with ribbed vaults. The substructure is open for passage on the east and west faces. The story above is the treasury chamber, with one window in each bay, and a rich external arcade. This chamber has a high vault, the wall surrounding which has an arcade of intersecting arches, resembling that which is carried round the walls of

Ernulf's choir. The whole of this erection is striking and very picturesque.

XLVIII. At the west end of the infirmary an arch opens to what is now known as the "dark entry," from which a passage runs south and west toward the great cloister, and north into the green court. These passages formed originally the east and south walks of a cloister known as the infirmary cloister, which, on the west, abutted on the great dormitory. The north walk has been entirely destroyed, and it is possible that a west walk never existed. The south walk was encroached upon and altered when the Prior's chapel was built in the thirteenth century. The east walk alone retains some portion of its Norman work. This is a very picturesque open arcade, with double shafts, some of which have a twisted decoration. The infirmary-hall was entered from this walk. Turning through it to the right, we pass under the double arch of the *Checker-building*, built over the walk by Prior de Estria (1285—1290). The "scaccarium," or "checker," was a sort of office in which accounts were kept and payments made. Here it is a building of three stories, but with no chambers on the ground, since it was raised over a pre-existing passage. The passage is continued below it to the Prior's gateway or porch, the work of Prior Selling (1472—1494). This had a small study adjoining, called La Gloriet. The Prior's mansion was on the east side of this passage, ranging with the west front of the infirmary; and the gateway afforded access not only to this mansion, but,

through the passage, to the Prior's hostry or "camera," formed in the south aisle of the infirmary hall. The gateway opens on the green court.

There is a striking view from the arches of the checker, looking toward the church.

XLIX. Returning to the entrance from the infirmary, we pass, on the left, into the substructure of the Prior's chapel. Only a portion of the original substructure remains, the vault which sustained the pavement of the chapel having been pulled down at the end of the seventeenth century, when the chapel itself was destroyed and replaced by a library built of brick. This, in its turn, has disappeared; and from the substructure a staircase now forms an approach to the new library, built since 1860, over a portion of the great dormitory. The windows of this substructure, opening to the herbary, which the infirmary cloister surrounded, were partly filled with masonry at some period after their first construction, in order to afford greater shelter.

The great *lavatory tower* projects at the west end of the substructure. The lower part of this is Late Norman, and dates from about 1160, when the system of waterworks (see APPENDIX, Note V.) was introduced in the monastery. The upper part was altered by Prior Chillenden (see § LIV.). From this tower a Norman cloister or covered way, of five open arches on each side, leads into the great cloister. A similar passage turns from it at right angles, opposite the tower, and affords access to the crypt of the south-eastern transept. In this manner the monks could pass under shelter

from the cloister and the dormitory to the altars in the crypt.

L. The *great cloister* (which is generally entered from a door in the north transept of the cathedral) was, as has been said, the centre of the daily life of the monks. It shows traces of much alteration, and contains work of very different periods. But the space occupied is the same as that covered by Lanfranc's cloister and the actual walls on the south side. The traces of earlier architecture are, however, confined to the walls. The rest of the cloister, with its vaulting, was the work of Prior Chillenden; and its rebuilding was rendered necessary by his demolition of the Norman nave, which he rebuilt as it now exists (§ IX.).

The Norman cloister was surrounded by a series of open arches. Chillenden's enclosing walls have a series of "traceried openings, like unglazed windows, separated by rich pinnacled buttresses, and crowned with ogee hood-molds." (See Plate XVII.) The vault is rich and complex. The walls of the east and south walks show a curious mixture of styles. In the *east* walk, the door opening from the transept (that by which Becket entered the church on the day of his murder), was enriched, in the thirteenth century, by a triple arcade, the portal being in the central arch. This, of course, is Early English; but the doorway itself, under the central arch, is a Perpendicular addition, in strong contrast to the work with which it is associated. Then come—passing northward along this east walk—a Perpendicular opening to a slype between

transept and chapter-house; the doorway and flanking windows of the chapter-house (see *post*, § LI.); the Perpendicular entrance of the long cloistered passage leading toward the infirmary; and a Norman door which anciently led into the dormitory. This doorway is the sole remaining fragment on which Becket can have looked as, on the afternoon of his death, he was hurried by the monks along this walk of the cloister toward the transept door. It is early Norman, with zigzag and carved capitals; and must have remained in use as an entrance to the dormitory (see § LII.) until the dissolution. It was afterwards walled up and plastered over. Since it was re-opened, in 1813, it has undergone considerable renovation.

The *north walk* of the cloister ranges with the refectory, which was rebuilt, outside it, in Early English times. The Norman cloister wall was quite plain, and the architect of the thirteenth century decorated it with an arcade of trefoiled arches, which remain. These are disposed in groups of four, with an isolated arch of the same size and form between each group. The Perpendicular vaulting shafts of Chillenden's work are placed against this arcade, and (as at the transept door in the east walk) they break the lines awkwardly and unpleasantly. The great door of the refectory is placed toward the west end of the walk.

The *north walk* contained the *carrels*, or small studies of the monks. The window-openings were glazed, and the carrels, or "pewes" for study, were closed with wainscot. Outside the *west* walk extended the

cellarer's lodging, and a door at the north-west angle admitted to this lodging; and through a door immediately opposite, to the archbishop's palace. It was by this door that, as we know by the minute descriptions of his biographers, Becket entered the cloister, passing along the north and east walks to the church. The knights who were in pursuit of him passed in by a door at the south-west angle, and thus rushed directly to the transept, overtaking the archbishop immediately after his entrance.

An opening through the wall on the north side of the former door was connected with the cellarer's lodging, and, as in similar instances, probably served for the passing of a cup of ale or the like to a monk in the cloister.

From the north-west angle of the cloister there is a very striking view of the great central tower, the chapter-house, and the portions of the church which adjoin it. (See Plate XVII. The arcade of the dormitory shown in the plate, now forms part of the front of the new library.)

LI. The *chapter-house* is an oblong chamber, without a vestibule, extending eastward from the cloister wall. It is 90 feet long and 35 feet broad. The Norman chapter-house occupied the same position, but did not extend so far eastward. The lower story of the existing building is the work of Prior de Estria, and was completed in 1304–5. The upper story, if then added, fell into disrepair, and was renewed by Prior Chillenden between 1390 and 1411. De Estria's portion

may be compared with his choir screen (§ XVI.). The walls are lined with an arcade of trefoiled arches, carried on single shafts, and surmounted by a rich battlemented cornice. At the east end is a very rich canopied throne, with quatrefoils and trefoils in the canopy, some of which retain their mosaics. The windows and the roof are Chillenden's work. The former are large and lofty, and of four lights. They were open on the south side; but on the north, the wall of the dormitory abutted on the chapter-house, and the windows there are blank panels. The east and west windows are of seven lights, and are therefore larger than any in the cathedral. The roof is a waggon-vault, and has been richly coloured.

The chapter-house, immediately after the dissolution, was fitted up as a "sermon-house;" and after prayers in the choir the congregation came here to listen to the preacher. But this arrangement proved to be inconvenient, and was soon abandoned.

It has been frequently asserted that the flagellation of Henry II. by the monks took place in the Norman chapter-house. It really occurred in the crypt. (See § XLII.)

LII. The great *dormitory* extended, as has been said, along the east walk of the cloister, and for some distance beyond it. Few traces of it remain. The dormitory itself was taken down in 1547. The substructure was not then destroyed. Private houses were built on it, which were pulled down toward the middle of the last century. Much of this vaulted sub-

structure remained until 1867, when it was determined to build a new library on the southern part of the dormitory site. The vaulting was then destroyed, although one or two of the compartments had been examined in 1860, and were at that time "regarded and preserved as venerable remains of the first Norman founder. The vaults were of the earliest kind; constructed of light tufa, having no transverse ribs, and retaining the impressions of the rough, boarded centring upon which they had been formed."—*Willis.* The entire substructure was a vast hall, 148 feet long and 78 feet wide. The hall above, of equal size, had cells and partitions of wood for the seclusion of the monks.

One or two of the pillars which supported the vault of the substructure have been preserved, and are now in a garden within the precincts. The chief relic of the dormitory, however, is the range of arcade, pierced with four windows, in a line with the chapter-house, and now forming part of the gable of the new library. This fragment of the upper wall was not pulled down when the rest of the dormitory was removed in 1547.

There was a second and smaller dormitory, probably for the use of the officials of the convent, which extended eastward from the great dorture, parallel with the north walk of the infirmary cloister. And outside this, fronting the green court, was what was known as the third dormitory, being really the great *necessarium.* Of this a portion of the fosse or vaults is in existence, and may be examined in what is now the

garden in front of the lavatory tower. The whole structure was a Norman hall, with a frontage to the court of 155 feet. The interior was 145 feet long, with a breadth of 25 feet. The sub-vault was supported on circular arches of thin masonry, nearly two feet asunder, the series extending from one end to the other. These thin bridges sustained the partitions, probably of wood, which separated the cells above. A stream of water was conducted through the fosse. This hall was accessible both from the great and from the second dormitory.

LIII. The *new library*, built from the designs of Mr. Austin, is approached by a staircase from the substructure of the Prior's chapel, and is built over a portion of the great dormitory. It is a large apartment of Norman character; but although it is light and spacious, and serves well for its purpose, it cannot be said that the work is very satisfactory. It contains a large and important collection of printed books, some of which are of great rarity. In a closed "study" at one end, the books of highest value are carefully guarded. There is a case of Bibles and Prayer-books of very great interest. The charters and other documents connected with the monastery and the see form a magnificent series. The greater part of them retain their seals, and these have been arranged with great care and labour by Mr. J. B. Sheppard. The most remarkable manuscript is the charter of Eadred (A.D. 949), giving the minster built at Reculver (the ancient *Regulbium,* and the place to which Ethel-

bert retired after the grant of his palace at Canterbury to Augustine), *cum tota villa*, to the monastery of Christ Church, Canterbury. This charter is in all probability an autograph of Dunstan, *propriis digitorum articulis* of which famous archbishop it professes to be written. At the end of the room hangs an ancient painting on wood (perhaps *temp.* Richard II.), representing Queen Edgiva. The lines beneath commemorate her virtues, and her gift to the convent of "Monkton and Minster, monkes to feede."

LIV. A passage which anciently served as the approach from the dormitory to the great church, now leads thither from the library. Some of the cuttings and inscriptions in the window-sills are mediæval, and may have been the work of idle monks. This passage was repaired by Prior Chillenden.

At the angle of this passage is the upper chamber of the *lavatory tower*, also renewed by Chillenden. The tall windows are of his time. This tower contained a great tank, from which water was conveyed to different parts of the monastery. (See Appendix, Note V.) It is now known as the baptistery, but only from its containing the marble font given by Bishop Warner, and removed here from the cathedral nave. The passage proceeds at right angles with that leading direct from the library, and a door at the end gives admission to the north-east transept.

LV. The *refectory* of the convent, which extended along the north walk of the great cloister; the *butteries* which adjoined it at the western angle; and the

cellarer's lodging, which ran outside the west walk of the cloister, have disappeared altogether[u]. The kitchen adjoined the refectory on the north, a covered passage leading into it. This, too, has left no traces.

LVI. The *Green Court*, which is entered by the Prior's gateway or porch, opening from the infirmary cloister (the *dark entry*), was the great outer court of the monastery. The principal ancient approach was by the Court gate, on the west side. The fine trees and turf of this court contrast admirably with the ancient buildings by which it is surrounded. The scene on every side is wonderfully picturesque; and it may well be doubted whether the precincts of any great church or cathedral, in this country or on the Continent, are more striking or more beautiful than these of Canterbury.

A little west of the Prior's gateway, in the garden which fronts the ancient lavatory tower, and occupies the site of the third dormitory, are two *columns*, which anciently formed part of the church at Reculver, and were brought to Canterbury, when that church was destroyed, at the beginning of the present century. But they were neglected and forgotten; and it is only of late years that, having been recovered by the care of Mr. J. B. Sheppard, they have been placed in the position they now occupy. They deserve very close attention. There can be little doubt that they are late Roman; that they belonged to the ancient Regul-

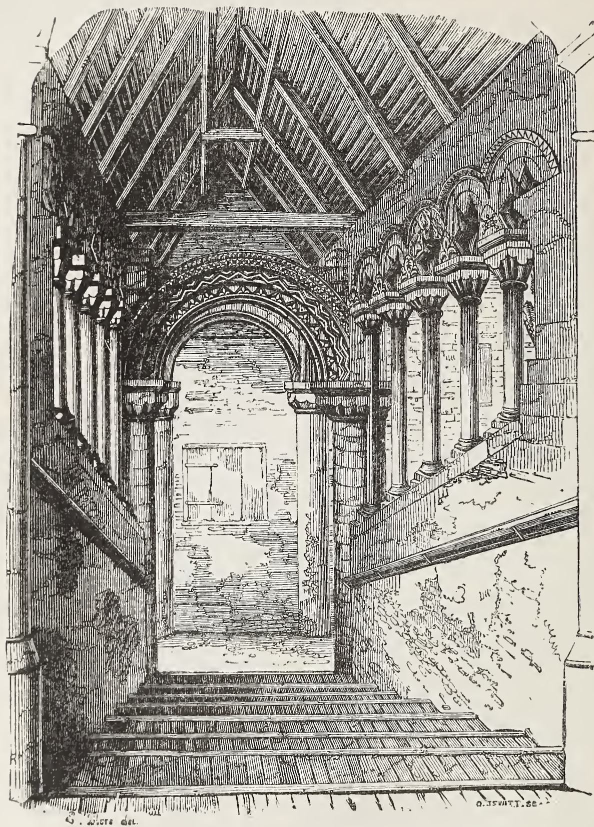
[u] For all that can be recovered concerning them, see the paper of Professor Willis.

bium, and that they were used either in Ethelbert's palace or in the Christian church adjoining. They are circular; of rough oolite, in blocks. The capitals are plain Ionic. The bases have a peculiar rope ornament which occurs at Rome, on a monument outside the Porta Maggiore, immediately opposite the baker's tomb. One of the columns is erect. The other has fallen; and in this condition shows more clearly the arrangement of the blocks. As examples of Roman design in Britain, the source of the later Romanesque, these relics are of great value.

LVII. The *Deanery* extends along the east side of the court. The Prior's mansion, as has already been said, stretched southward from his "porch" and the Gloriet, until it joined the infirmary hall. The deanery, which is very near this site, is formed for the most part from an edifice called the *New Lodging*, built as an hospitium for guests by Prior GOLDSTONE (1495—1517). It contained many "chambers, dining-halls, and solars," and was chosen by the first dean, Nicholas Wotton, as his residence. Since his time the deanery has been much altered; but it is still a most picturesque mass of building. A large garden is attached to it on the eastern side.

Other chambers for hospitality were built by Prior Chillenden (1390—1411) on the south side of the green court, adjoining the monastic kitchen. This building retains very nearly its ancient external appearance, including its roof. Adjoining these chambers is the Pentise Gatehouse. The western enclosure of the

NORMAN STAIRCASE.



NORMAN STAIRCASE. INTERIOR, LOOKING OUTWARDS.

court is formed by a pentise wall, which extends from this gatehouse to the main, or Court Gate. The *Pentise Gatehouse* is Norman. It opened to a passage which led to the cellarer's hall, of which there are some remains, also Norman.

The *Court Gate* is an excellent specimen of a pure Norman gatehouse, but has unfortunately lost "its original upper chamber, that having been rebuilt by Chillenden."—*Willis.* "The deep, plain, waggon-vaulted portals of the two Norman gates assimilate them to the gatehouse of the Abbaye aux Dames at Caen, founded by Lanfranc."—*Id.*

LVIII. Adjoining the court gate, on the north, was the *North Hall* or *Aula Nova*, probably designed as a guest hall for poorer strangers. The hall itself, erected in the twelfth century, has given way for modern buildings, which serve as the *King's School.* But the beautiful and highly-enriched *staircase* which led to it [Plates XVIII., XIX.] happily remains, and is unique in this country. Its character is sufficiently shown by the engravings.

The court gate now leads into an outer quadrangle, in which the buildings are for the most part modern, and connected with the King's School. Here, however, was the ancient almonry of the monastery.

The *King's*, or *Grammar-school*, was established by Henry VIII. for fifty scholars. It maintains a very high reputation. Among its distinguished scholars were Marlowe the dramatist, a native of Canterbury, and Lord Chief Justice Tenterden, who declared that

"to the free school of Canterbury he owed, under the Divine blessing, the first and best means of his elevation in life."

LIX. We pass out of this court by the porter's gate into Palace-street, where an arched doorway is nearly all that now remains of the *archbishop's palace.* The ruined Saxon palace here was rebuilt by Lanfranc. In the Norman building the scenes took place between Becket and the knights before he entered the cathedral. The great hall, famous for its entertainments, was begun by Archbishop Hubert Walter, and finished by Stephen Langton. On the marriage of Edward I. with Margaret of France there were four days of feasting here. In 1514 Warham entertained Charles V., Queen Joanna of Arragon, Henry VIII., and Queen Catherine, on which occasion there was a "solemne dauncing" in the great hall. In 1573 Parker feasted Queen Elizabeth here; but the greatest festivities recorded took place at the enthronization of Warham in 1503. The high steward of the archbishop had the right, after the enthronization, of stopping with his train for three days at one of the archbishop's nearest manors, to be bled, "ad minuendam sanguinem," a proof of the consequences expected to result from the vast outpourings of yppocrasse and clary usual on such occasions. The palace was pillaged and fell into a ruinous state under the Puritan rule, and on the Restoration an act was passed dispensing the archbishops from restoring it. From this time they have had no official residence in Canterbury.

LX. A remarkable view of the cathedral may be obtained from the mound in the Dane John, where it is seen above thick masses of trees. The best *distant* views of the city and cathedral will be obtained from Harbledown, one mile west [Frontispiece],—the tourist should walk through the churchyard of Harbledown, across the fields to St. Thomas's-hill,—and from the hill behind St. Martin's church, where the great cathedral appears rising from the centre of "the first English Christian city," with St. Augustine's College, the modern successor of the monastery established by the apostle of England, nestling close below. "From the Christianity here established has flowed by direct consequence—first, the Christianity of Germany; then, after a long interval, of North America; and lastly, we may trust in time, of all India and all Australasia. The view from St. Martin's-hill is indeed one of the most inspiriting that can be found in the world: there is none to which I would more willingly take any one who doubted whether a small beginning could lead to a great and lasting good; none which carries us more vividly back into the past, or more hopefully forward to the future[x]."

[x] Stanley.

CANTERBURY CATHEDRAL.

PART II.

History of the See, with Short Lives of the principal Archbishops.*

THAT Christianity was introduced and widely accepted throughout Roman Britain during the second and third centuries, may be regarded as certain, although we must consent to remain in ignorance of the exact time and manner of its introduction. "The depth of her (Britain's) Christian cultivation appears from her fertility in saints and in heretics. St. Helena, the mother of Constantine, probably imbibed the first fervour of those Christian feelings, which wrought so powerfully on the Christianity of the age, in her native Britain. St. Alban, from his name and from his martyrdom, which there seems no reason to doubt, was probably a Roman soldier. Our legendary annals are full of other holy names; while Pelagius, and probably his companion Celestine, have given a less favourable celebrity to the British Church[a]."

But as Teutonic settlers gradually took possession of the southern and eastern coasts of Britain, the ancient Christianity of the island retreated before them, until the only resting-places left to it were the mountains of Wales, those of the Scottish border, and the numerous monasteries of Ireland, then peaceful and flourishing. Saxons, Jutes, and Angles brought with them their own heathen creeds and

[a] Milman, Latin Christianity, ii. 55.

* It is hardly necessary to say that Dean Hook's 'Lives of the Archbishops of Canterbury' (ending with that of Juxon) contain the fullest and most complete history which exists of the See, and of the Archbishops who have filled it.

traditions; and the Christian churches which they found in the districts of which they took possession were either destroyed or converted into temples of Thor and Woden. For nearly a century and a-half (between 449, when, according to the Saxon Chronicle, Hengist and Horsa landed in Thanet, and 597, the year of Augustine's arrival) the Saxons in England remained entirely pagan.

[A.D. 597—May 26, 604.] The story of the arrival of AUGUSTINE, Prior of the Benedictine Convent of St. Andrew on the Cælian hill, who brought with him forty monks as his companions and assistants, will best be read in the very interesting pages of Dr. Stanley[b]. The way had been prepared for his labours by the marriage of Ethelbert the Æscing, King of Kent, with the Christian princess Bertha, a daughter of the royal house of Clovis. The baptism of Ethelbert took place on the 2nd of June, in the year 597; and so rapidly did the conversion of the whole district follow, that on Christmas-day in the same year 10,000 Saxons were baptized in the waters of the Swale, at the mouth of the Medway. Soon after the baptism of Ethelbert, Augustine revisited France in order to receive episcopal consecration; which he did (Nov. 17, 597) from the hands of Ætherius, Archbishop of Arles. On his return to Kent he sent Lawrence and Peter, two of his companions, to Rome, in order to report the success of the mission to Pope Gregory. They brought back with them to England the archiepiscopal pall, which confirmed Augustine in his position as first metropolitan of the English Church. A second body of monks also accompanied them.

At the same time Gregory sent to Augustine his plan for the ecclesiastical division of the entire island. There were to be two archbishops, one (after Augustine's death, who was to remain at Canterbury) at London, and one at

[b] Historical Memorials of Canterbury — "The Landing of Augustine."

York. Under each there were to be twelve bishops. The precedency of the archbishops was to be determined by priority of consecration. This arrangement, however, which was of course only to be carried out as each province became Christianized, was never completely effected. The primacy was never permanently removed from Canterbury; and the archbishops of York, after some struggles, finally yielded all pretensions to even an occasional precedency[c].

St. Martin's, the Christian church in which Queen Bertha had worshipped before the coming of Augustine, and Ethelbert's heathen temple, both outside the walls of Canterbury, were the first grants of the King to his new teachers. On the site of the latter Augustine founded the church of St. Pancras, and afterwards the abbey dedicated to SS. Peter and Paul, but generally known by the name of its founder. After his recognition as Archbishop he received from Ethelbert the royal palace in Canterbury, and an ancient church—British or Roman—which closely adjoined it. This church, which was traditionally said to have been built by Lucius, the shadowy British king whose conversion seems to be an entire fable, occupied part of the site of the present cathedral. It was restored by Archbishop Odo (942—959), and finally perished by fire in the year 1067.

[c] See Gregory's letter in Bede, H. E., i. 29. "The formation of the English sees was very gradual, and the completion of the number of twenty-four did not take place till the reign of Henry VIII. But it is curious that this should have been precisely the same number fixed in Gregory's instructions to Augustine; and at any rate, the great size of the dioceses was in conformity with his suggestions. Britain was to him almost an unknown island. Probably he thought it might be about the size of Sicily or Sardinia, the only large islands he had ever seen, and that twenty-four bishoprics would be sufficient. At any rate, so he divided, and so, with the variation of giving only four, instead of twelve, to the province of York, it was consciously or unconsciously followed out in after times."—*Stanley, Landing of St. Augustine.*

The vain attempt of Augustine to bring under his supremacy, as metropolitan, the British Christians of Wales and its borders, who steadily maintained their traditions derived through the Greek Church, "which it is curious to find thus, at the verge of the Roman world, maintaining some of its usages and co-equality[d]," need not be dwelt on here. He seems to have visited and preached in Dorsetshire; and shortly before his death, two new bishoprics, the commencement of Gregory's plan, were established, still under Ethelbert's protection, at Rochester and at London. (See those Cathedrals.) Augustine died on the 26th of May, 605, and was interred, according to the old Roman fashion, by the side of the road which led from Canterbury toward the coast, and along which he and his companions had advanced on their first arrival. Eight years afterwards, on the completion of the abbey church of St. Peter and St. Paul, his remains were removed from their first resting-place, and deposited in the north transept.

[A.D. 604—619.] Before his death, Augustine had himself consecrated LAWRENCE, one of his original companions, as his successor: "an unusual and almost unprecedented step, but one which it was thought the unsettled state of the newly-converted country demanded[e]." The death of Ethelbert occurred in 616, and his son Eadbald, who succeeded him, relapsed into paganism, and drew with him the mass of the people, a change to which the newly converted countries were perpetually subject. At the same time, Mellitus, Bishop of London, was expelled by the East Saxons; and the three bishops, Mellitus, Justus of Rochester, and Lawrence, determined to withdraw altogether from a country in which their labours now seemed hopeless. Mellitus and Justus crossed to France accordingly; but Lawrence resolved to make a last attempt at the conversion of Eadbald, and succeeded by means of the well-known stratagem, exhibiting to the awe-struck King the marks of

[d] Milman. [e] Stanley.

the stripes which, as he averred, St. Peter himself had inflicted as a punishment for his cowardice in abandoning his see. Lawrence recalled Mellitus and Justus, the latter of whom returned to Rochester; but the men of Essex would not receive Mellitus, who, on the death of Lawrence in 619, succeeded him at Canterbury.

[A.D. 619—624.] MELLITUS had been one of the second company, which came to Britain with Lawrence and Peter. He was the first Bishop of London. Nothing is recorded of him after he became archbishop.

[A.D. 624—627.] JUSTUS, the first Bishop of Rochester, one of the same company, succeeded.

[A.D. 627—653.] HONORIUS, who may possibly have been one of the original companions of Augustine, was consecrated by Paulinus, first Archbishop of York, at Lincoln; in the "church of stone" which Paulinus had built there after the conversion of Blæcca, 'præfect' of the city. On the death of Honorius, the see, from some unexplained cause, remained vacant for eighteen months.

[A.D. 655—664.] DEUS DEDIT[f], the first Saxon archbishop, whose name before his consecration was Frithona, was consecrated by Ithamar of Rochester, himself a Saxon, and the first native bishop of the English Church.

For four years after the death of Deus Dedit the see of Canterbury remained vacant. A great plague was desolating the whole of Europe; and Wighard, a native Saxon, who had been despatched to Rome for consecration, was cut off by it, together with all his followers. For some time the care of the province was entrusted to Wilfrid of York, but in 668 Pope Vitalian consecrated archbishop and despatched to England.

[f] There had been a Pope named Deus Dedit (A.D. 615—618). The name belongs to a class much affected by the African prelates, among whom the Bishops "Quod Vult Deus" and "Deo Gratias" occur. In their use of Scriptural names they "anticipated our Puritans." See Milman, Lat. Christ., vol. i. p. 190.

[A.D. 668—690.] THEODORE, a native of Tarsus in Cilicia, and thus a fellow-townsman of the Apostle of the Gentiles. The archbishopric had at first been offered to Hadrian, an Italian abbot, who could not be prevailed upon to accept it, but who accompanied Theodore to England, and became abbot of St. Augustine's monastery at Canterbury. "Vitalian's nomination awoke no jealousy, but profound gratitude. It was not the appointment of a splendid and powerful primate to a great and wealthy Church, but a successor to the missionary Augustine. But Theodorus, if he brought not ambition, brought the Roman love of order and organization, to the yet wild and divided island; and the profound peace which prevailed might tempt him to reduce the more than octarchy of independent bishops into one harmonious community. As yet there were Churches in England; not one Church[g]." All the Saxon kingdoms, with the exception of Sussex, that of the South Saxons, had by this time, nominally at least, embraced Christianity; and each had received its Christian bishop. The great object of Theodore seems to have been the effectual extension of his authority, as metropolitan, over the whole island, which he traversed soon after his arrival, establishing everywhere the discipline of the Latin Church, and especially regulating the due observance of Easter. Throughout England also he introduced the Gregorian system of chanting, which had hitherto been practised in Kent alone. He summoned a council at Hertford, "which enacted many laws for the regulation of the power of the bishops, the rights of monasteries, on keeping of Easter, on divorces, and unlawful marriages;" and then, after dividing the great bishoprics in East Anglia and Mercia, and deposing two refractory bishops, he proceeded "on his sole spiritual authority, with the temporal aid of the King, to divide the bishopric of York into three sees." This arrangement was disputed by Wilfrid, Archbishop of York, who appealed to Rome, and

[g] Milman, Lat. Christ., ii. 83.

to whom Archbishop Theodore himself, on his death-bed, confessed that he had acted unjustly. Theodore, the "philosopher," as he is called in the letter of Pope Agatho to the general council assembled at Constantinople (A.D. 680), is to be regarded as the first teacher of Greek learning in England. He established a Greek school at Canterbury; and among the books which he brought to his remote diocese was a complete copy of Homer. Bede asserts that pupils of Theodore and Hadrian existed in his day, who understood both Greek and Latin as well as their native Saxon.

Archbishop Theodore, like his predecessor, was interred in St. Augustine's Abbey; where the following lines were preserved, recording the virtues of the first seven primates:—

"Septem sunt Angli primates, et proto-patres.
Septem rectores, septem cæloque triones;
Septem cisternæ vitæ, septemque lucernæ
Et septem palmæ regni, septemque coronæ.
Septem sunt stellæ, quas hæc tenet area cellæ."

For two years the see remained vacant.

[A.D. 693—731.] BRITHWALD, or BERCHTWALD, a monk of Glastonbury, and afterwards Abbot of Reculver, was then appointed. He is generally said to have been the first native archbishop, but this distinction really belonged to Deus dedit. By the time of Brithwald's death, however, the Saxon Church had become securely established, and the see was henceforth filled by a succession of natives. Sussex, the last pagan kingdom, had been converted, and received its bishop about the year 680; and the end of Brithwald's archiepiscopate may be considered as marking the termination of the first period of the history of the Anglo-Saxon Church.

[A.D. 731—734.] TATWIN; and

[A.D. 735—740.] NOTHELM, need only be mentioned.

[A.D. 740—758.] CUTHBERT, of a noble family, was trans-

lated from Hereford, one of the Mercian bishoprics. A synod was convened by him at Cliff, near Rochester, for the general reformation of manners, as well of the laity as of priests and bishops; who read but little, taught less, and frequently were in arms one against another. By a decree of this synod the Lord's Prayer and the Creed were both ordered to be universally taught in English. Archbishop Cuthbert obtained the papal permission for interments within the walls of cities, hitherto forbidden, and was himself the first archbishop interred in his own cathedral. All his predecessors had been buried in the monastery of St. Augustine, outside the walls of Canterbury.

[A.D. 759—765.] BREGWIN, a noble German Saxon, had come to England when a boy for education.

[A.D. 766—790.] JAENBERT, Abbot of St. Augustine's, was consecrated at Rome by Pope Paul I. During his archiepiscopate, Offa of Mercia, the most powerful of the English kings, who thought, in Fuller's words, "that the brightest mitre should attend the biggest crown[h]," obtained a bull from Adrian I., authorizing the erection of Lichfield into a distinct archbishopric, and assigning to it six suffragan sees; thus leaving to Canterbury only four,—London, Winchester, Rochester, and Sherborne. Aldulf was accordingly consecrated first and last Archbishop of Lichfield; for in spite of the "commodious situation" of Lichfield, nearly in the centre of England, the local feelings and traditions which clung to the "remote corner" of Kent soon reasserted themselves; and after the death of Jaenbert, Aldulf, and Offa, the primacy was restored to Canterbury as before. It is uncertain how far Archbishop Jaenbert had himself consented to the first alteration.

[A.D. 793—805.] ATHELARD, elected in 790, was not consecrated until 793. He was translated from Winchester. He procured the restoration of the primacy from Kenulph of Mercia and Pope Leo III. The Northmen are said

[h] Church Hist., bk. ii. cent. 8.

(but questionably) to have first appeared on the coasts of England during his archiepiscopate.

[A.D. 805—832.] WULFRED.

[A.D. April—September, 832.] FEOLOGILD.

[A.D. 833—870.] CEOLNOTH.

[A.D. 870—889.] ETHELRED. The great ravages of the Northmen occurred during the lives of Ceolnoth and Ethelred, of whom little or nothing is recorded.

[A.D. 890—914.] PLEGMUND, one of the most learned men of his time, had lived for some years a solitary life on an island in the midst of the marshes of Mercia, when he was summoned thence to become one of the instructors of the youthful Alfred, at whose instance he was afterwards elected archbishop. The see had been vacant for two years when Plegmund was consecrated at Rome by Pope Formosas. During his archiepiscopate the bishopric of Wells for Somerset, and that of Crediton for Devonshire, were established (see WELLS and EXETER); and the Archbishop is said to have consecrated seven bishops in one day, some of whose sees had been so long vacant, owing probably to the Danish ravages, that the Pope had threatened, unless they were at once filled, to excommunicate the King (Edward the Elder), and to lay the whole country under an interdict.

[A.D. 914—923.] ATHELM.

[A.D. 923—942.] WULFHELM.

[A.D. 942—959.] ODO "the Severe"—the archbishop who, in conjunction with Dunstan, set himself to the "reformation" of the clergy and monks throughout England—succeeded. He was born in East Anglia, a Dane, and a pagan; but having been received for some time into the family of a noble Saxon, was baptized, and speedily took holy orders. Athelstane appointed him to the Wiltshire bishopric; and both before and after his consecration he is said to have done excellent service in battle against the Northmen. "In him the conquering Dane and stern warrior mingled

with the imperious Churchman[i]." By Edmund, brother and successor of Athelstane, Odo was made archbishop; and he upheld the dignity of the primacy as probably none of his predecessors had done, throughout the reigns of Edmund, Edred, and Edwy[k]. It was at his order that Dunstan enacted the well-known scene on the day of Edwy's coronation, though how far either Odo or Dunstan had sanctioned the atrocious cruelty with which Elgifa was subsequently treated is perhaps uncertain. Odo's great object, like that of his successor Dunstan, was the assertion of the Church's supremacy, and the "reformation" of the married clergy. At Canterbury he "reconstructed" and enlarged the cathedral — the old church of St. Augustine (see Pt. I. § I.), and removed to it from Ripon the body of St. Wilfrid.

On the death of Odo, Elsi, Bishop of Winchester, was nominated to the primacy; but died of cold in crossing the Alps on his way to Rome to receive his pall.

[A D. 960—988.] DUNSTAN, the famous Abbot of Glastonbury and Bishop of London, was then elected. "Dunstan's life was a crusade, a cruel, unrelenting, yet but partially successful crusade, against the married clergy, which in truth comprehended the whole secular clergy of the Anglo-Saxon kingdom. Dunstan was as it were, in a narrower sphere, among a ruder people, a prophetic type and harbinger of Hildebrand. Like Hildebrand, or rather like Damiani doing the work of Hildebrand in the spirit not of a rival sovereign but of an iron-hearted monk, he trampled the royal power under his feet. The scene at the coronation of King Edwy, excepting the horrible cruelties to which it was the prelude, and which belong to a more barbarous

[i] Milman.

[k] Among the constitutions of Archbishop Odo was the emphatic one, "Ammonemus regem, et principes, et omnes qui in potestate sunt, ut cum magna reverentia archiepiscopo et omnibus aliis episcopis obediant."

race, might seem to prepare mankind for the humiliation of the Emperor Henry at Canosa[l]."

Dunstan was born in Somersetshire, of noble parents[m], and was educated in the abbey of Glastonbury[n]. Thence he passed into the household of King Athelstane, and afterwards into that of Elfege, Bishop of Winchester, who after some time persuaded him, though not without a long mental struggle, to take the monastic vows. He accordingly became a monk at Glastonbury, the great Benedictine house in which he had been educated, to which he gave all his paternal possessions, and of which he speedily became abbot[o]. Throughout the reigns of Edmund and Edred, Dunstan and Odo were all-powerful. It was Dunstan who, at the coronation of Edwy, intruded himself into the King's presence at the instance of Odo; and when the storm afterwards fell upon the monks, he retired to the abbey of St. Peter at Ghent, whence he returned in the year 957 to join the party of Edgar, in whose court he remained until the death of Edwy in 959. In that year Dunstan became bishop, first of Worcester and then of London (holding both sees simultaneously), and on the death of Elsi he was elevated to the primacy.

[l] Milman, Lat. Christ., iii. 114.

[m] His father was the brother of Archbishop Athelm, and was in some degree connected with the royal house of Wessex.

[n] Osbern, the biographer of Dunstan, asserts that at this time there was no monastic society at Glastonbury, and that Dunstan was taught there by "several devout and learned Irishmen," who, as Collier somewhat grotesquely says, "wanting the encouragement of a monastery to support them, set up a sort of modern academy, taught men of quality's sons the *belles-lettres*, music, engraving (?), and such like improvements of education."—*Eccles. Hist.*, bk. iii. cent. 10.

[o] The assertions of St. Dunstan's biographers, that he was "the first English abbot" (*primus abbas Anglicæ nationis*), and that Glastonbury was the first Benedictine monastery, are altogether inexact. See Kemble's note, Saxons in England, ii. 431.

As Archbishop, the great object of Dunstan was the triumph of monasticism, and the so-called "reformation" of the secular clergy. It is certain that the rule of even the Benedictine monasteries throughout England had become greatly relaxed; and that "even in the collegiate churches the presbyter and prebendaries had permitted themselves to take wives, which could never have been contemplated even by those who would have looked with indulgence upon that connection on the part of parish priests[p]." Dunstan accordingly, besides insisting that the clergy generally should put away their wives, attempted to expel the secular canons and prebendaries, and to substitute in their stead bodies of regular monks. Whether, however, he was a "violent disturber, casting all things divine and human into confusion, for the sake of a system of monkery,"—or whether the reformation at which he aimed was a more legitimate one, and only carried out (so far as it was effected at all) gradually and quietly,—are questions still undecided. Mr. Kemble[q] suggests that the canons were not, as is generally said to have been the case, forcibly driven from their cathedrals; but were only replaced by monks as the death of each one left a vacancy. Dean Milman, on the other hand, has come to a different conclusion: "It was not by law, but by armed invasion of cathedral after cathedral, that the married clergy were ejected, and the Benedictines installed in their places[r]." The story, told at length from the early Lives of St. Dunstan, will be found in Collier's "Ecclesiastical History," bk. iii. c. 10. It is at least certain that in the assumption of ecclesiastical authority, Dunstan exceeded, rather than fell short of, his

[p] Kemble, Sax. in Eng., ii. 454.

[q] Sax. in Eng., ii. "The Clergy and the Monks." This chapter must be read by every one who desires to investigate the subject. Mr. Kemble depends partly on the signatures of charters, which prove the gradual withdrawal of the *clerici.*

[r] Lat. Christ., iii. 116.

predecessor Odo; and the two famous miracles which occurred during the contest between the seculars and regulars,—the speaking crucifix at Winchester (A.D. 969), and the fall of the floor at Calne (A.D. 978),—remind us, at all events, of the Archbishop's "mastery over all the mechanic skill of the day."

Dunstan died in May, 988; having held the primacy for twenty-seven years. He was buried in his cathedral at Canterbury, "in the spot which he had himself chosen two days before his death." Countless miracles were wrought at his tomb. (Pt. I. § XIV.) His right to a place in the catalogue of saints was speedily acknowledged; but "he had achieved no permanent victory. Hardly twenty years after the death of Dunstan, a council is held at Enham. It declares that there were clergy who had two, even more, wives; some had dismissed their wives, and in their lifetime taken others. It might seem that the compulsory breach of the marriage bond had only introduced a looser, promiscuous concubinage; men who strove, or were forced to obey, returned to their conjugal habits with some new consort[s]."

A charter in the handwriting of this famous archbishop, remains in the Chapter Library. (Pt. I. § XLIX.)

[A D. 988—989.] ETHELGAR, first a monk of Glastonbury, then abbot of the "New Minster" at Winchester, and afterwards Bishop of Selsey, succeeded Dunstan.

[A.D. 990—994.] SIRICIUS, a monk of Glastonbury, had been elected Abbot of St. Augustine's at Canterbury by Dunstan's influence, and afterwards became Bishop of Wilton, whence he was translated to Canterbury.

[A.D. 995—1005.] ÆLFRIC, also educated at Glastonbury, succeeded Siricius in the Wiltshire see and at Canterbury. The homilies for the Christian seasons, generally attributed to this archbishop, have been printed by the "Ælfric

[s] Lat. Christ., iii. 116.

Society" (1843). It is, however, uncertain whether they were written by him, by Ælfric Putta, Archbishop of York (1023—1050), or by a third Ælfric named the Grammarian. They are of great interest and importance as containing the authoritative doctrines of the Saxon Church.

The monks of the convent of Christ Church, Canterbury, attached to the cathedral, who—after the first society established by St. Augustine had disappeared—had been re-introduced by Dunstan, and expelled under Ethelgar, "propter insolentiam," were restored under Ælfric. "Thus," says Fuller, "was it often 'In dock, out nettle,' as they could strengthen their parties."

[A.D. 1005—1012.] ALPHEGE, a West Saxon of noble birth, left the abbey of Glastonbury in which he had been prior, in order to lead a life of greater seclusion and austerity in a cell which he constructed for himself close to the hot springs at Bath. From the small body of followers which here collected about him arose the great abbey of Bath, afterwards united to the see of Wells. On the death of Ethelwold, Bishop of Winchester, Alphege was appointed his successor through the influence of Dunstan; and after presiding over that see for twenty-two years, he was translated to Canterbury. In the year 1011 occurred the sack of Canterbury by the Danes, when the cathedral was greatly injured, the monks, all except four, were massacred, and the Archbishop himself was carried off a captive. The Danes kept him for seven months in their camp at Greenwich, in the hope of obtaining a large ransom for him. But Alphege declared he would not waste the goods of the Church, "nor provide Christian flesh for pagan teeth." At last he was dragged before the Danish chiefs, who were at a banquet: their cry was "Gold, bishop! gold!" and when he persisted in refusing, they pelted him with bones and cows' horns, until one of them finally killed him with an axe-stroke on the head. His body, which had been ransomed by the Londoners, and interred in the cathedral church of

St. Paul, was restored to Canterbury by Canute. His right to canonization as a saint and martyr was confirmed after the Conquest by Archbishop Lanfranc, and St. Alphege retains a place in our own Calendar.

[A.D. 1013—1020.] LIVING, (whose real name, according to Florence and the Saxon Chronicler, was ÆLFSTAN. Lyfing, or Leofing, is a diminutive from the adjective *leof—carus*, and is thus equivalent to 'darling,') translated from Wells, was scarcely more fortunate than his predecessor. The Danish wars, as they might now fairly be called, continued until Canute finally established himself in the year 1016. Archbishop Living suffered much, and was long detained as a captive by the "host" of Sweyn. He at last withdrew from England, but returned with Ethelred on the death of Sweyn, and afterwards placed the crown on the heads of Edmund Ironside and of Canute.

[A.D. 1020—1038.] EGELNOTH is said to have been the first dean of the Canterbury canons, who, after the massacre of the monks by the Danes, seem to have outweighed the latter in numbers and in influence. Egelnoth repaired much of the damage which the Danes had inflicted on his cathedral, and on his return from Rome brought with him, as an inestimable treasure, the arm of St. Augustine of Hippo, which he gave to the church of Coventry.

[A.D. 1038—1050.] EADSI, translated from Winchester. His state of health compelled him to appoint Siward, Abbot of Abingdon, his vicar, apparently with full control over the property of the see. Siward scarcely allowed the Archbishop the necessaries of life; but died within a month of him, —it is said, of remorse for his conduct.

[A.D. 1051—1052.] ROBERT OF JUMIÈGES—one of the many Normans brought into England by the Confessor—was translated to Canterbury from London. Archbishop Robert is said to have assisted in exciting the King's anger against Earl Godwin and his family. He was, at any rate, involved in the misfortunes of the Normans in England which fol-

lowed on the reconciliation of the King and the great Earl, and prudently withdrew to Rome, whence he is said to have returned with letters authorizing his restoration to his see. These, however, he never insisted on, but spent the remainder of his life in his old abbey of Jumièges.

[A.D. 1052—1070.] Stigand, Bishop of Winchester, procured his own election as archbishop on the withdrawal of Robert. He did not, however, resign his former see, retaining both that and the archiepiscopate for sixteen years, a proof of the "greed and avarice" which, according to the chroniclers, were his especial vices. After the Conquest it was, says Thorn, the monk of St. Augustine's, who alone tells the story, this Archbishop, and Egilsin, Abbot of St. Augustine's, who, repeating the stratagem of Birnam-wood, led the host of the "men of Kent," concealed behind green boughs, to Swanscombe, near Gravesend, where they met the advancing Conqueror, and suddenly flinging away their green boughs, compelled him to confirm their ancient privileges. Whatever truth there may be in this story, it is certain that Stigand, as well as Aldred, Archbishop of York, was at first inclined to support the cause of Edgar Atheling; and that he was consequently regarded with extreme suspicion by the Conqueror, who obliged him, together with the Saxon Atheling himself, Agelnoth Abbot of Glastonbury, and some other English nobles, to accompany him to Normandy on his return in the summer of 1067. The Archbishop was honourably treated during his absence from England, but William probably thought him too uncertain a friend to be allowed to retain the primacy, and Stigand was accordingly deposed in a synod held at Winchester in the year 1070. On this occasion Hermenfrid, Bishop of Sion-on-the-Rhone, and two cardinal priests, represented Pope Alexander II., the especial patron of the Normans; and with their assistance, many of the English bishops and abbots, whose sees were too rich or too important to be filled by other than Normans, were dis-

possessed[t]. Among these was Egelmar, Bishop of East Anglia, and brother of Stigand. Stigand was imprisoned at Winchester, where he died within the year, having steadily refused to surrender his vast treasures to the King. A key and scroll found about his neck after his death are said, however, to have indicated the various places in which they had been concealed—under rocks, in forests, and in hiding-places under the beds of rivers. The great wealth of Stigand may have been one of the causes of his persecution, but it is clear that William dreaded the energy, and perhaps the ability, of the Primate in spite of his utter want of learning.

[A.D. 1070, May 1089—WILLIAM THE CONQUEROR, WILLIAM RUFUS.] LANFRANC, the first Norman archbishop, whose name is still honoured by the English Church, was born at Pavia, of a noble family. At an early age he became an inmate of the monastery of Bec in Normandy, then, perhaps, the most remarkable seat of learning in Europe. It had been founded about half a century before, by Herluin, a Norman knight, "as ignorant as he was rude." Its reputation soon spread, and "strangers who were wandering over Europe found that which was wanting in the richer and more settled convents,—seclusion and austerity." "From the same monastery of Bec came in succession two primates of the Norman Church in England; in learning, sanctity, and general ability not inferior to any bishops of their time in Christendom,—Lanfranc and Anselm[u]."

Lanfranc, in spite of the jealousy which he attracted,

[t] The grounds on which Stigand was deposed were :—

I. Because he held the see of Winchester at the same time with the archbishopric.

II. Because he not only took the archbishopric whilst Robert of Jumièges was living, but used his pall, which remained at Canterbury.

III. Because he had received his own pall from Benedict X., the excommunicated anti-pope.

[u] Milman, Lat. Christ., iii. 436.

partly on account of his superior learning, but more perhaps from the sharp use of his Italian wit, became at last Prior of Bec. The famous controversy excited by the teaching of Berengarius of Tours concerning the Real Presence was at this time in full debate. Lanfranc was generally regarded as the champion of the vital doctrine of Latin Christendom. He replied, in a treatise which still remains, to Berengarius; who in return admitted with a "haughty condescension," that the intellect of the Prior of Bec was "non aspernabile." In May, 1050, Lanfranc was present at the Council held in Rome by Pope Leo IX., in which Berengarius was condemned. He subsequently became abbot of the new monastery of St. Stephen's at Caen, founded by William of Normandy; and on the deposition of Stigand he was summoned to England to complete the subjection and reform of the Anglo-Saxon Church. Lanfranc at first resisted, "not only from monastic aversion to state and secular pursuits, but from unwillingness to rule a barbarous people, of whose language he was ignorant." He yielded, however, at last, and "came as a Norman. His first act was to impose penance on the Anglo-Saxon soldiers who had dared to oppose William at Hastings, even on the archers whose bolts had flown at random, and did slay, or might have slain, Norman knights[x]." Great care was taken to provide that his election should be, to all appearance at least, strictly legal; and he was consecrated at Canterbury by Giso, Bishop of Wells, and Walter, Bishop of Hereford, neither of whom had received their own orders from the deposed Archbishop Stigand. On his visiting Rome for his pall, Pope Alexander II. rose to receive him, saying that it was not the Archbishop of Canterbury whom he thus honoured, but the learning and great virtues of Lanfranc, to whom he had been indebted for his own knowledge,—"cujus studio sumus in illis quæ scimus imbuti."

[x] Lat. Christ., iii. 437.

Lanfranc found the Anglo-Saxon Church over which he was called to preside, in a state of extreme ignorance. "Like its faithful disciple, its humble acolyte, its munificent patron, Edward the Confessor, it might conceal much gentle and amiable goodness; but its outward character was that of timid and unworldly ignorance, unfit to rule, and exercising but feeble and unbeneficial influence over a population become at once more rude and fierce, and more oppressed and servile, by the Danish conquest[y]." The new archbishop readily fell in with the plans of the Conqueror for the removal of the greater part of the bishops and abbots of English birth, "a stretch of power," says Mr. Hallam, "very singular in that age;" but the English Church, like the country itself, was treated as a conquered possession, and even the merits of the national saints were subjected to careful examination before they were admitted into the Norman calendar. It is possible that the Norman bishops were to some extent an improvement on their Saxon predecessors, and the decrees of the synod of London (1075) effected a certain good by their regulation of the great monasteries, which had fallen into complete disorder. A general rule for the Benedictine houses throughout England was drawn up by Lanfranc himself, whose life at Bec had been distinguished by great austerity, and whose sympathies were entirely on the side of the monks, in opposition to the secular clergy. The same synod decreed the removal of bishops' sees from the smaller towns and villages.

"A king so imperious as William, and a churchman so firm as Lanfranc, could hardly avoid collision. Though they scrupled not to despoil the Saxon prelates, the Church must suffer no spoliation. The estates of the see of Canterbury must pass whole and inviolable. The uterine brother of the King, (his mother's son by a second marriage,) Odo, the magnificent and able Bishop of Bayeux,

[y] Lat. Christ., iii. 435.

had seized, as Count of Kent, twenty-five manors belonging to the archiepiscopal see. The Primate summoned the Bishop of Bayeux to public judgment on Penenden Heath; the award was in the Archbishop's favour. Still William honoured Lanfranc; Lanfranc, in the King's absence in Normandy, was chief justiciary, vicegerent within the realm. Lanfranc respected William. When the Conqueror haughtily rejected the demand of Hildebrand himself for allegiance and subsidy, we hear no remonstrance from the Primate. The Primate refused to go to Rome at the summons of the Pope[z]."

In the year 1087 the Conqueror died at Caen, and his son William II. was crowned by Lanfranc. While the Archbishop lived, who had the prudence not to provoke him, the Red King in some degree restrained his covetous encroachments on the wealth of the Church. Two years later, however, (May, 1089,) Lanfranc himself died. He was buried before the "great crucifix" in the nave of his cathedral, but the precise spot is unknown.

At Canterbury, Lanfranc rebuilt his cathedral, which had fallen into complete ruin, (Pt. I. § II.,) and established for the first time on sure foundations, and with a strict and definite rule, the great monastery of Christ Church with its 150 monks, to whom he gave a prior. Under his directions, also, the arrangement of the Church offices, drawn up by Osmund, Bishop of Sarum, and afterwards known as that "secundum usum Sarum," was generally adopted throughout the south of England, thereby preventing the great variety of offices which every bishop

[z] Lat. Christ., iii. 438. Lanfranc seems to have entertained a strong personal regard for the Conqueror, and Eadmer describes the profound sorrow of the Archbishop on his death: "Quantus autem meror Lanfrancum ex morte ejus perculerit, quis dicere possit, quando nos qui circa illum, nunciata morte illius, eramus, statim eum, præ cordis angustia, mori timeremus?"—*Hist. Novor.*, l. i. p. 13.

and abbot had hitherto been allowed to introduce almost at pleasure.

The remaining works of Lanfranc, consisting of numerous letters, of commentaries on portions of Scripture, and of his reply to Berengarius, have been published by the Benedictine editors, in folio, (1647,) and in two vols. 8vo. by Dr. Giles, Oxon. 1844.

For more than four years after the death of Lanfranc, (May 1089—Dec. 1093,) the see of Canterbury remained unfilled, the King thus escaping the "importunate control" of a primate, "and knowing," says Fuller, "that the emptiness of bishoprics caused the fullness of his coffers. Thus Archbishop Rufus, Bishop Rufus, Abbot Rufus, (for so he may be called as well as King Rufus, keeping at the same time the archbishopric of Canterbury, the bishoprics of Winchester and Durham, and thirteen abbeys in his hand,) brought a mass of money into his exchequer[a]." At length, however, the primacy was conferred on

[A.D. Dec. 1093—April 1109—WILLIAM II., HENRY I.]

ANSELM, of all the archbishops of Canterbury, with the single exception of Becket, the most celebrated throughout Europe during the Middle Ages.

Anselm, who is regarded as the founder of that scholastic philosophy which for so long afterwards continued to exercise the highest intellects of Christendom, was born in the year 1033, of noble parents, at Aosta in Savoy. At the age of twenty-seven he found his way to the Abbey of Bec in Normandy, a foundation "which seemed to aspire to that same pre-eminence in theologic learning and the accomplishments of high-minded Churchmen which the Normans were displaying in valour, military skill, and the conquests of kingdoms[b]." At Bec, Anselm studied under Lanfranc, who was already distinguished there, succeeded him as prior of the convent, and afterwards, on the death of

[a] Church Hist., cent. xi. bk. 3.

[b] Lat. Christ., iii. 356.

Herluin, the founder and first abbot, became himself abbot of Bec. He had been abbot for fifteen years, and his reputation for learning was widely spread throughout Europe, when he visited England in the year 1093, at the invitation of Hugh Lupus, Earl of Chester, with whom he had been familiar in Normandy, and who, now on his deathbed, desired to unburden his conscience to Anselm, and to consult him about the foundation of a monastery in his town of Chester. It happened that the King, at this time, lay sick of a fever at Gloucester. "Nothing but the wrath of God, as William supposed, during an illness which threatened his life, compelled him to place the crozier in the hands of the meek, and as he hoped, unworldly Anselm. It required as much violence in the whole nation, to whom Anselm's fame and virtues were so well known, to compel Anselm to accept the primacy, as to induce the King to bestow it[c]." Anselm was consecrated Dec. 4, 1093, by Walkelin, the first Norman bishop of Winchester.

William had expected to find Anselm readily manageable; but "when primate, Anselm, the monk, the philosopher, was as high, as impracticable a Churchman as the boldest or the haughtiest. Anselm's was passive courage, Anselm's was gentle endurance, but as unyielding, as impregnable, as that of Lanfranc, even of Hildebrand himself. No one concession could be wrung from him of property, of right, or of immunity belonging to his Church. He was a man whom no humiliation could humble; privation, even pain, he bore not only with the patience, but with the joy of a monk[d]." Anselm's first quarrel with Rufus was as to which of the popes England should acknowledge, Guibert of Ravenna, the "anti-pope," or Urban II. The Primate himself had already acknowledged Urban, and after more than twelve months the struggle ended in Urban's becoming the Pope of England. But William was resolved either to make the Archbishop 'his own man" or to get rid of

[c] Milman Lat Christ. ii 438. [d] Id., 439.

him altogether. Fresh discussions were provoked concerning the numbers and want of training of the men furnished by the Archbishop for William's Welch expedition, and at length Anselm was required to take an oath of fealty, and to promise that under no circumstances he would appeal from the King of England to the Pope. This he refused, and was exiled accordingly. He withdrew at first to Lyons, whence he was speedily summoned to Rome by Pope Urban, and received with the utmost honour. During a council in the Lateran, there was some discussion as to the place of Anselm, since no archbishop of Canterbury had hitherto been present at Rome on such an occasion. The Pope decided it by assigning him a place in the corona, or eastern apse, close at his own right foot. "Includamus," are the words attributed to Urban by William of Malmesbury, "hunc in orbe nostro, tanquam *alterius orbis papam*." Anselm was afterwards present at the council of Bari (1098), during which his great learning was called upon to combat the errors of the Greek Church concerning the procession of the Holy Ghost, a subject on which he afterwards put forth a *libellus*.

Urban II. died in 1099, and in the following year (August 1100) William Rufus was killed in the forest. Henry, the "Beauclerc," immediately recalled Anselm, and at first received him with all honour. Rufus had brought no very definite ground of complaint against the Archbishop, with whom he was determined to quarrel at all events. The great question of investitures was that which caused the long strife between Henry and Anselm, a strife which lasted almost to the end of his archiepiscopate. During his exile at Rome, Anselm had been taught to regard the feudal ceremony of investiture as "the venomous source of all simony." The bishops who had been elected during the years of the Primate's absence, had all received their temporalities as bishops elect, by the delivery of the ring and pastoral staff from the King in the usual manner.

None of them, however, had been consecrated, and Urban II. had prohibited Anselm from recognising any who had been thus invested. Henry I. now demanded their consecration. Anselm refused, and the question was at last referred to the new Pope, Paschal II., Anselm proceeding to Rome on his own part, and William Warlewast, the "invested" bishop of Exeter, on the King's. The Pope refused to recognise or to permit the investitures, and Anselm accordingly remained a second time in exile, until, partly by the good offices of the Countess Adela of Blois, sister of Henry I., and partly by the King's own prudence, who during his strife with his brother, Robert of Normandy, was unwilling to have a hostile archbishop, he was permitted to return to England. "The wise Henry has discovered that, by surrendering a barren ceremony, he may retain the substantial power. He consents to abandon the form of granting the ring and pastoral staff, he retains the homage, and that which was the real object of the strife, the power of appointing to the wealthy sees and abbacies of the realm. The Church has the honour of the triumph, has wrung away the seeming concession, and Anselm, who in his unworldly views had hardly perhaps comprehended the real point at issue, has the glory and the conscious pride of success[e]."

Anselm returned in 1107, and the remaining two years of his life were passed in comparative quiet. He died at Canterbury in April, 1109, and was buried near his predecessor Lanfranc; but his remains were afterwards placed in the tower still called by his name. (Pt. I. § XXXIV.) Four centuries after his death, by the exertions, and not without the purse of Archbishop Morton, who died in 1500, his great predecessor was admitted into the catalogue of saints.

It need hardly be said that it was not the firm resistance of Anselm to the despotism of the Norman kings which

[e] Lat. Christ., iii. 439.

procured for him his great and lasting reputation throughout Europe. This was entirely the result of his wide theological learning, and of his position as the first of the great Schoolmen whose teaching was recognised by the Church. In the retirement of the cloister, and after the stir and movement caused by the first Christianization of Europe had somewhat ceased, dialectics, or the science of logic, "one of the highest (if not the highest) of intellectual studies," became more and more attractive, and "under the specious form of dialectic exercises the gravest questions of divinity became subjects of debate." In replying to Roscelin, the first great "nominalist," Anselm developed the "realist" theory, afterwards generally accepted as orthodox; and shewed that, whilst maintaining the most entire devotion to the Church, it was possible to sound the profoundest depths of metaphysical subtlety.

The best and most complete edition of the works of Anselm is the magnificent Benedictine folio, Paris, 1675. The volume also contains the Life of St. Anselm, by Eadmer of Canterbury, his friend and contemporary, and the same author's *Historia Novorum*, embracing all the public history of his time. The best dissertation on the scholastic philosophy of Anselm is that of M. C. de Rémusat, *Saint Anselme de Cantorbéry*, Paris, 1853.

After Anselm's death the see of Canterbury was again vacant five years (April 1109 — June 1114). For this time it was under the care of Ralph, Bishop of Rochester, the King of course retaining the temporalities. At length [A.D. 1114, Oct. 1122.—HENRY I.] RALPH was himself elevated to the primacy. He was of Norman birth, and in his youth had studied under Lanfranc. As archbishop he was undistinguished. He was buried in the nave of his cathedral.

[A.D. 1123, Nov. 1136.—HENRY I., STEPHEN.] WILLIAM DE CORBEUIL, who succeeded, is said to have been the first archbishop who took the title of Papal Legate, conferred on

him by Honorius II. On the death of Henry, the Archbishop, induced by the representations of Henry of Blois, Bishop of Winchester (see WINCHESTER), consented to crown Stephen, although he had before solemnly sworn to support the cause of Matilda. Many of the chronicles insist that he died of remorse for this act. The cathedral of Canterbury, rebuilt by Lanfranc, and enlarged under Anselm by Prior Ernulf, (Pt. I. § II.,) was completed during Archbishop William's episcopate, and was solemnly dedicated by him, "cum honore et munificentiâ multâ," on the 4th of May, 1130. Henry King of England, and David of Scotland, were both present, besides "all the bishops of England." "Non est audita," says Gervase, "talis dedicatio in terra post dedicationem templi Salomonis."

[A.D. 1139, April 1161.—STEPHEN, HENRY II.] THEOBALD, a Benedictine who had been Abbot of Bec, was elected in a synod held at London, and presided over by Albert, Cardinal of Ostia, the Papal Legate. The title of "Legatus Natus" was afterwards granted to this archbishop by Pope Innocent III., and was retained by his successors until the Reformation. Archbishop Theobald fell upon troubled times; and was overshadowed in his dignities by the powerful Bishop Henry of Blois,—as vigorous and energetic a prelate as Theobald seems to have been a gentle one. There were many struggles between them; and the Archbishop twice found himself an exile on foreign shores,—once through the plotting of Henry of Blois, and again when, in 1153, Stephen attempted to prevail on the bishops assembled in council at London to crown his son Eustace as his co-partner and successor. Theobald escaped down the Thames, and passed over to France. He was soon restored to the royal favour, however; and after the death of Eustace succeeded, in conjunction with Bishop Henry of Blois, in bringing about the final arrangement by which Stephen retained the crown for his life, to be succeeded

by Henry, son of Matilda. The Archbishop's life was untroubled after the death of Stephen. His own death occurred in 1161; and he was interred, it is generally said, on the south side of the choir. The tomb now shewn there, however, is certainly not his. (Pt. I. § xxxiii.)

The see had been vacant for more than a year, when [A.D. 1162, Dec. 29, 1170—Henry II.] Thomas Becket became Archbishop.

Setting aside the romance which has been connected with the origin of Becket[f], it is tolerably certain that his father was a London merchant of good position and unblemished character. The future archbishop was educated among the Augustinian canons of Merton, in Surrey; whom he delighted to revisit in the days of his prosperity. He was recommended to Archbishop Theobald by "two learned civilians from Bologna," who were lodging at his father's house; and from this time was on the high road of advancement. He was retained in the household, and employed on the service, of the Primate; with whom he visited Rome, and for whom he conducted some most difficult negotiations with Pope Eugenius III. Becket, although only in deacon's orders, was made Archdeacon of Canterbury,—thus obtaining the richest benefice, after the bishoprics, in England; and received many other preferments from the Archbishop—"plurimæ ecclesiæ, prebendæ nonnullæ." It was by Archbishop Theobald's influence, also, that Becket was raised to the dignity of Chancellor,—probably in 1155. Theobald was anxious to place near the young King some one who might "prevent his mind from being alienated from the clergy by fierce and lawless counsellors."

[f] The name *Becket*, a diminutive of *bec*, signifies a little brook or streamlet. Becket's family was possibly Saxon; but the word *bec* was common to both Saxons and Normans, as the name of the famous Norman monastery sufficiently proves. Whether the Archbishop was generally known as Thomas *Becket* during his lifetime is very doubtful.

The magnificence of Becket as chancellor, and his close intimacy with the young King, are especially dwelt on by his biographers. "The power of Becket throughout the King's dominions equalled that of the King himself—he was king in all but name; the world, it was said, had never seen two friends so entirely of one mind[g]." It was to the counsels of the Chancellor that the pacification of England, after the troubles of Stephen's reign, was mainly owing. In 1160 he went as Ambassador to Paris to demand the hand of the Princess Margaret for the King's infant son, Prince Henry, whose education was afterwards entrusted to him: and during the expedition made by Henry II. to assert his right to the dominions of the Counts of Toulouse, Becket appeared at the head of 700 knights, and was foremost in every adventurous exploit. Wealth poured in upon him, as Chancellor, from all quarters. From the King he received the wardenship of the Tower of London, and the lordship of the castle of Berkhampstead, with the honour of Eye.

Archbishop Theobald died April 18, 1161. The see had been vacant more than a year, when Henry, then at Falaise, sent Becket to England for his election to the Primacy. The Chancellor remonstrated, but in vain. "He openly warned, it is said, his royal master, that as Primate he must choose between the favour of God and that of the King—he must prefer that of God[h]." The monks of Christ Church, however, alleged that Becket had never worn the monastic habit: the suffragan bishops were not more favourably disposed towards him; and it was only the arrival of the Grand Justiciary, Richard de Lucy, with the King's peremptory commands for his election, which awed the monks into submission. Becket was ordained priest at Whitsuntide, 1162; and the following day (Whit-Sunday) was consecrated Primate of England in the Abbey of Westminster by Henry of Blois, Bishop of Winchester, the see of London being vacant.

[g] Lat. Christ., iii. 449. [h] Id., 453.

Becket's course of life was at once changed. He became "not merely a decent prelate, but an austere and mortified monk. . . . . His table was still hospitable and sumptuous, but instead of knights and nobles, he admitted only learned clerks, and especially the regulars, whom he courted with the most obsequious deference. For the sprightly conversation of former times were read grave books in the Latin of the Church[i]." The Archbishop resigned the chancellorship, "as inconsistent with the religious functions of the primate," whilst Henry was still in France; and in May, 1163, he was present at the council of Tours, at the head of nearly all the English bishops.

In the course of the following year, the long strife between the King and the Archbishop commenced: and in a Parliament held at Westminster, Henry insisted "that all clerks accused of heinous crimes should be immediately degraded, and handed over to the officers of his justice, to be dealt with according to law. . . . He demanded this in the name of equal justice and the peace of the realm[k]." Becket inflexibly maintained the inviolability of the holy persons of the clergy; and when further asked whether he would observe the customs of the realm, replied that he would do so "saving his order." Henry broke up the assembly, and deprived Becket both of the custody of the royal castles and of the guardianship of the young prince. At the persuasion of the bishops, however, Becket afterwards went to Oxford and withdrew his opposition.

In January, 1164, a great council of the realm was summoned at Clarendon, near Salisbury. The famous "Constitutions," which were then drawn up, subjected the whole of the clergy, equally with the laity, to the common laws of the land. The Archbishop swore to observe them, but afterwards refused to sign or seal them. All the other prelates subscribed and sealed the Constitutions as the laws of England. On his return to Canterbury,

[i] Lat. Christ., iii. 456. [k] Id., 462.

Becket imposed on himself the severest penances, and wrote to the Pope imploring absolution for his oath, which he speedily received.

The Archbishop, thus at open strife with the King, was summoned to attend a Parliament at Northampton in October, 1164. Here, after a fine had been inflicted on him for withholding justice from John the Marshall, who claimed an estate from the see of Canterbury, various demands were brought against Becket, "which seemed framed for the purpose of reducing the Archbishop to the humiliating condition of a debtor to the King, entirely at his disposal:" the last and the overwhelming demand was "an account of all the monies received during his chancellorship from the vacant archbishopric and from other bishoprics and abbeys. The debt was calculated at the enormous sum of 44,000 marks[1]." After taking counsel with the bishops, all of whom were opposed to him, Becket appeared in the King's hall bearing his own cross; and that celebrated scene occurred, which terminated in the flight of the Archbishop from England. He appealed to the Pope, and prohibited his suffragans from sitting in secular judgment on their metropolitan—both which steps were infringements on two of the Constitutions of Clarendon. By so doing he incurred something approaching a charge of capital treason, and his life was not impossibly endangered, when he escaped (Oct. 13) from Northampton to Lincoln; thence he passed into Kent, and on All Souls' Day landed on the coast of Flanders, near Gravelines.

From Flanders Becket passed into France, where he was received with the utmost honour, both by Louis VII., and by the Pope, Alexander III., who, also an exile, was at this time residing at Sens, the metropolitical city. The Pope rebuked the weakness of Becket in swearing to the Constitutions of Clarendon; and Becket resigned his archiepiscopate to Alexander, from whom he received it once

[1] Lat. Christ., iii. 469. 470.

more; and was then established at the Cistercian Abbey of Pontigny, about twelve leagues from Sens. Henry had sent his own ambassadors to protest against the countenance of Becket in France; and now, learning his honourable reception, he ordered the revenues of the Archbishop to be seized, and banished from the kingdom all the Primate's kinsmen, dependents, and friends—400 in number.

For nearly two years Becket remained at Pontigny; regulating his life by the sternest monastic discipline. Toward the end of this period he cited Henry, by three successive messengers, to submit to his censure; and at last, on Ascension Day, 1166, in the church of the monastery of Vezelay, famous for its possession of the body of St. Mary Magdalene, he solemnly condemned and annulled the Constitutions of Clarendon; and excommunicated both those who observed them, and all who enforced their observance. Many of his most powerful adversaries were then excommunicated by name. Henry was as yet spared; but his wrath, on becoming acquainted with what had passed at Vezelay, drove him almost to madness. The ports of England were guarded against the introduction of the instruments declaring the excommunication; and the General of the Cistercians was compelled to drive Becket from Pontigny. He removed accordingly to Sens.

The struggles of the ensuing three years need not be told in detail here. According as his own affairs prospered, Pope Alexander III., now in Italy, pronounced himself more or less decidedly on the side of Becket. Two cardinals, William of Pavia and Otho, were appointed papal legates in France to decide the cause; but a meeting of the kings of France and England, of the cardinals, and of Becket, near Gisors (Nov., 1167), only resulted in fresh appeals to the Pope, who now named as mediators the prior of Montdieu and a monk of Grammont. A meeting took place at Montmirail, which was broken off without a reconciliation by Becket's own unexpected tergiversation.

On his return to Sens he again excommunicated Foliot, Bishop of London, and many others of Henry's most faithful counsellors: and once more Alexander appointed a legatine commission, consisting of Gratian, "a hard and severe canon lawyer," and a priest named Vivian. They effected no more than their predecessors, although the terrors of the excommunications were now beginning to disturb England, and although Becket had written to the English bishops commanding them to lay the whole kingdom under an interdict; but it was Henry who this time suddenly broke off all negotiation by refusing the "kiss of peace" to Becket. A royal proclamation was issued, withdrawing all obedience due to the Archbishop; and to ensure its observance the sheriffs were to administer an oath to all freemen. This oath the bishops refused to take. "The King and the Primate thus contested the realm of England." The Pope, although he would pronounce decisively on neither side, nevertheless gave permission for Roger, Archbishop of York, to officiate at the coronation of the young Prince Henry, thereby setting aside the undoubted prerogative of the archbishops of Canterbury. He also absolved the Bishops of London and Salisbury, both of whom had been excommunicated by Becket.

Becket wrote fiercely to Rome in reprobation of the conduct of Alexander. The reconciliation between Henry and the Archbishop seemed more remote than ever, and after the coronation of the Prince, Becket wrote again to the English prelates, directing them to publish the interdict in their dioceses. At this time, a meeting took place between the Kings of England and France at Fretteville, between Chartres and Tours. The Archbishop of Sens prevailed on Becket to be present in the neighbourhood. It had been suggested to Henry that the Archbishop would be less dangerous within the kingdom than without it. "The hint had flashed conviction on the King's mind." He was persuaded to see Becket at Fretteville, and after

a long private conference, the reconciliation took place, so suddenly as to surprise the world. Not a word was said on either side about the Constitutions of Clarendon. The interference with his right of coronation was the principal grievance dwelt on by Becket, and Henry promised that his son should receive his crown again from the hands of the Primate. The Pope, willing to associate himself once more with the cause of Becket, renewed the excommunications of the Bishops of London and Salisbury, and suspended the Archbishop of York. At Becket's request, these measures were grounded entirely on their usurpation of the right of crowning the King.

Four months afterwards, Dec. 1, 1170, Becket landed at Sandwich. The papal documents authorizing the suspension and excommunication of the Prelates had already been conveyed across the Channel, not without great difficulty. The Prelates themselves had appealed to the King: but Becket, instead of returning to England with thoughts of peace, scattered excommunications and censures in all directions. His proceedings were duly notified to the King, whose well-known exclamation led to the departure of four knights, his chamberlains—Reginald Fitzurse, Hugh de Moreville, William de Tracy, and Richard le Bret. They assembled at Saltwood Castle, and on the 28th of December reached Canterbury, and took up their abode in St. Augustine's Abbey. The next day a fierce interview occurred between Becket and the knights in the archiepiscopal palace, on the termination of which the Primate was hurried by his attendants into the cathedral. The famous scene there has been sufficiently described, Pt. I. § XVIII., and Henry's subsequent penance in § XLII.

The causes for which this long struggle was maintained between the King and the Archbishop should be carefully borne in mind. "For those who believe that an indiscriminate maintenance of ecclesiastical claims is the best service they can render to God and the Church . . . it may

not be without instruction to remember that the Constitutions of Clarendon, which Becket spent his life in opposing, and of which his death procured the suspension, are now incorporated in the English law, and are regarded without a dissentient voice as among the wisest and most necessary of English institutions; that the especial point for which he surrendered his life was not the independence of the clergy from the encroachments of the crown, but the personal and now forgotten question of the superiority of the see of Canterbury to that of the see of York[m]." "Becket was indeed the martyr of the clergy, not of the Church; of sacerdotal power, not of Christianity; of a caste, not of mankind[n]"

He was acknowledged, however, almost immediately after his death, to have earned a place among the most undisputed martyrs, "so completely were clerical immunities part and parcel of Christianity[o]." The great fame of his miracles brought crowds of pilgrims to his magnificent shrine from all parts of Europe; and Canterbury itself, from comparative obscurity, emerged into a glory which rivalled that of Compostella or Cologne. For a notice of the shrine, see Pt. I. § XXVII.

The most important of the ancient Lives of Becket have been collected and printed, together with his letters, in 8 vols. 8vo. (Oxon. 1845), by Dr. Giles. The letters may also be found in the 16th volume of Dom Bouquet's *Gallicarum Rerum Scriptores*. A very curious collection of the *Miracula S. Thomæ*, by Benedict, a monk of Canterbury, has been edited by Dr. Giles. Of the modern Lives the most valuable are Canon Robertson's "Becket: a Biography,"

[m] Stanley: "The Murder of Becket." Hist. Mem. of Canterbury.

[n] Milman, Lat. Christ., iii. 526. See also the striking passage which concludes his "Life of Becket," pp. 527, 8.

[o] "Quod alicujus martyrum causa justior fuit, aut apertior, ego nec audivi nec legi."—*Herbert de Bosham, Vita S. Thomæ.*

(Murray, 1859); and the admirable one contained in the third volume of Dean Milman's "Latin Christianity." A Life of Becket from a purely Romanist point of view has been published by the Rev. J. Morris, of Northampton, (Longman, 1859). Two essays of the highest value and interest, "The Murder of Becket," and "The Shrine of Becket," will be found in Canon Stanley's "Historical Memorials of Canterbury," (Murray).

Within a month after the murder of Becket, the monks of Christ Church elected Robert, Abbot of Bec, to the primacy, which, however, he refused to accept. Their next choice was

[A.D. 1174—1184—HENRY II.] RICHARD, Prior of Dover, who had accidentally been present at Canterbury at the time of the murder, and who, together with the Abbot of Boxley, assisted in conveying the body of the Archbishop into the crypt. According to Peter of Blois, Archbishop Richard was somewhat careless and indifferent, and more ready to attend to matters temporal than spiritual. During the Council held at Westminster in 1173, at which letters were read from the Pope authorizing the invocation of Becket as a Saint, the dispute for precedency between Canterbury and York attained its climax. Archbishop Richard had seated himself at the right hand of the Papal Legate, "as in his proper place, when in springs Roger of York, and finding Canterbury so seated, fairly sits him down in Canterbury's lap[p]." A frightful disturbance ensued, and Archbishop Roger nearly lost his life under the sticks and fists of the opposite party, who shouted out as he rose from the ground with crushed mitre and torn cope, "Away, away traitor of St. Thomas; thy hands still reek with his blood!" It was as a result of this combat, and in order to settle the dispute, that the Pope conferred upon the two Prelates the distinctive titles which they still bear—Primate

p Fuller, Church Hist., c. xii. bk. 3.

of England (York), and Primate of all England (Canterbury). Archbishop Richard died in the year 1184, at his manor of Halling near Rochester, terrified, according to Hoveden, by the apparition of St. Peter in a dream, who reproached him with his want of zeal.

After some dispute between the monks of Christ Church and the suffragan bishops of the province, both of whom claimed the right of election, the monks, not without much discussion, consented to receive

[A.D. 1185—1190—HENRY II., RICHARD I.] BALDWIN, a Cistercian monk of low parentage, born at Exeter, and afterwards Abbot of Ford in Devon, whence he had been raised in 1181 to the bishopric of Worcester. Baldwin was the first Cistercian who filled the see of Canterbury. All his predecessors (who had been monks at all) had been Benedictines. A perpetual feud raged between this archbishop and his monks, from whom he desired to take their so often claimed right of election to the Primacy, and to bestow it on a body of canons, who would be more easily managed. The canons were to be established at Hackington, near Canterbury, but the monks procured a papal bull by which the scheme was altogether frustrated. A second attempt of Archbishop Baldwin to establish his canons at Lambeth, which he purchased for the see, was prevented by his death. He had followed Cœur de Lion to the Holy Land, and died (Dec. 1190) in the camp before Acre. His portrait has been favourably drawn by Giraldus Cambrensis, who accompanied him whilst preaching the Crusade in Wales, and who was afterwards with him in Palestine.

The monks of Christ Church, as soon as they were made aware of the Archbishop's death, elected

[A.D. 1191, Nov.—Dec.,—RICHARD I.] REGINALD FITZ JOCELYN, Bishop of Bath and Wells, who consented to his election with great reluctance, but died before his pall could be received from Rome. Richard, during his detention in Germany, wrote to his mother Eleanor, and to

the Archbishop of Rouen, entreating them to procure the election of

[A.D. 1193—July 13, 1205—RICHARD I., JOHN.] HUBERT WALTER; and the monks, fearing that the suffragans of Canterbury would be assembled for this purpose, elected him beforehand of their own accord.

Hubert Walter, born at West Derham, in Norfolk, and educated under Ranulph de Glanville, Chief Justiciary of England, had become Bishop of Salisbury in the first year of Richard I., whom he had accompanied, and by whose side he had fought, on his famous crusade. On the return of the King, after Hubert's elevation to the primacy, the Archbishop was made Chief Justiciary; but the monks speedily procured a bull from Pope Innocent III., ordering Cœur de Lion to remove him from this office, since it compelled him to sit as a judge in "causes of blood." King John, however, immediately after his accession, made Hubert his Chancellor; and for the first time an Archbishop of Canterbury filled that high office, the duties and privileges of which combined with his archbishopric to make him by far the most powerful subject in England. He retained the chancellorship until his death, and in the discharge of that and of his other duties seems to have won golden opinions from all men. "Principis erat frenum, et tyrannidis obstaculum," says Giraldus Cambrensis, who knew him well, "populi pax et solatium, majorum pariter et minorum suis diebus contra publicæ potestatis oppressiones in necessitate refugium." The laws promulgated under Richard I. are said to have been drawn up by this archbishop, who, as Chancellor, strengthened the defences of the Tower of London, and formed the 'Tower Ditch,' or fosse, surrounding it, into which he brought the water of the Thames. He completed, under certain restrictions insisted on by the monks of Christ Church, the house of regular canons at Lambeth, which his predecessor had commenced. Archbishop Hubert died (July 13, 1205) at his

manor of Teynham, on the Watling Street between Rochester and Canterbury, and was buried in his own cathedral, where his effigy still remains. (Pt. I. § XXXVII.)

On the death of Hubert, the younger monks of Christ Church hastily elected their sub-prior, Reginald, to the vacant see. Their elder brethren subsequently declared this election void, and with the royal permission chose John de Gray, Bishop of Norwich. The suffragan bishops acquiesced, and De Gray was duly enthroned, and invested with the temporalities by King John. It was agreed upon by all, however, that an appeal should be made to Rome, in order to determine with whom—the monks or the suffragan bishops—the right of election to the primacy really lay. The Pope, Innocent III., decided in favour of the monks, and annulling both the late elections as having been irregularly made, commanded them to choose

[A.D. 1207—July 9, 1228—JOHN, HENRY III.] STEPHEN LANGTON, Cardinal of St. Chrysogonus. "Innocent could not have found a Churchman more unexceptionable, or of more commanding qualifications for the Primacy of England. Stephen Langton was an Englishman by birth[q], of irreproachable morals, profound theological learning, of a lofty, firm, yet prudent character, which unfolded itself at a later period in a manner not anticipated by Pope Innocent. Langton had studied at Paris, and obtained surpassing fame and honourable distinctions. Of all the high-minded, wise, and generous prelates who have filled the see of Canterbury, none have been superior to Stephen Langton, and him the Church of England owes to Innocent III.[r]"

Langton was accordingly consecrated at Viterbo, June 17, 1207, by Pope Innocent himself. "The fury of John

[q] He is said to have been born at Exeter, but this is uncertain; nor are the rank and position of his parents at all known.

[r] Milman, Lat. Christ., iv. 84.

knew no bounds: he accused the monks of Canterbury of having taken his money in order to travel to Rome, and of having there betrayed him; he threatened to burn their cloister over their heads. They fled in the utmost precipitation to Flanders; the Church of Canterbury was committed to the monks of St. Augustine, the lands of the monks of Christ Church lay an uncultivated wilderness[s]." To the Pope he declared that "Stephen Langton at his peril should set foot on the soil of England." Innocent at last, after much expostulation, published, (March 24, 1208,) through the Bishops of London, Ely, and Worcester, the famous interdict. The prelates who published it, besides some other bishops, fled the kingdom. "From Berwick to the British Channel, from the Land's End to Dover, the churches were closed, the bells silent; the only clergy who were seen stealing silently about were those who were to baptize new-born infants with a hasty ceremony, those who were to hear the confession of the dying, and to administer to them, and them alone, the holy Eucharist. The dead (no doubt the most cruel affliction) were cast out of the towns, buried like dogs in some unconsecrated place, in a ditch or a dung-heap, without prayer, without the tolling bell, without funeral rite[t]."

The steps by which John proceeded to alienate the whole of his subjects, laity as well as clergy, cannot be detailed here. Stephen Langton at last obtained a relaxation of the interdict so far as to allow the performance of divine service once a week in the conventual churches, and in these the King was (1210) personally excommunicated. In the following year the Pope released his subjects from their oath of allegiance; and finally, at Soissons, (April 8, 1213,) in presence of the King of France himself, Langton solemnly proclaimed the deposition of King John, and exhorted Philip Augustus to take up arms to dethrone him.

[s] Lat. Christ., iv. 85. [t] Id., 87

The result of this was the despair of John, in presence of the great French preparations for invasion, the arrival in England of Pandulph the legate, and the famous scene in which John resigned his crown (May, 1213) in the Church of the Templars at Ewell, near Dover. John consented to receive the Archbishop and the Prelates who had been exiled, and on St. Margaret's-day (July 20, 1213,) Stephen Langton, accompanied by the Bishops of London, Ely, Lincoln, and Hereford, landed at Dover and proceeded to Winchester, where they were met before the gates by the King, who fell at their feet, weeping. He was absolved by them in the cathedral.

So far Langton had, in conjunction with the Pope, been asserting the liberties of the Church against the King. He was now to assert the liberties of England against the same King, but also in opposition to the Pope. He was at the head of the barons of England during that momentous strife which ended in the signature of the Great Charter. It was Langton who, in effect, began the struggle, by protesting that the King could not legally arm against the barons who had left him on his embarkation for Poitou, before a fair trial had taken place; and it was he who produced to the barons the charter of Henry I. He was not present at the great meeting at St. Edmundsbury, and never appeared in arms. His name is that of the first witness to Magna Charta, (June 15, 1215,) and when the Pope, who was now on the side of John, abrogated the Charter, and enjoined the Primate and his suffragans to publish the excommunication of the barons, Stephen Langton demanded delay, and firmly refused to publish the excommunication, as having been obtained from the Pope by false representations. The Archbishop proceeded to attend the Lateran Council to which he had been summoned. Langton had some time before inhibited the papal legate, the Cardinal of Tusculum, from inducting prelates and priests within the realm; and the appeal of the Archbishop and Cardinal

to Rome had of course been decided in favour of the latter[n]. This appeal had been only one of the Archbishop's offences against the Pope, and on his arrival in Rome, (Nov., 1215,) he found Innocent severe and unbending. He was solemnly suspended from all ecclesiastical functions; and although this suspension was afterwards relaxed, he was compelled to remain at Rome "in a kind of stately disgrace, an exile from his see." Here he was detained throughout all the subsequent troubles in England, until the death of Pope Innocent III. (July, 1216,) was succeeded in a few months by that of King John, (Oct. 1216).

Langton was now permitted to return to his see, and the remainder of his archiepiscopate was passed in comparative tranquillity. It was he who presided (July 7, 1220) at the translation of the remains of Becket from the crypt to Trinity Chapel. (Pt. I. § XXVII.) Much of the archiepiscopal palace at Canterbury was rebuilt by him. He died, July 8, 1228, at his manor of Findon in Sussex, and was buried in his own cathedral, where his tomb still remains, (Pt. I. § XXXIX.)

Archbishop Langton was the first who divided the Bible into chapters: "as," says Fuller, "Robert Stephens, a Frenchman, that curious critick and painful printer, some six score years since, first subdivided it into verses. A worthy work, making Scripture more manageable in men's memories . . . and the passages therein the sooner to be turned to, as any person is sooner found out in the most populous city, if methodized into streets and houses with signs[x]."

See YORK for a notice of Simon Langton, the worthy brother of this archbishop, who was sent to Rome as the delegate of the Archbishop of Canterbury, when he ap-

[n] The legate had been empowered by Innocent, without consulting the primate or the bishops, to appoint to all the benefices which had become vacant during the interdict.

[x] Worthies—Kent.

pealed against the intrusions of the legate; and who afterwards held the archbishopric of York in spite of the papal prohibition, the only time during which the two highest preferments in the English Church have been held by two brothers.

After a struggle between the King and the monks, who had elected one of their own body, named Walter de Evesham,

[A.D. 1229—1231—HENRY III.] RICHARD DE WETHERSHED, Chancellor of Lincoln, was appointed and consecrated. He died in 1231, whilst on his return from Italy, at the little town of St. Gemma, and was buried in the Church of the Friars Minors there.

The monks now elected—one after another—Ralph Neville, Bishop of Chichester, and Chancellor; John, Prior of Christ Church; and Richard Blondy, who afterwards became Bishop of Exeter; all three of whom were set aside on different pretexts by Pope Honorius III. At the earnest entreaty of the Pope they at length consented to receive

[A.D. 1234—1240—HENRY III.] EDMUND, treasurer of Salisbury, whose learning and piety were of great reputation, but who had never dreamed of aspiring to so great a dignity. He was the son of Edward Rich, a merchant of Abingdon, and was educated at University College in Oxford. Influenced, perhaps, by the new Order of Friars Preachers—the Dominicans, who were just commencing their career[y], (although he never himself joined their ranks,) he left Oxford to commence a life of wandering and preaching throughout the counties of Oxford, Gloucester, and Worcester; and his fame as a preacher, which at length became considerable, procured him the treasurership of Salisbury, whence he was raised to the primacy. As Primate he was too firm and too earnest to escape perse-

[y] St. Dominic died Aug. 6, 1221.

cution. He excited the anger of the King by his opposition to the marriage of Eleanor, sister of Henry III., to Simon de Montfort, on the ground that she had vowed to remain unmarried after the death of her first husband. The papal legate Otho opposed the Archbishop, on account of the frequent reproofs of his extortion and rapacity. The monks of Rochester appealed to Rome against him because he refused to consecrate as their bishop one of their number, who was altogether unworthy. On this occasion Archbishop Edmund himself repaired to Rome, where, however, by the ill offices of his enemy the legate Otho, he was unsuccessful. In the year 1240, despairing of the condition of England and of her Church, which was completely in the hands of foreigners, he voluntarily exiled himself, and in November of the same year died, it is said, enfeebled by excessive abstinence, in the Cistercian abbey at Pontigny, where he had found a refuge on leaving England, and which was probably endeared to him from its recollections of Becket and of Langton, both of whom had been sheltered there. Within six years after his death, Archbishop Edmund was canonized by Pope Innocent IV. His remains, under the direction of Louis IV. of France, were placed in a rich shrine, which still occupies the most distinguished position in the ancient church of the abbey, and which, it is said, still contains the bones of the sainted archbishop.

The best excuse for the desertion of his charge by Archbishop Edmund is to be found in the condition of England, which he was powerless to improve. "Throughout the long reign of Henry III. this country was held by successive Popes as a province of the papal territory. The legate, like a prætor or proconsul of old, held, or affected to hold, an undefined supremacy. . . . England was the great tributary province, in which papal avarice levied the most enormous sums, and drained the wealth of the country by direct or indirect taxation[z]." English sees and English

[z] Lat. Christ., iv. 307.

benefices, the latter in great numbers, were held by foreigners, either intruded by the Pope or relatives of the Queen, Eleanor of Provence. "All existing documents shew that the jealousy and animosity of the English did not exaggerate the evil." More than once, and in different parts of England, the people rose against the intruders, but little change was effected. The most powerful of the foreign prelates was St. Edmund's successor in the English primacy,

[A.D. 1241—1270.—HENRY III.] BONIFACE OF SAVOY, Bishop of Bellay, son of Peter, Count of Savoy, uncle of the Queen, Eleanor of Provence, and "brother of that Philip of Savoy, the warlike and mitred body-guard of Innocent IV., who became Archbishop of Lyons. Boniface was elected in 1241, confirmed by Pope Innocent not before 1244. The handsome, proud prelate, found that Edmund, however saintly, had been but an indifferent steward of the secular part of the diocese. Canterbury was loaded with an enormous debt, and Boniface came not to England to preside over an impoverished see. He obtained a grant from the Pope of first-fruits from all the benefices in his province, by which he raised a vast sum. Six years after, the Primate announced and set forth on a visitation of his province, not, as it was said, and as too plainly appeared, for the glory of God, but in quest of ungodly gain. Bishops, chapters, monasteries, must submit to this unusual discipline, haughtily and rapaciously enforced by a foreigner. From Feversham and Rochester he extorted large sums. He appeared in London, treated the Bishop (Fulk Basset, of the noble old Norman house) and his jurisdiction with contempt. The Dean of St. Paul's stood by his bishop. The Primate appeared with his cuirass gleaming under his pontifical robes. The dean closed the doors of his cathedral against him. Boniface solemnly excommunicated Henry, Dean of St. Paul's, and his chapter, in the name of St. Thomas, the martyr of Canterbury. The sub-prior of St. Bartholomew's (the prior was dead) fared still worse. He calmly pleaded

the rights of the bishop; the wrathful Primate rushed on the old man, struck him down with his own hand, tore his splendid vestment, and trampled it under foot. The Bishop of London was involved in the excommunication. The Dean of St. Paul's appealed to the Pope. The excommunication was suspended. But Boniface himself proceeded in great pomp to Rome. The uncle of the Queen of England, the now wealthy Primate of England, could not but obtain favour with Innocent. The Dean of St. Paul's was compelled to submit to the supreme archiepiscopal authority. On his triumphant return, Boniface continued his visitation. . . . . He trampled on all rights, all privileges. The monks of Canterbury obtained a papal diploma of exemption; Boniface threw it into the fire, and excommunicated the bearers. The King cared not for, the Pope would not regard, the insult."

"After the accession of Alexander IV. the Archbishop of Canterbury is in arms, with his brother the Archbishop of Lyons, besieging Turin to release the head of his house, the Count of Savoy, whom his subjects had deposed and imprisoned for his intolerable tyranny. The wealth of the churches of Canterbury and Lyons was showered, but showered in vain, on their bandit army. Turin resisted the secular, more obstinately than London the spiritual, arms of the Primate. He returned, not without disgrace, to England. With such a primate the Pope was not likely to find much vigorous or rightful opposition from the Church of England[a]."

Archbishop Boniface did not remain inactive during the barons' wars under Simon de Montfort. He was one of the King's council in the so-called "Mad Parliament" at Oxford, (June, 1258,) and was afterwards either exiled or voluntarily fled the kingdom, to which and to his see he was only restored under certain express conditions. He again left England, however, and died July 18, 1270, at the

[a] Lat. Christ., v. 27—29.

Castle of St. Helena in Savoy. His tomb remains at 'Altacumba,' with the inscription "Hic jacet Bonifacius de Sabaudia, Cantuariensis Archiepiscopus, operibus et virtutibus plenus." Among the 'opera' of this archbishop three virtuous ones are certainly recorded. He freed his see (whether by means as good as the deed itself is not so certain) from the enormous debt of 22,000 marks which his predecessors had contracted; he founded, in honour of Becket, hospices for the reception of pilgrims or poor travellers, both at Canterbury and at Maidstone; and he completed the great hall of the palace at Canterbury.

After the monks had in vain attempted to procure the papal recognition of their sub-prior, William Chillenden, whom they had elected, Pope Gregory X. himself nominated

[A.D. 1273—1278.—EDWARD I.] ROBERT KILWARDBY, a Franciscan of great learning, educated at Oxford and at Paris. Although the Christ Church Benedictines had long insisted that their head and archbishop should be a monk of their own order, they had been compelled to receive more than one who had never taken any monastic vows, and did not now venture to dispute the choice of the Pope. Like his predecessor, Archbishop Kilwardby made the visitation of his entire province, and displayed his learning in disputations held in both Universities. In London he built a convent for the Friars Minors, to which Order he belonged, and one for the Dominicans at Salisbury. About the year 1278 Archbishop Kilwardby visited Rome, and was created Cardinal-bishop of Portus. He then abdicated the English archbishopric, and not long afterwards (Sept. 1279) died, it was said, of poison, at Viterbo, where he was buried in the church of the Dominicans.

[A.D. 1279—Dec. 1292—EDWARD I.] JOHN PECKHAM, nominated, like his predecessor, by the Pope, after the monks had in vain attempted to elect Bishop Burnell, of Bath and Wells, was, like Kilwardby, a Franciscan, born of obscure

parents in Sussex, educated at Oxford and Paris, and afterwards a student of both laws at Lyons, in the cathedral of which city he obtained a canon's stall, which he retained during his life, and which his successors in the see of Canterbury held one after another for the next two centuries[b]. Peckham subsequently became "Auditor of the Chamber" in the household of Pope Nicholas III., by whom he was selected to fill the English primacy.

As Archbishop, Peckham was at first a steady supporter of the King, Edward I., whose great aim was the consolidation of the whole British empire under his sovereignty. The Archbishop accompanied Edward on his Welsh expedition, and pronounced an excommunication against Llewellyn and the rest of the chieftains of Wales. His voice does not seem to have been raised "against the cruel and ignominious executions with which Edward secured and sullied his conquest. Against the massacre of the bards, perhaps esteemed by the English clergy mere barbarians, if not heathens, there was no remonstrance[c]." His acquiescence in Edward's great financial measure—the remorseless plunder and cruel expatriation of the Jews—is not less certain. He caused them to be expelled from every part of the diocese of Canterbury, and directed their synagogues to be levelled with the ground.

Archbishop Peckham vigorously defended the privileges of his see, and resisted the pretensions of the Archbishop of York, who insisted on having his cross borne before him within the province of Canterbury, when he attended the synod at Lambeth in the year 1280. Peckham directed that no one should receive the rival archbishop, or sell his attendants provision of any kind until the cross-bearer had disappeared; a virtual excommunication which speedily brought about the desired result. Toward the end of his archiepiscopate, Peckham had many struggles in main-

[b] It was retained probably as some kind of provision in case of exile.

[c] Milman, v. 178.

tenance of his privileges with the King himself, and narrowly escaped exile in consequence. He died, however, at his manor of Mortlake, Dec. 1292, and was buried at Canterbury in the transept of the Martyrdom, where his tomb and effigy still remain (Pt. I. § xx). He had founded the collegiate church of Wingham, in Kent, but died very wealthy.

A provincial synod was held by Archbishop Peckham at Lambeth in 1281, the most important decrees of which will be found in Collier[d]. The tenth canon, which directs parish priests to explain "the fundamental and necessary parts of religion to the people every quarter," is important as containing an abstract of the authoritative teaching of the English Church at this time. The quarrel of the English clergy with Rome, which during the reign of Henry III. had been kept at boiling pitch by the papal pretensions, by the intrusion of foreigners into the richest sees and benefices, and by the incessant demands for money, had now somewhat abated. "The short lives of the later Popes, the vacancy in the see of Rome, and (later) the brief papacy of Cœlestine (1293), relaxed to some extent the demands of tenths and subsidies." On the other hand, the acquisition of wealth by the English Church, and its consequent power, were greatly checked by the famous Statute of Mortmain, which was passed in 1279, the first year of Archbishop Peckham's primacy[e].

[A.D. 1292—1313—EDWARD I., EDWARD II.] ROBERT WINCHELSEA was in all probability born at Winchelsea, in Sussex, although this is uncertain. He was educated at Canterbury, in the school attached to the monastery of Christ Church, proceeded to Merton College, Oxford, and thence went to Paris, of which University he became Rector. He afterwards returned to Oxford and was elected Chan-

[d] Church History, bk. v. cent. 13.

[e] Compare Hallam, M. A., vol. ii. pp. 226, 227 (ed. 1855), with Milman, Lat. Christ., vol. v. p. 185.

cellor. Winchelsea seems to have been regarded as one of the most learned and able men of the time, and it was with the general approbation of king, clergy, and monks that he was nominated Primate. He was already Archdeacon of Essex and a Canon of St. Paul's.

The Archbishop-elect at once proceeded to Rome, where he found the papal throne vacant, and seems to have been present at the inauguration of Cœlestine V. (Peter Morrone) the hermit-pope. He was consecrated at Rome in September, 1294, and did not return to England until March $129\frac{4}{5}$. During his absence, the King, Edward I., between whom and Philip the Fair of France war was impending, demanded of the clergy, in a Parliament at Westminster, a subsidy of half of their annual revenue. The clergy were confounded, but at last "submitted with ungracious reluctance, in hopes no doubt that their Primate would soon appear among them; and that he, braced as it were by the air of Rome, would bear the brunt of opposition to the King[f]." Similar measures, involving the severe taxation of the clergy, who had hitherto considered themselves, in principle at least, as free from all civil assessments, were taken by Philip of France; and Boniface VIII. (Benedetto Gaetani) who had succeeded Cœlestine V., at once constituted himself champion of the Church property, and issued his famous bull *Clericis laicos*, which declared that without his consent no aid, benevolence, grant, or subsidy could be raised on the estates or possessions of the clergy by any temporal sovereign in the world. It was believed in England that the bull was obtained by the influence of Archbishop Winchelsea, who was still in Rome.

Neither Edward nor Philip, however, were to be thus intimidated. "The year after the levy of one half of the income of the clergy, a Parliament met at St. Edmondsbury. The laity granted a subsidy; the clergy, pleading their

[f] Lat. Christ., v. 186.

inability, as drained by the payment of the last year, or emboldened by the presence of the Primate, refused all further grant[g]." A struggle immediately commenced between them and the King, who ordered locks to be placed on all their barns, and that they should be sealed with the King's seal. The Archbishop summoned a provincial synod, which peremptorily refused all concession. At length "the whole clergy of the realm were declared by the Chief Justice on the Bench to be in a state of outlawry: they had no resort to the King's justice. . . . . They were now in a perilous and perplexing condition; they must either resist the King or the Pope . . . . There was division among themselves. A great part of the clergy leaned toward the more prudent course, and agreed to set aside a fifth part of their revenue, in some sanctuary or privileged place, to be drawn forth when required by the necessities of the Church or the kingdom. The papal prohibition was thus, it was thought, eluded . . . . . The Primate, as though the shrine of Thomas à Becket spoke warning and encouragement, refused all submission, but he stood alone, and alone bore the penalty. His whole estate was seized for the King's use . . . . Notwithstanding the papal prohibition, the clergy at length yielded, and granted a fourth of their revenue. The Archbishop alone stood firm . . . He retired with a single chaplain to a country parsonage, discharged the humble duties of a priest, and lived on the alms of his flock[h]."

The war had now broken out; but before the King's departure for Flanders, feeling it dangerous to leave his young son in the midst of a hostile clergy, he restored his barony to the Archbishop and summoned him to a Parliament at Westminster, in which he entrusted the heir of England to the care of his future people. At this time the two charters—the Great Charter and that of the Forests—were confirmed, and it was directed that they

[g] Lat. Christ., v. 190. [h] Id., 191, 192.

should be sent to all the cathedrals in the realm, to be there kept, and read in the hearing of the people twice every year. "Thus the clergy of England, abandoning their own ground of ecclesiastical immunities, took shelter under the liberties of the realm. Of these liberties they constituted themselves the guardians, and so shrouded their own exemptions under the general right, now acknowledged, that the subject could not be taxed without his own consent[1]."

Edward, however, retained no good-will to the Archbishop, and on his return from Flanders accused Winchelsea of having conspired, during the King's absence, to dethrone and imprison him, and to set up his young son, afterwards Edward II., in his place. How far the accusation was proved is not evident, but the Archbishop was deprived of all his possessions, and none were permitted to assist him, or even to receive him under their roofs. He would, it is said, have died of hunger, had not the monks of Christ Church secretly supported him until he was able to escape into France. For this assistance the monks themselves were afterwards driven from their convent, and not restored for some months. The Archbishop passed two years in exile, suspended by the Pope, at the instance of Edward, from the discharge of all functions, spiritual or temporal, until he should clear himself from the charge brought against him. On the accession of Edward II., however, he was recalled, and restored to all his honours. In spite of his opposition to the young King's favourite, Peter de Gaveston, who had imprisoned the Bishop of Coventry, Winchelsea continued undisturbed in the discharge of his office until his death at Otford in 1313.

The charities of Archbishop Winchelsea, during his prosperity, were worthy of an English primate. Every Sunday and Friday he gave to all comers a loaf worth one farthing

[1] Lat. Christ., v. 193.

(equal to at least four-pence at present). When corn was dear, not less than 5,000 persons are said to have been thus relieved; when it was cheap, not fewer than 4,000. On every solemn festival he distributed 150 pence to the poor. Many students were supported by him at Oxford. The people regarded him as a saint, and his tomb, of which some slight trace remains in the south-east transept, (Pt. I. § XXXVI.,) was sought as a shrine by thousands. For this reason it is said to have been removed by Henry the Eighth's commissioners, at the same time as the greater shrine of the "Martyr of Canterbury."

[A.D. 1313—Nov. 1327—EDWARD II.]—WALTER REYNOLDS was appointed, at the instance of King Edward, by the Pope, who set aside the monks' election of Thomas Cobham, Dean of Salisbury. Reynolds, who was Bishop of Worcester, had been tutor to Edward II., and in 1310 had been made that King's Chancellor. He continued in office for about a year, and when, after the death of Gaveston, it was settled that there should be no chancellor, but that the King should appoint a "keeper" under the superintendence of three persons to be named by the barons, Walter Reynolds became the new Keeper of the Great Seal, which he retained for twelve months after his elevation to the primacy. As Archbishop, Reynolds obtained from Rome no less than eight bulls of privileges, the most important of which gave him permission to make a visitation of his province extending over three years, for which time the jurisdiction of all his suffragan bishops was suspended. Notwithstanding his early connection with Edward II., and the favour with which that king had always regarded him, he deserted him in his troubles, and is said to have died of terror because the Pope had threatened him with spiritual censures for having somewhat irregularly consecrated Berkeley Bishop of Exeter, with a view to please the Queen and her favourite. His tomb remains in the south choir-aisle of his cathedral, (Pt. I. § XXXVII.)

[A.D. 1328—1333—EDWARD III.] SIMON MEPHAM, born at Mepham in Kent, and educated at Merton College, Oxford, was elected by the monks, and consecrated at Avignon. He was unfortunate in his episcopate. A dispute between himself and the monks of Christ Church concerning certain Kentish manors was decided by the Pope against him; and during his visitation of his province, which he commenced after the custom of his predecessors, he was resisted by Grandisson, the powerful Bishop of Exeter, who encountered the Archbishop at the west door of his cathedral, and opposed his entrance by force. "This affront," says Fuller, "did half break Mepham's heart," and the recent decision of the Pope, which he had just learnt, "did break the other half." The Archbishop died at his palace of Mayfield, in Sussex, soon after his return from the West. His beautiful tomb forms the screen of St. Anselm's Chapel in the cathedral, (Pt. I. § XXXIII.) He rebuilt the parish church at Mepham, his birth-place.

[A.D. 1333—1348—EDWARD III.] JOHN STRATFORD was nominated by the Pope, at the instance of the young King, Edward III. He was probably born at Stratford-upon-Avon, was partly educated at Merton College, Oxford, where he acquired high reputation for his proficiency in the civil and canon laws, and became at a very early age Archdeacon of Lincoln. Through the influence of Archbishop Reynolds, the Pope nominated Stratford to the bishopric of Winchester in 1323. Robert Baldock, however, Edward the Second's Chancellor, had intended Winchester for himself; and managed accordingly to persecute the new bishop until, again by the influence of Archbishop Reynolds, he was received to the royal favour. Edward II. employed him on various embassies, and in the last year of his reign made him his Lord Treasurer. He remained faithful to the King's cause, which even the Archbishop had deserted, during the temporary triumph of Queen Isabella. At this time he was compelled to remain in

concealment, but when the young King, Edward III., took upon him the government of the realm (1330), Stratford was at once made Lord Chancellor. In 1333 he was elected to the primacy. He ceased to be Chancellor in the following year, but again received the Great Seal in 1335, and retained it until 1337, when it was delivered to his brother, Robert de Stratford,—"the single instance of two brothers holding successively the office of Lord Chancellor[j]." In 1340 the Archbishop became Chancellor for the third time, and in the same year was again succeeded by his brother.

The fall of the Stratfords was, however, at hand. The Archbishop had dissuaded the King from commencing his French war, asserting plainly that his claim to the crown of France was not a sound one. It is probable that this advice had from the first irritated the young King, but both Stratfords apparently retained his favour until his sudden return from France in 1340, after his great naval victory in the Zwyn. But from this victory he had, however, gained no fruits, and he had incurred immense debts with the Flemings. The remittances from England came in but slowly, and Edward, finding it convenient to throw the blame on those he had left in authority at home, on his arrival in England deprived and imprisoned Robert de Stratford, then the Chancellor; and arraigned the Archbishop himself of high treason, accusing him of malversation of the subsidies levied for the war. "The Archbishop flies from Lambeth, (two other bishops, Lichfield and Chichester, the King's treasurers, had been sent to the Tower). At Canterbury he ventures to excommunicate his accusers, the King's counsellors, with bell, book, and candle. He returns to London, but shrouds himself under the privileges of Parliament, rather than under his eccle-

[j] Lord Campbell; who compares the two Stratfords in the fourteenth century, to the two Scotts, Lord Eldon and Lord Stowell, in the nineteenth.

siastical immunity. He forces his way, himself bearing his cross, into the House of Peers, as his place of security, his one safe sanctuary. He is at last obliged to submit, ere he can be admitted to compurgation, to an investigation before a jury of twelve of his peers—four prelates and eight nobles. The quarrel is settled by amicable intervention, but the King grants, rather than condescends to accept, pardon. This arraignment of Becket's successor without a general insurrection of the Church, with no papal remonstrance, though Stratford himself held the loftiest doctrines on the superiority of the priest to the layman, is an ominous sign[k]." England, throughout the long reign of Edward I., "was becoming less hierarchical, the hierarchy more English." The heavy taxation of the Crown, to which the clergy had been compelled to submit, made them more impatient of the taxation of the see of Rome, from which they had been further alienated by the intrusion of foreign prelates into the wealthiest sees. An additional step toward rendering the Crown independent of the hierarchy was taken by Edward III. on the fall of the Stratfords by the appointment of a layman as Chancellor[l].

The remaining years of Archbishop Stratford's life were comparatively untroubled. He died at Mayfield in Sussex, on the eve of St. Bartholomew, 1348, and was interred in his own cathedral, where his monument still remains, (Pt. I. § xxxv.) In his native town of Stratford-upon-Avon he founded a collegiate church.

Some time before the death of Archbishop Stratford, Edward III. had written to the Pope, Clement VI., pro-

[k] Lat. Christ., vi. 99. The proceedings against Stratford form an important precedent, according to Hallam, towards the determination of the question whether bishops are entitled, on charges of treason or felony, to a trial by the peers.—*Middle Ages*, vol. iii. pp. 204-5, (ed. 1855).

[l] The first lay Chancellor was Sir Robert Bourchier, a distinguished soldier.

testing against the papal nominations to vacant English sees, which had recently become so frequent ; and asserting, what was equally an innovation, that the right of nomination had always belonged to the Crown. This letter was followed up by the "Statute of Provisors," passed in 1350. Although the papal intrusions still continued, and rendered other measures necessary, the stand thus made against Rome by Edward III. contributed not a little to increase the power of the Crown, and to render the English hierarchy more completely national[m].

The monks of Christ Church elected Thomas Bradwardine as Stratford's successor. The King, however, insisted on the appointment of John Ufford, a son of the Earl of Suffolk, and Chancellor of England; who was accordingly recognised by the Pope. But he died (May, 1349) of the terrible 'Black Death,' unconsecrated and without the pall, within six months of his nomination, and he is, therefore, not reckoned among the archbishops. On his death, monks, King, and Pope agreed in their choice of

[A.D. 1349, June—Aug.—EDWARD III.] THOMAS BRADWARDINE, the "Doctor Profundus" of the Schoolmen, who had long been the King's confessor. He was consecrated at Avignon, died soon after his return to England, and was buried in the cathedral at Canterbury, in St. Anselm's Chapel. Bradwardine was born at Hartfield in Sussex, and educated at Merton College. His most important book was a tract against Pelagianism, entitled *De Causa Dei, vel de Virtute Dei, Causa Causarum.* Archbishop Bradwardine, says Fuller, "mingled his profitable doctrines with a sweet and amiable conversation; indeed, he was skilled in school learning, which one properly calleth 'spinosa theologia;' and though some will say, 'Can figgs grow on thorns?' yet his thorny divinity produced much sweet devotion . . . I behold him as the most pious man who,

[m] See, for a notice of the "Statute of Provisors," Hallam, Middle Ages, vol. ii. pp. 239, 240, (ed. 1855.)

from Anselm (not to say Augustine) to Cranmer, sat on that seat. And a better St. Thomas, though not sainted by the Pope, than one of his predecessors commonly so called[n]." Chaucer thus alludes to him in his "Nun's Priest's tale":—

> "But I ne cannot boult it to the bren
> As can the holy Doctour Saint Austin,
> Or Boece; or the Bishop Bradwardine."

Archbishop Bradwardine was the most conspicuous of English geometers during the fourteenth century: "Yet more for his rank and for his theological writings than for the arithmetical and geometrical speculations which gave him a place in science[o]."

The primacy had been vacant three times within the year; it was now filled by

[A.D. 1349—1366—EDWARD III.] SIMON ISLIP, educated at Merton, *bina lege probatus*, and the King's secretary. As Archbishop, Islip is said to have been somewhat severe, and to have cared little about external magnificence. He built, however, the greater part of the palace at Mayfield, where the ruins of his beautiful hall still remain; and completed the archiepiscopal palace at Maidstone, which Ufford had commenced. Islip is said to have "wasted, in his building, more of the timber in the Dourdennes (Weald of Kent) than any of his predecessors[p]." At Oxford he founded and endowed Canterbury Hall (now forming part of Christ Church[q]), in which he endeavoured to blend together the monastic and secular clergy, and of which, when the original intention had apparently failed, and the monks had been removed, Wycliffe the reformer

[n] Church History, cent. xiv. bk. iii.

[o] Hallam, Lit. Hist., pt. i. ch. 2. § 34.

[p] Birchington.

[q] A memorial of Islip's foundation remains in the name of "Canterbury Quadrangle."

was named Warden[r]. Archbishop Islip died at Mayfield, April 26, 1366, and was buried in the nave of his cathedral, whence all trace of his tomb has disappeared.

[A.D. 1366—1368—EDWARD III.] SIMON LANGHAM, Bishop of Ely, Treasurer of England, and (1363) Lord Chancellor, was Islip's successor. That he was not altogether popular appears from the monastic rhymes which recorded his translation:—

"Exultant cœli quia Simon venit ab Ely
Cujus in adventum flent in Kent millia centum."

He restored the monks to Canterbury Hall, and dispossessed Wycliffe. "Soon after his translation," says Collier, "he received a strict order from Pope Urban V. to enquire into the pluralists of his province; and here, upon examination, it was found that some clerks had no less than twenty benefices and dignities by papal provisions, with the privileges, over and above, to increase their number as far as their interest would reach[s]." In 1368 he received a cardinal's hat from Urban V., and (Nov. 17, 1368) resigned his archbishopric, the temporalities of which had already been seized by the King, who "had not been made pre-acquainted with his promotion[t]." Langham died at Avignon in 1376, and was buried in the church of the Carthusians there, whence, three years later, his remains were conveyed to the Abbey Church of Westminster, in which great convent he had been successively monk, prior, and abbot, and where (in the chapel of St. Benedict) his tomb, with effigy, still remains.

[r] See the narrative in Milman's Lat. Christ., vi. 106.

[s] Collier, Ch. Hist., bk. vi. cent. xiv.

[t] Collier. Dean Milman instances the fact of the Archbishop's resignation as one of the many proofs of a "change in the national opinion and in the times." The cause, however, is not altogether evident. It is asserted that Langham was aiming at the Papacy, and that when he found his hopes in that direction disappointed, "abdicati sui archiepiscopatus penituisse videtur." — *Anglia Sacra*, i. 120.

[A.D. Oct. 1368—June, 1374—EDWARD III.] WILLIAM WHITTLESEA, a nephew of Archbishop Islip, who had employed him on many embassies to the court of Rome, was translated to Canterbury from Worcester on the nomination of the Pope. Little is recorded of this Archbishop, whose tomb, in the nave of his cathedral, has been long destroyed.

[A.D. 1375—June 14, 1381—EDWARD III., RICHARD II.] SIMON OF SUDBURY was translated from London by the provision of the Pope, who knew that the choice would not be displeasing to Edward III. The father of the Archbishop, who was of noble birth, was Nigel Theobald, of Sudbury in Suffolk. Simon was sent at an early age to the different French Universities, in which he pursued the study of law with great success. He afterwards became *Auditor Rotæ* in the court of Innocent VI., then Chancellor of Salisbury and Bishop of London, from which see he was translated to Canterbury. In 1379 (the third year of Richard II.) the great seal was delivered to Archbishop Simon, "contra gradum suæ dignitatis," says Walsingham, since he had never been Chancellor before his elevation to the primacy.

As Chancellor, Archbishop Simon, in the parliament of Northampton (1380), proposed the famous poll-tax which served as an excuse for the outbreak of Wat Tyler's rebellion; and as Archbishop, he had imprisoned at Maidstone the priest John Ball, "a religious demagogue of the lowest order," who became one of its principal leaders. After Jack Straw and his mob had advanced from Blackheath upon London, and whilst the young King was holding his conference with the mass of the rebels at Mile-end, Wat Tyler, with a body of 400 men, broke into the Tower, in which the Archbishop, and Robert Hales, the Treasurer, had remained after the departure of the King to Mile-end; —seized, and beheaded them. The Archbishop had passed the night in prayer, and was in the act of celebrating Mass

when the noise of the attack was first heard. He presented himself of his own accord to the rebels, and was dragged to the castle yard, where he warned them that violence offered to him would possibly lead to the placing of all England under an interdict. In spite of the fervour with which he addressed them,—"erat vir eloquentissimus," says Walsingham, "et incomparabiliter ultra omnes regni sapientes sapiens,"—he was compelled to kneel, and after many blows his head was struck off. He died imploring pardon on his enemies. His body remained on the ground all that day and a part of the next, no one venturing to touch it. His head, like that of the Treasurer, was fixed on a pike, and after being carried in mockery through the streets, was hung over London Bridge. A man named John Starling, who boasted that he had killed the Archbishop, was himself beheaded a few days later; and Walsingham asserts that more than one miracle was afterwards wrought at the intercession of the murdered Simon of Sudbury. Comparisons were even made between him and the great martyr of Canterbury, as in Gower's *Vox Clamantis*:—

> "Quatuor in mortem spirarunt fœdera Thomæ;
> Simonis at centum mille dedere necem."

The Archbishop's body was conveyed to Canterbury, and buried in the south choir-aisle of his cathedral, (Pt. I. § xxxv.) "Not many years ago, when this tomb was accidentally opened, the body was seen within, wrapped in cerecloth, a leaden ball occupying the vacant space of the head[a]." Archbishop Simon rebuilt much of the church of St. George at Sudbury, his native place, and founded a college of secular priests there. At Canterbury he built the west gate, still remaining, and great part of the city walls. In commemoration of the benefits he had bestowed on their town, the mayor and aldermen used to pay an annual visit to his tomb "to pray for his soul."

[a] Stanley.

[A.D. 1381—July 31, 1396—RICHARD II.] WILLIAM COURTENAY, son of Hugh Courtenay, Earl of Devon, was translated to Canterbury from London, like his predecessor. The recent rebellion had been attributed, with entire injustice, to the spread of Wycliffe's doctrines, and John Ball was regarded as his partizan. "Between the two men there was no connection, less sympathy." Wycliffe had already twice appeared before Courtenay as Bishop of London, and had twice defied or escaped prosecution. Now, however, the Archbishop, full of the indignation and terror inspired by the sight of his predecessor's headless trunk, "summoned a synod to deliberate and determine on the measures to be taken concerning certain strange and dangerous opinions widely prevalent, as well among the nobility as among the commons of the realm[v]." The synod condemned twenty-four articles gathered out of the writings of Wycliffe, and much persecution of those supposed to favour him speedily followed. But the Wycliffites were not silenced, nor was Wycliffe himself drowned "in so strong a stream as ran against him." "Admirable," continues Fuller, "that a hare so often hunted by so many packs of dogs should die at last quietly sitting in his form[x]."

Archbishop Courtenay, more fortunate than his predecessor Mepham, succeeded in establishing his right to the visitation of his province, although, like Mepham, he was opposed by the Bishops of Exeter (see EXETER—Bishop BRANTYNGHAM) and of Salisbury. He died July 31, 1396, at Maidstone, but there is some doubt whether he was interred there or at Canterbury. His monument remains, however, in the cathedral, adjoining that of the Black Prince (Part I. § XXXI.), of whose will, Courtenay, when Bishop of London, had been one of the executors. He left large sums toward the completion of the nave of Canterbury, the re-

[v] Lat. Christ., vi. 127.

[x] Church Hist., cent. xiv. bk. iv. Wycliffe died at his parsonage at Lutterworth, Dec. 31, 1384.

building of which had been commenced under Archbishop Simon, and was continued during his own archiepiscopate. At Maidstone he rebuilt the church, dedicating it afresh to All Saints, and connecting it with the college of secular priests which he established there.

A.D. 1396—1414—RICHARD II., HENRY IV., and HENRY V.] THOMAS ARUNDEL, by papal provision, was translated to Canterbury from York. He was the son of Robert Fitzalan, thirteenth Earl of Arundel, and younger brother of Richard the fourteenth earl, who was beheaded. The new Archbishop had scarcely been enthroned when he became involved in the conspiracy for which his brother, the Earl of Arundel, was executed before his face; and was himself exiled. He fled to the Papal Court, where he remained until the success of Bolingbroke's expedition restored him to his see. It was Archbishop Arundel who received the abdication of Richard II., by whom he had been exiled. "Arundel presented Henry to the people as their king, . . . Arundel set the crown upon his brow, . . . Arundel might seem to have forgetten in his loyal zeal that he was the successor of Becket. In the insurrection of the Earls of Kent and Salisbury, two clergymen were hanged, drawn, and quartered without remonstrance from the Primate. . . . When Archbishop Scrope (of York), after the revolt of the Percies, is beheaded as a traitor, Arundel keeps silence[r]."

In the first Parliament of Henry IV. (1400) the statute *De hæretico comburendo*, necessary to legalize the burning of heretics, was enacted; and under its provisions William Sawtree, a Wycliffite preacher at St. Osyth's, in the city, was solemnly condemned by Archbishop Arundel in a convocation at St. Paul's (1408), and delivered to the secular arm for burning. Sawtree is to be regarded as the first English Protestant martyr, although "he does not lead the

[r] Lat. Christ., vi. 142.

holy army with much dignity [z]." Two other Lollards, John Badbee and William Thorpe, were condemned by the Archbishop during the reign of Henry IV., the first of whom was burnt. After the accession of Henry V., Arundel was principally employed in attacking the famous head of the Lollards, Sir John Oldcastle, Lord Cobham, whose history need not be related here. Arundel was present at the head of the other bishops in the Dominican convent at London when Cobham was condemned in 1413.

Archbishop Arundel died Feb. 19, 141$\frac{3}{4}$. In the Parliament of 1407 he had firmly defended the clergy against the attacks of the Commons, who sought to throw the burden of their taxation upon the wealth of the Church; but his archiepiscopate is chiefly memorable for his persecution of the Lollards, whose teaching was spreading too widely, and was far too dangerous to the hierarchy, to be allowed to remain unchecked.

[A.D. 1414—April 12, 1443—HENRY V. and HENRY VI.]

HENRY CHICHELE, elected by the monks, would not consent to recognise their election until it had been confirmed by Pope John XXIII. [a] Chichele was born about the year 1362, of wealthy but not of noble parents, at Higham Ferrers in Northamptonshire, and was educated in Wykeham's colleges at Winchester and Oxford. His especial patron was Richard Metford, Bishop of Salisbury, who made him archdeacon successively of Dorset and of Salisbury, and by whose advice he was appointed in 1397 ambassador to

[z] Milman, vi. 144. Sawtree on his trial declared that he had never made a former recantation, the proofs of which were brought into court. "But," says Fuller, "let those who severely censure him for *once* denying the truth, and do know who it was that denied his Master *thrice,* take heed they do not as bad a deed more than *four* times themselves. May Sawtree's final constancy be as surely practised by men, as his former cowardliness no doubt is pardoned by God."—*Church Hist.*, bk. iv. cent. xv.

[a] The Pope, however, whilst he nominated Chichele, claimed the right of provision.

Gregory XII. at Sienna. By this Pope's "provision" he was afterwards consecrated at Lucca Bishop of St. David's; and in 1409 Chichele was present at the Council of Pisa, where he assented to the degradation of Gregory XII. In 1414 he became archbishop.

It is certain that Shakspeare has, with entire historical truth, represented (see "Henry V.," act i. sc. 1, 2) the Primate as justifying, if not urging, the "iniquitous claim" of Henry V. to the crown of France. "The lavish subsidies of the Church were bestowed with unexampled readiness and generosity for these bloody campaigns. It was more than gratitude to the House of Lancaster for their firm support of the Church and the statute for burning heretics; it was a deliberate diversion, a successful one, of the popular passions to a foreign war, from their bold and resolute aggressions on the Church[b],"—much of the temporalities of which the Commons in Parliament had more than once proposed to strip away. Archbishop Arundel had resisted them boldly and openly; Archbishop Chichele by diverting attention to a French war, and by promising large subsidies from the clergy for its maintenance. He retained the favour of Henry V. throughout that King's life, and was godfather to the Prince, afterwards Henry VI.

Whilst, however, the English hierarchy was thus defending itself, the new Pope, Martin V., who after the Council of Constance "resumed all the haughty demeanour and language of former pontiffs," addressed Chichele as the metropolitan of the English Church, reproving his "criminal remissness and cowardice" in not opposing and procuring the reversal of the many statutes—especially those of "provisors" and of "præmunire"—by which the papal power in England had been held in check. Chichele is reminded that he is the successor of the glorious martyr St. Thomas. But the Archbishop "strove to maintain

[b] Lat. Christ., vi. 236.

a middle course. He could not defy the Pope, he knew that he could not annul the law of England. He urged on a Parliament at Westminster the terrors of a papal interdict on the land. The Parliament paid no further regard to these terrors than to petition the Pope to restore the Primate of England to his favour[c];" and the University of Oxford, whilst they give him the title of the "golden candlestick of the Church of England," declare to the Pope that Chichele "stood in the sanctuary of God as a firm wall that heresy could not shake nor simony undermine . . . . that he was the darling of the people and the foster-parent of the clergy." The Archbishop, however, was never restored to the favour of the Court of Rome during the pontificate of Martin V.

In his native town of Higham Ferrers, Archbishop Chichele founded a collegiate church and a hospital. At Oxford he was the founder of St. Bernard's College (for Cistercian students),—which after the Reformation became St. John's,—and of All Souls'; in the name and statutes of which College it is possible to trace that "deep remorse for his sin" in instigating the last great war of conquest in France, with which his declining years were haunted. The members of the Society were enjoined to pray for the "souls of Henry V., and the Duke of Clarence, together with those of all the dukes, earls, barons, knights, esquires, and other subjects of the Crown of England, who had fallen in the war with France." At Canterbury, Archbishop Chichele built and furnished with books a library for the monks of Christ Church.

In 1442 the Archbishop applied to Pope Eugenius for permission to resign his see, since he was "so heavy laden, aged, infirm, and weak, as not to be able any longer to bear the burden of it." Before any reply was received, however, Chichele died, April 12, 1443, having held his archiepiscopate for nearly thirty years, a longer period

[c] Lat. Christ., vi. 239.

than any of his predecessors. His tomb, which was constructed by himself during his lifetime, and is kept in repair by the society of All Souls', remains in the north choir-aisle of his cathedral (Pt. I. § xxiv.), and, like his college, seems to indicate a deeply penitential spirit.

[A.D. 1443—July 6, 1452—Henry VI.] John Stafford, Bishop of Bath and Wells, whom Chichele had recommended to the Pope as his successor, was accordingly nominated by Eugenius IV., with the King's consent. He was a son of the Earl of Stafford, had been patronized by Chichele, and was made by Henry V. Dean of Wells and Treasurer of England. Martin V. appointed him to the see of Bath and Wells in 1425, and in 1431 he became Lord Chancellor, an office which he retained for more than ten years, a period of unusual length. Archbishop Stafford, who seems to have been distinguished either as chancellor or archbishop by no very remarkable ability, died at Maidstone in 1452. He was buried in the south choir-aisle of his cathedral.

[A.D. Sept. 1452—March, 1454—Henry VI.] John Kemp, Archbishop of York, succeeded. He was born at Wye, in Kent; educated at Merton College, Oxford; became Archdeacon of Durham; Bishop successively of Rochester, Chichester, and London; and in 1425 Archbishop of York. In 1439 he was created Cardinal of St. Balbina, and was further raised to be Cardinal of St. Rufina on his translation to Canterbury. Hence a verse concerning him ran,—

"Bis primas, ter præses, et bis Cardine functus."

He died at a great age, before he had been six months primate, and is buried in the north choir-aisle (Pt. I. § xxxv.) When Archbishop of York he raised to a collegiate church, and endowed accordingly, the parish church of his native place, Wye.

[A.D. 1454—1486—Henry VI., Edward IV., Edward V.,

Richard III., Henry VII.] Thomas Bourchier, Bishop of Ely, was freely elected by the monks, whom the King would in no way influence. He was the son of William Bourchier, Count of Eu in Normandy, and Earl of Essex in England, by Anne, daughter of Thomas Woodstock, sixth son of Edward III., of whom the Archbishop was consequently the great grandson. Archbishop Bourchier was educated at Oxford, of which University he became Chancellor in 1434; in 1435 he was consecrated Bishop of Worcester, whence he was removed to Ely in 1443. In 1454 he become Archbishop, and in 1464 he was created Cardinal of "St. Cyriacus in Thermis."

Archbishop Bourchier fell upon troubled times, and was called upon more than once to play a difficult part. In 1455, whilst the royal authority was for a short time resumed by Queen Margaret, Archbishop Bourchier was made Chancellor, and he was allowed to retain the Great Seal after the battle of St. Alban's in the spring of the same year (May 22), which gave back the power to the Yorkists. He did not resign it until October 1456, when the party of the Red Rose was again uppermost. The great seal was once more in his custody for a short time in 1460. The Archbishop, who had always affected neutrality in the struggle between the two Roses, effected their final union by performing the marriage ceremony between Henry VII. and Elizabeth of York (Jan. 18, 1486). Two months afterwards (March 30), Archbishop Bourchier closed his long life at his palace of Knowle, and was interred at Canterbury, where his tomb remains.

His episcopate, as Bishop successively of Worcester and of Ely, and as Archbishop, lasted for 51 years; and is the longest on record in the English Church. For thirty-two of those years he filled the primacy. Throughout his life, Archbishop Bourchier was an active patron of learning and of men of letters; and has the honour of having contributed toward the introduction of printing into this country.

[A.D. 1486—Sept. 1500—HENRY VII.] JOHN MORTON, like his predecessor, was translated to Canterbury from Ely. He was born in 1410, at Bere, in Dorsetshire, of good but not distinguished parentage; was educated at Balliol College, Oxford, in which University he became *Legum Doctor*, and was afterwards patronized by Archbishop Bourchier, who recommended him to Henry VI. He served that King faithfully as a privy councillor until Edward IV. was firmly seated on the throne, "when he thought it not inconsistent with the duties of a good citizen to submit to the ruling powers without renouncing his former attachments[d]." The royal favour was continued to Morton by Edward IV., who made him Master of the Rolls, Bishop of Ely (in 1478), and by his last will appointed him one of his executors. In this capacity he had some sort of guardianship of the royal children; and Richard of Gloucester, who had made overtures to him in vain, found it necessary for the success of his projects to remove the Archbishop, who was accordingly committed to the Tower after the famous scene at the council from which Lord Hastings was led off to execution. This scene has been drawn by Shakespeare from Sir Thomas More's "Life of Richard III."—the details of which are said to have been furnished by Morton, himself the Bishop of Ely whose strawberries were so famous:—

"*Glo.* My Lord of Ely, when I was last in Holborn
I saw good strawberries in your garden there,
I do beseech you send for some of them.
Ely. Marry, and will my lord, with all my heart.
* * * * * * *
Where is my Lord Protector? I have sent
For these strawberries . . . .[e]"

After a petition from the University of Oxford, which declared that, "like Rachel weeping for her children, she

[d] Lord Campbell, Lives of the Chancellors, i. 412.

[e] King Richard III., act iii. sc. 4.

was moved with pity over the lamentable distress of this her dearest son," Morton was committed to the care of the Duke of Buckingham, and was imprisoned in the castle of Brecknock. Thence he managed to escape, and joined the Earl of Richmond on the Continent, whose invasion he assisted in planning. After the battle of Bosworth, Morton was recalled to England, and on the death of Cardinal Bourchier Henry VII. procured his election to the primacy. In the year 1493 he obtained a cardinal's hat for the Archbishop from Pope Alexander VI. The marriage of Henry with Elizabeth of York, although celebrated by Archbishop Bourchier, is said to have been originally brought about by Morton.

In 1487 Archbishop Morton was made Lord Chancellor, and continued in this office, and in the unabated confidence of the King, for thirteen years, until his death in 1500. "Although he appeared merely to execute the measures of the King, he was in reality the chief author of the system for controlling the power of the great feudal barons, and he may be considered the model, as he was the precursor, of Cardinal Richelieu, who in a later age accomplished the same object still more effectually in France[f]." Archbishop Morton, however, encouraged the "indefinite exactions miscalled benevolences" from which Henry reaped no small profit; and he is "famous for the dilemma which he proposed to merchants and others whom he solicited to contribute. He told those who lived handsomely that their opulence was manifest by their rate of expenditure. Those, again, whose course of living was less sumptuous, must have grown rich by their economy. Either class could well afford assistance to their sovereign. This piece of logic, unanswerable in the mouth of a privy councillor, acquired the name of 'Morton's fork[g].'"

Cardinal Morton procured from Alexander VI. the ca-

[f] Lord Campbell's Chancellors, i. 414.

[g] Hallam, Const. Hist., ch. i.

nonization of his great predecessor, St. Anselm. He died at Knowle (Sept. 1500), and his tomb, constructed during his lifetime, remains in the crypt of his cathedral, (Pt. I. § XL.) His portrait has thus been drawn in the introduction to the "Utopia," by Sir Thomas More, who knew him well:—"He was of a middle stature, in advanced years, but not broken by age; his aspect begot reverence rather than fear. He sometimes took pleasure to try the mental qualities of those who came as suitors to him on business, by speaking briskly though decorously to them, and thereby discovered their spirit and self-command; and he was much delighted with a display of energy, so that it did not grow up to impudence, as bearing a great resemblance to his own temperament, and best fitting men for affairs. He spoke both gracefully and mightily; he was eminently skilled in the law; he had a comprehensive understanding, and a very retentive memory; and the excellent talents with which nature had furnished him were improved by study and discipline."

[A.D. 1501—Feb. 15, 1503—HENRY VII.] HENRY DEAN was translated from Salisbury, after Thomas Langton, Bishop of Winchester, who had first been elected, had died of the plague before his translation could be effected. Dean himself, who had been translated from Bangor to Salisbury, and to whom the Great Seal was committed (but with the title of Lord Keeper only) on the death of Archbishop Morton, died at Lambeth within a year of his elevation. He was buried at Canterbury in the transept of the Martyrdom. No monument remains.

[A.D. 1503—Aug. 23, 1532—HENRY VII., HENRY VIII.] WILLIAM WARHAM, born at Okely, near Basingstoke, of a good Hampshire family, was educated at Winchester and at New College. His first patron was Archbishop Morton, who recommended him to Henry VII., by whom he was sent on a mission to the court of Burgundy to remonstrate against the countenance given by the Duchess Margaret,

sister of Edward IV., to the pretended Duke of York, Perkin Warbeck. On his return, Warham was made Master of the Rolls and Bishop of London, and in 1503 was translated to Canterbury. His installation feast was one of the most magnificent on record, (see Pt. I. § LIV.) The Great Seal, with the title of Lord Keeper, was given to Warham when Bishop of London, immediately on the death of Archbishop Dean. He retained it (as Lord Chancellor after his elevation to the primacy) until 1515, when the plotting of Wolsey compelled him to resign.

As Archbishop, Warham placed the crown on the head of Henry VIII., against whose marriage with his brother's widow, Catherine of Arragon, he protested from the first. Great jealousy existed between the Archbishop and Wolsey, who coveted the possession of the Great Seal, which Warham long retained in spite of him, and whose legatine authority interfered with the legitimate supremacy of the Primate. Warham retired from the court, after his resignation of the Great Seal in 1515, but was still exposed to the insults of Wolsey until the fall of the Cardinal in 1527. The Archbishop, however, never returned to the court of Henry. Although he had given it as his opinion that the original papal dispensation for the King's marriage was *ultra vires*, and that he was entitled to a divorce, Warham, foreseeing the great changes that were impending, had embraced the side of the "old religion," and had in effect shewn himself opposed to the divorce, unless with the full consent of the Pope. He passed his latter years at his different Kentish palaces, on the repairs of many of which he spent large sums, occupied with the duties of his diocese, and with literature, of which he shewed himself an enlightened patron. Shortly before his death he gave, as did others of his party, some countenance to the famous Nun of Kent, Elizabeth Barton. He died, happily for himself, since he thus escaped the evils to which More and Fisher were soon afterwards exposed, Aug. 23, 1532,

at St. Stephen's, near Canterbury. On his death-bed he asked what money there was in his coffers, and being told thirty pounds, replied, "Satis viatici ad cœlum." His tomb remains in the transept of the Martyrdom, (Pt. I. § xx.)

Archbishop Warham had early contracted a friendship with Erasmus, whom he induced to visit England, and upon whom he bestowed the living of Aldingbourn in Kent. Erasmus dedicated to the Archbishop his edition of St. Jerome; and in a letter written shortly after Warham's death, having described his occupation as Chancellor and Archbishop, he proceeds to give the following picture of him: "His only relaxation was pleasant reading, or discoursing with a man of learning. Although he had bishops, dukes, and earls at his table, his dinners never lasted above an hour. He appeared in splendid robes becoming his station; but his tastes were exceedingly simple. He rarely suffered wine to touch his lips; and when he was turned of seventy his usual beverage was small beer (*pertenuem cerevisiam quam illi biriam vocant*), which he drank very sparingly. But while he himself abstained from almost everything at table, yet so cheerful was his countenance and so festive his talk, that he enlivened and charmed all who were present . . . He made it a rule to abstain entirely from supper. . . . . He shunned indecency and slander as one would a serpent. So this illustrious man made the day, the shortness of which many allege as a pretext for their idleness, long enough for all the various public and private duties he had to perform."

[A.D. 1533—1556—Henry VIII., Edward VI., Mary.] Thomas Cranmer, the successor of Warham, is to be regarded as the first Protestant Archbishop of Canterbury. He would only consent to accept the archbishopric as coming immediately from the King, without any kind of papal intervention; and both before and at the time of his consecration, made a solemn protest against any interpretation

of the oaths he was about to take, which should be opposed to his obedience to the King, to the laws of England, or to his support of the Reformation.

Cranmer was born in the year 1489, of a good and ancient family, at Aslacton, in Nottinghamshire. He was educated at Cambridge, where he became a Fellow of Jesus College. In 1529, whilst the plague was raging at Cambridge, Cranmer retired with two of his pupils to Waltham Abbey in Essex, where he accidentally met Fox and Gardiner, the King's almoner and secretary. To them Cranmer declared his opinion that the great question of the royal divorce, then in full agitation, might far better be decided "by the divines of the universities of Christendom upon the authority of God's Word," than by any appeal to the Pope. Henry, weary of his long negotiations with Pope Clement VII., pronounced that "the man had the sow by the right ear," sent for Cranmer to court, made him his chaplain, and placed him in the family of Thomas Boleyn, Earl of Wiltshire, father of the future Queen, with orders to write upon the subject of the divorce. Cranmer did so, and was afterwards made Archdeacon of Taunton.

In 1530, Cranmer accompanied the Earl of Wiltshire on his embassy to the papal court. His book was presented to Clement, and he offered to maintain its assertions in public, but found no opponent. The Pope at this time made him his Penitentiary throughout England, Ireland, and Wales. "Only to stay his stomach for that time," says Fuller, "in hope of a more plentiful feast hereafter, if Cranmer had been pleased to take his repast on any popish preferment." This, however, he did not propose to himself. From Bologna, where he had found the Pope, he passed into Germany, and there married the niece of Osiander, who, like himself, had written in favour of the divorce. He was still absent in 1532, when the death of Archbishop Warham occurred; and was not himself consecrated Archbishop until March in the following year. The

Bishops of Lincoln, Exeter, and St. Asaph officiated at the ceremony.

As Archbishop, Cranmer pronounced (May 23, 1533) the sentence of divorce between Henry and Catherine, and on the 25th of the same month the King was secretly married to Anne Boleyn, by Dr. Rowland Lee, one of his chaplains. It was Cranmer who placed the crown on the head of the new Queen, and who baptized her daughter Elizabeth, being at the same time one of her sponsors. After the trial of Anne Boleyn he pronounced in turn that marriage void, and acted as confessor to the unhappy queen during her imprisonment in the Tower. Throughout his episcopate, Cranmer, the first married Primate, vigorously supported the reforming party. In the year 1537 he assisted in compiling the book entitled "The Godly and Pious Institute of a Christian Man," which was revised by the King, and is the first English book "set forth by authority" in which the doctrines of the Reformation were at all advanced. In 1539 Cranmer was one of the commissioners "for inspecting into matters of religion," and in the same year protested against the act, said to have been drawn up by Gardiner, called that of "the six bloody articles," one of which expressly forbad the marriage of priests. On this occasion he sent back his wife and children into Germany. In the Parliament of 1544 he procured an act moderating the rigour of the six articles. In 1545 the opposite party, led by Gardiner, accused him of heresy, especially in the matter of the Sacrament of the Altar; and Cranmer would probably have fallen at this time, had not Henry himself protected him:—

> "The Archbishop
> Is the King's hand and tongue; and who dare speak
> One syllable against him [h]."

In spite of his having more than once opposed the King's

[h] King Hen. VIII., act v. sc. 1.

wishes, Henry befriended Cranmer throughout his life, and sent for him to attend his death-bed.

An entire revolution had taken place at Canterbury since the elevation of Cranmer to the primacy. In April, 1538, (see Pt. I. § XXVII.,) the remarkable summons to Archbishop Becket had been read by the side of the shrine, and in August of the same year the shrine itself was destroyed, and its numberless jewels removed by the royal commissioners under Dr. Leyton. On March 30, 1539, the great monastery of Christ Church was finally dissolved, and the new establishment, consisting of a dean and twelve canons, was placed in full possession of the cathedral and the conventual buildings.

By the will of Henry VIII. Cranmer was appointed one of the regents of the kingdom, and one of the executors of the will itself. The Archbishop crowned Edward VI. (Feb. 20, 1546), to whom, as well as to Elizabeth, he had been godfather. Throughout the short reign of Edward he was earnest in advancing the Reformation. The six articles were repealed, the Communion in both kinds was established, and in 1548 the first "Book of Common Prayer" was set forth, which was "reviewed" in 1551, reprinted with alterations, and authorized by Parliament in 1552.

On the death-bed of Edward, Cranmer signed the King's will, in which he appointed Lady Jane Grey his successor. Immediately on the accession of Mary he was ordered to appear before the council, and within a month (Sept. 13, 1553) was committed to the Tower. On the 3rd of November he was pronounced guilty of high treason, but was pardoned on this ground, and it was determined that he should be proceeded against as a heretic. In April, 1554, he was sent to Oxford with Ridley and Latimer, and a public disputation was held between them and the opposite party. They remained in prison at Oxford for nearly two years, and the Archbishop was condemned as a heretic

by two successive commissions. In February, 155$\frac{5}{6}$, he was degraded and deprived. His fellow martyrs, Ridley and Latimer, had suffered in the previous September; and it is said that Cranmer, during their last agony, went up to the roof of his prison (called the Bocardo), near the tower of St. Michael's Church, in the Cornmarket, whence he had a view of the pyre, and on his knees with outspread hands prayed to God to give them constancy of faith and hope. Cranmer's well-known recantation was signed after his deprivation, but did not save his life. On the 21st of March, 155$\frac{5}{6}$, he was brought to St. Mary's, and placed on a kind of stage opposite the pulpit. Dr. Cole, Provost of Eton, preached; and Cranmer afterwards made his solemn confession of faith, renouncing altogether the recantation his "unworthy right hand" had signed. That hand he declared should first suffer punishment. From the church he was hurried to the place of execution, opposite Balliol College, and after stretching his hand into the flame and holding it there until it was consumed, died "keeping his eyes fixed to heaven, and repeating 'Lord Jesus, receive my spirit.'" It is said that his heart was found entire among the ashes.

The remaining works of Archbishop Cranmer have been collected and published in 4 vols. 8vo., by Dr. Jenkyns (Oxford, 1833). His life belongs so completely to the history of his time, that in order to be followed with any accuracy it must be studied in immediate connection with that. Its latter portion should be read in the admirable narrative of Mr. Froude (History of England, vols. v. vi.) Very important materials for a life of Cranmer, rather than a true biography, were collected by Strype (Memorials of Archbishop Cranmer, 2 vols. 8vo.), and other lives have been published by Archdeacon Todd (2 vols. 8vo., London, 1831), and by the Rev. C. W. Le Bas (2 vols. 12mo., London, 1833). A life is also prefixed to the edition of his works by Dr. Jenkyns. The narrative of

his martyrdom will be found in Foxe, and extracts from it in Wordsworth's "Ecclesiastical Biography."

[A.D. 1556—1558—MARY.] REGINALD POLE, the successor of Cranmer, was a younger son of Sir Richard Pole, Lord Montague, and Margaret, daughter of George Duke of Clarence, younger brother to King Edward IV. Reginald was thus nearly connected with Henry VIII. He was born in the year 1500, at Somerton Castle, in Worcestershire, and was educated by the Carthusians of Shene, and at Magdalen College, Oxford. At a very early age he was ordained deacon, and in 1517 was made Prebendary of Salisbury. Before he was nineteen he received the deanery of Exeter and some other preferments, in addition to which a large yearly pension was assigned him by the King. On leaving Oxford, Pole visited the Universities of France and Italy, spent some time at Padua and Venice, and returned to England in 1525.

The conduct of Reginald Pole during the discussion of the King's divorce cannot be detailed here. After Henry had in vain attempted to gain his support, he was permitted to withdraw, still retaining his pension, first to Avignon and then to Padua, where he wrote the remarkable treatise *Pro Unitate Ecclesiastica*, a copy of which he sent to Henry, and which was afterwards, in 1536, published at Rome. In this book the King's supremacy was altogether denied, and Pole, recollecting the fate of More and Fisher, refused to return to England when sent for by the King. His pension was accordingly withdrawn, he was deprived of all his English dignities, and an act of attainder was passed against him.

In December, 1537, Reginald Pole was compelled, very unwillingly, to accept a cardinal's hat. There is reason to believe that his objections arose from a hope which he had long entertained of becoming the husband of the Princess Mary, and of thus placing himself on the English throne. In the following year occurred the Northern rebellion,

called the Pilgrimage of Grace; and Pole, with the title of Legate beyond the Alps, was sent into Flanders to communicate with and assist the rebels. The rebellion, however, was suppressed before he reached Liege; and although he opened communications with the disaffected, he found that nothing could be accomplished. His elder brother, Lord Montague, who had shared in the Cardinal's treason, was now executed; and, after the second rising, in 1541, his mother, the venerable Countess of Salisbury. There can be little doubt that Cardinal Pole, not impossibly with a view to the English crown, had kept up the disaffection in the North to the utmost of his ability.

Pole remained in Italy until the death of Edward VI., in July, 1553. Upon the accession of Mary, after the question of his marriage had been again discussed, and set aside by the influence of the Emperor, Charles V., he was appointed Legate for England, where he arrived in Nov. 1554. Cranmer was at this time in prison, and the Legate was installed in the palace at Lambeth. As Legate he absolved the Parliament, and made a solemn entry into London. On the 22nd of March, 155$\frac{5}{6}$, the day after the execution of Cranmer, he was consecrated Archbishop of Canterbury.

For the next three years the sole management of ecclesiastical affairs in England rested with Pole, who beyond a doubt assented to the religious persecutions which disgraced the reign of Mary, although it may be true that he did not urge them on. The Cardinal was deprived of his legatine powers, however, and accused as a "suspected heretic" by the Pope, Paul IV. (Peter Caraffa), who had opposed him in Italy, and who had desired the elevation of Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, to the primacy, instead of Pole. The Archbishop made complete submission, and was again appointed Legate, but only a short time before his death. This occurred Nov. 18, 1558. Queen Mary herself died the day before. Both the Queen and the Arch-

bishop died of an epidemic fever then general throughout England.

Cardinal Pole was buried in the 'corona' at Canterbury (Pt. I. § xxxii.), where his tomb remains. He was the last Archbishop of Canterbury buried in his own cathedral, (see Pt. I. § xxiv., note.)

[A.D. Dec. 1559 — May 1575 — Elizabeth.] Matthew Parker, the second Protestant Archbishop of Canterbury, but the first of the uninterrupted succession, was born of a good family at Norwich, in 1504, and educated at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge. Here his learning and abilities were so conspicuous that Wolsey invited him to become a fellow of his newly-established college at Oxford. This he declined, perhaps on account of his leaning toward the "new religion," of which he became a zealous supporter. He was appointed, however, preacher at Court and at St. Paul's Cross, and in 1533 was made chaplain to Anne Boleyn, who recommended her daughter Elizabeth to his especial care and instruction. After the Queen's death, Parker continued chaplain to Henry VIII., and afterwards to Edward VI., and became Master of his College at Cambridge, for which he compiled a new book of statutes. Edward VI. made him Dean of Lincoln, and in this reign he did good service by venturing into the camp of the rebels under Kett in Norfolk, and there exhorting them "to temperance, moderation, and submission." Under Queen Mary he was, as a married priest, deprived of all his preferments, and remained in obscurity until the accession of Elizabeth, who raised him to the primacy. He was elected, in due form, by the new "chapter" of Canterbury.

Parker was consecrated in the chapel at Lambeth, Dec. 17, 1559, by Barlow, Edward the Sixth's Bishop of Bath and Wells; by Miles Coverdale, Bishop of Exeter; and by Scory, Bishop of Hereford. "When the ceremony of the confirmation" [at the Court of Arches, which took place on

the day before (?) the consecration] "was over, the Vicar-General, the Dean of the Arches, and other officers of that court, were entertained at the 'Nag's Head Tavern' in Cheapside. This treat gave occasion to the senseless story of the 'Nag's Head' consecration[i],"—a story which, it need hardly be said, has been so effectually disproved that the most unscrupulous Romanist would hardly now venture to assert its truth.

As Archbishop, Parker shewed himself one of the most prudent Churchmen of his time. His views of public affairs both in Church and State were wide and far reaching, and it is probable that no other member of the English hierarchy would have filled the metropolitical see so well during the difficult years which succeeded the accession of Elizabeth. He directed that great caution should be observed in administering the oath of supremacy to those of the clergy who still favoured the "old religion," and if he displayed a severer temper in his dealings with the Puritans, it must be remembered that religious toleration, as we now understand it, was then altogether unthought of on either side; and that the Archbishop clearly saw the dangers to which the teaching of such men as Cartwright was necessarily tending. "He was a *Parker* indeed," says Fuller, "careful to keep the fences and shut the gates of discipline against all such night stealers as would invade the same[k]." He was himself not a little troubled by the Queen's dislike of a married clergy—especially by the injunction sent by Cecil to the Archbishop in August 1561, forbidding "all heads and members of any college or cathedral church, to have their wives or any other women within the precincts of such places." Parker remonstrated, but in vain. It was after this injunction that Elizabeth, who had been entertained by the Archbishop at Lambeth, took leave of his wife with the remarkable courtesy, "*Madam* [the style

[i] Collier, bk. vi. See also Fuller, Ch. Hist., bk. ix. § 3.

[k] Fuller, Ch. Hist., bk. ix. § 3.

of a married lady] I may not call you; *Mistress* [then the appellation of an unmarried woman] I am loth to call you. However, I thank you for your good cheer."

The "table of prohibited degrees in marriage," still printed at the end of the Prayer-book, and formerly hung up in every church, was drawn up by Archbishop Parker. His treatise *De Antiquitate Britannicæ Ecclesiæ*, is still a book of some value; and he published for the first time the Chronicles of Matthew Paris, Matthew of Westminster, and Walsingham, besides the Anglo-Saxon Gospels. The Archbishop was an active patron of learning and of art, "entertaining in his palaces, bookbinders, engravers, and painters, and those who wrote fine hands and understood drawing and illuminating[1]." He died at Lambeth, May 7, 1575. According to his own desire, his bowels were deposited in an urn in Lambeth Church, where his wife had been interred. His body was placed in the tomb which he had constructed for himself, near the south side of the altar in the chapel of Lambeth Palace. This tomb was levelled by a Colonel Scott, one of the purchasers of the palace during the civil war, who converted the chapel into a "hall or dancing room." The Archbishop's body was then thrown into one of the outhouses. It was re-interred in the chapel by Archbishop Sancroft, who placed over it a marble slab, with this inscription, "Corpus Matthæi archiepiscopi tandem hic quiescit." In the picture gallery of Lambeth is a good portrait of Archbishop Parker, painted by Richard Lyne, one of the artists whom he retained in his establishment.

[A.D. 1576—1583—Elizabeth.] Edmund Grindall, "a prelate most primitive in all his conversation," says Fuller, was translated from York to Canterbury. He was born at St. Bees in Cumberland, and was educated at Cambridge, where he became Master of Pembroke Hall. Through Bishop Ridley he was made one of Edward the Sixth's

[1] Collier.

chaplains, and would have been raised to the bishopric of London but for the King's death. He remained in Germany during the troubles of Queen Mary's reign, and on the accession of Elizabeth became the first Protestant Bishop of London. Thence he was removed to York in 1570, and in 1575 was nominated to the primacy.

Grindall, probably from his continental experience, was far more disposed to regard the Puritans with favour than his predecessor had shewn himself. He steadily refused to forbid the 'prophesyings' or meetings of the clergy for discussing the meaning of Scripture, to which Elizabeth so greatly objected; and was in consequence sequestered from his jurisdiction for nearly the whole period of his archiepiscopate. He became blind before his death, and proposed to resign the primacy. Before, however, the matter was determined, Archbishop Grindall died at his palace of Croydon, July 6, 1583. He was interred in the parish church of Croydon, where his tomb, with effigy, remains.

[A.D. 1583—1604—ELIZABETH, JAMES I.] JOHN WHITGIFT, according to Fuller, "one of the worthiest men that ever the English hierarchy did enjoy," was of a very different temper from his predecessor. He belonged to an ancient family long settled at Whitgift in Yorkshire, but was himself born, in 1530, at Great Grimsby in Lincolnshire. He was educated at Cambridge, where John Bradford the martyr, then a Fellow of Pembroke, was his tutor. His reputation soon became considerable, and about the year 1565, after preaching before the Queen, he was made one of Elizabeth's chaplains. In 1567 he became Master of Pembroke Hall, and in the same year Master of Trinity. At this time he distinguished himself by an answer to Cartwright's "Admonition," "written," says Mr. Hallam, "with much ability, but not falling short of the work it undertook to confute in rudeness and asperity[m]." Whit-

[m] Hallam, Const. Hist., ch. iv.

gift's "asperity," however, was by no means displeasing to Elizabeth, who made him, in 1573, Dean of Lincoln, and in 1576 Bishop of Worcester. Had Grindall resigned the primacy, as the Queen was anxious he should do, Whitgift was the prelate who was destined to fill his place. He refused, however, to accept it during the lifetime of Grindall, and it was not until after his death in 1583 that Whitgift was translated to Canterbury.

The asperity of Whitgift towards the Puritans became still more marked after his elevation, which "the wisest of Elizabeth's counsellors had ample reason to regret[n]." He insisted that every minister of the Church should subscribe to three points: the Queen's supremacy, the lawfulness of the Common Prayer and Ordination services, and the truth of the whole Thirty-nine Articles. It is possible that the law had already required subscription to all these points, but it had hitherto been evaded; and "the kingdom now resounded with the clamour of those who were suspended or deprived of their benefices, and of their numerous abettors[o]." The manner in which the Archbishop called into action one of the powers of the High Commission Court, by tendering the oath *ex officio* (binding the taker to answer all questions that should be put to him), was especially remonstrated against by Lord Burleigh, who declared that the articles of examination were "so curiously penned, so full of branches and circumstances, as he thought the Inquisition of Spain used not so many questions to comprehend and trap their preys." In spite, or rather in consequence, of these extreme measures, the famous libels which were published under the name of "Martin Marprelate," began to appear in 1588, and in 1590 the Puritans attempted to set up their "platform of government by synods and classes," which was, in effect, an overt act of revolution. The dissatisfaction was by no

[n] Hallam, Const. Hist., (vol. i. ch. iv. p. 199, ed. 1855.)
[o] Ibid.

means appeased on the accession of James, who, on his way to London, rejected a petition for a due consideration of their position signed by more than 1,000 of the more Puritanical clergy. The Archbishop, who is said to have dreaded the discussions which were expected to follow on the meeting of the King's first Parliament, died at Lambeth, Feb. 29, 160$\frac{}{4}$, before it had assembled. Elizabeth had constantly called him "her little black husband," "which favour nothing elated his gravity, carrying himself as one unconcerned in all worldly honour[p]."

Whitgift was buried in the parish church of Croydon, where his monument remains. "Bishop Babington, his pupil, made his funeral sermon, choosing for his text 2 Chron. xxiv. 15, 16; and paralleling the Archbishop's life with gracious Jehoiada[q]." The school and hospital founded by him in the town of Croydon still bear witness of his liberality.

[A.D. 1604—1610—JAMES I.] RICHARD BANCROFT carried forward the severe measures of his predecessor with yet more vigour and "asperity." He was born near Manchester in 1545, and educated at Jesus College, Oxford. Through the influence of Sir Christopher Hatton he was made one of Elizabeth's chaplains, and afterwards became Bishop of London, whence he was translated to Canterbury in 1604. He was, in Fuller's words, "a most stout champion to assert Church discipline, most stiff and stern to press conformity," inculcating the King's absolute power beyond the law, endeavouring to establish episcopacy in Scotland, and prosecuting the Puritans with more severity than they had experienced even under Elizabeth. Many were deprived of their benefices, many driven into exile. Bancroft, however, like his successor Laud, interfered to stop some who were setting out for Virginia. The Archbishop died at Lambeth Nov. 2, 1610, and was buried in the parish church there.

[A.D. 1610—1633—JAMES I., CHARLES I.] GEORGE ABBOT

[p] Fuller, Church Hist., bk. x. § 2. [q] Ibid.

was one of that "happy ternion of brothers," as Fuller calls them (the other two were Robert, Bishop of Salisbury, and Sir Maurice, who became Lord Mayor of London), born at Guildford in Surrey of humble parents. Their father was a cloth-worker, and, with his wife, had been in trouble during the Marian persecutions. George was educated at the Guildford free school, and at Balliol College, Oxford. He subsequently became Master of University College, and in 1604 was one of the divines appointed to assist in the translation of "King James's Bible." The four Gospels and the Acts were entrusted to Abbot. He was afterwards made chaplain to the Earl of Dunbar, with whom he went to Scotland, and there aided in establishing a union between the Scottish and English Churches. The King was greatly pleased with his conduct on this occasion, and in 1609 made him Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry. Within a month he was translated to London, and on the death of Bancroft, in Nov. 1610, Abbot was raised to the primacy.

As Archbishop, Abbot displayed a very different temper from that of his predecessor. He "connived to a limited extent at some irregularities of discipline in the Puritanical clergy, judging, not absurdly, that their scruples at a few ceremonies, which had been aggravated by a vexatious rigour, would die away by degrees . . . . His hatred to Popery and zeal for Calvinism, which undoubtedly were narrow and intolerant, as well as his avowed disapprobation of those Churchmen who preached up arbitrary power, gained for this prelate the favour of the party denominated Puritan[r]." For these reasons, as well as for his integrity, which is admitted on all sides, Abbot was obnoxious to the courtiers, as well as to theologians of the school of Laud; and when, in 1621, during a visit to Lord Zouch at Bramshill in Hampshire, the Archbishop accidentally killed a keeper with a barbed arrow,—"a great perplexity to the

[r] Hallam, Const. Hist., ch. viii.

good man, and a heavy knell to his aged spirit[s],"—it was not without considerable discussion, nor until after a temporary retirement in the hospital which he had founded at Guildford, that he was restored to his archiepiscopal functions. In 1627 Abbot refused to license a sermon preached by Dr. Sibthorpe, affirming the King's right to tax his subjects without their consent, and was compelled, by the influence of the Duke of Buckingham, to withdraw to his palace of Ford, near Canterbury. He was soon recalled, but never rose high in the favour of Charles I., at whose coronation he had assisted together with Laud. Archbishop Abbot died at Croydon August 5, 1633, and was buried in the church of the Holy Trinity at Guildford, where his elaborate tomb and effigy still remain.

The "morose manners and very sour countenance" of Abbot are insisted on by Clarendon. "Gravity," says Fuller, speaking of the brothers, "did frown in George and smile in Robert." At Guildford he founded a stately hospital for twelve brethren and eight sisters, on the gates and windows of which the three golden pears on his shield, and the motto "Clamamus Abba pater,"—referring to his name,—may still be admired. In the chapel is his portrait.

[A.D. 1633—1645.—CHARLES I.] WILLIAM LAUD, the famous successor of Abbot, was born at Reading in 1573. His father was a wealthy clothier, and the future archbishop was educated at the free school of his native town, and at St. John's, Oxford, of which college he became a Fellow. At the University he early distinguished himself by his strong opposition to the Puritans, and by his support of that peculiar school of theology with which his name has ever since been connected. Laud's first patrons were Charles Blount, Earl of Devonshire, and Richard Neile, Bishop of Rochester, the latter of whom supported him against the ill-will of Archbishop Abbot, who endeavoured

[s] Fuller.

to prevent the confirmation of his election as President of St. John's. James I., however, on Bishop Neile's representation, confirmed his election (May 1611), and made him one of his chaplains. In 1616 Laud became Dean of Gloucester, and attended the King to Scotland in the following year, when fresh attempts were made to assimilate the Churches of the two kingdoms. In 1620 Laud was made Bishop of St. David's, and resigned the Presidentship of his college in consequence. He still held, however, many livings which from time to time had been bestowed upon him, from each of which he gave twelve poor persons a constant allowance. In 1622 he held his well-known conference with Fisher the Jesuit, before the Duke of Buckingham and his mother, both of whom were, or at least professed to be, inclined to Romanism. From this time Buckingham became one of Laud's special patrons, and after the coronation of Charles I. (Feb. 2, 162$\frac{5}{6}$), at which Laud acted as Dean of Westminster, in room of Williams, then in disgrace, the influence of Laud became all-powerful at Court.

In 1626 Laud was translated from St. David's to Bath and Wells, and thence in 1628 to London. He had already been made Dean of the Chapel Royal, and a member of the Privy Council. In 1630 he was elected Chancellor of Oxford. In 1633 he accompanied Charles I. to Scotland, and was sworn a Privy Councillor of that kingdom. On the death of Abbot, in the same year, he was elevated to the Primacy. It is said that on the morning of his appointment (Aug. 4) an offer of a Cardinal's hat reached him from Rome, and was subsequently repeated. On both occasions he declared "that he could not suffer that till Rome were other than it is."

The career of Laud as Archbishop belongs so completely to the history of his time that it need not be detailed here. The prosecutions for nonconformity were revived with the utmost strictness; new ecclesiastical ceremonies, especially

distasteful to the Calvinistic party, were introduced; and all possible means were used for silencing the opposite party. The severities of the Star Chamber and High Commission Courts, which were laid to the charge of the Archbishop, contributed not a little toward the outbreak of the rebellion. Laud, who had never been popular, became utterly hated, not only by the whole body of the Puritans, but by many of the English nobility, and by the entire Scottish nation. In May, 1639, a body of 5,000 apprentices attacked his palace at Lambeth, but the Archbishop had removed to Whitehall, and thus escaped their violence. In the Parliament of 1640 a committee was appointed to enquire into all his actions, and he was impeached of high treason. On the first of March, 164$\frac{0}{1}$, he was conveyed to the Tower to be "kept safe" until the articles against him should be proved.

In the Tower the unfortunate Archbishop remained until January 164$\frac{4}{5}$. Various charges were brought against him from time to time, and numerous fines were imposed on him. Before the end of 1641 the rents and profits of the archbishopric were sequestered by the Lords for the use of the Commonwealth. In 1643 his furniture and books at Lambeth were seized, sold, or destroyed. In March, 164$\frac{3}{4}$, his trial, which lasted twenty days, commenced. No charge of high treason could be legally established, and a bill of attainder was at length passed (January 164$\frac{4}{5}$). On the tenth of that month, Laud, now aged 71, was beheaded on Tower Hill. He was interred in the church of All Hallows, Barking, London; but after the Restoration his remains were removed to the chapel of St. John's College, Oxford.

The conduct of Archbishop Laud has of course been very differently judged by different parties, and probably, like the civil war itself, will always remain a disputed question. The decision of Lord Macaulay, that he was "a poor creature, who never did, said, or wrote anything indicating

more than the ordinary capacity of an old woman," and the assertion of Clarendon, that "his learning, piety, and virtue have been attained by very few, whilst the greatest of his infirmities are common to all, even to the best of men," need neither of them perhaps be received as final. At Oxford, Laud built the greater part of the inner quadrangle of St. John's, and gave to the University a large collection of very important MSS. in various languages.

The archiepiscopal palace at Canterbury was pillaged and fell into a ruined state under the Puritan rule, and on the Restoration an act was passed dispensing the Archbishops from restoring it. From this time they have had no official residence in Canterbury.

[A.D. 1660—1663—CHARLES II.] WILLIAM JUXON, best remembered from his having attended Charles I. on the scaffold, was born at Chichester, and educated at St. John's College, Oxford, where he attracted the notice of Archbishop Laud. In the year 1621 he became President of St. John's, and was made successively Dean of Worcester, Clerk of the Closet to Charles I., Bishop of Hereford, and in October, 1633, Bishop of London. In 1635, by the interest of the Archbishop, Juxon was made Lord Treasurer, a dignity which no Churchman had held since the reign of Henry VII., "and a troublesome place in those times," says Fuller, "it being expected that he should make much brick, though not altogether without, yet with very little, straw allowed unto him[t]." The appointment gave much offence, yet "Juxon redeemed the scandal of it by an unblemished probity, and gave so little offence in this invidious greatness, that the Long Parliament never attacked him, and he remained in his palace at Fulham without molestation till 1647[u]." This is the last instance in which any one of the great offices of state has been filled by a Churchman.

[t] Fuller, Worthies—Sussex.

[u] Hallam, Const. Hist., ch. viii. (note.)

"It was not the least part of this prelate's honour," says Fuller, "that among the many worthy bishops of our land, King Charles the First selected him for his confessor at his martyrdom. He formerly had had experience, in the case of the Earl of Strafford, that this bishop's conscience was bottomed on piety, not policy; the reason that from him he received the Sacrament, good comfort, and counsell, just before he was murdered[x]." It was to Juxon that the King delivered his George on the scaffold, with the mysterious word, "Remember." On the Restoration Juxon became Archbishop of Canterbury (Sept. 1660), and died three years afterwards (June 1663). He was buried in the chapel of St. John's College, Oxford.

[A.D. 1663—1677—CHARLES II.] GILBERT SHELDON, born of a good Staffordshire family, was educated at Oxford, where he became Fellow and Warden of All Souls' College. He was a warm supporter of the King during the civil war, and was one of the royal chaplains sent for to attend the commissioners at the treaty of Uxbridge. When the Parliamentarian commissioners visited Oxford, Sheldon was deprived of his Wardenship, and, together with Dr. Hammond, imprisoned for six months. The reforming committee, however, set him at liberty on condition that he should never come within five miles of Oxford, and that he should not go to the King in the Isle of Wight. Sheldon retired accordingly into Derbyshire, where he remained until the Restoration. He then recovered his Wardenship, was made Master of the Savoy and Dean of the Chapel Royal (in which capacity he preached before the King at Whitehall on the day of solemn thanksgiving, June 28, 1660), and on Juxon's translation to Canterbury became Bishop of London (October 1660). In the following year Sheldon assisted at the Savoy conference—so called from its having been held at his lodgings in the Savoy hospital,—in which the whole question of the Liturgy was discussed

[x] Fuller, Worthies—Sussex.

between the Presbyterian and Episcopal divines. In 1663 he succeeded Juxon in the primacy, and in 1667 was elected Chancellor of Oxford, in the room of Clarendon. He had already given £1,000 toward the building of the Theatre at Oxford, and finding that no other contributors came forward, he took on himself the whole expense of its erection, amounting to about £14,000. The Sheldonian Theatre is an early work of Sir Christopher Wren. Within it is a portrait of the Archbishop, and his statue appears on the exterior.

Archbishop Sheldon gave much offence at Court by his open condemnation of the King's manner of life; and in 1669 he retired to his palace at Croydon, where he spent the greater part of his time until his death in 1677. He was buried in the parish church of Croydon, where his tomb, with effigy, still remains.

[A.D. 1678—deprived 1691—CHARLES II., JAMES II., WILLIAM AND MARY.] WILLIAM SANCROFT was born at Fressingfield in Suffolk, in 1616, and educated at St. Edmondsbury and at Cambridge, where he became a Fellow of Emmanuel College. He lost his fellowship in 1649 when he refused to take the "engagement," and remained on the Continent until the restoration of Charles II. He then returned to England and became chaplain to Bishop Cosin, who, in the Convocation of 1660, was one of the bishops appointed for the revision of the Prayer-book. In this final revision of the Common Prayer, Sancroft took a very active part, and he was chosen by the Convocation to superintend the printing of the book[y]. In 1662 he became Master of Emmanuel College, and after holding in succession the deaneries of York and St. Paul's (toward the rebuilding of which latter cathedral he greatly assisted), and the archdeaconry of Canterbury, he was raised to the primacy by Charles II. in January 167$\frac{7}{8}$. He attended the

[y] See Procter's Hist. of the Book of Common Prayer, pp. 136—138.

deathbed of that king, on which occasion he is said to have used "great freedom." His conduct throughout the reign of James has been amply commented upon in the pages of Macaulay. He was at the head of the bishops who presented the famous petition to the King in 1688, and with them was committed to the Tower, tried, and acquitted. In the subsequent revolution Burnet declares that "he acted a very mean part," resolving "neither to act for nor against the King's [William's] interest, which, considering his high post, was thought very unbecoming." The Archbishop declined, however, to take the oath of allegiance to William and Mary after they were settled on the throne, conceiving himself still bound by his former oath to James II. He and eight other bishops were accordingly suspended (Aug. 1, 1689), and deprived (Feb. 1, 16$\frac{90}{91}$). But Archbishop Sancroft would not leave Lambeth until ejected by law, when he retired to Fresingfield, his birthplace, where he had an estate of £50 a-year, which had been in the possession of his ancestors for three centuries. Here he died, Nov. 24, 1693, and was buried in Fresingfield churchyard.

[A.D. 1691—1694—WILLIAM AND MARY.] JOHN TILLOTSON was born at Sowerby in Yorkshire, in Oct. 1630. His parents were decided Puritans, but their son was educated at Cambridge, where he reckoned among his friends Cudworth, More, and Wilkins, the eccentric bishop of Chester. Tillotson had embraced the doctrines of the Presbyterians during the Protectorate, but on the Restoration submitted to the Act of Uniformity, and became curate of Cheshunt in Herts. In 1663 he was presented to the rectory of Keddington in Suffolk, which he resigned soon afterwards on being chosen Preacher at Lincoln's Inn. In the following year he was appointed Lecturer at St. Lawrence, Jewry. His great reputation as a preacher was already established when in 1670 he was made a Prebendary of Canterbury, of which cathedral in 1672 he became Dean. After the Revo-

lution Tillotson was admitted to the most intimate confidence both of William and Mary. In Sept., 1689, he was made Dean of St. Paul's, and after Sancroft's deprivation was consecrated Archbishop, May 31, 1691. He accepted the primacy with very great reluctance, and held it little more than three years, dying at Lambeth Nov. 24, 1694. He was buried in the church of St. Lawrence, Jewry, where his most celebrated sermons had been preached.

As a theologian, Tillotson was undoubtedly one of the most latitudinarian of his time. "As a preacher, he was thought by his contemporaries to have surpassed all rivals living or dead. Posterity has reversed this judgment. Yet Tillotson still keeps his place as a legitimate English classic. His highest flights were indeed far below those of Taylor, of Barrow, and of South; but his oratory was more correct and equable than theirs. . . . His reasoning was just sufficiently profound and sufficiently refined to be followed by a popular audience with that slight degree of intellectual exertion which is a pleasure . . . . The greatest charm of his compositions is derived from the benignity and candour which appear in every line, and which shone forth not less conspicuously in his life than in his writings[z]."

There is a portrait of Archbishop Tillotson in the gallery at Lambeth. "He was the first prelate," says Lysons, "who wore a wig, which was then not unlike the natural hair, and worn without powder." The best and fullest account of Tillotson will be found in his Life by Dr. Birch.

[A.D. 1695—1715—WILLIAM AND MARY, ANNE.] THOMAS TENISON was born at Cottenham in Cambridgeshire in 1636, and educated at Cambridge. After becoming eminent as a preacher in London, he was made Archdeacon of

[z] Macaulay, Hist. Eng., iii. 469. Tillotson's MS. sermons were purchased after his death "for the almost incredible sum of 2,500 guineas, equivalent, in the wretched state in which the silver coin then was, to at least £3,600. Such a price had never before been given in England for any copyright."—*Macaulay*, iv. p. 525.

London by King William, who raised him to the see of Lincoln in 1691, and on the death of Tillotson translated him to Canterbury. The choice was generally approved. "Dr. Tenison," says Kennet, "had been exemplary in every station of his life, had restored a neglected large diocese to some discipline and good order, and had before, in the office of a parochial minister, done as much good as perhaps was possible for any one man to do[a]."

Archbishop Tenison died at Lambeth Dec. 14, 1715, and was buried in the parish church there.

[A.D. 1716—1737—GEORGE I., GEORGE II.] WILLIAM WAKE, born in Dorsetshire in 1657, and educated at Christ Church, Oxford, became Dean of Exeter in 1700, Bishop of Lincoln in 1705, and in 1715 Archbishop of Canterbury. Wake was a prelate of considerable learning, and took an active part in the controversy with Atterbury concerning the rights of Convocation, besides publishing many theological works, some of which are still of importance. He died at Lambeth Jan. 24, $173\frac{6}{7}$, and was buried in the parish church of Croydon.

[A.D. 1737—1747.—GEORGE II.] JOHN POTTER, son of a linen-draper at Wakefield in Yorkshire, was educated at University College, Oxford, but afterwards became Fellow of Lincoln. In 1697 he published at Oxford an edition of *Lycophron*, and in that and the following year appeared his well-known "Antiquities of Greece," to which Gronovius gave a place in the twelfth volume of his *Thesaurus Antiq. Græcar.*, published in 1702. In 1715 Potter was made Bishop of Oxford, and was elevated to the primacy in 1737. "He was," says one of his biographers, "a learned and exemplary divine, but of a character by no means amiable, being strongly tinctured with a kind of haughtiness and severity of manners." He died in 1747, and was buried in the parish church at Croydon.

[A.D. 1747—1757—GEORGE II.] THOMAS HERRING was translated to Canterbury from York. He died at Croydon,

[a] Hist. of England.

where he had lived in complete retirement for more than four years before his death, having never recovered from a fever which attacked him in 1753. He was buried in the parish church there, and was the last archbishop who resided in the archiepiscopal palace at Croydon.

[A.D. 1757—1758—George II.] Matthew Hutton, translated from York like his predecessor, was buried in the parish church of Lambeth. His portrait by Hudson is in the Lambeth gallery.

[A.D. 1758—1768—George II., George III.] Thomas Secker was born in 1693, of dissenting parents, at Sibthorpe, near Newark, in Nottinghamshire. He early became acquainted, however, with Butler, afterwards the famous Bishop of Durham, by whose persuasion, and by that of Dr. Benson, afterwards Bishop of Gloucester, he joined the Church of England, abandoned the study of medicine which he had proposed to himself, and took Holy Orders. Secker rapidly passed through many stations, was consecrated Bishop of Bristol in 1734, and translated to Oxford in 1737. His great talents, and his high reputation for piety and beneficence, recommended him for the primacy on the death of Hutton. He was consecrated accordingly in April 1758. He died at Lambeth in 1768, and was buried, as he had himself desired, "in the passage from the garden door of his palace to the north door of the parish church at Lambeth." By his will he left considerable sums to different charitable institutions. His portrait, by Sir Joshua Reynolds, is at Lambeth.

[A.D. 1768—1783—George III.] Frederick Cornwallis.

[A.D. 1783—1805—George III.] John Moore.

[A.D. 1805—1828—George III., George IV.] Charles Manners-Sutton.

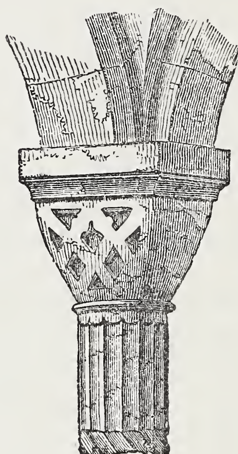
[A.D. 1828—1848—George IV., William IV., Victoria.] William Howley.

[A.D. 1848—1862—Victoria.] John Bird Sumner.

[A.D. 1862—1868—Victoria.] Charles Thomas Longley.

[A.D. 1861—VICTORIA.] ARCHIBALD CAMPBELL TAIT.

In 1870, EDWARD PARRY was appointed Suffragan Bishop of Dover.



Pillar in Crypt.

APPENDIX.

I.

(Part I., § 2.)

Lanfranc's Cathedral seems to have been almost an exact copy of the Church of St. Stephen at Caen, of which monastery he was the first abbot. St. Stephen's was begun in 1064, and dedicated in 1077, after the removal of Lanfranc to Canterbury. The two churches were therefore in building at the same time. The existing portion of the church at Caen shows us with tolerable certainty the arrangement and design of Lanfranc's nave at Canterbury. "The Church of Caen, like that of Canterbury, has had its original choir replaced by one in the style of the thirteenth century, probably for a similar reason—enlargement. The portions which it retains are alike in plan and arrangement to the corresponding parts of Canterbury; alike in the number of piers, in having western towers, transepts without aisles, a central tower, eastern chapels to the transepts, and the pillar and vault at the end of each transept. Nay, even in dimensions, they are, with slight differences, the same. The breadth between the walls of the nave of St. Stephen's is 73 feet, which is one foot greater than at Canterbury. The length from the west end to the tower space is 187 feet, the same as at Canterbury. The extreme length of the transept is 127 feet; also that of Canterbury, as nearly as it can now be ascertained. . . . We cannot now tell whether this singular, and I believe hitherto unnoticed, resemblance between the two churches extended also to the elevations, for no fragment remains of Canterbury from which to judge, except the western tower, which is not the same in

decoration. But as western towers were the last things finished, deviation might have occurred here, although the rest was the same."— *Willis*, p. 65.

The choir of Lanfranc, like the Norman choirs of St. Alban's, Worcester, and Tewkesbury, possibly extended only two bays beyond the tower. The narrow space thus afforded would account for the reconstruction and enlargement of the eastern portion of the church, under Anselm and Ernulf. The eastern transepts, and the towers of St. Andrew and St. Anselm, which were then added, mark the extent to which the building was carried eastward, allowing also for the short projection of the Trinity Chapel at the extreme eastern end. This chapel was entirely swept away in the further changes of the two Williams after the fire of 1174.

II.

(Part I., § 25.)

The best account of this fire, which occurred on Tuesday, September 3rd, 1872, will be found in the 'Builder,' for September 14th of that year. At 10.30 A.M. a plumber and his man were at work in the south gutter, over the Trinity Chapel. "A peculiar 'whirring sound' inside the roof induced them to go inside, when they found three of the main roof-timbers on fire. The best conjecture seems to be that the dry twigs, straw, and similar *débris*, carried into the roofs by birds, and which it has been the custom to clear at intervals out of the vault pockets, had caught fire from a spark that had in some way passed through the roof covering; perhaps under a sheet raised a little at the bottom by the wind. After efforts to extinguish with water . . . . the authorities were informed; the bell tolled; military, citizens, and fire brigades assembled." After great and unceasing efforts, "by half-past twelve the whole was seen to be extinguished. . . . . At four o'clock the authorities held the evening service, so as not to break a continuity of custom extending over centuries ; and in the smoke-filled choir, the whole of the chapter in residence, in the proper Psalm (xviii.), found expression for the sense of victory over a conquered enemy."

The outer roofs were destroyed over the eastern portion of the choir (beginning from the converging walls between the towers of

St. Andrew and St. Anselm) and the Trinity Chapel. The vaulting remained intact, and proved strong enough to support the weight of the heavy beams and masses of lead that fell on it, though it absorbed some of the water profusely poured out above it. "The *tas-de-charge* and the ribs are of Caen stone, the filling-in of clunch and Falaise tufa, whitened to a surface on the underside. The bosses, pierced with cradle-holes . . . . happened to be well placed for the passage of the liquid lead dripping on the back of the vault from the blazing roof." This streamed down on the pavement occupying the site of the shrine, and on the mosaic covering the floor east of the choir screen; but did no real mischief. "Through the holes further westward water came, sufficient to float over the surfaces of the polished Purbeck floor and the steps of the altar, and alarmed the well-intentioned assistants into removing the altar, tearing up the altar rails, unlining the pulpit and throne, and seeking out the readiest means of sawing the fixed seats from their cills. The reliques of the Black Prince, attached to a beam (over his tomb) at the level of the tops of the caps of the piers on the south side of the Trinity Chapel, were all taken down and placed away in safety. . . . . The eastern end of the church is said to have been filled with steam from water rushing through with, and falling on, the molten lead on the floor; and in time, by every opening, wood-smoke reached the inside of the building, filling all down to the west of the nave with a blue haze." The stained glass on the north side of Trinity Chapel was brilliantly lighted up on the outside by the fierce flame above. Streams of luminous metal, 10 feet in length, rushed down at intervals; and the whole, viewed from the south-eastern transept, was a scene of weird and awful beauty.

The damage was thus confined to the outer roof, and did not affect the actual building. The repair was, of course, costly, but it involved no "restoration" of ancient work.

III.

(Part I., § 26.)

There can be little doubt that the indentation in the pavement was actually worn by the knees of pilgrims. It extends on either

side north and south; but does not pass round to the east of the shrine, where the pilgrims did not approach it. The stone in which the indentation occurs is a massive, non-crystalline marble, of a pinkish colour, and of no great hardness. It was probably brought from Italy.

Squares and irregular blocks of the same marble are worked into the central pavement, on which the shrine stood. It would seem that some of these blocks were not originally designed for pavement; and it has been suggested that they may be portions of the shrine, which, after the removal of the relics, might have been used for repaving the place on which the entire structure had before stood. Whether this is so can, of course, only be ascertained by raising some of the stones.

The roundels of Alexandrine work which remain, some of them east of the shrine, others in the corona, and others in Henry IV.'s Chapel, formed portions of the pavement in this part of the church; but the manner of their arrangement is quite uncertain.

IV.

(Part I., § 29).

Sir Frederick Madden, in a letter to the 'Times' newspaper (September 7th, 1872), pointed out that this epitaph is borrowed, with a few variations, from an anonymous French translation of the *Clericalis Disciplina* of Petrus Alphonsus, composed between the years 1006 and 1110. The French version is of the thirteenth century, and is entitled '*Castoiement d'un Père à son Fils.*' More than half a century before the erection of the Black Prince's monument, it was placed, in an abbreviated form, on that of the famous John de Warenne, seventh Earl of Surrey, who died in 1304, and was buried before the High Altar in the Priory of Lewes. It is printed in Dugdale (Baronage, i. 80) from the Lewes Cartulary. The *Clericalis Disciplina* was printed in 1824 for the 'Société des Bibliophiles Français.' The '*Castoiement*' will be found in Barbazan and Meon's 'Fabliaux.'

V.

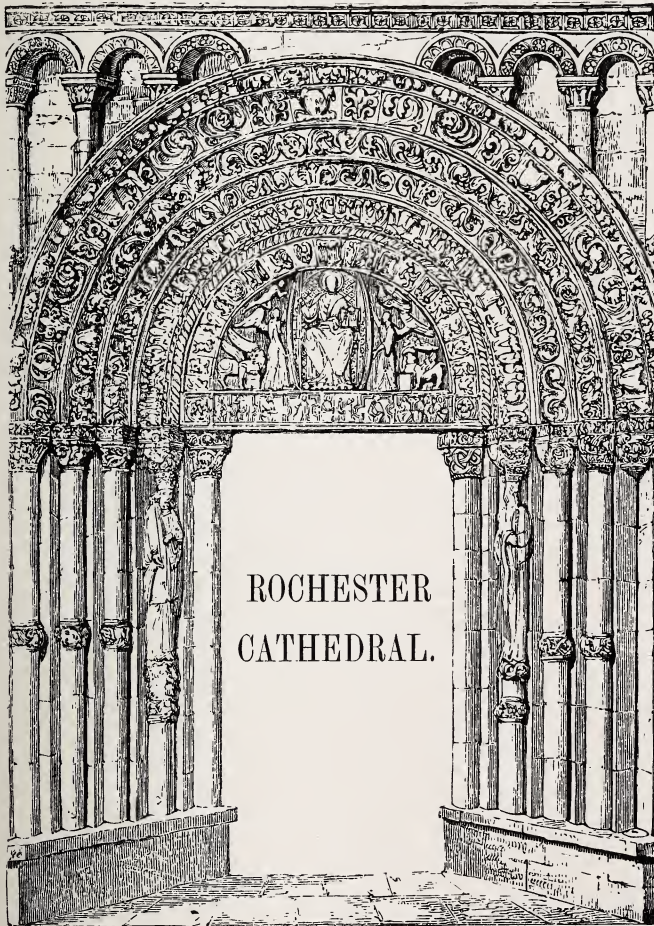
(Part I., § 54).

The water was brought from springs in a field at some distance, on the north side of the monastery. The drawings of the Norman engineer are preserved in the library of Trinity College, Cambridge; and they have afforded most valuable assistance to Professor Willis in his examination of the different parts of the convent. (Facsimiles are given by him in the 'Archæologia Cantiana.') The water was brought to this tower, and distributed thence in pipes to the various chambers and offices. A re-arrangement necessarily took place after the Dissolution, when the monastic buildings were distributed among the Canons and officers of the New Foundation; but the water which supplies the Cathedral and the houses of the Precincts is still drawn from the springs of which the monks obtained possession in the twelfth century.

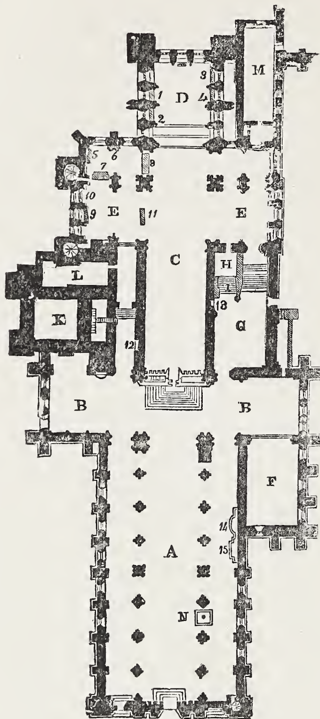
ROCHESTER CATHEDRAL.

FRONTISPIECE.

WEST FRONT.



WEST DOORWAY.



REFERENCES.

A *Nave.*
B B *Great, or Western Transept.*
C *Choir.*
D *Chancel or Sacrarium.*
E E *Eastern Transept.*
F *Chapel of St. Mary.*
G *St. Edmund's Chapel.*
H *Vestry.*
I *Stairs to Crypt.*
K *Gundulf's Tower.*
L *Yard.*
M *Chapter-house.*
N *Font.*

1 *Tomb of Bp. Lawrence.*
2 *Tomb of Bp. Gilbert de Glanville*
3 *Tomb of Bp. Gundulf.*
4 *Tomb of Bp. Inglethorpe.*
5, 6, 7. *Tombs of the Le Warner family.*
8 *Tomb of Bp. John de Sheppey.*
9 *Tomb of Bp. Walter de Merton.*
10 *Tomb of Bp. St. William.*
11 *Tomb of Bp. Lowe.*
12 *Tomb of Bp. Hamo de Hythe.*
13 *Tomb of Bp. John de Bradfield.*
14, 15. *Monuments of Lord and Lady Henniker.*

GROUND-PLAN, ROCHESTER CATHEDRAL

The authorities for the architectural history of Rochester Cathedral are the charters and records in the 'Textus Roffensis,' compiled under the direction of Bishop Ernulf (1115–1124); the 'Custumale Roffense;' both of which MSS. are preserved in the chapter library; the 'Annals of Edmund of Hadenham,' a monk of Rochester, ending in 1307; and the 'History of William of Dene,' also a monk of Rochester, ranging from 1314 to 1350. The 'Annales' and 'Historia,' and the most important parts of the Textus, are printed in Wharton's 'Anglia Sacra,' vol. i. The 'Registrum Roffense,' edited by Thorpe towards the end of the last century, contains all Charters and other documents relating to the see.

ROCHESTER CATHEDRAL.

PART I.

History and Details.

THE Saxon cathedral of Rochester (see Part II.) —the first outpost advanced by Augustine beyond Canterbury—suffered much from Danish ravages; and, like Canterbury, was in a completely ruined condition at the time of the Norman Conquest. So it continued until Gundulf, the friend of Archbishop Lanfranc, was consecrated Bishop of Rochester in 1077. He proceeded to rebuild his cathedral and the priory connected with it[a]. In this he established, as Lanfranc had done at Canterbury, a family of Benedictine monks in place of the secular clergy. Ernulf, Prior of Canterbury, succeeded Gundulf in the see of Rochester, and built the dormitory, chapter-house, and refectory: but it was not until five years after his death, and during the episcopate of John of Canterbury, that the new cathedral was dedicated (on the feast of the Ascension, May 11, 1130) in presence of the king, Henry I., and a great company of bishops. This was

[a] Ecclesiam Andreæ, pene vetustate dirutam, novam ex integro, ut hodie apparet, ædificavit.— *Textus Roffensis*, compiled before 1124.

four days after the consecration of Canterbury Cathedral, where David, king of Scotland, had been present with Henry. In this Norman church were displayed the shrines of St. Paulinus, third bishop, and of his successor, St. Ithamar (644—655), of Kentish birth, and remarkable as the first native bishop of the Saxon Church.

II. On the evening of the day of dedication there was a great fire, which burnt, it is stated, the city of Rochester. It does not appear, however, that the cathedral suffered on this occasion; but in 1137 it was greatly injured by fire, and in 1179 it suffered still more seriously from the same cause[b]. Repairs, and in part, rebuilding, were begun soon after this last fire, and were continued during the episcopate of Bishop Gilbert de Glanville (1185—1214)[c]. The new roofs were constructed, and covered with lead, under Richard de Ross, who became prior in 1199, and his successor Helyas.

In 1201 St. William of Perth was killed near Rochester, and was buried in the cathedral (see § XIII.). His tomb became at once an important place of pil-

[b] The true dates of these fires, as given above, are from Gervase of Canterbury. (See the reasons for adopting them in Thorpe's 'Custumale Roffense.') After the fire of 1137 the monks were obliged to distribute themselves in various abbeys of their order.

[c] It is only recorded in the 'Registrum Roffense' that Gilbert de Glanville built the stone cloister, gave organs, and rebuilt the bishop's houses "quæ incendio corruerant." There is no mention of the church. But portions of work which must be of this period exist in different parts of the Cathedral, and are sufficient to show that Glanville's rebuilding must have been on an extensive scale.

grimage, and numerous miracles, as it was asserted, were wrought at it. It seems then to have been determined to rebuild the whole of the church east of the central tower, but including the great transept. Accordingly it is recorded that the north transept was begun by Richard de Estgate, "monk and sacrist[d]," and almost finished by Thomas de Mepeham; whilst Richard de Waldene, "monk and sacrist," built the south transept, "toward the court" (cloister). William de Hoo, also sacrist, built the whole of the choir, with its "aisles" or transepts (the lesser, or eastern transepts), with offerings made at St. William's tomb. The monks entered the new choir in 1227. In 1239, William de Hoo, its builder, became prior, and in the following year (1240) the cathedral was solemnly consecrated by Richard de Wendover, bishop of Rochester, and Richard, bishop of Bangor[e]. Bishop Haymo de Hythe (1319—1352) gave large sums for repairing the church, and raised the "campanile" or bell-tower, in which he placed four bells, named Dunstan, Paulinus, Ithamar, and Lanfranc.

III. The cathedral suffered much in 1264, when the

[d] Ricardus de Estgate monachus et sacrista Roffensis incipit alam borealem novi operis versus portam beatam (*sic*) Willelmi.—*Reg. Roff.*, p. 125.

[e] A decree of the Council of London, convened in 1237 by Cardinal Otho, legate of Pope Gregory IX., had ordered that all churches and cathedrals "not having been consecrated with holy oil, though built of old," should be dedicated within two years. In the case of Rochester, the eastern portion of the church had been entirely rebuilt.

castle of Rochester was besieged by Simon de Montfort, whose troops, like the Northmen before them, and the Puritan soldiers afterwards, turned the nave into a stable. (See Pt. II., Bishop Lawrence de St. Martin.) The stained glass seems to have disappeared at the Dissolution, since Archbishop Laud, in 1633, complains that the building had received great injury from the want of glass in the windows. After the retreat of the Commonwealth troops, the nave was long used as a carpenter's shop, and "several saw-pits were dug in it." At this time all the brasses were destroyed, in which, as their traces still prove, the church was very rich.

The cathedral was in a very dilapidated state at the Restoration, although it had not suffered so greatly as some others. The Dean and Chapter spent 8000*l.* in repairs, and 5000*l.* more were required. In 1670 an agreement was made with Robert Cable to "take down the north wall of the nave, forty feet long, and to rebuild it new from the ground." (In what manner this was done we shall see, *post*, § VI.) New stalls and "pews in the choir" were made under the direction of Sloane, the architect, in 1742–3: and in 1749 the "steeple" (the upper part of the central tower) was rebuilt by him[f].

[f] It may be noted, also, that in 1742 and 1743 the Petworth (or Purbeck) marble in the choir was whitewashed; and that there were repairs and strengthenings of the choir in 1742–3, in 1751, and in 1771. These notices are from Thorpe's 'Custumale Roffense,' which contains 'Memorials of Rochester Cathedral,' contributed by the Rev. Samuel Denne.

Between the years 1825—1830 the choir, and the portion of the church east of it, were completely remodelled by Mr. Cottingham, who made also some other "restorations," to be noticed in their proper places. The cathedral, however, remained in an unsatisfactory, and in parts, in a dangerous condition; and in 1871 it was placed in the hands of Sir G. G. Scott, under whose direction the necessary repair, reconstruction, and restoration, have been conducted. The choir, after a very complete renovation, was reopened for service in the summer of 1875; the north wall of the nave has been underpinned, and the triforium has been rendered secure. Other works have been carried out in the south transept and adjoining chapels; but what has been done under this last and truest "restoration" will best be described in considering the several portions of the cathedral.

IV. Before entering the cathedral it will be desirable to point out its position with respect to ancient and mediæval Rochester; and to the extent of the city and the line of its walls at different periods. The limits of the city, as it would appear, have greatly affected the building, and the recent examination of the foundations necessary for the due security of the walls has thrown much light on the whole subject.

Saxon Rochester probably covered the same extent of ground as that occupied by the Roman town. "Hrof's ceastre," the stronghold of the place, is represented by the high ground and enclosing of the Norman Castle. An earthen embankment and ditch marked

out a square space below, in which were the dwellings of the townsmen. This embankment crossed the present cathedral nearly in a line with the choir screen, east of the central tower[g]. The Saxon cathedral must have been situated to the west of this—that is, within the embankment. But Gundulf, in his rebuilding and enlarging, certainly overleapt this boundary; and the Early English builders carried the work of the church still farther eastward[h]. The circuit of the town was probably extended after the Conquest, and land had been acquired by Gundulf which enabled him to disregard, and to pass beyond, the more ancient boundary. These facts will assist us in understanding certain peculiarities in the nave, and they explain also, to some extent, the unusual ground-plan of the cathedral. This, after the completion of the church by the builders of the thirteenth century, was made so far to resemble the ground-plan of Canterbury, that it forms a double cross—the eastern termination projecting beyond the second or smaller transept. But Gundulf's tower and its adjuncts on the north side of the choir, the changes in St. Edmund's chapel on the south, the existing

[g] The character of this embankment is uncertain. But the line of it was ruled by a sharp and sudden natural fall of the ground. Advantage was taken of this fall by Gundulf in the construction of his eastern crypt.

[h] Gundulf, we are told (Vita Gundulfi ap. Wharton, Angl. Sac. 2), "all things being completed, went to the tomb of Paulinus, who had been buried in the old church, and removed the relics to the place prepared for them in the new." This shows that the Saxon church, as at Winchester and elsewhere, remained standing until some portion, at any rate, of the new one was completed.

chapter-house or library, carried beyond the eastern wall of the church, and the prolongation, westward, of the great south transept so as to form the chapel of St. Mary, give to the whole building so remarkable an outline as to deprive it, from the exterior, of all resemblance to the double or patriarchal cross. And still farther east of the church, on the south side, runs the eastern wall of the Norman cloister, the work of Ernulf, still retaining the entrance arches of his chapter-house. The unusual position of this cloister, especially with reference to the Norman church, is one of the many difficulties which the architectural student encounters at Rochester, and which he has to interpret as best he may. (See *post*, § XIX.)

The *Norman* remains in the existing cathedral consist of the greater part of the present nave, of Gundulf's tower, east of the great south transept, of the wall of the cloister just mentioned, and of the western portion of the crypt, which, in its full extent, reaches from the eastern piers of the central tower to the eastern termination of the church. These remains are of two, perhaps of three, periods. The Norman crypt and portions of the tower are no doubt the work of Gundulf; the nave is probably, as we shall see, of somewhat later date; the cloister wall is Ernulf's. We may begin by examining the nave, passing at once to the interior. The west front will be better understood afterwards.

V. The *nave* of Rochester, as high as the top of the triforium, appears at first sight to be entirely Norman, until, in advancing toward the eastern end, it is seen

that the arches of the two easternmost bays, on either side, have undergone an entire change, and in their present condition seem to be a little later than 1300. In the actual Norman work the bases of two of the piers (the third from the east on either side) are different from the others; and it will also be remarked that masses of masonry extend westward from the tower piers. The easternmost portion of the north wall of the nave, and a small part of the south wall, display much earlier work than the rest of those walls. These facts, together with the probability that the boundary of the Roman and Saxon city extended across the site of the existing church, in a line with the eastern tower piers, and with the certainty that a portion only of the present nave was used as a parish church until some time in the thirteenth century—whilst the whole was given up to the parishioners before 1312 (at which time it appears that the altar of the parish church had been moved further to the east)—are the sole materials we possess towards reconstructing (as it may well be called) the history of this portion of the cathedral.

The Saxon church must have been small, since it could not have passed beyond the town limits. The eastern portion was probably the church of the clergy, the western that of the townsmen. Thus the parish retained its rights in this latter part, after the Conquest. If this representation be accurate, there must have been a small open space between the east wall of the church and the boundary of the town.

Gundulf, as we have seen, rebuilt the Saxon church, and extended it beyond the town boundary. But there is the strongest reason for believing that this rebuilding only comprised, on his part, the church of the clergy, or, as it then became, the monastic church. He seems to have left the church of the parishioners for the townsmen to rebuild, with the exception of the south wall. They did not apparently rebuild it at once, for the mass of the existing nave (which formed this parish church) cannot, from its general character, be much earlier than 1130. The late (1875) restorations have supplied very curious and remarkable proof of the extent to which Gundulf carried his building on the north side of the nave. It was found necessary to underpin the whole of the north wall and to fill in the foundation with concrete. For this purpose the lower part of the wall was uncovered, and it was then ascertained that the eastern portion of the wall, for three bays' length, differs greatly in construction from that farther west. Three eastern buttresses retain Gundulf's work in those parts which before this examination were hidden by the earth. They have no plinth, and begin at once from the foundation. The coigns, as usual in all Gundulf's work, are of tufa. The upper portions of these buttresses were cut off in the later Norman period, and were replaced by others of a different character, set, with a plinth, on the parts of Gundulf's buttresses which were allowed to remain. The lower part of Gundulf's wall also remains here, and is to be detected, by a sort of herring-bone arrangement of

the flints, to within about two courses of the first string-course[i]. The buttresses west of these three are, from the foundation, of the later period (that is, of the time when the nave arcades were reconstructed, about 1130), and have regular plinths. The foundations of a small Norman north porch were found here, and also the base of a small Norman tower, at the west end, immediately behind the staircase turret of the existing west front. This tower had never been completed.

It thus seems clear that Gundulf rebuilt entirely the eastern part of the nave alone, or that part which belonged to the monks. He probably also (see § VI.) rebuilt the whole of the south wall, which adjoined his palace. The two churches, monastic and parochial, seem to have been separated by a solid wall, against the western side of which was placed (until the whole nave was given up to them, and the wall moved) the altar of the parishioners[k].

VI. The nave [Plate I.], of eight bays, is 150 feet in length to the western piers of the tower. The main arches are much enriched with zigzag; and the triforium—where, in each bay, two lesser arches are enclosed by a large circular arch—displays much curious

[i] These buttresses have now been built round, so as to leave them exposed to sight. There was a pitching of flints in front of Gundulf's wall, to keep the wet off.

[k] The parishioners at last built for themselves a new church, on the north side of the Cathedral; and removed into it in 1423. The Cathedral then passed completely into the hands of the monks. But the mayor and corporation retained the right of entering in state at the western door; as is still the case.

NAVE, FROM THE SOUTH-EAST.

ornamentation in the tympana. The arches of the triforium open to the aisles as well as to the nave, a peculiarity which Rochester may have received from St. Stephen's at Caen, where the same arrangement may still be seen. (Lanfranc, the friend of Gundulf, had been Abbot of St. Stephen's.) It is to be noticed that the arch of the passage along the triforium is pointed. This is a sign of late date; and it has been suggested that a general plan may have been supplied by Gundulf's builders, which was followed in the main by those who built the nave about 1130, with some alteration of detail and ornament, and with the adoption of a pointed, instead of circular, arch of passage. The general character of ornamentation is late, and resembles that of the chancel arch in the neighbouring church of Frindsbury (1125—1137), where, as here, a moulding with intersecting arches occurs. Masons' marks occur in great numbers throughout the nave, and show that the same set of workmen built the whole, to the top of the triforium[1]. It is remarkable, however, that the tympana of the triforium are sloped back, and have evidently been rebuilt, after their first construction. This was probably a result of the fire of 1137, since the same masons' marks occur here as elsewhere, indicating that the same workmen were employed. The triforium shafts, many of which were

[1] There are some mediæval scratchings and outlines on the great Norman piers. They show heads, armed knights, foliage, and grotesques; and in some cases may have been designs for figures in the tympana of the triforium.

much out of the perpendicular, have been set upright and strengthened (1875).

This nave was always intended to receive a wooden roof; and the piers and design generally are lighter than where preparation was made for a stone vault. The clerestory, above the triforium, is Perpendicular; and the roof seems to have been raised at the same time. This is of timber, and quite plain.

The alteration of the two piers at the east end of the nave was probably due to rich citizens, who may have constructed chantries in the aisles after this part of the church had become parochial. The mass of wall which projects from the western tower piers was connected with this parochial church. Many fragments of Norman sculpture are built up in this mass of wall on the north side, and were perhaps derived from the older transept, replaced by that of the thirteenth century.

The windows of the aisles are Perpendicular insertions. In the south aisle (in the second bay from the west) a small portion of masonry has been left bare, and is exposed below the present level of the nave. The work agrees with that usually assigned to Gundulf, at Rochester, at Malling, and elsewhere; and resembles the bases of the buttresses uncovered (1875) on the south side[m]. There was an order in

[m] Gundulf may have rebuilt all this wall. But he certainly did not touch the western half of that opposite; and as the palace was on the southern side of the Cathedral, toward the west, it was most likely in connection with that (which Gundulf entirely rebuilt) that he reconstructed this south wall of the church.

1670 that the wall of the north aisle (see § III.) should be taken down for the length of 40 feet, and rebuilt. But it is very doubtful whether this was really done; and at any rate, the rebuilders must have carefully followed the old design. The windows are Perpendicular, and not debased.

The two massive piers at the west end of the nave were no doubt designed in connection with proposed western towers. The foundations of that on the north side have been discovered (see § V.). It is certain, however, that these towers were never built, and were probably never carried above the foundations.

The only *monuments* in the nave are those in the *south aisle* for Lord and Lady Henniker (1792—1803), where Honour and Benevolence, Time and Eternity, play conspicuous parts.

VII. We may now return to the *west front* (Frontispiece); very interesting in its details, though imperfect and confused as an architectural composition. It is in the main Norman: but the central portion has been broken into by a large Perpendicular window, with a corniced battlement above it. The whole consists of a centre flanked by turrets, with wings, the terminations of the nave-aisles, also having turrets, which were either never completed, or have been partly ruined. The wings and the mass of the centre belong to the same time as the interior of the nave. The *central doorway* (Title-page) has been generally regarded as dating from the reign of Henry I.; but competent antiquaries are now disposed to place it later,

and to identify the figures between the true shafts with Henry II. and his queen, both of whom were contributors to the restoration of the cathedral after the great fires. The whole "must be considered rather as a Continental than as an English design."—*Fergusson.* The doorway is formed of five receding arches, with banded shafts at the angles, two of which are carved into the figures just mentioned. These were much and deservedly praised by Flaxman. The tall slender figures, and the long plaited hair of the queen, recall the early French statues of the first and second dynasties. In the tympanum is the Saviour within an elongated aureole, supported by two angels, and with the emblems of the four Evangelists at the sides. Below are small figures of the Apostles, few of which are entire. The capitals of the shafts and the bands of ornament above them are all rich and curious, and well deserve notice. On the front of the northern tower is a small statue, said—but without the least certainty—to represent Gundulf.

The lofty arches in the terminations of the nave-aisles may be compared with the Norman portions of the west front of Lincoln. The turret on the south side of the central gable is original; that on the north is Perpendicular.

VIII. The *central tower* was built, as we have seen, by Bishop Haymo de Hythe (1319—1352). The arches are of his time. The western piers probably contain the Norman work of Gundulf or of Ernulf, cased in this later masonry; and the capitals are also

those of Haymo de Hythe. On the eastern side the capitals are earlier; and these piers were no doubt constructed at the rebuilding of the choir in the first half of the thirteenth century. It may here be noticed that the junction of the works of the various periods during which building was in progress here, is curiously evident in this part of the church. Thus, for example, in the arch which opens from the south nave-aisle to the south transept, there is a remarkable difference in the bases and mouldings. Those on the north side belong to the work of Bishop Glanville's time; those on the south to the rebuilding of the transept by Richard de Waldene (see *post*, § IX.); while the arch itself is of Haymo de Hythe's time.

IX. The *great transept*, which was the first part of the church rebuilt after the death of St. William in 1201, brought an increase of wealth to the treasury. (See *ante*, § II.) It is accordingly Early English, the *north* transept being considerably richer in detail. The corbels here are, many of them, monastic heads, and are of unusual excellence. The whole arrangement is much varied. In the lower range of lancets a memorial window for Archdeacon Walker King—thirty-two years Archdeacon of Rochester—was fixed in 1860 by Clayton and Bell. The central lancet displays the figure of our Saviour. Beneath is the trial of St. Stephen at the moment of his vision. In the side lancets are St. Stephen and St. Philip the deacon; and below them, the ordination of St. Philip and the stoning of St. Stephen.

A difference in the masonry of both transepts toward their junction with the wall of the choir shows the point at which they were connected with the earlier work of Bishop Glanville.

The *south transept* is of somewhat later date than the north, and is less enriched; the sacrist, Richard de Waldene, under whose direction it was built, having probably had a smaller fund at his disposal. This transept has undergone much alteration. In the Decorated period, a chapel was added to the west of it; and two pointed arches were formed in the western wall of the transept, so as to allow of the transept itself serving as the chancel; whilst the new building was the nave of what was known as the "Chapel of St. Mary of the Infirmary," "Capella B. Mariæ de Infirmatorio." Offerings made here were used for the support of that part of the monastery. There were at first two similar arches on the eastern side of the transept; these were afterwards thrown into one arch, which was closed at the back, and the altar of the Virgin stood before it. On either side was a door, which in the Decorated period led to the choir-aisle and into a long vestry or sacristy.

In the south transept remark the monument of Richard Watts, of Satis, whose hospital, founded in 1579 for the entertainment of six poor travellers for one night, "provided they are not rogues or proctors," still remains in the High Street. The coloured bust of the monument is said to have been taken from the life.

The western addition to the transept was rebuilt in the fifteenth century, and was restored shortly before 1860. It is now of no very great interest. The open arches toward the nave may have been filled with tracery.

IX. The *choir*, and the whole of the church eastward of it, were rebuilt before 1227 (see *ante*, § II.). A flight of steps leads from the nave to a stone screen of the Decorated period, in which is the entrance of the choir. This ascent was rendered necessary by the crypt, which Gundulf constructed below his new choir. The old boundary of the town ran, as has been said, in a line with the choir screen. Inside this boundary was a ditch. Outside, the ground fell away in a natural slope; and advantage was taken of this in the formation of the crypt. We have no certain information as to the extent or the arrangement of Gundulf's church east of the tower. Our only guide is the work of the existing crypt; and the eastern portion of this is of the same date as the Early English work above. The two western bays of the crypt are Gundulf's. We know, therefore, that his church extended beyond the central tower; but how far beyond is quite uncertain.

The present choir of Rochester forms in effect an eastern church. The eastern, or secondary transepts, are wide and open; and the extreme eastern arm is of some depth. In the recent (1875) restoration the transepts have been arranged for congregational purposes; a necessity in this case, since the long walled

choir, the old choir of the monks, west of them, could only be assigned to the clergy, and could not be opened to the nave. The broad eastern transepts and the walled choir are peculiarities of Rochester, and at once attract attention. The choir of Canterbury is separated from the aisles by lofty stone screens, pierced with traceried openings. This of Rochester is (alone of all choirs in England) enclosed by a solid wall, which extends from the central tower to the cross of the eastern transept.

The general character of all this eastern portion of the cathedral is the same. It is fully developed Early English, with an excessive use—in this case it may be called abuse—of Purbeck marble; the long, dark shafts of which are too numerous and too sharply contrasted with the stone of the building to be altogether agreeable. One remarkable peculiarity of all this Early English work may here be mentioned. The walls are of unusual thickness; and each window is generally set back within an arch, of which the spring is at a different level from that of the window-arch itself. The effect is that of a double wall. There was apparently no necessity, arising from insecure foundation, for such an arrangement; but the thickness of the wall, and the great masses of the external buttresses, are marked features throughout.

X.—The actual *choir* may be first described. The plain solid wall rises to some height at the back of the stalls, and terminates in a Purbeck string. Above this, the wall is enriched with a blind arcade, the

arches having the billet moulding. The shafts are of Purbeck, with capitals of white stone, and abaci of Purbeck continued as a string-course along the wall. There are two great bays, each subdivided. The vaulting-shafts, triple between each bay, and single at the subdivision, are of Purbeck, with very richly-carved brackets. At the intersections of arches there is sculptured foliage.

The most remarkable of these Purbeck sculptures, however, are at the eastern termination of the choir, where the shafts are carried on brackets. These have great masses of leafage—retaining the older or conventional character, and showing no trace of the naturalism which was introduced later in the century—and, on the south side, three singular heads or masks. At the end of the choir stalls, on the north side, and happily preserved by the pulpit, which long stood in front of it, is a very curious fragment of painting, representing the Wheel of Fortune—a subject occasionally introduced on the walls of churches. The crowned figure of Fortune is turning her wheel, standing in the centre and holding one of the spokes. On the rim are figures rising and sinking. This painting probably dates from the second half of the thirteenth century.

The wood-work of the stalls is here of no very marked character or importance, since the wall rendered canopies unnecessary. The stalls in the western return were, however, canopied, and were assigned to the prior and sub-prior. In the same manner there

were only two canopied stalls at Canterbury. The fronts of the inner row of stalls are ancient and of the fourteenth century. The whole of the work in front is modern.

The ancient decoration of the wall at the back of the stalls has been (1875) restored. Portions of the original colour remained; and one of the ancient wooden panels at the back of the western return has been preserved in the transept: since it displays not only the latest decoration, but parts of two earlier paintings, discovered on removing the uppermost coat. It is the latest, or fourteenth century decoration, which has been restored. This consists of golden lions and fleur-de-lys — the former in quatrefoils, on a red ground. In the border above have been painted the arms of the bishops of Rochester. The same pattern is carried below the organ screen, with an upper series of shields, mainly referring to the city and its history. The organ is arranged above the screen, on either side, leaving the central space open.

The plain vaulting of the choir may perhaps be somewhat later than the time of William de Hoo, but is a continuation of his work.

XI.—The choir, the presbytery (which is here the cross of the eastern transept), the transept itself, and the eastern arm, in which stands the altar, are paved with modern tiling, which has been executed by Messrs. Minton, after portions of the ancient tiling found in the cathedral. This work, varied as it is in colour and design, as well as in the size of the tiles,

their disposition and arrangement, is quiet and harmonious, and deserves special notice, which, indeed from the space which it covers, it at once attracts. The peculiar pinkish tile (of which old examples remain), and others with bands of small grotesque animals, should be remarked.

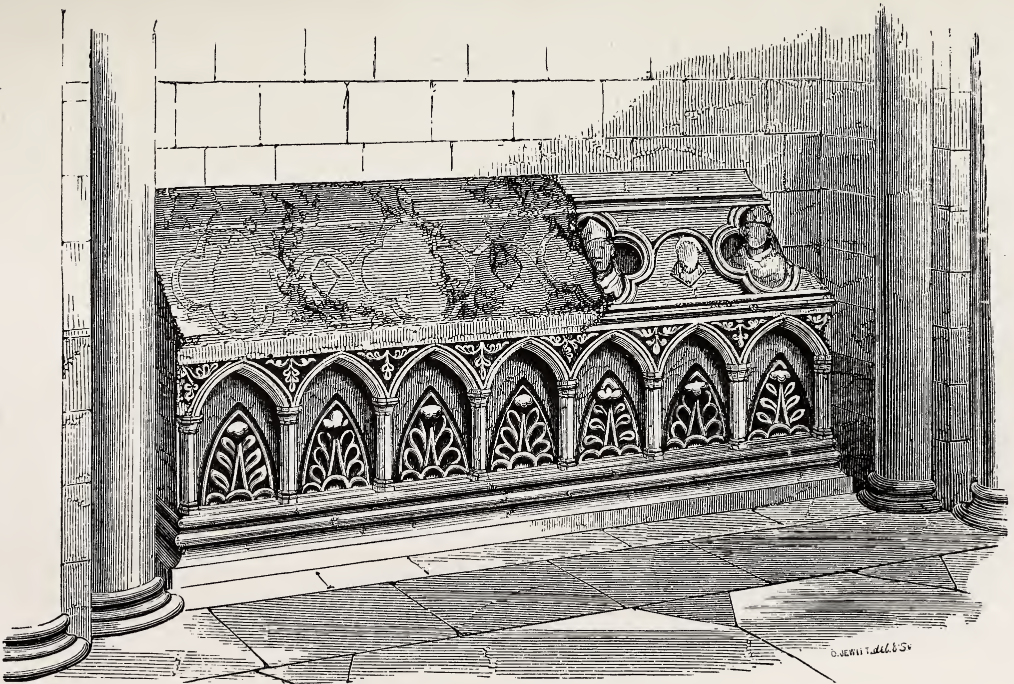
The eastern arm, in which the altar is placed, may first be described. This is of two bays, with a third or western bay, which opens to the eastern aisles of the transept. Each bay is subdivided; and there are two windows, one above the other, in each subdivision, the lower windows being raised high above the pavement. These are all broad lancets. The east end had been Perpendicularised, but the original design was clear, and this has been entirely restored. There is now a double tier of broad lancets, the upper tier, with a wall passage, answering to the upper or clerestory windows, at the sides. The window-arches are divided by slender shafts of Purbeck (which come quite to the ground with very fine effect), and are enriched, like those of the clerestory, with the dog-tooth. The three lower arches have the billet-moulding in front, and the dog-tooth in the windows set back in them. The glass in these eastern windows is by Clayton and Bell. In the centre, above, is our Lord in Majesty; below, is the Ascension.

On the south side are three perpendicular sedilia, which have been restored. Three steps of black marble rise to their level. The altar stands forward on three steps, in a line with the subdivision of the

easternmost bay. This is entirely new, with a modern reredos, of which it may at least be said that it does not, like that of Chichester, interfere with the lines of the architecture. It is in white Caen stone, and has a central canopy, carried on marble shafts, within a square of rich foliage of Early English character. The sculpture represents the Last Supper, with the inscription, "The cup of blessing which we bless, is it not the communion of the blood of Christ? the bread which we break, is it not the communion of the body of Christ?" The whole is low, and projects at the sides somewhat beyond the altar. The altar-steps are of black marble; the upper pace is tiled, and has set in the tiles, roundels, with figures of the cardinal virtues. In front, and below the steps, are the signs of the zodiac—a design of which many examples occur in a similar position, especially in Continental churches. It here forms part of the modern pavement.

At the back of the reredos is a large slab of Purbeck, with the matrices of two figures. The brasses have disappeared. This is traditionally said to be a memorial for the father and mother of St. William—placed here, of course, after (and if it be really a memorial of them, long after) his canonisation.

On the *north* side of this eastern arm are the monuments of Bishop Gilbert de Glanville [Plate II.] and of Bishop Lawrence de St. Martin. That of Bishop Gilbert (1185—1214) is shrine-shaped, with medallions containing mitred heads in the sloping cover, —the sculpture of which, it would appear, was never



BISHOP GLANVILLE'S TOMB.

completed. The side of the tomb should be especially noticed. The foliage in the arches is an evident imitation of a classic form, while that in the spandrels more resembles Early English. The arches themselves are of transition character. It is perhaps questionable whether this remarkable monument is not of earlier date than the bishop to whom it has been assigned; nor is it quite certain that the side and the sloping cover originally formed parts of the same tomb. In its general character the tomb resembles the monument of Bishop Marshall (died 1206) in Exeter Cathedral. East of this is the monument of Bishop LAWRENCE DE ST. MARTIN (1251—1274). The richly wrought canopy above the effigy is an excellent specimen of early Decorated. It was this bishop who procured the canonisation of St. William. In the north wall beyond, an unusual position, is an early Decorated piscina, with foliated arch. It now serves as a credence table.

On the *south* side of the eastern arm, in the easternmost bay, is a tomb of plain marble, which has been called that of Bishop GUNDULF (1077—1108), the builder of the Norman portion of the cathedral. It is without mark or inscription; and there is no evidence that Gundulf's remains were ever removed to this portion of the cathedral. Beyond, is the monument, with effigy, of Bishop INGLETHORPE (1283—1291).

XII.—Under the arch between the eastern aisle of the north transept and the presbytery, is the tomb, with effigy, of Bishop JOHN DE SHEPPEY (1353—

1360), probably the most perfect example of ancient colouring now existing in England. It had been bricked up within the arch, where it still remains, and was discovered during the repairs in 1825. The colours and ornaments deserve the most careful attention, as well for their own beauty as for their great value as authorities. In the maniple, hung over the left arm, some of the crystals with which it was studded still remain. Remark the couchant dogs at the feet. About their necks are scarlet collars, hung with bells. An inscription, with the bishop's name, surrounds the effigy. An iron railing of the same date, with his initials, J. S., has been brought from another part of the cathedral, and placed in front of the monument. The large branching finials are good.

XIII.—The architectural arrangement of the *eastern transept* is the same on either side. Both have eastern aisles, and the end walls of each resemble the east end in having two tiers of broad lancet lights. Above the arches of the eastern aisles runs an arcade carried on Purbeck shafts. In the north transept this arcade runs in front of a wall passage. In the south transept it is closed, and there is no passage. All the work here may well be of the time of William de Hoo.

At the north-east corner of the *north* transept, outside the aisle, is the tomb of St. William of Perth. It is of Purbeck marble, with a floriated cross; and there are considerable remains of ornamental painting

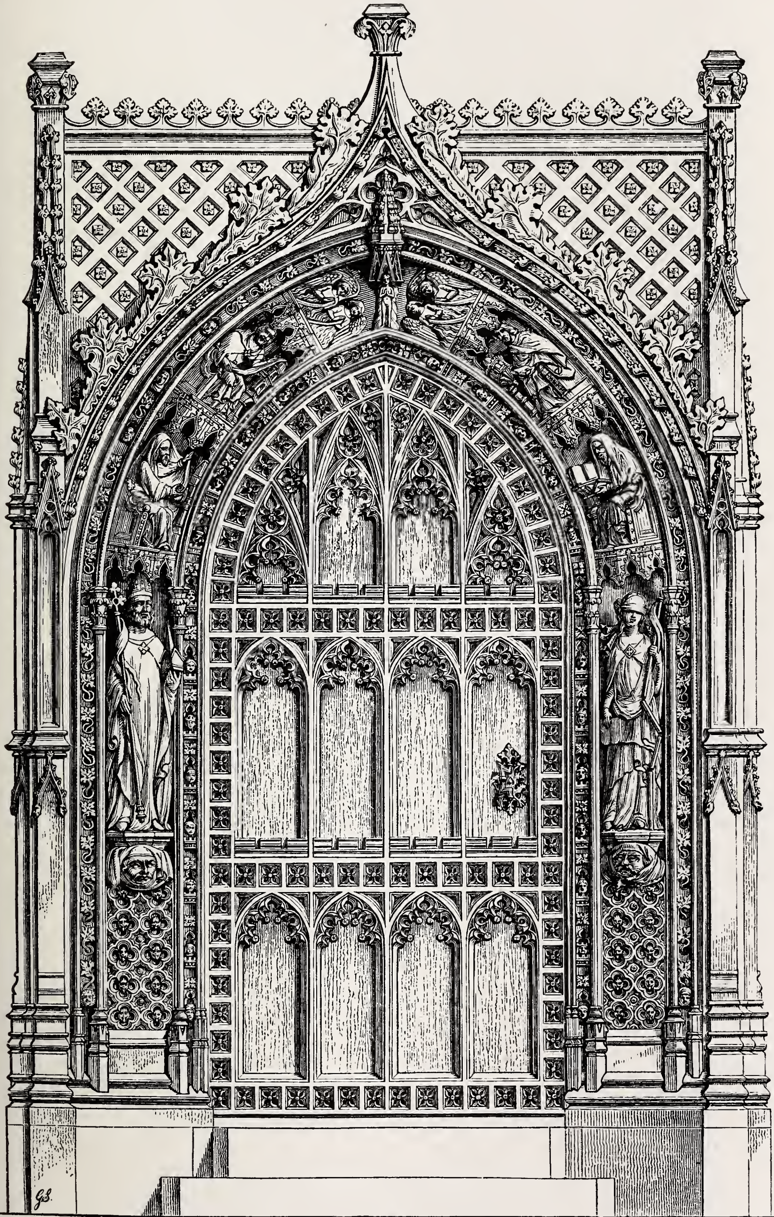
(a flowing pattern of vine-branches and leaves, green on a red ground) in the recess of the arch above. The date of the tomb is not clear; but is certainly later than the beginning of the thirteenth century, to which time the legend of St. William belongs. He is said to have been a Scottish baker, from Perth, who was in the habit of giving every tenth loaf to the poor, and who had undertaken a pilgrimage to the Holy Land, intending to visit the Canterbury shrine on his way. On the Watling Street, however, a short distance beyond Chatham, he fell in with thieves, always on the look-out for wealthy pilgrims; and his murdered body was brought back and solemnly interred in Rochester Cathedral. Numerous miracles were wrought at his tomb: and the shrine of St. William, borrowing a reflected glory from that of Becket, to which the pilgrim was bound, speedily eclipsed in reputation, and in the number of votaries it attracted, that of St. Paulinus, which had hitherto been the great pride of Rochester. Toward the centre of the transept is a flat altar-stone marked with six crosses, upon which St. William's shrine is said to have rested. The steps which descend into the north aisle of the choir, are, as at Canterbury, deeply worn by the constant passage of pilgrims, with whose oblations Prior William de Hoo (1239) built the church east of the great transepts. St. William was duly canonised in 1256. His death occurred in 1201.

West of St. William's tomb is that of Bishop Walter de Merton (1274—1277; see Part II.). This tomb,

which is very beautiful early Decorated, was well and carefully restored at the expense of Merton College, in the year 1852. The wall has been cut through for the tomb, which has two arches in front, with pediments crocketed and finialed. In the tympana are circles enclosing quatrefoils filled with foliage. In the wall at the back are two small windows. The slab on the tomb, with its floriated cross, is entirely modern, the original brass, of Limoges work (which cost, according to Warton, £67 14*s.* 6*d.*) having been defaced in the reign of Edward VI. This was replaced in 1598 by the alabaster effigy which now occupies the adjoining recess. The stained glass in the windows was inserted at the expense of Merton College, when the tomb was restored in 1852.

Against the opposite wall is the plain altar-tomb of Bishop Lowe (1444—1467). In the eastern aisle (still unrestored) of this transept are the tombs of Bishop Le Warner (1638—1666) and Archdeacon Warner (1679).

XIV. In the east wall of the south choir-transept is one of the great glories of the cathedral—the *chapter-house doorway* [Plate III.]. It is late Decorated work, and is said to have been erected during the episcopate of Bishop Haymo de Hythe (1319—1352). It was restored by Mr. Cottingham in 1830. The principal figures on either side represent the Jewish Church, leaning on a broken reed, blindfolded, and holding in her right hand the upturned tables of the Law; and the Christian Church, who now appears as a grave



DOOR OF CHAPTER HOUSE.

bishop, standing erect, with cathedral and crosier. But this episcopal head is due to Mr. Cottingham. The figure is that of a female; and the Christian Church was so represented here, as elsewhere. The original head had disappeared; and Mr. Cottingham's mistake should be remedied in due season. The other figures have been variously explained. The four lower ones, seated, probably represent the four doctors of the Church—Jerome, Augustine, Ambrose, and Gregory the Great. Above, on either side, appear angels, rising from what seem to be purgatorial flames, and praying for the "pure soul" represented by the small naked figure at the point of the arch. If the meaning is obscure, the work is of great excellence, and deserves careful notice. The oaken door within the arch is modern.

The chapter-house, into which this door opens, is a modern addition, and serves as the *library* of the cathedral. Here is preserved the MS. of the *Textus Roffensis*, a collection of records, gifts, and ancient privileges of the Church of Rochester, compiled under the direction of Bishop Ernulf (1115—1124). This venerable manuscript has undergone considerable perils, having at one time been stolen, and only restored to the Chapter by the aid of a decree in Chancery; and on another occasion having fallen into the Thames, from whence it was rescued with no small difficulty. The *Custumale Roffense*, a MS. of not less importance, is also preserved here.

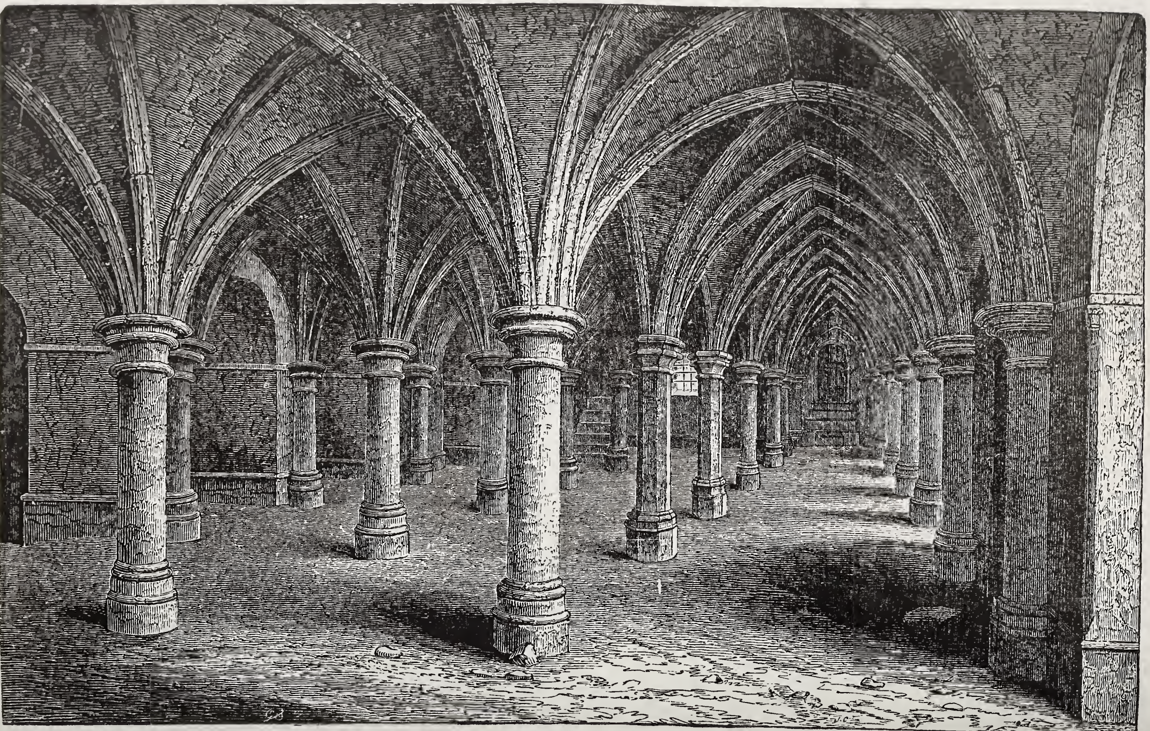
Under the transept window adjoining the chapter-

house is an unknown tomb, of Early English date, marked with an enriched cross. The central light in the lower tier of windows has been filled with glass by Clayton and Bell, as a memorial of Captain Buckle, R.E., and some Engineer soldiers, who fell in the Ashantee Expedition, 1874. The destruction of the original chapter-house has here thrown the shafts much out of the perpendicular.

XV. A steep flight of stairs, strongly recalling Canterbury, leads from this transept to the chapel, called *St. Edmund's*, south of the choir. This part of the church has undergone great alteration. In the Norman period a chapel projected eastward from Gundulf's transept, and there was a short choir aisle. All this was changed during the rebuilding and alteration of great part of the church under Bishop Gilbert de Glanville. The Norman transeptal chapel and the aisle were then thrown together; and when the eastern portion of the church was afterwards completed, the wall was extended, and the steps to the south-eastern transept were added. In this manner the whole chapel assumed its present shape.

The great buttress on the north side of the chapel (see it figured in Plate IV.) marks the end of the Norman aisle, and perhaps also the entrance, by an arch, into an eastern chapel. Preparations were made for an elaborate vaulting, which was never carried out. The present ceiling of the chapel is a wooden framework, of which the panels are filled with plaster. This may be of the time of Haymo de Hythe. The corbel-

ROOF OF ST. EDMUND'S CHAPEL.



THE CRYPT.

heads and bosses (see Plate IV.) deserve special notice for their carved foliage, among which occur the graceful leaves of the water-lily, no doubt frequent in the Medway at the time of the construction of this ceiling.

The defaced effigy in the north wall is supposed to be that of Bishop JOHN DE BRADFIELD (1278—1283).

Piercing the choir wall, at the western end, is a small circular hole, which appears to have served as a means of communication with the choir stalls. Its use is, however, uncertain.

The massive screen which separates this chapel from the south-eastern transept is of the same date and character as that which crosses the north choir aisle (§ XVII.), and as the stone screen of the choir (§ IX.). These are all of the Decorated period, and it would appear that they were erected for the protection of the eastern part of the church after the great plundering and destruction by the troops of Simon de Montfort in 1264 (see § III.).

XVI. From St. Edmund's chapel a flight of steps descends into the *crypt* [Plate V.], which extends under the whole of the choir, and is one of the best specimens of its class to be found in England. The western part is evidently of a much earlier date than the rest, which is Early English, and of the same period as the choir above. The first two, or westernmost bays, are no doubt Gundulf's work. The mouldings used by him occur here; the material is the tufa[n], used more or less

[n] The tufa used by Gundulf is a calcareous deposit which is still to be seen in course of formation in some parts of Kent. Sufficient,

in all Gundulf's buildings, and not at a later period. The abaci are square, and the broad jointing of the masonry, filled in with masses of mortar, marked by a double line, indicates at once that the work here is very early Norman. At the side of the passage into the crypt is a small dark chamber, entered by a door formed from one of Gundulf's windows. The chamber itself is of Early English date, and may have been designed as a secret treasury.

The Early English portion of the crypt is, of course, lighter and less massive. The windows here have been opened and glazed, under the direction of Sir Gilbert Scott.

Some fragments of a very rich reredos, apparently that belonging to the high altar, are preserved here among other relics. They were found built into the wall which closed the monument of John de Sheppey. The design of the reredos seems to have been a tree of Jesse, and some of the details point to a French sculptor.

XVII. There remain to be considered *Gundulf's Tower* and the adjacent portion of the church. To these we pass by the *north choir aisle.*

This aisle represents the aisle of the Norman church, which may have terminated (as it has been suggested may have been the case in the south aisle) in an apsidal chapel. All the Norman work here, however, has dis-

however, does not now exist for building purposes, and it is probable that the builders of Gundulf's time discovered, and used, nearly all the formation then in existence. It was never plentiful.

appeared, and the existing wall is, on the *south* side, that of the choir enclosure, dating from the building of the choir by William de Hoo; while on the *north* side it is of earlier character, and belongs to the extensive rebuilding carried out during the episcopate of Bishop Glanville. On this Early English wall a Perpendicular clerestory has been raised. The wall itself is unusually thin; the screen which crosses the aisle is Decorated, and, like the others (see § XV.), was probably designed for the better protection of the church.

The shattered monument in the south wall of this aisle has been assigned to Bishop HAYMO DE HETHE, or DE HYTHE (1319—1352), the builder of the lower part of the tower. He was thus buried, as was usual, near his own work.

Passing to the eastern end of the aisle, a door leads into what is now a small open yard, of which the eastern boundary is the west wall of the north-east transept. On the west is Gundulf's tower. This yard was perhaps always an open space; but a staircase in the angle of the transept led to small rooms which had chimneys in them, and seem to have been those of the sacrist, serving also as the watching chamber attached to the tomb and shrine of St. William.

An opening further west, in the aisle, leads into the space, now covered, between the choir aisle and Gundulf's tower. That this space must at first have been open is evident from the erection of the Perpendicular clerestory, the windows of which would otherwise

have been useless. It was, however, formed at some later time into two chambers, assigned to the keeping of the wax and waxen torches stored for the use of the cathedral. From a grant of these lodgings in 1545 we learn that Gundulf's tower was at one time known as the "Three-Bell Steeple;" and we are thus led to believe that it may have been erected, at first, as a campanile[o]. It may have been intended to serve also as a place of protection in troubled times for the monks and for their treasures; but it would seem that it remained for a considerable time isolated, and unconnected with the actual church. A passage now leads into the tower from the western end of the aisle; but this has been built up in great measure with blocks of tufa and with fragments of Norman sculpture, which can only have come from destroyed portions of Gundulf's church. The existing communication is therefore much later than Gundulf's time.

The walls of *Gundulf's Tower* are not in a line with any part of the cathedral—another proof that it was

[o] This grant, dated 1545, conveys to Nicholas Arnold, priest, "all the lodgyngs sometimes called the wax-chandler's chambers, together with the little gallery next adjoining, with all usual ways, i.e. through the three-bell steeple, sometime so called, and so up to the north side of the church, and so on the stairs that goeth to the six-bell steeple." This was the central tower of the Cathedral. The grant is printed in Thorpe's 'Custumale,' where will also be found the deed of surrender of the monastery to Henry VIII. In this are the words "Damus, reddimus . . . . totum scitum, circuitum, et præcinctum, et ecclesiam, *campanile*, et cœmiterium ejusdem monasterii." The "campanile" is apparently Gundulf's Tower.

built without any reference to the general ground-plan. The tower itself, now a mere ruin, is square. The tufa coigns, and the herring-bone masonry of the north wall, are characteristics of Gundulf's work, and occur also in part of the outer wall of Rochester Castle (towards the river). The double buttress at the north-east angle of the tower is of Early English date, and, like other buttresses on this side of the church, is unusually massive. When the north-eastern transept was built, and the tower was connected with that part of the church, it was probably found necessary to give it the additional strength of the buttress. The interior of the tower is now a mass of rubble walling. There are, on the west side, traces of window openings, which are now blocked by the wall of the great north transept; and which must have been blocked in the same manner by the wall of Gundulf's transept—showing again that the tower was built before the Norman church, and was unconnected with it.

The bridge by which, as it has been suggested, the tower was entered on the top, from the roof of the church, never really existed. The fragment of masonry which has been taken for the springing of the arch, is, in fact, a portion of a small flying buttress.

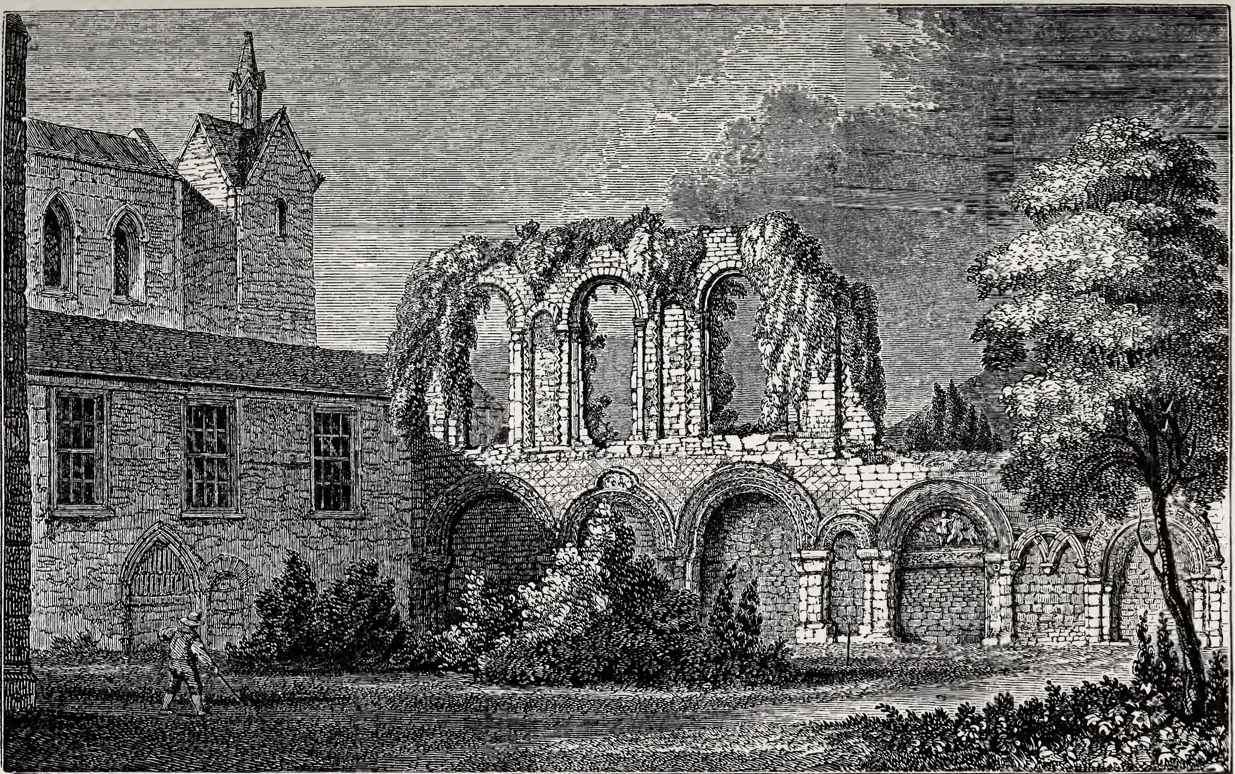
XVII.—The very massive buttresses which occur in the eastern portion of the church, beyond Gundulf's tower, deserve attention. They are all, of course, Early English, and part of the work of William de Hoo. The buttresses at the angles of the transept carry

staircases. Those beyond, eastward of the transept, were altered in the course of building. It was at first intended that shafts should be placed in the hollows; but, for some reason which does not appear, this design was changed. There are no shafts; and the capping of the buttresses was altered accordingly.

XVIII.—The greater part of the *central tower* of the cathedral dates from 1825, when it was raised under the direction of Mr. Cottingham. It had been partly rebuilt by Sloane in 1749. In its present state it is altogether unsatisfactory. A small portion immediately above the roof is the work of Bishop John de Sheppey (1352).

XIX.—Of the *priory* of St. Andrew, established in connection with the cathedral by Gundulf, the principal remains are in the garden of the deanery, where is a small fragment of the cloister wall, supporting some window-arches of the old chapter-house. [Plate VI.] This is all Norman, and the recorded work of Ernulf, Gundulf's successor. The diaper on the wall is also found at Canterbury (where Ernulf was prior before his removal to Rochester, and where he built much), on the wall of the passage leading to the crypt from the Martyrdom transept. The lower arches, now closed, opened into an area below the chapter-house, used as a place of interment more than usually honourable. The signs of the zodiac enrich the central arch. On a smaller one adjoining are the words "Aries per cornua," the only part of the inscription still legible.

Within the deanery, at the foot of the staircase, is



REMAINS OF NORMAN CHAPTER-HOUSE

copal palace, with the ground about it, rendered it necessary to throw the cloister thus far to the east. This palace stood at the south-west corner of the precincts; and it may have been for this reason that Gundulf rebuilt the wall of the nave on the south side. But no bishop has lived at Rochester since the sixteenth century.

ROCHESTER CATHEDRAL.

PART II.

History of the See, with Short Lives of the principal Bishops.

IN the year 604, shortly before the death of Augustine, and seven years after his first arrival in Thanet, two new bishoprics were established by him, at Rochester and at London. That of London was for the kingdom of the East Saxons; that of Rochester was for the western portion of Kent, which possibly formed a small dependent kingdom whose chief was subject to Ethelbert. Rochester, Hrof's *ceastre*, or castle, commanding the point at which the Watling Street crossed the Medway, was its capital, and formed an excellent centre for the establishment and propagation of the new faith.

[A.D. 604—624.] The first bishop of Rochester was JUSTUS, one of the second company who had been sent from Rome to assist Augustine. Justus was driven from his see for a short time after the relapse of Eadbald, the son of Ethelbert, into paganism (see CANTERBURY, Pt. II.), but was restored after the successful fraud of Laurence, and in 624 was translated to Canterbury, of which see he became third archbishop.

[A.D. 624—656.] Justus was succeeded by ROMANUS, who was drowned in crossing the Channel on his way to Rome. PAULINUS, the first preacher of Christianity among the Angles north of the Humber, after he had been driven from his northern diocese on the death of Edwin in 633, undertook

the government of the Church of Rochester, over which he presided until the year 644. (See YORK for a full notice of him.) ITHAMAR, who succeeded him, and who died in 656, was the first native bishop of the English Church. According to Malmesbury he was inferior to none of his predecessors in learning or in piety. Paulinus and Ithamar, both of whom were revered as saints, were interred in their cathedral church of St. Andrew, which had been built at Rochester on the first institution of the bishopric, by the influence of Ethelbert. Their remains were subsequently enshrined, and until the canonization of St. William in the thirteenth century (Pt. I. § x.), they were regarded as the chief patrons of the Church of Rochester. The cathedral was dedicated to St. Andrew in commemoration of the great convent of St. Andrew on the Cælian, to which Augustine and all his companions had originally belonged.

[A.D. 656—726.] The next four bishops—DAMIAN, PUTTA, QUICHELM, and GEBMUND—were men of little note. The see over which they presided was small and poor, and two of them, at least, deserted their charge in consequence. TOBIAS, who succeeded in the year 693, was, according to Bede, one of the most learned Churchmen of his time in England. He had studied in the school established at Canterbury by Theodore and Hadrian, so that "Greek and Latin were as familiar to him as the accents of his native tongue[a]." Tobias died in 726, and was interred in the chapel (*porticus*) of St. Paul, within the cathedral, which he had constructed for this purpose during his lifetime.

[A.D. 727—1075.] Of the bishops of Rochester between Tobias and Siward, who occupied the see at the period of the Conquest, scarcely anything is recorded beyond the names; and even these vary in the lists furnished by different chroniclers. None of them apparently were men of learning or distinction. SIWARD, who had been Abbot of

[a] Bede, H. E., l. v. c. 23.

Abingdon, was consecrated in the year 1058, and was not removed from his see after the Conquest. He assisted at the consecration of Archbishop Lanfranc, and died in the year 1075. The diocese of Rochester had suffered much during the Danish ravages, and probably during the stormy time succeeding the Conquest; and on the death of Siward his church was found, says Malmesbury, "wretched and empty, destitute of all things within and without." Five canons alone remained, who supported themselves from day to day with no small difficulty.

After Siward's death, ARNOST, a monk of Bec, was consecrated by Lanfranc as his successor. He died in the following year, and

[A.D. 1076—1107.] GUNDULF, also a monk of Bec, succeeded him. Under this bishop the condition of the Church of Rochester was greatly improved. The secular canons were replaced by a body of more than sixty Benedictines, "bene legentes et optime cantantes," the cathedral itself was rebuilt (Pt. I. § I.), and by the assistance of Archbishop Lanfranc, who also contributed large sums of money toward the rebuilding of the cathedral, several manors which had been alienated were recovered for the see. Besides his cathedral, Gundulf, who was one of the most celebrated military architects of his time, has the reputation of having built the great keep of Rochester Castle, one of the most impressive remains of the Norman period in England, besides portions of the Tower of London and of the Castle of Dover. But, although Gundulf certainly built a castle at Rochester,—at a cost, says the Chronicle, of £60,—there is reason to doubt whether the existing keep is not of a later period. Gundulf removed the relics of St. Paulinus into their silver shrine, and assigned them the place of honour at the eastern end of his new cathedral. A plain tomb, said to be that of Bishop Gundulf, remains in the chancel, (Pt. I. § XV.)

[A.D. 1108—1114.] RALPH D' ESCURES, who had been Abbot

of Saye in Normandy, was translated from Rochester to Canterbury in 1114.

[A.D. 1115—1124.] ERNULF, like his predecessor Gundulf, was a prelate with the true Norman instinct for architecture. He had been a monk of Bec, whence Lanfranc had summoned him to Canterbury. Under Anselm he became Prior of Christ Church, Canterbury, then Abbot of Peterborough, and was consecrated Bishop of Rochester by Ralph, after his elevation to the primacy. At Canterbury, Ernulf had completed the cathedral commenced by Lanfranc. At Peterborough he nearly rebuilt the monastery, and at Rochester he was not less zealous. Some points of resemblance between his works here and at Canterbury have been pointed out in Pt. I. § xx. Under

[A.D. 1125—1137.] JOHN, who had been Archdeacon of Canterbury, the new cathedral was solemnly consecrated.

[A.D. 1137—1142.] JOHN, Abbot of Saye,

[A.D. 1142—1148.] ASCELIN, and

[A.D. 1148—1182.] WALTER, Archdeacon of Canterbury, need only be named. The archbishops of Canterbury had hitherto always appointed to the see of Rochester. Archbishop Theobald, on the death of Ascelin, placed the right of election for the future in the hands of the monks of St. Andrew's convent.

[A.D. 1182—1184.] WALERAN.

[A.D. 1185—1214.] GILBERT DE GLANVILLE, Archdeacon of Luxeuil. Throughout his episcopate, a perpetual quarrel, the cause of which is uncertain, prevailed between him and his monks, from whom—according to Edmund of Hadenham, one of their number, and therefore to some extent a prejudiced witness—he took the greater part of their farms and manors, besides appropriating the churches which had hitherto belonged to the convent. In order to support the legal actions which the monks brought against their bishop, they sold many of the ornaments of their church among the rest, the silver with which Lanfranc

had decorated the shrine of St. Paulinus. "Bishop Gilbert," says Edmund the Monk, "was a native of Northumberland, and proved clearly enough the truth of what is said concerning those regions, that 'out of the North proceedeth all evil,' (quod ab Aquilone prodit omne malum.)" Gilbert, who, as Bishop of Rochester, acted as Archbishop Baldwin's vicar during his absence in the Holy Land, was also for some time Chancellor of England. "Hic cum Cancellarius esset Regalis, matris Ecclesiæ bona cancellare non desiit spiritualis." The famous interdict of King John's reign (see CANTERBURY, Pt. II., Stephen Langton,) continued during the last seven years of Bishop Gilbert's episcopate, and was annulled immediately after his death. It was, thought Edmund of Hadenham, a mark of divine vengeance that he did not live to see its close; "so that the Church, which prays even for Jews and heretics, was not permitted to celebrate the holy mysteries at his death." He was buried on the north side of the high altar, "inter fundatores confundator." A remarkable tomb, which has been assigned to him, remains in the chancel of his cathedral, (Pt. I. § xv.)

[A.D. 1215—1226.] BENEDICT DE SANSETUN. In the year of his accession Rochester Castle, which had been held by certain of the Barons, was taken by King John, and the cathedral was plundered, so that "not even a pix remained in which the body of the Lord might rest upon the altar." (Adeo ut nec pixis cum corpore Christi super altare remaneret.)

[A.D. 1227—1235.] HENRY DE SANDFORD, Archdeacon of Canterbury. According to Edmund of Hadenham and Matthew Paris, whilst this bishop was on one occasion saying Mass at Sittingbourn, he announced to the people that a vision had been accorded him by which he was assured that on that very day three souls, and three only, had passed from purgatory to the joys of heaven—those of King Richard Cœur-de-Lion, of Archbishop Stephen

Langton, and of a nameless chaplain of the archbishop's. The new choir of Rochester was used for the first time in the year of Bishop Henry's accession.

[A.D. 1238—1250.] The monks of Rochester, on the death of Bishop Henry, chose as his successor RICHARD DE WENDOVER, rector of the church of Bromley, whom, however, the Archbishop, Edmund Rich, refused to consecrate, declaring him to be "rude and unlearned." After the church of Rochester had been three years without a head, a papal mandate at last compelled the Archbishop to recognise the choice of the monks. Bishop Richard was buried in the church of Westminster by the command of Henry III., in acknowledgment of the great excellence of his life.

[A.D. 1251—1274.] LAWRENCE DE ST. MARTIN, one of the King's chaplains, was consecrated at Lyons in 1251. He struggled in vain against the rapacity of Archbishop Boniface of Savoy, who had taken possession of much property belonging to the see of Rochester. He carried his appeal against the Archbishop to Rome, where, however, he found the Pope, Alexander VI., unable or unwilling to assist him At this time Bishop Lawrence procured the canonization of St. William, and, if we are to believe a statement of Edmund of Hadenham, he acted for some time as senator of Rome. "Iste vero Laurentius per multum tempus Senator Romanorum fuisse dicitur[b]." The Bishop went to Rome in 1256, in which year the Senator Brancaleone laid down his office, and did not resume it until 1258. It is possible that Bishop Lawrence may have filled it during some part of the interval. In 1264 the castle of Rochester, which was held by the Earl of Warrene and others of the King's party, was besieged by Simon de Montfort and the Barons. The city was taken and plundered on Good Friday, when "the satellites of the devil entered the church of St Andrew with their drawn swords, and striking fear and horror into its children and those also

[b] Ang. Sac., i. 351.

who had taken refuge in it, crucified them together with the Lord, who suffereth in His elect. Moreover they plundered the gold and silver, and precious things. Some of the monks they kept imprisoned all the night, and armed men on their horses rode about the altars, and dragged thence with impious hands certain persons who had fled to them. . . . The holy places—the chapels, the cloisters, the chapter-house, the infirmary—were made stables for their horses, and filled with filth and uncleanness[c]." The tomb of Bishop Lawrence remains in the chancel, (Pt. I. § xv.)

A.D. 1274—1278.] WALTER DE MERTON, the distinguished founder of Merton College, Oxford, was born, as is most probable, in the early part of the thirteenth century, at Basingstoke in Hampshire, where his parents, who were of good family, were both buried. Their son Walter is said to have been educated at the Augustinian Priory of Merton in Surrey—whence he derived the surname which he afterwards bestowed on his foundation at Oxford—and at Oxford. He was certainly in Holy Orders in the year 1238, but had early applied himself to the study of the law, and seems to have practised in the King's courts. Before 1240 he had acquired considerable landed property in Surrey, chiefly in the parishes adjoining Merton, and his reputation and influence at court steadily increased, until, in 1258, he became Chancellor. Numerous prebends and other preferments were bestowed on him by the King, who was much pressed for money, and had no readier means of paying him. In 1262, during Henry the Third's absence in France, Walter de Merton was continued in office, from which, however, he was removed by the Barons in 1263. In 1272, the first year of Edward I., he was again appointed Chancellor, "displaying extraordinary ability, and materially contributing to the auspicious commencement of the new reign." On his removal from office in 1274 he received the bishopric of Rochester, and died, it

[c] Ed. de Hadenham, Ang. Sac., i. 351.

is said, from the effects of a fall from his horse into the Medway, Oct. 27, 1277. His tomb in the north-east transept has already been noticed, (Pt. I. § XI.)

Although Walter de Merton occupied a public position of no small importance during his lifetime, he is now best remembered from his noble foundation at Oxford, "the first incorporation of any body of persons for purposes of *study* in this kingdom, and the first effort to raise the condition of the secular clergy by bringing them into close connection with an academical course of study;" the first independent *college* in fact, "a distinct republic with its endowments, statutes, and internal government," and thus "distinguished from the hall or hostel, where the other scholars dwelt and studied only under the ordinary academic discipline." Bishop Walter's college, at first a much smaller institution, was originally established in connection with Oxford, in the year 1274, at Malden, the adjoining parish to Merton, in Surrey. It was subsequently removed altogether to Oxford, and in 1274 its statutes were ratified by the founder, and by King Edward I. In 1275 Archbishop Kilwardby grants his confirmation to the completed foundation, describing its object as that of producing by education in arts, common law, and theology, a "copia doctorum qui velut stellæ in perpetuas æternitates mansuri valeant ad justitiam plurimos erudire." That it did at once produce a "copia doctorum" is sufficiently proved by the great number of bishops and archbishops who received their education at Merton during the next two centuries. It should especially be recollected, however, that the college was established for the benefit of the secular clergy in opposition to the regulars. "De Merton, though he introduced, according to the habits of his time, much of the monastic discipline, the common diet, seclusion within the walls, regular service and study; perhaps as a Churchman, possibly with even more widely prophetic view, was singularly jealous lest his college should degenerate into a narrow

monastic community. Whoever became a monk was expelled from his fellowship[d]." The monastic chronicler of Rochester sufficiently indicates that Bishop Walter's memory was not greatly revered by the Benedictines of his convent. He acquired, we are told, two additional manors for the bishopric, "but notwithstanding his great power and authority, neither did himself, nor procured from others, any good thing for the prior and convent[e]."

The see of Rochester was held by no very distinguished prelate from this time until the Reformation.

[A.D. 1278—1283.] JOHN DE BRADFIELD, precentor of the church of Rochester, succeeded De Merton. He had been excellent as a monk, says Master Edmund, but turned out an indifferent bishop. "From superlative he passed to comparative; from comparative to positive."

[A.D. 1283—1291.] THOMAS INGLETHORPE, Dean of St. Paul's. His tomb remains in the chancel, (Pt. I. § xv.)

[A.D. 1292—1317.] THOMAS DE WOLDHAM, Prior of Rochester. For two years the see remained vacant.

[A.D. 1319—1352.] HAYMO DE HYTHE, Confessor of Edward II. The beautiful doorway of the chapter-house (Pt. I. § XVI.) is said to have been constructed during his episcopate. He contributed large sums toward the restoration of his cathedral, and built much at the various manors belonging to the see, especially at Halling on the Medway. The shrines of St. Paulinus and Ithamar were renewed and richly adorned by him. Bishop Haymo very prudently kept aloof as much as possible from the troubles of his time; but was in some danger on the occasion of Bishop Stapledon's murder in 1326, when he escaped on foot from London. The chief particulars of his episcopate

[d] Milman, Lat. Christ., vi. 102. For ample notices of Merton College and its objects, see the Report of the Oxford University Commission, and a "Sketch of the Life of Walter de Merton," by Edmund, Bishop of Nelson. (Oxford: J. H. and Jas. Parker, 1859.)

[e] Ang. Sac., i. 352.

have been recorded by William of Dene, a member of his household; who duly sets forth the upright conduct of Bishop Haymo, at a time when the other prelates were "sacrificing to Mahomet" (Machumeto sacrificabant), and submitting themselves to the control of Queen Isabella and her favourite Mortimer. (See the narrative of William of Dene in *Ang. Sac.*, vol. i.) In 1348 the Bishop's household was almost swept away by the Black Death.

[A.D. 1353—1360.] JOHN DE SHEPPEY, Prior of Rochester. He was Treasurer (not Chancellor, as is usually asserted) of England from 1326 to 1358. His remarkable effigy has been noticed Pt. I. § XIII.

[A.D. 1362—1364.] WILLIAM OF WHITTLESEA, Archdeacon of Huntingdon, was translated to Worcester in 1364, and afterwards to Canterbury. (See that Cathedral.)

[A.D. 1364—1372.] THOMAS TRILLECK, Dean of St. Paul's.

[A.D. 1373—1389. THOMAS BRINTON, a Benedictine, intruded by the Pope. He was Confessor of Richard II.

A.D. 1389—1400.] WILLIAM DE BOTTLESHAM, a Dominican of great learning, translated from Llandaff, and intruded by the King, Richard II., in opposition to the monks, who had elected Richard Barnet.

[A.D. 1400—1404.] JOHN DE BOTTLESHAM, Chaplain of the Archbishop of Canterbury.

[A.D. 1404—1418.] RICHARD YONG, translated from Bangor.

[A.D. 1419—1421.] JOHN KEMP, translated successively to Chichester, London, York, and Canterbury. (See CANTERBURY Cathedral.)

[A.D. 1422—1434.] JOHN LANGDON, a monk of Christ Church, Canterbury, was intruded by the Pope. He is said to have received the bishopric as a reward for his zeal in the prosecution of Wickliffe under Archbishop Arundel. Langdon died in 1434, whilst attending the Council of Basle.

[A.D. 1435—1436.] THOMAS BROWN, Vicar-general of Archbishop Chichele, and Dean of Salisbury, succeeded. During

his absence at the Council of Basle he was translated to Norwich.

[A.D. 1437—1444.] WILLIAM WELLS, Abbot of York

[A.D. 1444—1467.] JOHN LOWE, translated from St. Asaph, was General of the Augustinians in England, and a prelate of considerable learning. His tomb remains in the north-east transept, (Pt. I. § XI.)

[A.D. 1468—1472.] THOMAS ROTHERHAM, translated to York.

[A.D. 1472—1476.] JOHN ALCOCK, translated to Worcester.

[A.D. 1476—1480.] JOHN RUSSELL, guardian of the young prince, afterwards Edward V., translated to Lincoln.

[A.D. 1480—1492.] EDMUND AUDLEY, translated to Hereford, and thence to Salisbury, where his beautiful chantry still remains. (See that Cathedral.)

[A.D. 1493—1496.] THOMAS SAVAGE, translated to London

[A.D. 1497—1503.] RICHARD FITZ-JAMES, translated to Chichester.

[A.D. 1504—1535.] JOHN FISHER, the unhappy fellow-sufferer with Sir Thomas More, was born in 1459, at Beverley in Yorkshire, and educated at Cambridge. At an early age he was made chaplain and confessor to Margaret, Countess of Richmond, mother of Henry VII.; and it was by Fisher's counsel that she founded the two great colleges of St. John's and Christ's at Cambridge, and established the "Lady Margaret" professorships of Divinity in both Universities. In 1501 Fisher was elected Chancellor of Cambridge, and in the following year became himself the first "Margaret" professor there. In 1504 he was raised to the see of Rochester, at the especial recommendation of Fox, Bishop of Winchester.

On all the great questions connected with the early English Reformation, Bishop Fisher zealously supported the side of Rome. He wrote against Luther, and endeavoured by all possible means to prevent the spreading of his doctrines in the University of Cambridge; he maintained the

validity of the King's marriage with Catherine of Arragon; he opposed the dissolution of the monasteries, and protested in Convocation against the title of "Supreme Head of the English Church" assumed by Henry VIII. Like Archbishop Warham and some others, Bishop Fisher gave too ready a credence to the pretended revelations of Elizabeth Barton, the famous nun of Kent; and was adjudged guilty of misprision of treason for having concealed certain speeches of the supposed prophetess which related to the King. He was condemned to be imprisoned during the King's pleasure, but was released upon payment of £300. After the passing of the Act of Succession, which confirmed the marriage of the King with Anne Boleyn, and entailed the crown upon her issue, Bishop Fisher refused to take the oath of observance which had been accepted by both Houses, and was accordingly committed to the Tower, April 26, 1534.

Many attempts were made, but in vain, to induce Fisher to take the oath of succession. He agreed at length to promise allegiance to the King, and to the issue of the new marriage; but declared "that his conscience could not be convinced that the marriage was not against the law of God." With this, however, Henry was not satisfied, and in January, $153\frac{4}{5}$, Bishop Fisher was attainted of high treason, and his bishopric declared void. He still remained in the Tower, without money and without resources; it is even said that sufficient clothing was not provided for him. In May, 1535, Paul III. created him Cardinal of St. Vitalis. The King ordered that the cardinal's hat should not be brought into his dominions, and was still further enraged at learning that Fisher had declared his intention of accepting it. Visitors were now sent to the Tower to ascertain the Bishop's opinion concerning the statute of the Royal Supremacy, which had been passed since his committal. This statute he declared himself altogether unable to recognise. He was accordingly placed without delay on his

trial, found guilty of high treason, and condemned to lose his head, a sentence which was executed on Tower-hill, June 22, 1535. His body, by the King's command, remained all day naked on the scaffold. His head was fixed over London-bridge; but, after it had been exposed there for fourteen days it was taken down and thrown into the Thames, because, according to Hall, the Bishop's biographer, "the face was observed to become fresher and more comely day by day," and such was the concourse of persons who assembled to look at it, that "almost neither cart nor horse could pass."

In the earlier part of his career Bishop Fisher might, had he chosen, have attained to much higher preferment; but he declared that he never would exchange the bishopric of Rochester, then the smallest and poorest in England, for any other. His learning and piety, as well as the great gentleness of his disposition, caused his death to be regarded with more than usual indignation: in Burnet's words, "it left one of the greatest blots upon this kingdom's proceedings[f]." Henry himself, in the earlier period of his reign, had been much attached to Bishop Fisher, and asked Cardinal Pole if in all his travels he had ever found a prelate of equal worth and ability with the Bishop of Rochester[g]?

Fisher had "the notablest library of books in all England,—two long galleries full[h]," and undertook the study of Greek when upwards of sixty years old. "Reverendus Episcopus Roffensis," writes Erasmus, who knew him well, "vir non solum mirabili integritate vitæ, verum etiam alta et recondita doctrina, tum morum quoque incredibili comitate commendatus maximis pariter ac minimis. . . . . Aut egregie fallor, aut is vir est unus, cum quo nemo sit hac tempestate conferendus, vel integritate vitæ, vel eruditione, vel animi magnitudine."

[f] Hist. of the Reformation. [g] Apol. Poli., p. 95.

[h] Harl. MSS., No. 7,047, p. 17; quoted by Bruce, *Archæologia*, vol. xxv.

An interesting notice of Bishop Fisher, especially of his last troubles, by John Bruce, Esq., F.S.A., will be found in the *Archæologia*, vol. xxv.

[A.D. 1535—1538.] John Hilsey, Prior of the Dominican convent in London, but a decided advocate of the Reformation, succeeded. It was this bishop who exhibited at St. Paul's Cross the famous "Rood of Boxley," breaking it in pieces before the people, and displaying to them the springs by which it had been moved.

[A.D. 1540, translated to Worcester in 1543.] Nicholas Heath, King Henry the Eighth's Almoner.

[A.D. 1544, translated to Lincoln 1547.] Henry Holbeach.

[A.D. 1547, translated to London 1550.] Nicholas Ridley. (See London.)

[A.D. 1550.] John Poynet, translated to Winchester in the following year. (See Winchester.)

[A.D. 1551, translated to Chichester 1552.] John Scory. (See Chichester.) The see remained vacant for nearly two years.

[A.D. 1554—1558.] Maurice Griffin, who had been educated by the Dominicans of Oxford, was appointed on the accession of Mary. "His diocese was but of small extent," says Fuller, "but that flock must be very little indeed out of which the ravenous wolf cannot fetch some prey for himself. Maurice the bishop played the tyrant[i]." Four persons were burnt during his episcopate, and the Bishop himself died of the same fever which proved fatal to the Queen and to Cardinal Pole.

[A.D. 1560, translated to Salisbury 1571.] Edmund Gheast. (See Salisbury.)

[A.D. 1572, translated to Norwich 1575.] Edmund Freke.

[A.D. 1576, translated to Salisbury 1577, and thence to York.] John Piers. (See York.)

[A.D. 1578—1605.] John Yonge, buried in the parish church of Bromley.

[i] Church Hist.

[A.D. 1605, translated to Lincoln 1608.] WILLIAM BARLOW. When Dean of Chester this prelate was employed by Archbishop Whitgift to draw up an account of the Hampton Court Conference held before King James in January, 1603.

[A.D. 1608, translated to Lichfield 1610, and thence successively to Durham, Winchester, and York.] RICHARD NEILE. (See YORK.)

[A.D. 1611, translated to Ely 1628.] JOHN BUCKERIDGE, the intimate friend of Andrewes, Bishop of Winchester, whom he had succeeded in the vicarage of St. Giles, Cripplegate, and whose funeral sermon he preached. Bishop Buckeridge wrote a book "against the power of the Pope in temporal matters," which, says Godwin, "could his predecessor Bishop Fisher have perused, he never would have lost his life in defence of a doctrine so notoriously false." Buckeridge died in 1631, and was buried at Bromley, notwithstanding his translation to the see of Ely.

[A.D. 1628, translated in the following year to Bath and Wells, and thence to Winchester.] WALTER CURLE.

[A.D. 1630—1637.] JOHN BOWLE, Dean of Salisbury.

[A.D. 1638—1666.] JOHN WARNER; born of a good family in London, and educated at Oxford, was conspicuous for his defence of the Church of England against the attacks of the Puritan party in the early period of the Civil War. "God," says Fuller[k], "hath given him a great estate, and a liberal heart to make use of it. Keeping good hospitality in the Christmas at Bromley, as he fed many poor, so he freed himself from much trouble; being absent when the rest of the bishops subscribed their protest in Parliament, whereby he enjoyed liberty in (during) the restraint of others of his order. He was an able and active advocate for episcopacy in the House of Lords, speaking for them as

[k] Worthies—Westminster. Fuller's "Worthies of England" was published during the lifetime of Bishop Warner.

long as he had any voice left him, and then willing to have made signs in their just defence if it might have been permitted him." During the Protectorate, Bishop Warner was permitted to remain at Bromley, but of course lost all the revenues of his see. These he recovered on the Restoration. His private means were large, and by his will he left considerable sums toward the repair of Rochester Cathedral, and to the colleges of Magdalen and Balliol, with which he had been connected in Oxford. At Bromley he founded the college for widows of the clergy, which still remains, a worthy memorial of him. He was buried in his own cathedral (Pt. I. § XIII.), the last bishop who has been interred there, and the only one since Bishop Lowe, in the fifteenth century.

[A.D. 1666, translated to York 1683.] JOHN DOLBEN. (See YORK.)

[A.D. 1683, translated in the following year to Ely.] FRANCIS TURNER. (See ELY.)

[A.D. 1684—1713.] THOMAS SPRAT; born in 1636, at Tallaton, in Devonshire, in which village he received his earliest education, proceeded to Wadham College, Oxford, where he obtained a fellowship. In 1659 he wrote a poem on the death of Cromwell, which was published together with others by Dryden and Waller. In this poem Sprat, somewhat anticipating later judgments, declares that Cromwell's fame, "like man, will grow white as it grows old." He took orders after the Restoration, and was made chaplain to Charles II. His "History of the Royal Society," his "Life of Cowley," and other works, procured him considerable reputation, and he became successively Prebendary of Westminster, Canon of Windsor, Dean of Westminster, and, in 1684, Bishop of Rochester.

Although necessarily concerned in the great public events which followed his elevation to the see of Rochester, Bishop Sprat "had neither enthusiasm nor constancy. Both his ambition and his party-spirit were always effectually kept

in order by his love of ease and his anxiety for his own safety. He had been guilty of some criminal compliances, in the hope of gaining the favour of James, had sate in the High Commission, had concurred in several iniquitous decrees pronounced by that Court, and had, with trembling hands and faltering voice, read the Declaration of Indulgence in the choir of the abbey. But there he had stopped. As soon as it began to be whispered that the civil and religious constitution of England would speedily be vindicated by extraordinary means, he had resigned the powers which he had during two years exercised in defiance of law, and had hastened to make his peace with his clerical brethren. He had in the Convention voted for a Regency; but he had taken the oaths without hesitation: he had borne a conspicuous part in the coronation of the new sovereigns, and by his skilful hand had been added to the form of prayer used on the fifth of November those sentences in which the Church expresses her gratitude for the second great deliverance wrought on that day[l]." The Bishop, however, was not on perfectly good terms with the Government of William III. "For the feeling which, next to solicitude for his own comfort and repose, seems to have had the greatest influence on his public conduct, was his dislike of the Puritans; a dislike which sprang, not from bigotry, but from Epicureanism. Their austerity was a reproach to his slothful and luxurious life; their phraseology shocked his fastidious taste; and, where they were concerned, his ordinary good-nature forsook him. Loathing the Nonconformists as he did, he was not likely to be very zealous for a prince whom the Nonconformists regarded as their protector[m]." Either from this cause, or with some other object which it is impossible to discover, Bishop Sprat was chosen by Robert Young, in 1692, as one of the persons

[l] Macaulay, Hist. Eng., iv. 249.

[m] Ibid., p. 250.

whose names were to be appended to a forged document purporting to be an "Association for the Restoration of James II." The paper was concealed in a flower-pot at Bromley, and the Government was informed of the pretended 'plot.' The Bishop was taken into custody, and after more than one examination the villany of Young was discovered [n].

Bishop Sprat died in 1713, and was buried at Westminster. He is said to have been the first to check the custom of 'humming,' with which popular preachers were encouraged by their audiences. When Burnet preached, part of his congregation hummed so loudly and so long that he sat down to enjoy it. When Sprat preached, he likewise was honoured with the same animating hum, but he stretched out his hand to the congregation, and cried, "Peace! peace! I pray you peace!" "This," says Dr. Johnson, "I was told in my youth by an old man who had been no careless observer of the passages of those times [o]."

On the score of his few poetical works, which are now quite forgotten, Bishop Sprat has obtained a place among Johnson's "Lives of the Poets."

[A.D. 1713, deprived 1723.] Francis Atterbury, "a man who holds a conspicuous place in the political, ecclesiastical, and literary history of England," was born in 1662, at Middleton in Buckinghamshire, of which parish his father was rector. He was educated at Westminster School, and "carried thence to Christ Church a stock of learning which, though really scanty, he through life exhibited with such judicious ostentation that superficial observers believed his attainments to be immense." At Oxford he distinguished himself in defence of the doctrines of the English Church,

[n] For a full narrative of Young's plot, see Macaulay, Hist. Eng. iv. 244—253.

[o] Life of Sprat.

then (under James II.) attacked by Papists and 'perverts.' He took orders after the Revolution, and became one of the King's chaplains, but continued to reside principally in Oxford, where he soon became involved in the famous controversy of Boyle with Bentley concerning the "Epistles of Phalaris." The reply to Bentley's first dissertation, although it bears the name of Boyle, was in reality the work of Atterbury, who had been Boyle's tutor, and is his masterpiece, giving "a much higher notion of his power than any of those works to which he put his name." "It is the most extraordinary instance that exists of the art of making much show with little substance." When, two years afterwards, Bentley's reply appeared, entirely demolishing all the arguments of Atterbury, the latter was actively engaged in defending the powers of the Lower House of Convocation, concerning which a considerable dispute had arisen. "By the great body of the clergy he was regarded as the ablest and most intrepid tribune that had ever defended their rights against the oligarchy of prelates." The Lower House of Convocation voted him thanks for his services. The University of Oxford created him a Doctor of Divinity. The Bishop of Exeter made him Archdeacon of Totnes, and soon after the accession of Anne he became Dean of Carlisle.

In the year 1710 Atterbury again distinguished himself on the prosecution of Sacheverell, for whom he composed the speech delivered at the bar of the Lords. He was subsequently removed from the Deanery of Carlisle to that of Christ Church, Oxford, where his "despotic and contentious temper" soon did what it had already done at Carlisle. He was succeeded in both his deaneries by the humane and accomplished Smalridge, who gently complained of the state in which both had been left: "Atterbury goes before and sets everything on fire; I come after him with a bucket of water." From Christ Church he was elevated, in 1713, to

the see of Rochester, with which the Deanery of Westminster had been for some time united.

Atterbury's preferments had been entirely due to his connection with the great Tory party, and he had much reason to dread the accession of the House of Hanover, which was well known to be partial to the Whigs. On the death of Anne he implored his confederates to proclaim James III., but on their refusal he took the oaths to George I., and assisted at the coronation. "But his servility was requited with cold contempt. No creature is so revengeful as a proud man who has humbled himself in vain. Atterbury became the most factious and pertinacious of all the opponents of the Government." In 1717 he began to correspond directly with the Pretender, and was probably concerned in planning the Jacobite insurrection which was to have broken out in 1721. He was then imprisoned, but "had carried on his correspondence with the exiled family so cautiously, that the circumstantial proofs of his guilt, though sufficient to produce entire moral conviction, were not sufficient to justify legal conviction. He could be reached only by a bill of pains and penalties." Such a bill passed both Houses, and provided that "he should be deprived of his spiritual dignities, that he should be banished for life, and that no British subject should hold any intercourse with him except by the royal permission."

He retired accordingly, first to Brussels, and thence to Paris, where he became the leading man among the Jacobite refugees who had assembled there; and after corresponding, almost as his prime minister, with James, Atterbury removed to Montpelier, where he died in 173½. His daughter, who three years before had set out to visit him, died at Toulouse on the same day in which she met her father. The body of Atterbury was brought to England, and laid, with great privacy, under the nave of Westminster. No inscription marks the grave.

In England Atterbury had lived on terms of the closest intimacy with the most eminent men of letters of his time. Swift, Arbuthnot, Gay, and Prior were reckoned among his friends; and Pope, who has thus apostrophised him,—

"How charming Atterbury's softer hour!
How shines his soul, unconquered, in the Tower,"—

found in him "not only a warm admirer, but a most faithful, fearless, and judicious adviser [p]."

[A.D. 1723—1731.] SAMUEL BRADFORD, chaplain successively to William III. and to Queen Anne, was translated from Carlisle. He was patronised and much esteemed by Archbishop Tillotson, whose sermons he revised for publication.

[A.D. 1731—1756.] JOSEPH WILCOCKS, translated from Gloucester.

[A.D. 1756—1774.] ZACHARY PEARCE, Dean of Westminster, was translated from Bangor. Whilst Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, he edited Longinus, and Cicero *de Oratore* and *de Officiis.* He retained the deanery of Westminster after his elevation to Rochester, and desired, in 1763, when he was aged seventy-three, to resign both his preferments. He was permitted to resign his deanery, but, although many precedents might have been found, was told that a resignation of his bishopric was impossible.

[A.D. 1774—1793.] JOHN THOMAS, an "amiable prelate," who, according to one historian of the see of Rochester, "adorned the purity of the Christian with the urbanity of the gentleman."

[A.D. 1793, translated to St. Asaph 1802.] SAMUEL HORSLEY, the opponent of Dr. Priestley, with whom he main-

[p] Macaulay. Life of Atterbury in the *Encyclopædia Britannica.* All the passages within inverted commas are from this sketch.

tained a long controversy in defence of the Catholic doctrine of the Holy Trinity. He was translated to Rochester from St. David's.

[A.D. 1802, translated to Ely 1808.] THOMAS DAMPIER.

[A.D. 1809—1827.] WALKER KING.

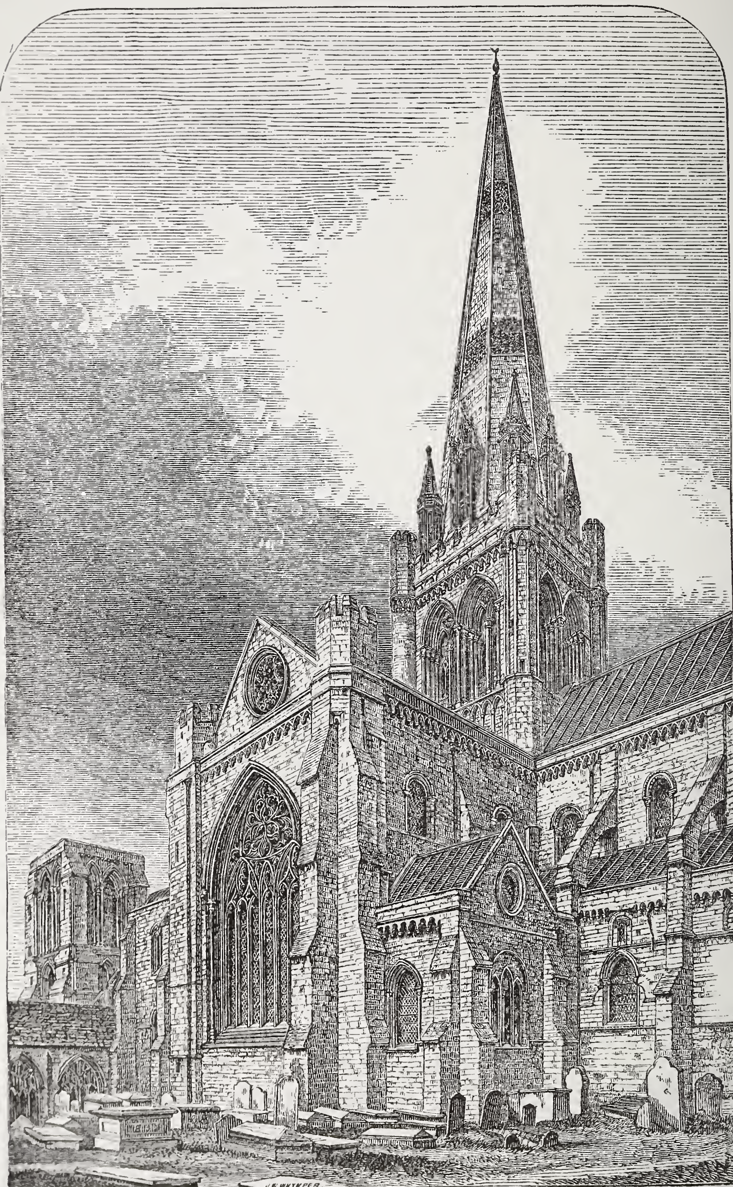
[A.D. 1827, translated in the same year to Carlisle.] HUGH PERCY.

[A.D. 1827—1860.] GEORGE MURRAY.

[A.D. 1860—1867.] JOSEPH COTTON WIGRAM.

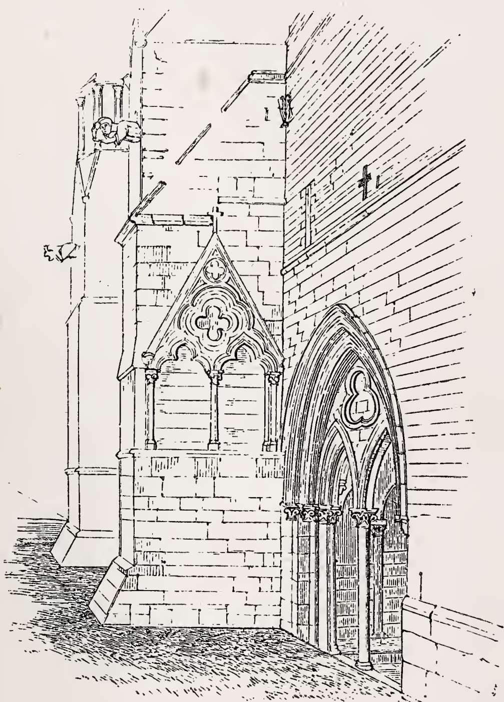
[A.D. 1867.] THOMAS LEGH CLAUGHTON.

FRONTISPIECE.



SOUTH TRANSEPT.

CHICHESTER CATHEDRAL.

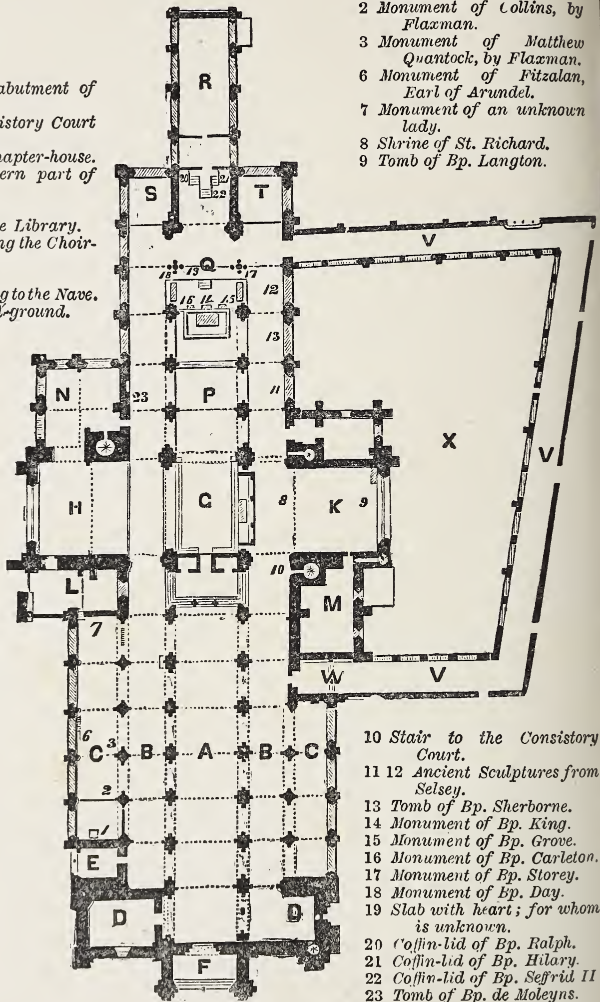


NORTH PORCH.

REFERENCES.

A *Nave.*
B B } *Nave-aisles.*
C C }
D D *Western Towers.*
E *North Porch.*
F *West Porch.*
G *Choir.*
H *North Transept.*
K *South Transept.*
L *Court enclosed by abutment of Transept.*
M *Sacristy, with Consistory Court above.*
N *Chapel called the Chapter-house.*
P *Presbytery, or Eastern part of Choir.*
Q *Retro-choir.*
R *Lady-chapel, now the Library.*
S T *Chapels terminating the Choir-aisles.*
V *Cloisters.*
W *South Porch, opening to the Nave.*
X *Paradise, or Burial-ground.*
Z *Campanile.*

1 *Statue of Huskisson.*
2 *Monument of Collins, by Flaxman.*
3 *Monument of Matthew Quantock, by Flaxman.*
6 *Monument of Fitzalan, Earl of Arundel.*
7 *Monument of an unknown lady.*
8 *Shrine of St. Richard.*
9 *Tomb of Bp. Langton.*



10 *Stair to the Consistory Court.*
11 12 *Ancient Sculptures from Selsey.*
13 *Tomb of Bp. Sherborne.*
14 *Monument of Bp. King.*
15 *Monument of Bp. Grove.*
16 *Monument of Bp. Carleton.*
17 *Monument of Bp. Storey.*
18 *Monument of Bp. Day.*
19 *Slab with heart; for whom is unknown.*
20 *Coffin-lid of Bp. Ralph.*
21 *Coffin-lid of Bp. Hilary.*
22 *Coffin-lid of Bp. Seffrid II*
23 *Tomb of Bp. de Moleyns.*

GROUND-PLAN, CHICHESTER CATHEDRAL.

Scale, 100 ft. to 1 in

The documentary history of Chichester Cathedral is very meagre. The few scattered notices which exist have been collected by Professor Willis, and will be found in his 'Architectural History of Chichester Cathedral,' Chichester, 1861.

CHICHESTER CATHEDRAL.

PART I.

History and Details.

FOR the history of the removal, after the Conquest in 1082, of the South Saxon see from Selsey to Chichester, see Part II. A monastery, dedicated to St. Peter, existed at that time within the walls of Chichester, partly on the site of the present cathedral. The church of the monastery seems at first to have served as that of the see. A cathedral, however, was built by Ralph, the third bishop.

This was completed in 1108, and was injured by fire in 1114. It was repaired by the same Bishop RALPH; and the words of Malmsbury—who says that when Bishop Ralph's church, "which he had newly constructed, had suffered from an accidental fire, he quickly repaired it, being principally assisted by the liberality of Henry I."—indicate that the damage was not very serious.

II. Much of this church remains in the existing cathedral. It again suffered from fire, however, and far more severely, in 1187; and on its restoration was greatly enlarged and altered by Bishop SEFFRID II. (1180—1204), who, says Fuller, "bestowed the cloth

and making on the church, whilst Bishop Sherborne gave the trimming and best lace thereto, in the reign of Henry VII." As far as the eastern termination of the choir the present church is the work of Bishops Ralph and Seffrid, with the exception of the two outer aisles (or rather chapels) of the nave, which were added in the middle of the thirteenth century, possibly under Bishop Stephen of Berghestede. The retro-choir belongs to the early part of the thirteenth century, and although it differs somewhat from the works of Bishop Seffrid II. in the nave and presbytery, it is not much later, and probably formed part of the same plan. The north and south porches of the nave are Early English, and were, of course, built after the fire of 1187. The western porch is Decorated. The Lady-chapel beyond retains some Norman work, but was altered and elongated by Bishop Gilbert de St. Leofard (1288—1305). The central tower above the roof (as it existed before the fall in 1861) dated from the first half of the thirteenth century, and the spire which surmounted it from the beginning of the fifteenth. The south wall of the south transept, with its great window, is the recorded work of Bishop John de Langton (1305—1336).

The campanile, or detached bell-tower, is generally assigned to the same bishop; but it is certainly of much later date (at least half a century) than his time. The "lace and trimmings" of Bishop Sherborne (1507—1536) appear in the upper portion of the

choir-stalls, which has been retained, at any rate in design, in the present fittings, and in the paintings, which, although injured by the fall of the steeple, still remain in both transepts.

"The documentary history of Chichester Cathedral is unfortunately very meagre; but the building itself is replete with curious instances of alterations and additions, by which from time to time the rude Norman Cathedral has been gradually converted into a graceful and beautiful church, from the general outline of which the Norman external character has wholly disappeared, and which presents us with one of the most curious specimens of structural history in this country."—*Willis.* The changes and developments in the structure will best be explained in considering the several divisions of the church.

III. An event of much importance in the later history of the cathedral was its occupation by the Parliamentarian troops after the taking of Chichester by Sir William Waller in 1643. The soldiers "brake down the organ, and dashed the pipes with their pole-axes, crying in scoff, 'Harke how the organs goe!'" and after the thanksgiving sermon for the fall of the city, which was preached in the cathedral, they ran "up and down with their swords drawn, defacing the monuments of the dead, and hacking the seats and stalls." Considerable repairs and restorations were made both within and without the building from 1843 to 1856; still more important alterations, by which the nave was adapted for public worship, were completed in 1859;

and extensive works were in progress in 1860—1861, under the direction of William Slater, when (February 21st, 1861) the fall of the spire took place, and a catastrophe, frequent in the earlier centuries of Gothic architecture, startled the present generation.

A very full account of the fall of the spire, and of the condition of the tower piers before this occurred, is prefixed by Professor Willis to his 'Architectural History of the Cathedral.' From this, and from an excellent description in the 'Builder' (March 2, 1861) the following notice has been abridged:—

Very many Norman and mediæval towers have either fallen,—as at Winchester, Gloucester, Worcester, Ely,—or the threatened fall has been arrested,—as at Hereford, Wells, Salisbury, and Canterbury. One of the chief causes is that "the foundations of Norman buildings are rarely consolidated or prepared with proper care, and hence, for the most part, the whole structure will be found to have sunk bodily into the compressible ground, and the heavier tower piers necessarily one or more inches than the rest. The effect of such greater sinking is to drag downwards the masonry of the transept walls, and of the nave and choir walls, which all abut upon the tower piers. This, if the difference of settlement be small, dislocates the masonry, distorts the arches of the clerestory, triforium, and pier range, and disturbs the level of the string-courses. If the sinking be excessive, fissures appear in the walls near the tower piers, showing an

actual disruption of the masonry."—*Willis.* This greater sinking had occurred at Chichester; and besides this, the fires of 1114 and 1187 had much injured the walls, the ashlar of which, as usual in Norman work, had never been well bonded into the rubble of the centre. It appears that the four Norman arches of the tower had been rebuilt with their own stones before the carrying up of the tower itself in the thirteenth century; and an attempt was then made to bond the stones more firmly in the rubble. "But a wall thus patched can never possess the strength of one of which all the parts are carried up together, and consequently settle and shrink as one mass; for new masonry applied against an older portion that has already settled will, by its own settlement, be withdrawn from the earlier part, and fissures be produced, destroying the coherence of the whole."—*Willis.* In raising the new tower on these rebuilt Norman piers, a discharging arch was constructed in all four walls, so as to relieve the Norman arches from the weight of the superstructure, and to throw it wholly on the piers. But no provision was made (as at Salisbury) to distribute the pressure of the tower on the piers and walls adjacent to the great piers, by means of diagonal struts and flying buttresses. The result was that the Norman tower piers, always weak in material, were actually crushed by the weight of the tower, added in the thirteenth century, and of the stone piers, added in the fifteenth. "The tower piers are unusually small, and became, when weakened by age,

incapable of sustaining the additional pressure thus thrown on them." The continued vibration of the spire, under the action of the wind, no doubt assisted the disintegration of the materials. (The upper part of the spire was rebuilt by Sir Christopher Wren, whose plan for counteracting the force of the wind is shown in Plate II.)

The extent to which the tower piers had suffered was not suspected until 1859, when operations were begun for the purpose of carrying out the design of throwing open the choir to the nave, so that the latter might be used for congregational purposes. Accordingly, the architect, Mr. Slater, proceeded to remove a structure known as the Arundel shrine, which carried the organ gallery, and extended across the nave, between its easternmost pier arches. The building of this shrine or oratory was assigned to Bishop Arundel (1459—1468). It has been said that the removal of this vaulted passage deprived the piers of support, and contributed to the fall; but (and we are glad to use the actual words of Professor Willis) "the structure was in itself so slight, its back wall being little more than a foot in thickness, and it was applied merely to the ends of the piers, without bonding, in such a manner that it could not have afforded the least assistance in sustaining them." When the shrine was removed, it appeared that the western tower piers were in a most alarming condition. "In the north-west piers fissures were discovered on each side of the respond of the western tower arch, wide enough to admit a man's

arm, and so deep that a five-foot rod could be pushed in for its full length; in fact, the respond was entirely detached from the body of the pier. A very large crack was also observable in the south respond of the western tower arch. This was large enough to admit a walking-stick, and had been there before the memory of man. Iron cramps and straps had been applied from time to time to stay the progress of the settlement, while other cracks had crippled the eastern bays of the nave, and caused a most unsightly breach in the rich pointed arch, opening from the south aisle of the nave into the south transept."

It was necessary to restore immediately the ruined portions of the piers. New stone work was accordingly built up; parts of the piers were re-cased, and bond-stones were inserted wherever it was practicable. "But as this work went on, the amount of bad construction, of disintegration, and decay in the old masonry, developed itself in a manner exceeding all experience, and presented most serious and unexpected difficulties. . . . . Old fissures extended themselves into the fresh masonry, and new ones made their appearance. — Shores were resorted to; the walling began to bulge. Cracks and fissures, some opening and others closing . . . . indicated that fearful movements were taking place throughout the parts of the walls connected with the western piers; and it was determined that the bulging should be checked by the application of a jacketing of solid timber. The preparation for this began on Saturday, February 16, 1861;

on the afternoon of the following day service was performed as usual in the nave: but this was interrupted by the urgent necessity for shoring up part of the facing of the south-west pier, which had exhibited new symptoms of giving way. The work continued, new fissures appearing, and failures increasing, until Wednesday the 20th, when crushed mortar began to pour from the old fissures, flakes of facing stone fell, and the braces began to bend. A great storm of wind arose in the evening, beating first on the north-east side of the church, but, as night advanced, shifting to the north-west. The workmen continued, however, until three hours after night, and began again before daylight on Thursday the 21st. But before noon the continued failing of the shores showed that the fall was inevitable. Warning was given to the inhabitants near the building; shortly before half-past one, in the midst of a terrific tempest, "the spire was seen to incline slightly to the south-west, and then to descend perpendicularly into the church, as one telescope-tube slides into another, the mass of the tower crumbling beneath it. The fall was an affair of a few seconds, and was complete at half-past one. No person was injured in life or limb; neither was the property of any one of the neighbours damaged in the least. The stalls and the tomb of St. Richard had been removed into a place of safety, and the stones of the Arundel shrine, carefully numbered for re-erection in some new position, had been deposited in the north-east chapel, or so-called chapter-house." . . . . "The ruin presented

a compact mass of detached materials puddled together in the form of a rounded hill, which rose at the summit nearly to the level of the triforium capitals, and sloped gradually downwards into the four arms of the cross, occupying in the nave a space of rather more than two severies, and in the choir and transepts little more than one." A thick dust covered every part of the church, in remarkable agreement with the Ely historian's account of the condition of that cathedral after the fall of the central tower. The sacrist, we are told, after causing all the stones and timber which had fallen to be carried away "with great labour and expense," then "cleared the church of the excessive dust which covered it, as quickly as was possible[a]." It is worth remarking that the noise which accompanied the fall was by no means so great as might have been expected.

In concluding his account, Professor Willis begs to record his opinion "that the internal ruin and disintegration of the piers of this noble tower had gradually and silently increased to such a degree that no human power could have arrested the fall, and that the evidence of its utter rottenness was developed only when it became too late to apply the remedies that had been found efficient in the middle ages, and in our own time, to sustain such structures." It may be added that the spire retained its upright position to the very last, in spite of the movements that were taking place below.

[a] 'Historia Eliensis,' ap. Angl. Sac. I. 643.

Preparations for the rebuilding of the tower and spire were at once commenced; and Sir G. G. (then Mr.) Scott was associated with Mr. Slater in this part of the work. Contributions were gathered from all parts of the diocese. The work was begun in the spring of 1861. It proceeded rapidly; and in June, 1866, the cap-stone of the new spire was set in its place. The new work is a precise fac-simile of the old tower and spire, with the exception that the former has been raised about six feet. In the old tower the gable of the transept cut into the string-course below the windows. Mr. Scott has avoided this in the new by a slight increase of height; which, slight as it is, has, in the judgment of many who remember the original, somewhat interfered with the perfect grace of its proportions. The descriptions of the old tower and spire, however, perfectly apply to the new.

The fittings of the choir had been partly designed by Messrs. Slater and Carpenter before the fall of the spire. Some alterations were afterwards made, and the cathedral, with all its new works, was re-opened in November, 1867. It should be added that the reconstruction was greatly aided by the zeal of the Dean of Chichester, Dr. Hook, who saw it brought to a happy conclusion. The new designs and restorations will best be described in discussing the several portions of the cathedral. The latest (1875) restoration effected has been that of the Lady-chapel, carried out as a memorial of Bishop Gilbert, who died in 1870.

GENERAL VIEW FROM WEST STREET.

IV. The best general external views of the cathedral will be gained from the city wall to the north, from West-street [Plate I.], and from East-street looking west; the latter (in which Bishop Storey's cross groups with the cathedral) is a very picturesque and striking view, which should be looked out for toward sunset. An excellent distant prospect, backed by the Goodwood Downs, may be obtained from the road south of the city, after passing the railway station; and there is one from a road on the north-west, towards Funtington, which is well worth seeking.

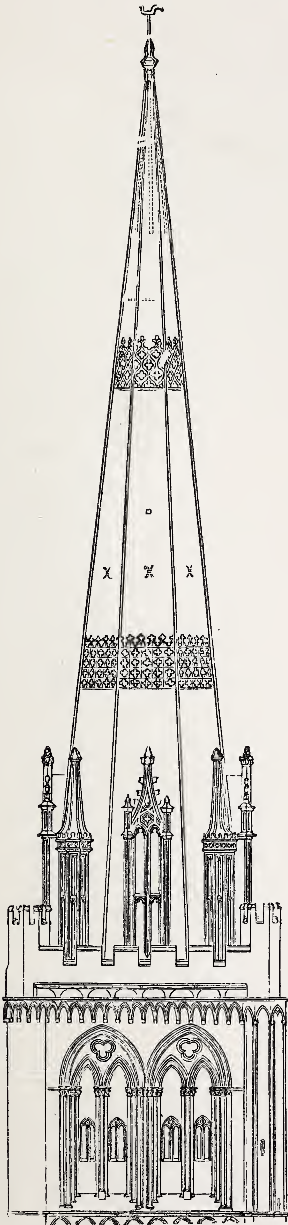
V. We may now commence our survey of the cathedral,—"A very interesting pile on many accounts," says Southey, "and much finer than books or common report had led me to expect." To the archæologist its great interest, as will be seen, lies in the adaptation of Bishop Seffrid's work to the Norman cathedral. Notwithstanding its small dimensions, the appearance of the church externally is pleasing, and it is even a question whether the central *spire* is not "better proportioned to the church it crowns, and of a more pleasing outline," than the more lofty one at Salisbury[b], in imitation of which it is said to have been

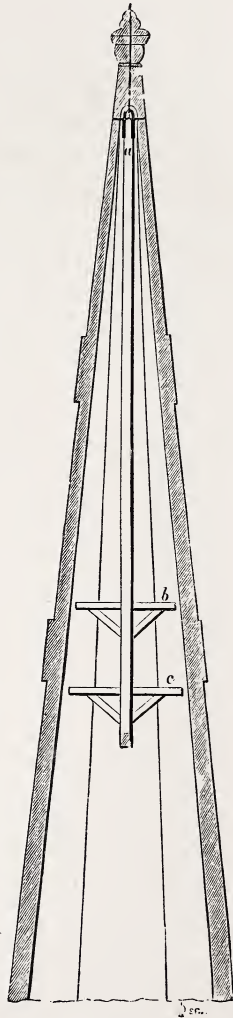
[b] "The angle at the summit is about thirteen degrees. At Salisbury, Norwich, Louth, and generally in all the tallest English spires, it is only ten degrees, which is certainly too slender. On the Continent, in the best examples, as at Cologne, Friburg, and others, it is about fifteen or sixteen degrees, which, unless the spire is of open-work, or very much ornamented, is on the other hand, too low. As a general rule, it may be well to bear in mind that the spires of Continental churches have generally an

built[c]. It dates, (the description which was written before the fall may here be allowed to remain, since there has been no change in the details,) from the beginning of the fifteenth century, but it is uncertain under what bishop it was erected. [Plate II.] The spire is octagonal, having in each face a two-light window, flanked by buttresses, and is surrounded by two broad ornamental bands of very elegant design. The summit of the old spire was 271 feet from the ground (the height of Salisbury is 404 feet, the new spire of Chichester is 277 feet, the tower having been raised six feet by Mr. Scott, see ante, § III.). "In Salisbury and Chichester alone is there a visible centre and axis to the whole cathedral, viz. the summit of the spire and a line let fall from it to the ground. Salisbury was so constructed at first. Chichester spire was made exactly central, to an inch, by the additions of the Lady-chapel and the west porch. Michael Angelo's 'most perfect' outline, the pyramidal, is thus gained. The eye is carried upward to the spire-point from the chapels clustering at the base, along the roof and pinnacles, a result to which a certain squareness of detail in the abaci of the capitals of the nook-shafts which

angle of about one-sixth of a right angle at their apex; in England of one-ninth. The spires of Chichester and Lichfield vary from twelve to thirteen degrees, or a mean between these two proportions, and from this circumstance are more pleasing than either."—*Fergusson's Handbook of Architecture*, p. 856.

[c] It is popularly said that the "master mason built Salisbury spire and his man Chichester spire." That of Salisbury was begun in 1335 and completed in 1375. See SALISBURY.





Sir Christopher Wren's plan for counteracting the force of the wind.

TOWER AND SPIRE.

adorn the openings materially contributes[d]." The central *tower*, from which the spire rises, is Early English, of the first half of the thirteenth century, and was probably raised on the old Norman piers after the completion of Bishop Seffrid's work in the church below. The double window-openings in each of its four sides are very graceful, though it may be a question whether they could not be improved by some kind of weather-boarding. From a distance they appear too open.

The upper part of the old spire was taken down and rebuilt by Sir Christopher Wren; who, says his biographer Elmes, fixed therein a pendulum stage to counteract the effects of the south and south-west gales of wind which act with considerable power against it, and had forced it from its perpendicularity." (See Plate II.) "To the finial is fastened a strong metal ring, and to that is suspended a large piece of yellow fir-timber (a), 10 feet long and 13 inches square; the masonry at the apex of the spire being from 9 inches to 6 inches thick, diminishing as it rises. The pendulum is loaded with iron, adding all its weight to the finial; and has two stout, solid oak floors,—the lower one (c) smaller by about 3, and the upper one (b) by about 2¼ inches, than the octagonal masonry that surrounds it. The effect in a storm is surprising and satisfactory. While the wind blows high against the vane and spire, the pendulum floor touches on the lee side, and its

[d] Rev. P. Freeman, 'Transactions of the Sussex Archæological Society,' vol. i.

aperture is double on the windward: at the cessation, it oscillates slightly, and terminates in a perpendicular. The rest of the spire is quite clear of scaffolding. The contrivance is doubtless one of the most ingenious and appropriate of its great inventor's applications." (The rebuilding of the spire has, of course, rendered this contrivance unnecessary; but the plan and description are here retained as of considerable interest.)

VI. The *west front*, originally Norman, is divided into three stories, surmounted by a gable. It is flanked by towers, of which that on the northern side was taken down by the advice of Sir Christopher Wren, on account of its ruinous condition. The southern tower is Norman in its two lower stories, but has been enlarged by Early English buttresses; and is entirely Early English above the third story. The great west window, of early Decorated character, is modern. The central porch, which projects below the great window, is an addition of the early Decorated or Geometrical period; and from the character of the mouldings and details, it is apparently of the same date as the external aisles (or chapels) of the nave. Mr. Sharpe has suggested, with the utmost probability, that both these chapels and the porch were begun after the canonization of St. Richard de la Wych, in 1261; that the chapels were completed on the occasion of the translation of the saint in 1276, and that the porch, which is monumental and contains an important tomb, was erected at the same time, and, partly, for the burial-place of the

prelate (perhaps Bishop Stephen of Berghestede (1262—1287) under whose authority these works were undertaken. The tomb on the south side of the porch is certainly an original and important part of the design; and, like the tomb of Bishop Grandisson, in the chapel of St. Radigunde, adjoining the west porch of Exeter Cathedral, it was no doubt constructed during the bishop's lifetime.

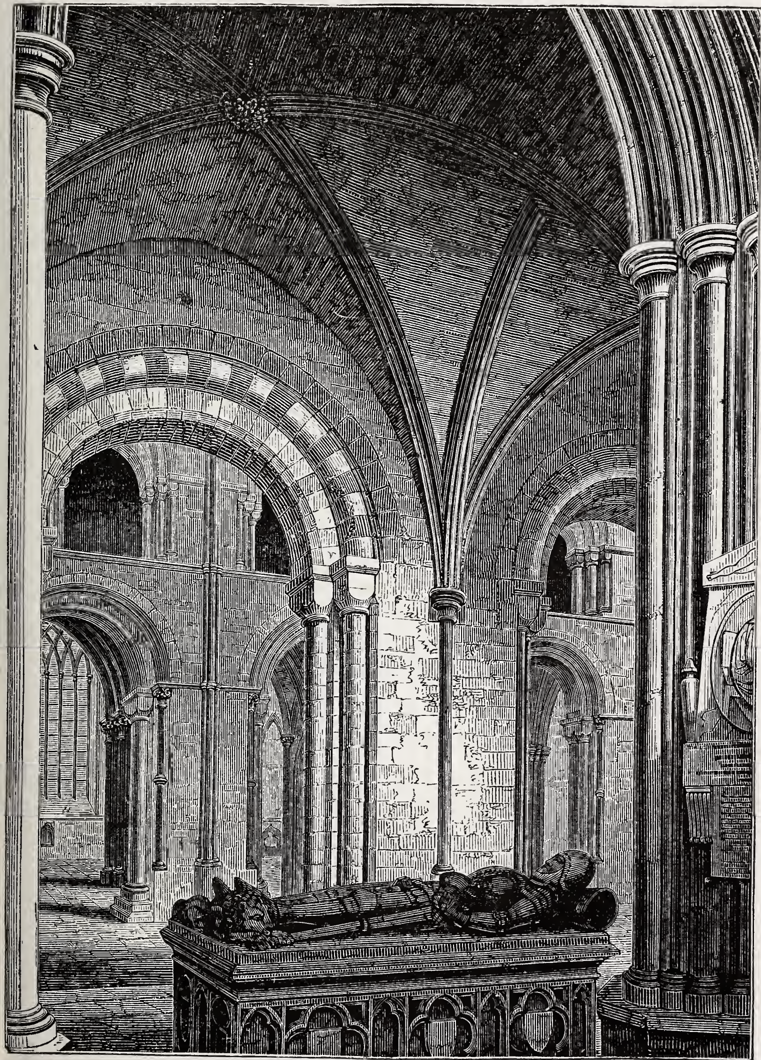
There is a rich arcade with quatrefoils above it, on either side of the porch, which, like the earlier north and south porches, has a double arch of entrance, supported by a slender central shaft. In an elongated quatrefoil over the portal was the figure adopted as the arms of the see, commonly called a "Prester John seiant," but in reality the *Salvator Mundi.* This no longer exists. A late Perpendicular tomb, the occupant of which is unknown, has been rudely inserted on the north side of the porch, to the great injury of the beautiful arcade.

VII. On entering the *nave* the eye is at once caught by the five aisles (the exterior chapels having now become really aisles), a peculiarity shared by no other English cathedral but that of Manchester, although some parish churches have it on a smaller scale, as Taunton and Coventry. On the Continent the increased number of aisles is common, witness Beauvais, Cologne, Milan, Seville, and seven-aisled Antwerp. Grand effects of light and shade are produced by these five aisles: remark especially the view from the extreme north-east corner of the north aisle, looking across the

cathedral. [Plate III.] The great depth of the triforium shadows is owing to the unusual width of this wall passage, which extends over the Norman aisles. The breadth of the nave (91 feet) is greater than that of any other English cathedral except York (103 feet).

The view from the west end of the nave, although it has no doubt been greatly improved by the removal of the lofty and heavy Arundel shrine or organ screen, is at present too open, and the addition of a low choir screen is much to be desired. On the other hand, the eastern end of the presbytery has been injudiciously closed by the erection of a massive modern reredos, which greatly interferes with the lines of the architecture at its back. This is not yet (1875) completed; but its completion, as designed, will not render the original error less conspicuous.

VIII. The original construction and alterations of the nave deserve the most careful attention. Bishop Ralph's Norman cathedral continued until the fire of 1187. It consisted of nave and aisles, with western towers; a central tower, with transepts and apsidal chapels projecting from the eastern sides; and a presbytery which was terminated by three radiating apses; that in the centre having been prolonged eastward at some period before 1187. (See for this eastern end, § XVII.) The fire of that year did not by any means entirely destroy the church. But the injuries were so great as to render necessary a considerable reconstruction; and Bishop Seffrid effected



NAVE, FROM THE NORTH-EAST.

this in the new fashion, with that lavish use of Purbeck and Petworth marble which had already been adopted at Canterbury, and was about to be adopted still more freely at Rochester. The manner in which Seffrid's work is united with the Norman masses which remained is especially curious.

A south porch, opening to the cloister, and a north porch, between the north-west tower and the nave aisle, were added in the Early English period; but the nave, as remodelled by Seffrid, had nothing beyond its north and south aisles until somewhat after the middle of the thirteenth century chapels were added to the south aisle, between the south porch and the south-east-tower, and also in a similar manner to the north aisle. These were at first distinct chapels, two on either side of the nave, with a solid wall dividing them in the centre. They were open to the nave aisles, through the walls of which arches were cut. At some later period the wall of division between the chapels was thrown down; thus giving them in their whole length completely the character of aisles, which they at present retain.

IX. This is the history of the existing nave. The original Norman work remains in the interior of the south-western tower; in the inner masses of the piers of the main arcade; in much of the work above them, especially in the triforium; and in those parts of the exterior walls of the church which remained when arches were pierced through them to the chapels. "The Norman cathedral was built of a shelly lime-

stone, brought from the quarries of Quarrer Abbey in the Isle of Wight, with a slight mixture of Sussex sandstone. The works of the second period" (Bishop Seffrid's works) "are in Caen stone and Purbeck marble." Thus it will be seen that the Norman stone-work remains in the inner mouldings of the great arches, and in the wall above their spring. The triforium stage is entirely Norman; as is the back (the exterior portion) of the clerestory above it. Bishop Seffrid's restoration was as follows:—In the main piers, the portions of wall-surface below the spring of the arches was refaced with Caen stone, as were the spandrels of the arches in the four eastern compartments. The spandrels of the western retain their Norman ashlaring. The side shafts of the piers are of Purbeck, and a band or entablature of Purbeck is carried across the pier in a line with the shaft capitals. A string-course of Purbeck runs along at the base of both triforium and clerestory. Vault-shafts of Caen stone, with bases and capitals of Purbeck, rise from the pavement between each bay. The front of the clerestory was entirely rebuilt of Caen stone, with pointed arches instead of round at the sides, and with shafts and capitals of Purbeck. The plain quadripartite vaulting was also added at this time. "Thus it appears that nothing was done in the way of repair and ornament but what was imperatively required; and we know not which to admire the most,—the exceeding economy and efficiency of the repair, or the indifference to the strange and anomalous patchwork of styles and ma-

terials thus produced by the greenish tint of the old Norman work mixing with the white Caen stone and dark Purbeck, and by the rich multiplied mouldings of the nascent Early English style, in juxtaposition and contrast with the unusually rude and simple early Norman."—*Willis*. Traces of the great fire may still be seen on the inner walls of the triforium, and especially on the north side of the presbytery, where the stone-work of the triforium arches (on the interior) is "discoloured and reddened, and chipped and dislocated, partly from calcination, and partly from the falling timbers."

A certain triplicity pervades all this part of the cathedral, which was dedicated by Bishop Seffrid to the Holy Trinity. The side shafts are triple throughout. The bearing shafts of the vaulting are clustered in threes, and branch out with three triple vaulting-ribs above.

X. There is a very unusual and noticeable irregularity in the ground-plan of the nave of Chichester Cathedral, which is, of course, that of the Norman church. Taking the eastern walls of the transepts, which are well in line, as a standard of direction, the two first arches of the nave (proceeding westward from the tower) coincide with this. There is then a gradual shifting towards the north; and the westernmost arches return, but irregularly, to the standard direction. The nave aisles are so irregular that their breadth varies much at different points. There is no reason for supposing that this irregularity is due to

any other cause than a want of skill on the part of the original designers. It extends to other portions of the cathedral; but is not so greatly marked as in the nave, the north and south walls of which incline southwards, owing to a settlement, and thus increase the irregular appearance.

The four western compartments of the nave have wider arches than the others, and their piers are narrower. In the eastern compartments of the triforium the space of the wall over the small arches is ornamented by a diagonal setting of the square stones. In the western triforium spaces the diaper work is of a different pattern in each. Professor Willis infers from these indications that the nave was erected at two periods. "The similarity of the style shows that they were not very distant from each other, but that, as usual in such cases, so much only of the building was carried up at once as was required for the service, and that being completed, the rest was added at leisure." It will be seen also that the Purbeck shafts at the edges of the piers in the eastern division of the nave are plainer than those to the west. It is probable that the Norman choir extended into the nave as far as these plainer shafts reach, and that these were hidden by the woodwork. A screen may have crossed the nave at the fifth pier from the west.

XI. The arches which divide the true nave aisles from the chapels or outer aisles were cut through the outer walls of the cathedral. This was done in the second half of the thirteenth century; and, as has

been already suggested, the addition was probably made after the canonization of St. Richard had brought to the church a throng of pilgrims and a consequent accession of wealth. The Norman string-mould remains, with truncated ends, on either side of the vaulting-shafts and the piers show masonry and details of more than one period. There are portions of what were external buttresses. The chapels on the *south* side were those first erected. These were two in number, divided by a solid wall, which is now breached by a plain, square-edged arch, cutting through the reredos of the altar which once occupied its western side. This arch may have been pierced since the Reformation. On the *north* side, one chapel was first built at the eastern end, and this retains its Early English reredos. Two others, with a wall of division, were added later, as is shown by their large windows with geometrical tracery. The position of the altars is marked by the piscinas and aumbries in the walls.

XII. The *stained-glass* windows in the nave are all modern, but call for no especial notice. There is no uniform design. The two west windows are by WAILES; the larger one a memorial for Dean Chandler from the parishioners of All Souls', St. Marylebone, London, of which parish he was for many years rector. The glass in the cathedral displays the condition and gradual improvement of the art during a period of many years. With the exception, however, of those in the east window of the Lady-chapel, it by no means represents the excellence to which stained glass has

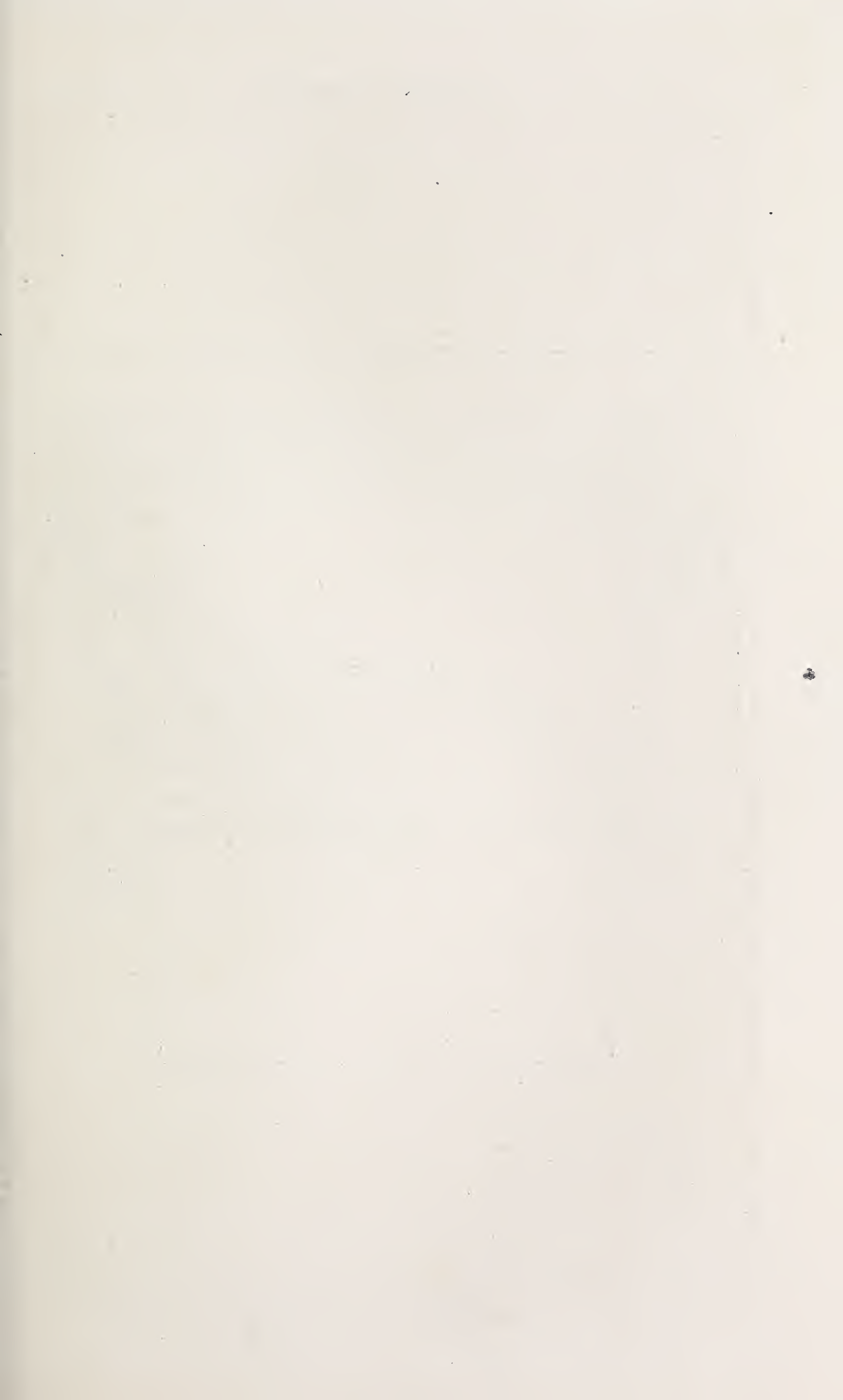
at present (1875) attained, as well in design as in execution.

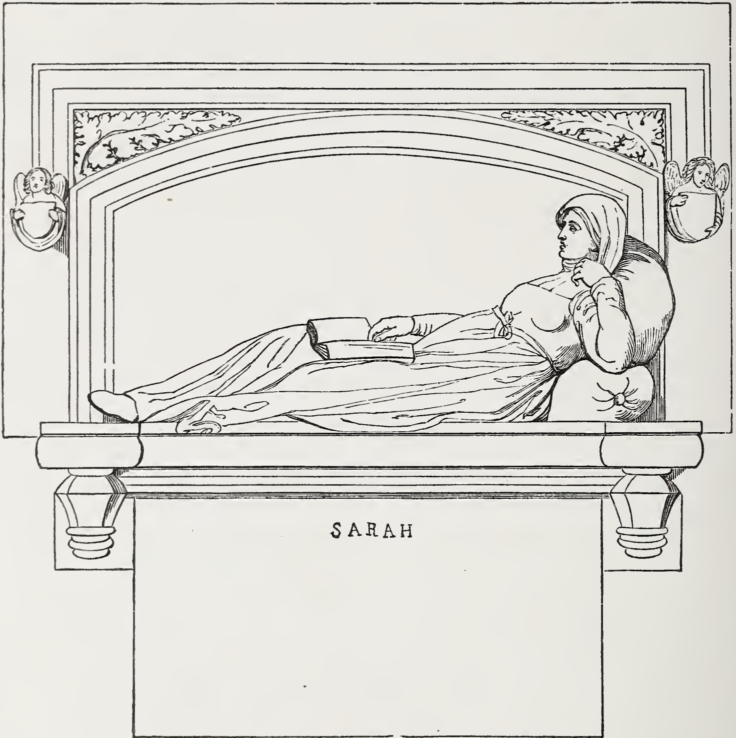
XIII. In the chapel of the outer north aisle (see Plate III.), called the Arundel Chantry, is the altar-tomb of Richard Fitz-alan, fourteenth Earl of Arundel (beheaded 1397), and his Countess. This tomb was restored in 1843 by Richardson, the "repairer" of the effigies in the Temple Church. The Arundel figures had been sadly mutilated, and were lying in different parts of the aisle. The tomb does not seem to have been originally placed in the cathedral, and it has been suggested that the effigies were removed from the church of the Grey Friars, now the Guildhall of Chichester, to which the Earls of Arundel were great benefactors. Earl Richard was one of the most powerful adherents of the Duke of Gloucester, uncle of Richard II., and his fall took place at the same time with that of the Duke. It was the tomb of this Earl that Richard II. caused to be opened after his interment, it being "bruited abroad for a miracle that his head should be growne to his body again[d]."

At the east end of this outer aisle, in the chapel of the Baptist, is the tomb of an *unknown lady*, happily unrestored, and of extreme beauty. It is of the best Decorated period.

The statue of Huskisson, at the west end of the the same aisle, is by Carew. A memorial window to the same statesman (who purchased Eartham from the

[d] Holinshed.





MONUMENT BY FLAXMAN.

MONUMENT BY FLAXMAN.

poet Hayley, and for some time resided there) has been placed above it.

At the west end of the north nave aisle is placed a very remarkable oaken chest, 8 feet in length. There is nothing about the woodwork to contradict the tradition that it is of Saxon workmanship; and we might fairly believe that it was brought from Selsey at the removal of the See, were it not that some portions of the ironwork display thirteenth-century forms. This, however, may be later addition.

XIV. The nave aisles are rich in monuments by Flaxman, none of which are obtrusive, and one or two of some beauty. [Plates IV., V.] The best are in the *north aisle.* Remark especially that of William Collins the poet, who was born in Chichester on Christmas-day, 1719, and who died in a house adjoining the cloisters in 1759. He was buried in St. Andrew's Church, and the present monument was placed in the cathedral by subscription. The poet is bending over the New Testament. "I have but one book," he said to Dr. Johnson, who visited Collins at Islington in the last year of his life, at which time the attacks of frenzy had all but destroyed him, "but that is the best." "The Passions" lie at his feet. The inscription,—

> "where Collins' hapless name
> Solicits kindness with a double claim,"—

is the joint production of Hayley and Sargent.

In the *south aisle* remark the monument of Agnes Cromwell, a graceful figure borne upwards by floating

angels; and that of Jane Smith. Mr. Ruskin's judgment on the artist need not, perhaps, be considered as final: "There was Flaxman, another naturally great man, with as true an eye for nature as Raphael; he stumbles over the blocks of the antique statues, wanders in the dark valley of their ruins to the end of his days. He has left you a few outlines of muscular men straddling and frowning behind round shields. Much good may they do you! Another lost mind [e]."

XV. The great arches of the *central tower* have been rebuilt precisely as they were before the fall. The fresh appearance of the masonry at present renders the extent of the rebuilding sufficiently evident; the work may be compared with that of the central tower of Winchester, rebuilt after its fall in 1107. But there is not here, as at Winchester, such a difference in the character of the stonework as to distinguish permanently the new building from the old; and as the stone changes colour with age the whole will become uniform. The tower arches with their piers were, of course, destroyed. With them fell the entire eastern bay of the nave, and the greater part of the western bay of the choir. In the transepts, the eastern walls suffered less than the western. All this has been entirely restored.

The four great arches of the tower are enriched Norman. The plan is oblong; but these arches are nearly alike in span, those east and west being 22 feet 6 inches, those north and south 22 feet. The Norman

[e] Lectures on Architecture and Painting.

walling does not at present rise higher than the top of the keystones of the arches; but it is probable that a change took place here after the fire, and that the older walling, above the arches, was then cut off. The small recessed pointed arches, now seen in the wall space under the vault, were additions of Bishop Seffrid's time.

XVI. The choir proper, the "chorus cantorum," is still placed, as it always has been, under the tower. It has already (§ X.) been said that in the Norman period it was probably extended, as in most great churches of that age, for some distance into the nave. The choir, until shortly before the fall of the spire, was separated from the nave by the stone screen of Perpendicular date, called the Arundel Shrine. This was "a vaulted stone passage, bounded on the west by an open arcade of two wide arches, with an intermediate narrow one, and on the east by a wall with a central arch opening to the choir, and two small doors, one on each side, to give access to as many staircases placed behind the return stalls and leading to the organ-loft above. The north and south ends of the passage were also open to the side aisles through the pier arches. The passage was vaulted in three unequal compartments, with a rich lierne vault of the fifteenth century. The floor of the gallery was but 16 feet above the pavement of the nave, and had a parapet in front about 5 feet high."—*Willis.* This screen has been entirely removed, and its portions are now (1875) placed in the campanile. It will probably be re-erected in some part of the cathedral. The restora-

tion of the choir, from the designs of Messrs. Slater and Carpenter, was in progress when the spire fell, and their work has since been continued and completed. [Plate VI.]

The description which (§ IX.) has been given of the architecture of the nave, and of the manner in which the Norman cathedral was renewed and altered by Bishop Seffrid after the fire, applies equally to the *presbytery*, which extends three bays east of the tower and the actual choir. In both divisions of the church shafts of Purbeck were introduced, and the front of the clerestory was rebuilt. "A great difference will be found between the Purbeck capitals, which are coarse and large, and those which are cut in Caen stone, and have delicate foliage. This difference is partly due to the material. There is a singular mixture of square and round abacuses throughout the work of the second period" (Seffrid's addition).—*Willis.* This mixture indicates its transitional character. The manner in which the eastern apses of the Norman church were replaced by the present square ending will best be explained in describing the retrochoir (§ XVII.).

The choir was refitted by Bishop Sherborne (1507—1536); who included among what Fuller calls his "lace-work" a high wooden reredos at the back of the altar. Sherborne's work had been much overlaid with modern and unsightly erections of wood. There were ranges of high pews, besides galleries, under the arches. All this has been swept away; and the stall-work which now exists is for the most part that of

THE CHOIR.

As restored (before the erection of the Reredos).

Bishop Sherborne, cleaned and repaired. The bishop's throne with its canopy, and the canopies above the return stalls at the west end, are altogether new, and are perhaps hardly improvements on the old design. The front seats and desks are also modern. The whole character of the work is simple, and therefore not unfitting a church in the architecture of which there is so little highly-enriched ornament. The organ is placed under the north arch of the tower.

The floor of the presbytery is laid with Connemara marble in star patterns. The effect of the clouded greens and greys is very pleasing, and the intrusive glare of the white and black marbles generally used is happily avoided. Three steps of red Devonshire marble rise to the altar pace. In front of the altar is a very rich square of mosaic, executed by Messrs. Poole of Westminster. It gained the gold medal in the Exhibition of 1862, and is excellent in design and colour. Unfortunately some of the material already show signs of wear.

Before entering the choir the attention of the visitor will have been attracted by the modern reredos, which not only insists on forcing itself unpleasantly on the eye, but from its unusual height materially interferes with the architecture of the east end of the church. The lines of the triforium arches are cut into by the pediment of the great central division of the reredos: the sculpture in which, in defiance of ordinary rules, is of life-size, although nearly on a level with the eye. The design is by Slater, the sculpture by Forsyth. In

the centre is an arched recess, with a pediment, at the side of which are crockets carrying flat brackets. On these, and on the crowning finial, small statues are to be placed. The arch of the recess is carried on shafts of polished red porphyry and of serpentine. The tympanum is inlaid with gilt mosaic. The subject of the sculpture is the Ascension of Our Lord; the whole in a vesica-shaped figure, round which angels form a glory.

Light iron grilles divide the three bays of the presbytery from the aisles.

XVII. The Norman cathedral terminated, as has been said, in a semicircular apse, from which apsidal chapels diverged north and south, and a central, or Lady-chapel, projected eastward. This ground-plan was changed, either by Bishop Seffrid himself, or in immediate continuation of his work, for the present square termination of the church; the Lady-chapel (§ XVIII.) was elongated at a later time. (For the evidence proving the former existence of side apses, see § XXV.). The Norman aisle-walls, uninjured by the fire, exist for nearly one entire bay east of the altar. At that point the apsidal chapels interrupted them.

The work of Seffrid or of his successor in the retrochoir extends to the ends of the aisles, which were made to abut on the walls of the Norman Lady-chapel. The whole of this work is designed in the same style as that used in the restoration of the Norman nave and presbytery. Many of the mouldings and details are the same; but as all this part of the church

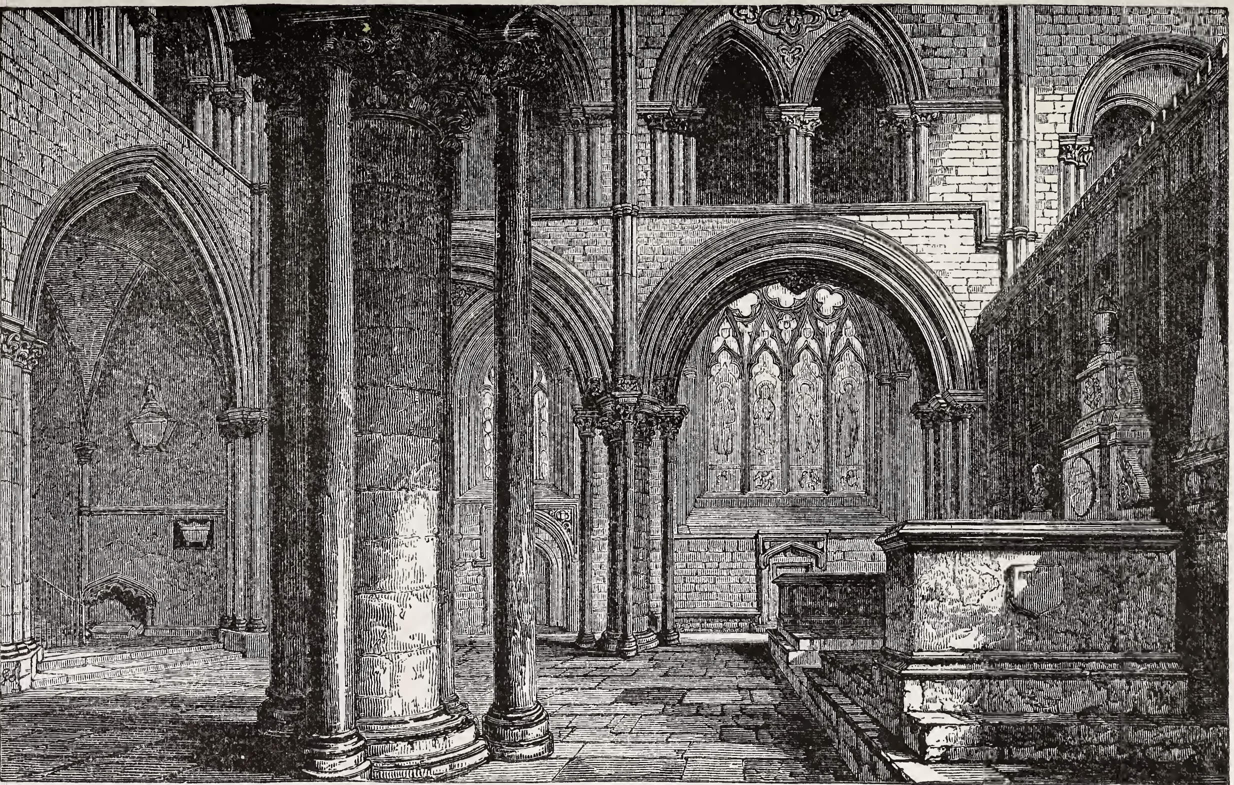
was newly erected from the ground, some changes were introduced, and especially in the construction of the columns,—the arrangement of which had been "newly introduced from France, and is exhibited here in the greatest exaggeration."—*Willis.* "The pier arches are still circular, not because the use of the pointed arch was not understood, for the eastern arch, though of the same age, is completely pointed. If the space to be enclosed had been a little longer, and had therefore required three bays, or a little shorter, so as to have been divided into narrower spaces, pointed arches would have been employed. The architects adopted, in fact, whichever of the two forms best suited their immediate purpose. It had not in those days become a dogma that architectural beauty could only be produced by the use of the pointed arch[f]." The use, or what may almost be called the abuse, of Purbeck marble, which English architects indulged in at this period, is also well shown in this part of the cathedral. "From about the year 1175 till past the middle of the thirteenth century, no mode of decoration was in such favour in England as the employment of small detached shafts of this material applied to the sides of the stone constructive piers of the building. When the whole of the architecture was painted in rich but opaque colours, the polished shafts of dark marble must have afforded a beautiful contrast. Subsequently the more brilliant colours of the painted glass eclipsed the effect of marble shafts, on which the unconstructiveness

[f] Fergusson's 'Hist. of Architecture,' p. 854.

of this mode led to its abandonment. In Chichester Cathedral the shafts are farther detached than in any other known example from the piers, which are of the same costly material." How far the result is pleasing the visitor may determine for himself. [Plate VII.] The experiment, at all events, was never repeated. Remark the rich Corinthian foliage on the capitals both of the shafts and piers. The union of the circular and pointed styles is well seen in the triforium, which illustrates the remarks of Mr. Fergusson already quoted. The tympanum is occupied by a sunk panel and a bas-relief. The bosses of the vaulting-ribs deserve notice, especially an extraordinary composition of six human faces in the south aisle.

The string-mould below the triforium has been raised in this part of the church, so as to give increased height to the main arcade, and to lessen that of the triforium. There is again a difference in the clerestory. Each bay has an arcade of three arches; but the central shafts are not, as in the restoration of the Norman work, of the same height as those at the sides. They are carried up much higher, and give increased lightness of effect.

The eastern wall of the retrochoir has, in the lower story, an enriched pointed arch opening to the Lady-chapel. Above are two bays of the triforium, more enriched than those at the sides, and having in the hollow of the mouldings of one bay some curious sculpture representing grotesque animals chasing each other; in the other some very rich leafage. An angel



THE RETRO-CHOIR.

projects from a trefoil in the tympanum of each main-arch; and between the bays is a figure of the Saviour in Majesty. The clerestory space is occupied by a triplet filled with modern stained glass by Wailes.

The back of the reredos is anything but satisfactory as seen from the retrochoir. The monuments which formerly stood here have been removed to the north transept. They were those of Bishop Henry King, the poet (1642—1669), whose father, John King, Bishop of London, was James I.'s "King of Preachers"—it was in this bishop's lifetime that the cathedral was "set to rights" by the Puritans (see Part II.); of Bishop Grove (1696), and Bishop Carlton (1705). The plain tomb which remains on the north side is that of Bishop Story (1478—1503), the builder of the market cross in the city.

XVIII. The *Lady-chapel*, which opens from the retrochoir, was little known, and its great beauty had been spoilt as far as possible before its restoration, undertaken in 1872, as a memorial of the late Bishop Gilbert. The flooring had been raised in order to provide room for the Duke of Richmond's vault, which ranges beneath it. The east window had been closed up, and the others partly hidden, so as to allow of the arrangement of the chapter library, which was then disposed here. All has now (1875) been changed. The floor has been reduced to its proper level. The windows have been opened and restored, together with the sedilia and double piscina; and the books have been removed to the chapel opening from the north transept (§ XXIV.).

The long narrow Lady-chapel is now, of course, open to the retrochoir, and is seen in all its beauty.

There are five bays in the Lady-chapel. The central apse of the Norman church did not at first perhaps project much beyond the terminations of the present aisles. But at some period, certainly before the fire of 1187, it was extended eastward, and it seems then to have received a square ending. The three westernmost bays are still, in the main, Norman, but overlaid with work of the same date as the two eastern bays, which were added by Bishop GILBERT DE ST. LEOFARD (1288—1305). The shallow buttresses on the exterior of the Norman compartments at once show their true period, and contrast them with the adjoining bays, which are entirely Decorated. Decorated windows are inserted in the older walls; and take the form of tracery in the westernmost bay, which was blocked by Seffrid's extension of the aisles. The projection of this chapel in the Norman period may be compared with the Norman cathedral of Winchester, which, as is shown by the ground-plan of the crypt, had a similar extension east of the retrochoir.

The work of Bishop de St. Leofard here is of especial value, since we know that it was executed during his episcopate, and not by a bequest after his death. We can therefore assign to it a certain date [g]. The

[g] In Reade's Register it is said that Gilbert de St. Leofard "construxit a fundamentis capellam beatæ Mariæ in Ecclesia Cicestr." The record goes on to enumerate his bequests, which have nothing to do with the Lady-chapel.

windows are very rich and peculiar, with Purbeck shafts at the angles. These shafts have foliated capitals. Triple vaulting-shafts rise between each bay. Their capitals, and the bosses of the vaulting, should be noticed for the excellence of the leafage. The vaulting of the three eastern bays differs from that of the others, which was ruled by the Norman walls.

There are two trefoil-headed aumbries in the third bay from the east on the south side. These are ancient; but the double piscina, on the same side, and the sedilia, are new work, the ancient mouldings having been cut away when the walls were lined with book-cases. The original altar-slab, which had been built in flush with the wall near the south porch, has been brought back to its proper place; and some rich modern tiling, with the signs of the zodiac, has been laid in front of it. The glass in the east window, representing the Crucifixion and scenes from the Passion of Our Lord, is by Clayton and Bell, and very good.

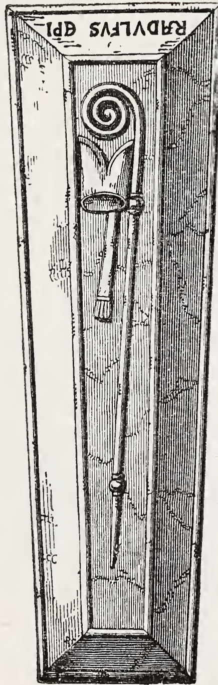
On the vaulting of the second bay from the west is a fragment of the painting with which the whole of the cathedral roofs were decorated by Bishop Sherborne. All the rest has been scraped off. It is, like the pictures in the transepts, the work of Theodore Bernardi, and may be compared with the roof-paintings in the church of St. Jacques at Liège, which are of similar character. This fragment well deserves careful engraving.

In the westernmost bay, on the north side, is a low

coped coffin, with the words "Radulfus Epi," at its west end. [Plate VIII.] On the coffin are a pastoral staff, and mitre with fillet. It has been assigned to Bishop Ralph, founder of the Norman church; but belongs with far more probability to Bishop Ralph of Warham (1217—1222). Above, is the mural monument of Bishop THOMAS BICKLEY, died 1596. The recess above has been painted with pomegranates. The two coffins with pastoral staffs, on the north side, opposite, have been assigned to Bishops SEFFRID and HILARY, but this is, at least, uncertain.

XIX. In the chapel (part of the retrochoir building, and probably Seffrid's work), at the end of the *south choir-aisle*, is a bust of Bishop OTTER, by TOWNE. The east window of this chapel claims to have been the first modern memorial window erected in England. It was placed here in 1842 by the late Dean Chandler; but a second window was afterwards substituted by WAILES for the first, with the design of which the artist became dissatisfied. To the example thus set by the Dean the cathedral is indebted for the riches of its stained glass, now of unusual quantity, but generally of very indifferent quality.

XX. In the wall of the south choir-aisle, east of the transept, are fixed *two sculptured slabs*, of very unusual character, said to have been removed from Selsey. The subjects are the raising of Lazarus and the meeting of the Saviour with Martha and Mary. [Plates IX., X.] These slabs were discovered in 1829 behind the stalls of the choir, where they had been



TOMB OF BISHOP RALPH.

SCULPTURE IN THE SOUTH CHOIR AISLE.—THE RAISING OF LAZARUS.

SCULPTURE IN THE SOUTH CHOIR AISLE.—THE MEETING OF THE SAVIOUR WITH MARY AND MARTHA.

long concealed. They are probably of early Norman date, though the costume and arrangement seem to indicate a foreign artist. A certain Byzantine character may be traced in the management of the hair and beards, in the narrow folds of the draperies, and perhaps in the tall slender figures. The hollows in the eyes may have been filled with crystals or enamel. Two remarkable fragments of sculpture in Sompting Church, near Chichester, representing the Saviour in judgment, and a kneeling bishop, may be compared with these in the cathedral.

Between these slabs is the tomb of Bishop SHERBORNE (1507—1536), lately restored by the Society of New College, Oxford, in whose charge it was left. The effigy is fine, and the head, in pure alabaster, very good. At the back is the bishop's shield of arms, supported by angels, and the motto "Operibus credite." Round the verge of the tomb are the words, "Non intres in judicium cum servo tuo Domine."

The *north* choir-aisle, with its eastern chapel, entirely resembles that opposite. On the north wall is a trefoil, within which is a heart held by two hands, and the inscription, "Ici gist le cœur Maud de . . ," the name being undecipherable. The large tomb, under a canopy in the aisle, is said to be that of Bishop DE MOLEYNS (1445—1449), Counsellor of Henry VI., who was murdered at Portsmouth. (See Part II.)

XXI. The *south transept* was part of the Norman cathedral, and had probably an apsidal chapel opening from its eastern wall. This was removed, no doubt,

by Bishop Seffrid or his successor; and replaced by a square-ended chapel or chapels. At the same time the sacristy was added on the west side. The entire south wall of this transept was reconstructed by Bishop John de Langton (1305—1337), whose work here is recorded. The masonry of the transept walls shows at once what amount of rebuilding was rendered necessary by the fall of the spire. The chapel of St. Catherine, opening from the east wall, has been restored, and is now used as the canons' vestry. The triforium arch above, like those in the presbytery, was, before the fall, closed with canvas. These have now been opened.

Bishop Langton's south window is of enormous size, and is surmounted (in the gable) by a rose window of the same date. " The wall (outside) has the regular basement mouldings of its period, which abut at each end upon the masonry of the previous works, with that perfect indifference to unity of character which is so common in mediæval architecture. The tomb of Langton, as usual with founders or benefactors, is placed in the interior, within a handsome monumental arch and canopy, forming part of his own wall beneath the window, at the south-eastern corner of the transept."—*Willis*. It has been generally believed that the great window of this transept was inserted by Bishop Langton in special reverence for the shrine of St. Richard de la Wych, which, it has also been asserted, stood in this transept. But this is very uncertain. The tomb which stands opposite the window,

under the wall of the choir, is that traditionally assigned to St. Richard, Bishop of Chichester from 1245 to 1253. (See Part II.) It has been restored by Richardson, and the small figures in the niches are entirely new. The style of the tomb is considerably later than 1276, in which year the remains of Bishop Richard were translated in the presence of Edward I., his Queen, and Court. Moreover, it is not on the spot where the saint was first interred, for that is recorded to have been on the north side of the nave; and the recumbent effigy of a canonized saint is certainly an anomaly. It is probable that the shrine of the saint was placed in the retrochoir, as was the usual custom, and that the "altar of St. Richard," to which reference is often made, was, as usual, at the head of the shrine.

The west wall of this transept was covered, before the fall of the spire, with portraits of the kings of England, from the Conqueror; and above them was the picture which is now placed against the wall of the choir. On the east wall (the arch into the chapel being then closed) were portraits of the bishops. The portraits of the kings were destroyed by the ruin of the tower. Those of the bishops were saved, and are now in the north transept. The picture against the choir wall was injured, but not to any very great extent. It is in two compartments, and represents Ceadwalla bestowing the monastery of Selsey on St. Wilfrid, and the confirmation of this grant to the cathedral made by Henry VIII. to Bishop Sherborne. In this the costume and accompaniments are all of the beginning

of the sixteenth century, and Ceadwalla is represented by the figure of Henry VIII., who, like his son and successor, was Bishop Sherborne's patron. The artist was Theodore Bernardi, a member of an Italian family long resident in the Low Countries, and which at this time was settled in Chichester under the Bishop's patronage[h].

XXII. The *sacristy*, which is entered from the south-west corner of this transept, is of Early English date, and was part of the work completed after the fire of 1187. But an upper story was added in the fifteenth century; and the external buttresses, from the ground, are of this date. Above the sacristy is the ancient *Consistory Court*, entered by a spiral staircase in the nave. It contains the original president's chair: and a sliding panel opens from this room to one over the south porch, which apparently served as the secret treasury of the cathedral. Its size is about 15 feet by 12, and there is no external sign of the existence of such a chamber. According

[h] The history of this family in connection with certain remains of painting and sculpture in Chichester and its neighbourhood, deserves examination. Besides the paintings on the vaulting of the cathedral (noticed in § XVIII.), there are others of similar character in Boxgrove Church. The Delawarr tomb in the same church offers some unusual peculiarities, such as perhaps indicate a foreign artist: and in the churches of West Hampnett, Selsey, and West Wittering, are monuments the design of which is remarkable and very un-English. All these belong to the early part of the sixteenth century, and may not impossibly have been the work of one or other of the Bernardis, who seem to have been skilled in more than one branch of art, as was then usual.

to Bruno Ryves, in the 'Mercurius Rusticus,' Sir Arthur Hazelrigge, who commanded a division of Waller's troops in Chichester, became acquainted with the position of this chamber through the treachery of one of the officers of the cathedral. His soldiers searched for the sliding panel, found it, and rifled the treasury.

XXIII. The walls of the *north transept* are Norman. The apsidal chapel which projected eastward from this transept was removed at the same time with that opposite; and, as in the south transept, was replaced by an Early English building. The Norman arch which opened to the apse remains, and is of so early a character that it may possibly be a relic of Bishop Ralph's first building, completed about 1108, and injured in the first fire. The chapel now attached to this transept has an upper story, approached by a staircase in its south-west angle. Close to this staircase, in the roof, is to be seen a part of the wall of the orginal apsidal chapel, curving round northward. The heads of the Norman aisle windows, with their rich mouldings, and the original Norman windows of the triforium, also remain here.

That the Early English chapel which now projects from this transept formed, like that on the south side of the church, part of the plan designed by Bishop Seffrid after the burning of the Norman church, has been clearly shown. The new (Early English) buttresses "are added, not merely to the outside of the wall, but also, in the two cases which required them,

are erected within the north-eastern chapel" (in the centre of its south wall) "and within the sacristy, being manifestly required there, as elsewhere, for sustaining the thrust of the vault. But at the place in the north wall of the presbytery, from which the wall of the north-eastern chapel springs off, there is no evidence of the previous erection of one of these buttresses; and from the appearances throughout the building we know very well that, if this chapel had been an afterthought, and the new buttresses at this point had been consequently erected like the others, it would have remained undisturbed, and the wall of the chapel would have been applied merely against it. The wall of the chapel is, therefore, earlier than the buttresses, or contemporary with them. . . . On the other hand, the vaulting-ribs, as well of this north-east chapel as of the sacristy, are accommodated to the buttresses with the peculiar and picturesque manner in which the architects of that time delighted . . . . and the masonry of the ribs is plainly contemporary with the buttresses themselves. . . ."—*Willis.*

XXIV. Against the north wall of the north transept are now placed the portraits of bishops which, before the fall of the spire, were in the south transept. They are Bernardi's work, and represent the bishops of Selsey and Chichester from the foundation of the See to the time of Bishop Sherborne. A singular family likeness runs through the series, which is quite as edifying and authentic as that of the kings of Scotland in the Holyrood Gallery, on the uniform shape of

whose noses Mr. Crystal Croftangry was wont to speculate. The monument of Bishop King has also been removed here from the retrochoir. Against the east wall is a tablet by Gibson, R.A., for the widow of the Right Hon. W. Huskisson, who died in 1856. An angel floats above a figure kneeling at a desk.

This transept, and the chapel opening from it, were used, until a recent period, as the parish church of St. Peter. But this church was at first in the nave, as is evident from a visitation of 1400, which refers to it as "in nave ecclesiæ." This, no doubt, signifies the western part of the nave[i].

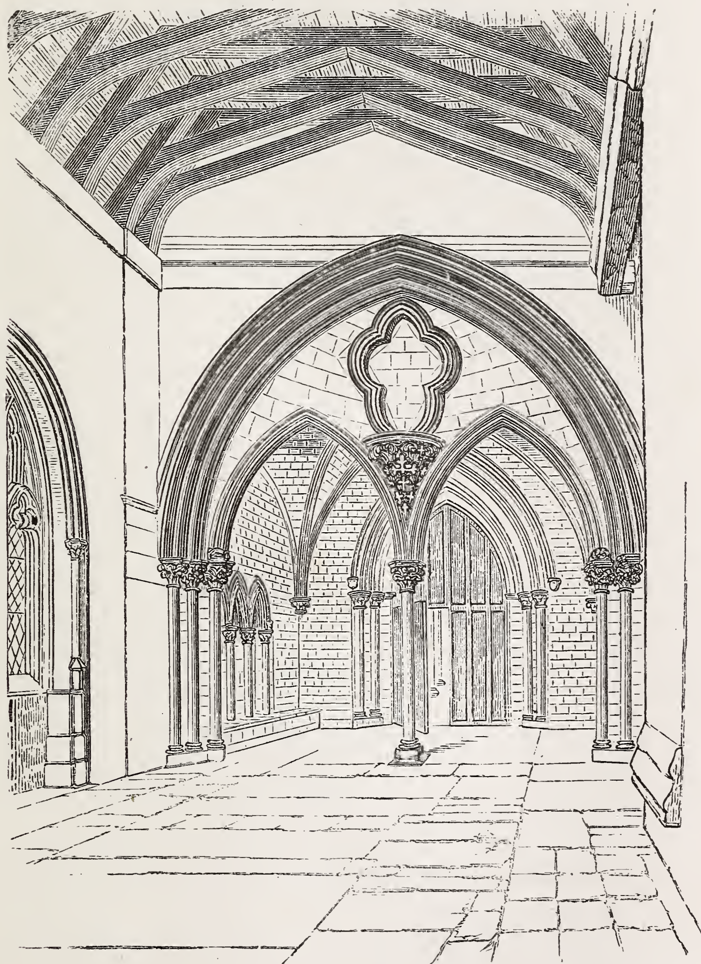
In the chapel east of the transept is now arranged the *chapter library*, a good collection, among the treasures of which are Cranmer's copy of the Service-book of Hermann, Archbishop of Cologne, with his autograph and numerous manuscript notes, and Eustathius on Homer, with the manuscript notes of Salmasius. There are no early manuscripts of importance. Some antiquities discovered during the recent restorations are preserved here. Among them are fragments of sculpture; two curious shoes; ancient combs; and a number of flooring tiles, showing excellent patterns. Here are also a quantity of tiles, 16 inches long by 2 inches wide, found in repairing the soffetes of the choir arcades. They were, no doubt, used in Bishop Ralph's Norman cathedral, and are curious examples of building tiles of that period. In a case are pre-

[i] The western part of the nave of Rochester long served as a parish church. See that cathedral.

served some interesting relics, discovered in 1829 in the stone coffins of two early bishops, which then stood under the choir arches. The most remarkable are a silver chalice and paten, with gold knobs and ornaments, of the twelfth century, and perhaps marking the tomb of Bishop Seffrid II. (died 1204). Here is also the top of his pastoral staff, of some very hard and heavy black stone, with gold rim of setting, worked with dragons and foliage. In this coffin was found a talismanic thumb-ring, an agate set in gold, and engraved with gnostic devices. Similar talismans have been found in the tombs of early crusaders, both here and on the Continent. With this ring three others of great beauty, set with emeralds and sapphires, were found. The other coffin was that of Gosfrid (1087—1088), second bishop of Chichester. It contained the remarkable leaden cross exhibited in the case. This is inscribed with a papal absolution, from which it appears that some complaint against the bishop had been carried to the court of Rome. Of this, however, nothing is known. Gosfrid was consecrated by Archbishop Lanfranc.

In the upper chapel are laid the fragments of Bishop Sherborne's reredos. The work is beautiful, and the whole might easily have been restored. It would have been far preferable to the modern design which has taken its place.

XXV. Returning to the nave, we pass into the cloisters through an Early English *porch* in the south aisle [Plate XI.] of a very similar character to that



ENTRANCE FROM THE CLOISTERS.

opening from the north aisle of the nave. [*Title-page.*] A large Early English arch circumscribes two smaller ones, divided by a single shaft. In the space above is an elongated quatrefoil once containing a figure, the bracket for supporting which fills the opening between the two arches below. This bracket is composed of Early English foliage. A graceful arcade lines the interior of the porch, which is one of Seffrid's additions. The *cloisters* are Perpendicular, and their wooden roof deserves notice. The space they enclose is known as the "Paradise." The position of the cloisters, lying eastward under the choir, instead of westward along the nave, is altogether unusual. Their form is very irregular. There is no north walk; and the three sides are of unequal length. The east walk opens into the retrochoir. The cloisters should be walked round for the sake of the exterior views of the cathedral to be obtained from them. The south transept window is best seen here. Above it is a circular window with very beautiful tracery, lighting the space between the roofs. (See *Frontispiece.*) The Norman windows of the aisles, now closed, may also be traced here; the walls themselves, according to Professor Willis, not only afford evidence that the east end of the chancel was originally circular, the ordinary Norman type, but show that there were radiating apses. The short portion of Norman wall remaining east of the second Early English buttress (counting from the transept) curves slightly northward, and formed the outer wall of a procession path circling the main apse.

"But in this short portion of curved wall, one of the triforium windows appears, exactly similar to those in the neighbouring compartments, only that it is placed close to the buttress. This indicates that a very narrow compartment was made the beginning of the circular wall. Such a compartment could only have been occasioned by the presence of a chapel radiating outwards from the procession path."—*Willis.*

Over a doorway in the *south cloister* is a shield with the arms of Henry VII., together with two robed figures kneeling before the Virgin, who is supported by an angel holding a rose. This marks the house of the King's chaplains, who served a chantry founded by Henry V. for his own soul, for those of his father and mother, and for that of Nicholas Mortimer. It is now a private residence.

Beyond, but still in the south wall, is a tablet to the memory of WILLIAM CHILLINGWORTH, the champion of Protestantism, who died here (1643) after the capture of Arundel Castle, where he had suffered much during the siege. He was buried in this cloister, and Cheynell, a Puritan grand inquisitor, appeared at the grave with Chillingworth's 'Religion of Protestants,' which he flung into it "to rot with its author and see corruption," accompanying his proceedings with a speech that Torquemada might have envied. Like most impartial writers, Chillingworth shared the fate of the bat in the fable, and was cordially recognised by neither party. The lines of the inscription on his monument—

"Sub hoc marmore conditur
Nec sentit damna sepulchri"—

are said to be a later addition. The original inscription, written by a friend of Chillingworth's soon after the Restoration, contained a special allusion to Cheynell, in which he was styled "Theologaster." His son got into the cloister at night, and defaced it with a pickaxe.

At the south-east angle of the cloisters is the *Chapel of St. Faith*, founded early in the fourteenth century. It is now a dwelling-house, distinguished only by two heavy buttresses. Within, one or two deeply-splayed windows are traceable.

XXVI. The *episcopal palace* opens from the west end of the cloisters. The chapel is late Early English with some additions. The vaulted roof springs from very rich corbels of Early English foliage. In the course of restoring this chapel a remarkable painting of the Virgin and Child was found on the south wall. It is within a quatrefoil, and is of Early English date. The Virgin is placed on a rich seat, with birds' heads at the angles. She holds a sceptre terminating in a fleur-de-lys. The Holy Child flings his arm round her neck. The ceiling of the dining-hall is painted with shields of Sussex families and initials, attributed to Bernardi, the manufacturer of Bishop Sherborne's "lace" in the cathedral. In one panel is a bishop's hat, red, with single strings; the form is peculiar, and differs from that given to a cardinal's hat.

The ancient kitchen of the palace should be visited

It is nearly a square, with a roof carried on stone brackets, and a singular framework of wood (perhaps of the fourteenth century) at the angles.

XXVII. The *bell-tower*, or *campanile*, on the north side of the cathedral, is generally assigned to Bishop Langton (1305—1338), but is, no doubt, at least half a century later. Its height is 120 feet; and it covers a square of 56 feet; the upper story being an octagon, supported by octagonal turrets. It is the only existing English example of a detached bell-tower adjoining a cathedral, though there are many instances of it in parish churches. One very similar to this, however, remained at Salisbury until the early part of the present century, when it was taken down by Wyatt the destructive. The stone of which the Chichester campanile is built is from the Isle of Wight quarries near Ventnor. The summit commands a good view of the town and cathedral, the light and graceful spire of which contrasts admirably with the square mass of the bell-tower.

CHICHESTER CATHEDRAL.

PART II.

History of the See, with Notices of the principal Bishops.

THE kingdom of the South Saxons, the second settlement effected by the Saxons in England, was the last to receive Christianity. In the year 477, twenty-seven years after the arrival of Hengist, Ælle and his three sons, according to the Saxon Chronicle, made good their landing at a place called Cymens-ore, probably Wittering, on the eastern side of Chichester harbour. In 490, Anderida, the Roman-British town and fortress which protected this part of the coast, the walls of which may still be seen at Pevensey, was taken by Ælle and his son Cissa; who, says the chronicler, "slew all that dwelt therein, nor was there thenceforth one Brit left." From this date the South Sexe must have occupied the whole line of coast from Chichester eastward to the marshes of Kent.

Isolated by these marshes, and by the great primæval forest of Anderida (the name, according to Dr. Guest, signifies the "uninhabited district[a]"), which covered the whole of Sussex north of the chalk downs, and extended into Kent on one side and into Hampshire on the other, the South Saxons remained pagans long after the arrival of St. Augustine in Kent in 597, and of St. Birinus in Wessex in 635. Little or nothing is recorded of them

[a] *An*, the Celtic negative particle, and *tred*, a dwelling.

or of their kingdom until, about the year 650, the famous Wilfrid of Northumbria, on his return from France, where he had gone to receive canonical consecration as archbishop of York[b], was driven by a storm upon their coast. "The Saxon pirates had become merciless wreckers; they thought everything cast by the winds and the sea on their coasts their undoubted property, the crew and passengers of vessels driven on shore their lawful slaves. They attacked the stranded bark with the utmost ferocity; the crew of Wilfrid made a gallant resistance. It was a strange scene. On one side the Christian prelate and his clergy were kneeling aloof in prayer; on the other, a pagan priest was encouraging the attack, by what both parties supposed powerful enchantments. A fortunate stone from a sling struck the priest on the forehead, and put an end to his life and his magic. But his fall only exasperated the barbarians. Thrice they renewed the attack, and thrice were beaten off. The prayers of Wilfrid became more urgent, more needed, more successful. The tide came in, the wind shifted, the vessel got to sea, and reached Sandwich. At a later period of his life Wilfrid nobly revenged himself on this inhospitable people by labouring, and with success, in their conversion to Christianity[c]."

Wilfrid's second appearance among the South Saxons occurred about the year 680, after his flight from Northumbria. The South Saxon king, Ædilwalch, was at this time, nominally at least, a Christian; having been baptized at the persuasion of Wolfhere of Mercia, who had made him a grant of the entire Island of Wight. His Queen, Eabba, had also abjured paganism. The people, however, were still fierce worshippers of Thor and Odin; and

[b] Except Wini, Bishop of Winchester, none of the English bishops were considered by Wilfrid as having been canonically consecrated; the rest were Scots, who rejected the Roman discipline concerning Easter and the tonsure.

[c] Milman, Latin Christianity, ii. p. 77

although Wilfrid found at Bosham a small religious house encircled by woods and by the sea (*sylvis et mari circumdatum*), consisting of five or six brethren ruled by a Scot named Dicul, this little body of Christians had made no impression whatever on the surrounding heathens[d]. The condition of the entire district was fearful. No rains, according to Bede, had fallen for three years before Wilfrid's arrival. A great famine had been the result, and the South Saxons, linking themselves together in companies of forty or fifty, sought an end to their miseries by throwing themselves into the sea. Though a maritime people, on a long line of sea-coast, they were ignorant of the art of fishing, which Wilfrid accordingly began his labours by teaching them, thus enabling them to provide for themselves a constant supply of food[e]. The baptism of the chiefs and principal leaders speedily followed; on the first day of which, says Bede, rain fell in plenty, and the earth once more became fruitful. The people abjured their old religion in masses. The peninsula of Selsey—the "Seals' Island,"

[d] Beda, H. E., lib. iv. c. 13. Traditions of the Brito-Roman Christianity which had been swept away by Ælle and his followers existed to a late period in Sussex. In the year 1058, a Flemish vessel, having on board a monk of Bergue St. Winox, named Balger, was driven into the haven of Seaford. The monk found his way to a neighbouring monastery, dedicated to St. Andrew, the site of which is unknown; and, *fidelis fur et latro bonus*, stole from it the relics of St. Lewinna, who is described as one of the early British converts in Sussex. The story has been told at length, from the *Acta Sanctorum*, by Mr. Blaauw, in the Sussex Archæological Collections, i. p. 46.

[e] "Nam et antistes, cum venisset in provinciam tantamque ibi famis pœnam videret, docuit eos piscando victum quærere; namque mare et flumina eorum piscibus abundabant, sed piscandi peritia genti nulla, nisi ad anguillas tantum, inerat. Collectis ergo undecumque retibus anguillaribus, homines antistitis miserunt in mare, et divina se juvante gratia, mox cepere pisces diversi generis trecentos; quibus trifariam divisis, centum pauperibus dederunt, centum his a quibus retia acceperant, centum in suos usus habebant."—*Beda, H. E.*, lib. iv. cap. 13.

a *terra* of eighty-seven families, among whom were 200 serfs, who were all made free men on their baptism—was granted to Wilfrid by King Ædilwalch, and a monastery was built on it, into which the exiled bishop collected such of his followers as, like himself, had been compelled to leave Northumbria. In this southern house Oswald, the sainted king of Northumbria, was especially reverenced.

Wilfrid thus became the first bishop of the South Saxons; and Selsey continued to be the chief place of the see, until the period of the Conquest. On the death of Ecgfrid of Northumbria, Wilfrid was reinstated in his northern bishopric. During his five years'[f] labours in the south, his first patron, Ædilwalch, had fallen in battle with Ceadwalla, a youth of the royal house of Wessex, who had long lived as an outlaw in the great woods of Chiltern and Anderida, and who had been assisted by Wilfrid during the period of his obscurity. After Ceadwalla's accession to power, Wilfrid became his chief counsellor, and undertook, by his permission, the conversion of the inhabitants of the Isle of Wight, which, as well as the district of the Meonware[g] on the main-land, had fallen into the hands of Ceadwalla. The foundation of some of the principal churches in this district—those of the two Meons among them—is still traditionally attributed to Wilfrid.

[A.D. 700—1070.] After Wilfrid's departure, the newly Christianized province of Sussex was for some years imperfectly watched over by the bishops of Winchester. In 709, Eadbert, abbot of the monastery at Selsey, was consecrated to the South Saxon bishopric by Archbishop Nothelm. Eadbert was succeeded by a series of twenty

[f] So Bede. The dates, however, are very confused, and the number of years during which Wilfrid remained in Sussex is not quite certain.

[g] This is the strip of land within the Hampshire border through which the Hamble river runs, and in which are the parishes of East and West Meon, retaining the ancient name.

bishops, of whom little more than the names is recorded. The last Bishop of Selsey was ETHELRIC, a Benedictine of Christ Church, Canterbury; whose knowledge of the ancient law and customs of his country was so great that, together with Geoffrey, Bishop of Coutances, he was appointed to arbitrate between Odo, Earl of Kent, and Archbishop Lanfranc, who had claimed certain manors from the Earl as belonging to his see. The question was decided in a great meeting on Pinenden Heath, near Maidstone, to which place the Bishop of Selsey, infirm and of great age, was conveyed in a waggon drawn by oxen. The Archbishop recovered his manors. Bishop Ethelric shared the fate of other Saxon prelates. He was deprived of his see in a synod held at Windsor in 1070, and imprisoned (on what pretext is unknown) at Marlborough.

[A.D. 1070—1087.] STIGAND, Chaplain of the Conqueror, was appointed in the room of Ethelric. In accordance with a decree of the Council of London (1075), which directed that bishops' sees should no longer remain in villages and small towns, Stigand removed the chief place of the Saxon bishopric from Selsey to Chichester, where it has ever since remained[h]. The south-west quarter of the city, in which stood the monastery of St. Peter, was assigned to the Churchmen; the castle, with its enclosures, occupied the north-east quarter. The church of St. Peter's monastery became the new cathedral. The decree of the Council of London refers to the Councils of Sardica and Laodicea, which "prohibited the having bishops' sees in villages;" but there can be little doubt that the change was greatly

[h] For the site of the Saxon cathedral and monastery at Selsey all search will now be in vain. The village of Selsey, now about half a mile from the sea, is traditionally said to have been once in the centre of the peninsula. The old cathedral, the site of which is now covered with water, is said to have lain about a mile east of the present church ; and so rapidly has the sea encroached within the last three centuries, that even in Camden's time the foundations were uncovered at low water.

owing to the insecure condition of the open country after the Conquest, which rendered the protection of strong walls essential.

[A.D. 1087—1088.] GOSFRID, Stigand's successor, was consecrated by Lanfranc. Of his lite nothing is known. The leaden cross found in his coffin, and now preserved in the Library, has been noticed in Pt. I. § XVIII.

[A.D. 1091—1123.] RALPH LUFFA was the founder of the existing cathedral. (See Pt. I. §§ I., II., VII.) The birth and origin of Bishop Ralph are unknown. According to Malmesbury, his strength and tall stature (*proceritas corporis*) were equalled by the firm resolution of his mind, which enabled him to withstand William Rufus in the interest of Archbishop Anselm; whose struggle on the question of investitures was zealously supported by Bishop Ralph. The decree of Henry I., by which married priests were permitted to retain their wives on payment of a fine, was resisted by this bishop; who laid his diocese under an interdict until the king withdrew all pretension to collect any tax from the married clergy within its limits. Three times in the year he preached throughout his diocese[i]; and raised his see from a state of great poverty to one of order and importance. He left all his goods to the poor, directing their distribution in his own sight as he lay on his death-bed. His tomb, at the entrance of the Lady-chapel, is noticed Pt. I. § XVIII.

[A.D. 1125—1145.] SEFFRID PELOCHIN, or SEFFRID I. (the name is identical with the more usual form Sigefrid), Abbot of Glastonbury, and brother of Ralph, Archbishop of Canterbury, was deposed in 1145 (why is unknown), and died in 1151.

[A.D. 1148—1169.] HILARY was originally attached to the household of Henry of Blois, Bishop of Winchester, to

[i] "Ter omni anno diœcesin suam causâ prædicandi circuibat; nihil episcopali potestate a provincialibus suis exigens, sed quæ offerabantur gratabundus accipiens."—*Malmesbury.*

whom he owed his advancement. It was this bishop who, when Archbishop Becket and the other prelates, at a council held at Westminster, agreed to observe the customs of the realm in all things "saving their order," promised to observe them "in good faith;" a change of words for which Hilary was severely rebuked by Becket.

[A.D. 1174—1180.] JOHN DE GREENFORD had been Dean of Chichester before his election.

[A.D. 1180—1204.] SEFFRID II., like his predecessor, had been Dean of Chichester. The Norman church of Bishop Ralph, which in 1187 had been greatly injured by fire, together with the greater part of the city of Chichester, was restored and altered by this bishop. (See Pt. I. §§ II., VII.) Bishop Seffrid assisted at the coronation of King John in 1199.

[A.D. 1204—1207.] SIMON DE WELLES.

[A.D. 1209—1214.] NICHOLAS DE AQUILA.

[A.D. 1215—1217.] RICHARD POORE, Dean of Salisbury, was translated to Salisbury in 1217. He was the builder of the cathedral there. (See SALISBURY.)

[A.D. 1217—1222.] RALPH DE WARHAM.

[A.D. 1223—1244.] RALPH NEVILLE, Chancellor of England from the year of his election to 1238, was chosen successively Archbishop of Canterbury and Bishop of Winchester, but was never confirmed in the possession of either dignity. He died Bishop of Chichester in 1244. As Chancellor his reputation for justice and integrity stood unusually high. "Erat regis fidelissimus Cancellarius," says Matthew Paris, "et inconcussa columna veritatis; singulis sua jura, præcipue pauperibus, juste reddens et indilate." He did much for his cathedral; the Early English portions of which are probably to be assigned to him.

[A.D. 1245—1253.] RICHARD DE LA WYCH, the sainted Bishop of Chichester, and the great patron of the city, succeeded. The canons of Chichester had elected Robert Passelew, a favourite of the King (Henry III.) But his

election was annulled by the pope (the bull asserts on account of his want of learning), and Richard de la Wych was consecrated. He is said to have been born at Droitwich in Worcestershire, from the salt-springs (locally called *wyches*) of which place he derived his surname[k]. De la Wych, who had early assumed the black robe and white scapular of the Dominicans,—the new Order which was gathering to itself the most ardent and energetic minds of Western Europe,—was educated at Oxford, Paris, and Bologna; and on his return to England became Chancellor, first of the Archbishop of Canterbury, and afterwards of the University of Oxford. He was consecrated to the see of Chichester at Lyons, during the sitting of the Council there, in the year 1245, by Pope Innocent IV. himself, who at the same time consecrated Boniface of Savoy to the archbishopric of Canterbury, and Roger of Weseham to the see of Lichfield. Henry III., incensed at the rejection of his favourite, seized the revenues of the see, and for two years Bishop De la Wych was obliged to depend on the benevolence of others for the means of subsistence. The revenues were restored after the King had been threatened with excommunication by Pope Innocent. In the work of his diocese, in preaching (the especial duty of his Order), and in visiting, Bishop De la Wych was indefatigable. He died (April 3, 1253) in the Maison Dieu, at Dover, where he had rested while preaching the Crusade along the coast. His canonization (partly the result of the great influence and activity of the Order to which the Bishop belonged, and partly due, no doubt, to the principles he maintained during his lifetime[l]) was de-

[k] A later tradition asserted that these *wyches* had been miraculously procured by the prayers of St. Richard.

[l] De la Wych, says Fuller, was a 'stout Becketist,' and dedicated to Innocent IV. a defence of the spiritual power against the regal, having especial reference to Henry III. His name has been connected with that of Becket in more than one part of his diocese. A fig-orchard at West Tarring, adjoining an ancient palace of the

creed by Pope Urban IV., in 1261; and in the year 1276 his relics were removed from their first resting-place in Chichester Cathedral to the shrine in which they remained until the Reformation. (Pt. I. § XI.) The life of St. Richard of Chichester was written by Ralph Bocking, a Dominican like the Bishop himself, and his constant attendant[m]. The miracles recorded, such as the feeding, during a great dearth, at Cakeham, in the parish of West Wittering, of 3,000 persons with beans only sufficient for one third the number, are of the usual character; but enough remains to prove that the life and labours of Bishop de la Wych were of no ordinary excellence.

[A.D. 1253—1262.] JOHN CLIPPING.

[A.D. 1262—1287.] STEPHEN DE BERGHESTEDE, a partisan of Simon de Montfort, was excommunicated with others on the side of the barons; and was compelled to undertake a laborious journey to Rome to procure absolution, which was granted him not without difficulty.

[A.D. 1288—1305.] GILBERT DE ST. LEOFARD, builder of the beautiful Lady-chapel in the cathedral (Pt. I. § XVIII.), narrowly escaped canonization; to which, according to Matthew of Westminster, he was nearly as much entitled as his predecessor St. Richard. "A father of orphans and consoler of widows, a pious and humble visitor at the beds and in the cottages of the poor, a friend of the needy far more than of the rich,"—such is the character of Bishop Gilbert, one that is not often recorded of a great mediæval prelate. He is said to have worked many miracles after death.

[A.D. 1305—1337.] JOHN DE LANGTON, Chancellor of Eng-

bishops of Chichester, is said to have been planted partly by Becket and partly by St. Richard. The two saints appear together in the curious paintings (of Perpendicular date) on the tomb of John Wootton, in Maidstone Church, Kent.

[m] See it in the *Acta Sanctorum*, April 11.

land in 1308, was the donor of the great window in the south transept. (Pt. I. § XI.) The Earl of Warrene, whose strong castle dominated over the town of Lewes, was excommunicated by this bishop on the score of evil life; and afterwards made a sudden appearance before him, surrounded by armed retainers, with the evident intention of taking vengeance for the insult. The tables were turned, however, and the Earl of Warrene and his men were at once laid up safely in the Bishop's dungeons.

[A.D. 1337—1362.] ROBERT STRATFORD, brother of the Archbishop of Canterbury, and Chancellor of England, was also Chancellor of Oxford, where he succeeded in appeasing the great strife which had arisen between the Southern and Northern students, the latter of whom had withdrawn for some time to the town of Stamford in Lincolnshire.

[A.D. 1362, translated to Worcester in 1368.] WILLIAM DE LENNE, or LULIMERE, 'legum doctor.'

[A.D. 1369—1385.] WILLIAM READE was founder of the library at Merton College, Oxford, of which he had been a fellow. After his elevation to the see of Chichester, he built the castle of Amberley, whose picturesque ruins still remain on the banks of the river Arun.

[A.D. 1385—1388.] THOMAS RUSHOOK, a Dominican, the confessor of Richard II., was translated from Llandaff to Chichester on the nomination of the Pope. He was driven from court, however, by the Parliament called the "wonderful," in 1388, and his goods confiscated. The ex-bishop of Chichester was subsequently provided for by a small bishopric in Ireland; that of 'Triburn,' now Kilmore.

[A.D. 1389—1395.] RICHARD MITFORD was translated in the latter year to Salisbury, where his fine tomb remains; (see that Cathedral).

[A.D. 1395—1396.] ROBERT WALDBY, Archbishop of Dublin, was translated to Chichester and thence to York.

[A.D. 1396—1415.] ROBERT READE, a Dominican, and possibly a relative of his predecessor of the same name, nomi-

nated Bishop of Carlisle in 1396, was in the same year translated to Chichester.

[A.D. 1415—1417.] STEPHEN PATRINGTON, translated from St. David's.

[A.D. 1418—1420.] HENRY WARE, 'legum doctor.'

[A.D. 1420—1422.] JOHN KEMP, translated from Rochester; and from Chichester successively to London, York, and Canterbury. (See the last Cathedral.)

[A.D. 1422—1426.] THOMAS POLTON, translated from Hereford; and from Chichester to Worcester.

[A.D. 1426—1429.] JOHN RICKINGALE.

[A.D. 1429—1437.] SIMON SYDENHAM, 'legum doctor.'

[A.D. 1438—1445.] RICHARD PRATY, Chancellor of Oxford.

[A.D. 1445—1449.] ADAM DE MOLEYNS, 'legum doctor,' had been the commissioner chosen to deliver over Maine and Anjou to Réné, titular King of Sicily (in effect to the crown of France), in accordance with the agreement made by the Duke of Suffolk on the marriage of Henry VI. with the daughter of Réné, the Princess Margaret of Anjou. The cession of these provinces led at once to the loss of Normandy, and eventually of all the English conquests and possessions in France, with the exception of Calais. Great popular indignation was the result; and in 1449 the Bishop of Chichester, whilst superintending the payment of sailors in the 'Domus Dei,' or hospital at Portsmouth, was attacked and killed by them, it is said at the instigation of the Duke of York, the opponent of Suffolk. A tomb assigned to Bishop De Moleyns remains in the north choir-aisle. (Pt. I. § XVI.)

[A.D. 1450—1457.] REGINALD PECOCK succeeded. The character of this bishop—the most remarkable Churchman of his time in England—has been variously estimated by writers of different schools; but the recent publication of his most important work, the "Repressor of over-much blaming of the Clergy," enables us to follow his opinions with much greater certainty than has hitherto been possible.

His parentage is unknown, as well as the exact place of his birth, which occurred toward the end of the fourteenth century, and most probably within the Welch diocese of St. David's. He was educated at Oriel College, Oxford, where he obtained a fellowship in 1417; was afterwards ordained by the Bishop of Lincoln; and became conspicuous in the University for his knowledge of both sacred and profane literature. He was then summoned to court, and in 1431 obtained from Duke Humphrey of Gloucester, Protector of the kingdom, the Mastership of Whittington College, in London, to which the rectory of St. Michael in Riola was attached. "It was here that Pecock applied himself to study the controversy between the Lollards and their opponents, which must have been prominently brought before his eyes both in his experience of London life and by the Smithfield bonfires." In 1444, through the Protector's influence, but by papal provision, he was consecrated Bishop of St. Asaph, and in 1447 defended "Unpreaching and Non-resident Prelates," in a sermon at St. Paul's Cross. "The episcopal order had been in little favour in England generally for some time. Many of the most rigid Anglicans, and the whole body of the Lollards, with all its parties and subdivisions, were vehement in their denunciations." Pecock defended them vigorously; but "men exclaimed against them more than ever, and against Pecock in particular." The friars of the mendicant orders were especially active, and Pecock was obliged to transmit a defence of his sermon to Archbishop Stafford, by whom, and by the rest of the bishops, he was of course not unfavourably judged. He had already (c. 1440) written his *Donet* (*Donatus*), or "Introduction to the Chief Truths of the Christian Religion," and in 1454 published his "Follower to the *Donet*." Both works were written against the so-called errors of the Lollards. In 1449 appeared his most important book, "The Repressor of overmuch blaming of the Clergy," the design of which was "to defend the

clergy from what he conceived to be the unjust aspersions of many of the 'lay party,' or 'Bible men' (by which he means the Lollards), and to shew that the practices for which they were blamed admitted of a satisfactory vindication." Of these practices he vindicates six, "the use of images; the going on pilgrimage; the holding of landed possessions by the clergy; the retention of the various ranks of the hierarchy; the framing of ecclesiastical laws by papal and episcopal authority; and the institution of the religious orders." "The great historical value of Pecock's work consists in this, that it preserves to us the best arguments of the Lollards against existing practices which he was able to find, together with such answers as a very acute opponent was able to give." It should also be remarked that Pecock, no less than his opponents, "contributed very materially to the reformation which took place in the following century." The discontented portion of the Church of the fifteenth century in England embraced persons of very various views. "Pecock himself is a singular illustration of the eclecticism (so to say) which prevailed. He virtually admitted, on the one hand, the fallibility of general councils, and insisted strenuously on the necessity of proving doctrines by reason, and not simply by authority; while, on the other, he carried his notions on the papal supremacy almost as far as an Ultramontane could desire, and was blamed even by men like Gascoigne for giving more than its due to the Pope's temporal authority. In maintaining Scripture to be the sole rule of faith, and in rejecting the apocryphal books as uncanonical, he agrees with the reformers altogether; in his doctrine of the invocation of saints, and in various other particulars, he agrees altogether with their adversaries. If in his discourse of images he writes some things which few Anglicans would approve, so also he writes others, in the same discourse, which many Romanists would still less approve. Perhaps it would not be greatly wrong to assert that Pecock stands

half-way between the Church of Rome and the Church of England as they now exist, the type of his mind, however, being rather Anglican than Roman. Of Puritanism, in all its phases, he is the decided opponent."

In maintaining, as he does in the "Repressor," that the special office of Scripture is to make known those truths and articles of faith which human reason could not have discovered, Pecock may be considered as the forerunner of Hooker, who adopts the same line of argument. Indeed, this portion of his work, according to Hallam, "contains passages well worthy of Hooker, both for weight of matter and dignity of style." "Fulness of language," says the learned editor of the "Repressor," "pliancy of expression, argumentative sagacity, extensive learning, and critical skill, distinguish almost every chapter. . . . It is no exaggeration to affirm that Pecock's 'Repressor' is the earliest piece of good philosophical discussion of which our English prose literature can boast. As such it possesses no small interest for the philologist, and for the lover of letters generally."

In 1450, by the interest of the Queen's favourite, William Delapole, Duke of Suffolk, Pecock was raised to the see of Chichester. In 1456 he published his "Treatise on Faith," intended to reduce the Lollards to obedience; and in the following year, at a council held by Henry VI. at Westminster, "the hatred long entertained against his person and opinions burst forth with unrestrained fury." Pecock, who had lost his patron, the Duke of Suffolk, and who was personally out of favour with the King, was compelled to defend himself before Archbishop Bourchier, and, after repeated examinations, was condemned by him. He was offered his choice between a public abjuration of his assumed errors and death by fire. He chose to recant; "confuted," says Fuller, "with seven solid arguments thus reckoned up, *Authoritate, Vi, Arte, Fraude, Metu, Terrore, et Tyrannide.*" Before 20,000 persons assembled at St.

Paul's Cross he declared that he had held, and now abjured, the following errors and heresies:—

I. That it is not necessary to salvation to believe in our Lord's descent into hell.

II. That it is not necessary to salvation to believe in the Holy Spirit.

III. and IV. That it is not necessary to salvation to believe in the Holy Catholic Church, or in the Communion of Saints.

V. That the Universal Church may err in matters of faith.

VI. That it is not necessary to salvation to uphold, as universally binding, the decrees of a general council.

VII. That it is sufficient for every one to understand Holy Scripture in its literal sense.

His books were then publicly burnt. Many of the errors which he now retracted he had never uttered, and others he knew to be truths. "But, indeed, he seems to have been so confused and bewildered, as scarcely to know what he had said or what he had not said."

Pecock was at first sent by Archbishop Bourchier to Canterbury, and thence to Maidstone. In March, 1459, his bishopric was declared vacant, and his successor appointed. He was himself degraded, and sent, half-prisoner, half-guest, to Thorney Abbey, in Cambridgeshire, where he was to have "a secret closed chamber," without books or paper, and to fare "as a brother of the abbey is served when he is excused from the *freytour* (i.e. from dining in hall), and somewhat better after the first quarter." At Thorney Pecock probably died, but in what year is uncertain. Henry Wharton, (editor of the *Anglia Sacra,*) who in 1688 published some extracts from Pecock's "Rule of Faith," refers to him, and with justice, as "by far the most eminent and learned bishop of the Church of England in his time."

Pecock's most valuable and important work, "The Repressor of overmuch blaming of the Clergy," has recently

(1860) been edited by the Rev. Churchill Babington, in the series of documents for the history of England published under the direction of the Master of the Rolls. All that is known concerning Bishop Pecock will be found in the editor's excellent "Introduction," from which the passages within inverted commas in the present notice are extracts.

[A.D. 1459—1477.] John Arundell, chaplain and physician to Henry VI.

[A.D. 1478—1503.] Edward Story, Fellow of Pembroke College, Cambridge, was translated to Chichester from Carlisle. The market-cross, still remaining at Chichester, was built by him.

[A.D. 1503—1506.] Richard Fitz-James, translated from Rochester to Chichester by the Pope, and thence to London.

[A.D. 1508—1536.] Robert Sherborne, educated in Wykeham's Colleges at Winchester and Oxford, was translated to Chichester from St. David's. He was, says Fuller, "a great scholar and a prudent man;" and was greatly patronized by Henry VII., who employed him on various embassies. The cathedral of Chichester he "decored with many ornaments, . . . especially the south side thereof." (See Pt. I. § xii. for a notice of what Fuller elsewhere calls Bishop Sherborne's "lace and trimmings" in the south transept.) His favourite mottoes were "Dilexi decorem domus tuæ, Domine," and "Credite operibus;" referring to the latter of which, Fuller observes that "although some may like his alms better than his trumpet, charity will make the most favourable construction thereof." Bishop Sherborne affords one of the few early instances of the resignation of his see by a bishop on the score of old age and incapacity. He was aged ninety-six when he resigned the see of Chichester; and a bill securing his pension was passed through the House of Lords. He died in the same year (1536).

[A.D. 1536—1543.] RICHARD SAMPSON, 'legum doctor,' translated to Lichfield.

[A.D. 1543—1556.] GEORGE DAY, elder brother of William Day, Bishop of Winchester, Almoner of Anne of Cleves, and Provost of King's College, Cambridge, was a supporter of the "old profession;" a "most pertinacious Papist," says Fuller. In 1551, under Edward VI., he was deprived and imprisoned, but was restored to his see by Queen Mary. The two brothers, George and William, died, the first very young, the latter at a great age; "but," says Fuller, "not so great was the difference between their vivacity as distance betwixt their opinions: the former being a rigid Papist, the latter a zealous Protestant; who requesting of his brother some money to buy books therewith and other necessaries, was returned with this denial: 'that he thought it not fit to spend the goods of the Church on him who was an enemy of the Church[n].'" JOHN SCORY, who had been appointed Bishop of Chichester by Edward VI., on Day's deprivation, was deprived in his turn on the accession of Mary. Elizabeth made him Bishop of Hereford.

[A.D. 1557—Jan. $155\frac{8}{9}$.] JOHN CHRISTOPHERSON was appointed by Queen Mary on the death of Bp. Day. "He had no sooner put on his episcopal ring," says Fuller, "but presently he washed his hands in the blood of poor martyrs," of whom many suffered in Sussex. He was one of the commissioners for visiting Cambridge, where he is said to have been active in burning the bones of Bucer. Bishop Christopherson had been Master of Trinity College in that University, and was an excellent scholar, according to Fuller, who adds, "I have seen a Greek tragedy, made and written by his own hand so curiously, that it seemed printed, and presented to King Henry VIII." He was deprived on the accession of Elizabeth, and kept under some restraint, dying in 1560.

[n] Worthies—Shropshire.

[A.D. 1559—1569.] WILLIAM BARLOW, translated from Wells (see that Cathedral), was the first Protestant Bishop of Chichester. His five daughters married five bishops, as appears from the inscription on his wife's tomb, which Fuller gives from a church in Hampshire:—

> "Prole beata fuit, plena annis, quinque suarum
> Præsulibus vidit, Præsulis ipsa, datas."

[A.D. 1570—1582.] RICHARD CURTIS.

[A.D. 1584—1596.] THOMAS BICKLEY was consecrated bishop when in his eightieth year. In his youth he had been Fellow of Magdalen College, Oxford. "In the first of Edward VI.," says Fuller, "his detestation of superstition may rather be commended than his discretion in expressing it, when (before the publique abolishing of popery) at evening prayer he brake the consecrated host with his hands, and stamped it under his feet in the college chapel." He remained an exile in France throughout the reign of Mary, and afterwards became Warden of Merton College, Oxford, where he continued twenty years. At his death he left legacies to both his colleges at Oxford.

[A.D. 1596—1605.] ANTHONY WATSON.

[A.D. 1605—1609.] LANCELOT ANDREWES, translated first to Ely, and thence to Winchester. (See the latter Cathedral for a full notice of him.)

[A.D. 1609—1619.] SAMUEL HARSNET.

[A.D. 1619—1628.] GEORGE CARLETON was one of the representatives of the English Church sent by James I. to attend the Synod of Dort.

[A.D. 1628—1638.] RICHARD MONTAGUE, a Fellow of King's College, Cambridge, and afterwards a Canon of Windsor, was by far the most active and decided of that "Romanizing" party in the English Church which was so conspicuous in the early years of Charles the First's reign, and from which so much mischief subsequently arose. Montague's first appearance was in 1618, when he replied to Selden's "History of Tithes," strongly asserting their divine origin. In 1624 he replied to a Romanist pamphlet which asserted

that certain Puritanical tenets were held of necessity by the Church of England. Montague denied this. He was attacked accordingly by the Calvinist or Puritanical party, and then wrote his tract entitled *Appello Cæsarem*, in which he defended his position, and attacked the Puritans "as a people desiring an anarchy." King James died in the interval. On the accession of Charles, and after his first Parliament had met, Montague was called to the bar, charged with injuries to religion. His books, however, were not then censured; and three bishops (Rochester, Oxford, and St. David's) wrote on his behalf to the Duke of Buckingham. In the second Parliament (1626), "a commission for religion was settled, and Montague's 'Appeal to Cæsar' was again debated. This book being referred by the Commons to the committee above-mentioned, Mr. Pym made his report of several erroneous opinions extracted from it, upon which the House made this resolve: 'That Mr. Montague endeavoured to reconcile England to Rome, and alienate the King's affection from his well-affected subjects.' By the way, this is the first time we hear of a Committee of Religion in the House of Commons[o]." The process seems to have been dropped by the Commons, however, nor did the ensuing Convocation notice Montague's book. But pamphlets continued to be poured forth against him; and the King gave great offence when in 1628 he appointed him Bishop of Chichester. Of the lengths to which Montague was disposed to go in order to effect a reconciliation between the Churches of England and Rome there can be no doubt. A full notice of his intrigues with Panzani, the private but accredited minister of Rome at the court of Charles, has been given by Hallam[p]. In 1638 Bishop Montague was translated to Norwich, where he died, 1641, and was buried in the cathedral.

[A.D. 1638—1641.] BRIAN DUPPA, translated to Salisbury, and thence to Winchester. (See the latter Cathedral.)

[o] Collier, Church Hist., bk. ix. [p] Const. Hist. of Eng., ch. viii.

[A.D. 1641—1669.] HENRY KING, son of John King, Bishop of London (James the First's 'King of preachers'), descended from an ancient Devonshire family, succeeded. He was driven from his see during the civil war, when Chichester Cathedral suffered considerably, but lived to be restored on the accession of Charles II. His tomb remains at the back of the choir-screen. Bishop King was a poet of some reputation in his time; and his works have been recently collected and carefully edited. (London, 1843.)

[A.D. 1669—1675.] PETER GUNNING, Master of St. John's College, Cambridge, translated to Ely.

[A.D. 1675—1678.] RALPH BRIDEOAKE.

[A.D. 1678—1685.] GUY CARLETON.

[A.D. 1685—1689.] JOHN LAKE had borne arms as a soldier in the cause of Charles I., and was one of the seven bishops imprisoned by his son James II. He had been translated to Chichester from the sees of Sodor and Man and Bristol. Bishop Lake was one of the Nonjurors who were deprived of their sees after the Revolution of 1688.

[A.D. 1689—1691.] SIMON PATRICK, Dean of Peterborough, translated to Ely. (See that Cathedral.)

[A.D. 1691—1696.] ROBERT GROVE.

[A.D. 1696—1709.] JOHN WILLIAMS.

[A.D. 1709—1722.] THOMAS MANNINGHAM.

[A.D. 1722—1724.] THOMAS BOWERS.

[A.D. 1724—1731.] EDWARD WADDINGTON.

[A.D. 1731—1740.] FRANCIS HARE.

[A.D. 1740—1754.] MATTHIAS MAWSON.

[A.D. 1754—1798.] WILLIAM ASHBURNHAM.

[A.D. 1798—1824.] JOHN BUCKNER.

[A.D. 1824—1831.] ROBERT JAMES CARR.

[A.D. 1831—1836.] EDWARD MALTBY.

[A.D. 1836—1840.] WILLIAM OTTER.

[A.D. 1840—1842.] PHILIP SHUTTLEWORTH.

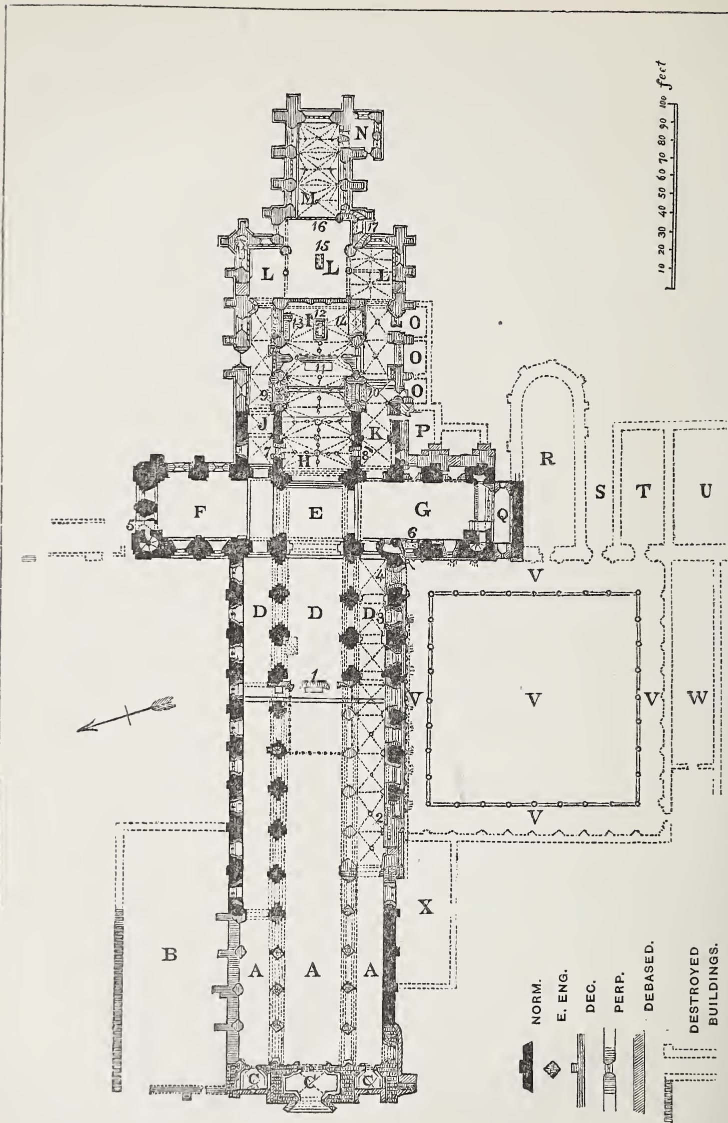
[A.D. 1842—1870.] ASHHURST T. GILBERT.

[A.D. 1870.] RICHARD DURNFORD.

ST. ALBAN'S.

FRONTISPIECE.

GENERAL VIEW FROM THE SOUTH-WEST



GROUND PLAN, ST. ALBAN'S.

ST. ALBAN'S.

REFERENCES TO GROUND PLAN.

A A A *Nave and Aisles.*
B *Foundations of St. Andrew's Chapel.*
C C C *Western Porches.*
D D D *Choir of the Monks, and aisles*
E *Central Tower.*
F *North Transept.*
G *South Transept.*
H *Presbytery.*
I *Retrochoir, or Saint's Chapel.*
J *North aisle of Presbytery.*
K *South aisle of Presbytery.*
L L L *Antechapel and aisles.*
M *Lady Chapel.*
N *Chapel of the Transfiguration.*
O O O *Foundations of Chapels.*
P *Vestry.*
Q *Slype with Norman arcade.*
R *Foundations of Chapter-house.*
S *Slype.*
T *Foundations of St. Cuthbert's Chapel.*
U *Day-room of Monks. Dormitory over.*
V V V V *Great Cloister.*
W *Site of Refectory.*
X *Locutorium or Abbot's Parlour, with small Chapel above.*

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1 *Choir Screen, called St. Cuthbert's.*
2 *Entrance to Cloister and Abbot's Parlour.*
3 *Tomb of the Hermits.*
4 *Entrance from Cloister.*
5 *Portal of N. Transept, with watching place in window above it.*
6 *Window with watching place in S. Transept.*
7, 8 *Entrances to Presbytery from aisles.*
9 *Abbot Ramryge's Chantry.*
10 *Abbot Wallingford's Chantry; generally called Wheathamstead's.*
11 *Reredos and Altar.*
12 *Base of Shrine of St. Alban.*
13 *Watching Chamber of Shrine.*
14 *Duke Humphry's Chantry.*
15 *Base of Shrine of St. Amphibalus.*
16 *Screen at entrance of Lady Chapel.*
17 *Passage from Antechapel into Lady Chapel.*

The authorities for the Architectural History of the Abbey Church of St. Alban's are, besides the 'Historia Major' of Matthew Paris, the 'Chronicles of the Monastery,' edited by H. T. Riley, Esq., for the Master of the Rolls (11 volumes), especially the three volumes entitled 'Gesta Abbatum Monasterii,' which contain a history of the abbots and the fortunes of the house from A.D. 793 to A.D. 1411. These Gesta were mainly compiled by Thomas Walsingham, Precentor of the Abbey in the reign of Richard II.

Of modern works relating to the Abbey, the most important are: 'The Abbey of St. Alban,' by the Rev. H. J. B. Nicholson, D.D., and a 'History of the Architecture of the Abbey Church of St. Alban, with special reference to the Norman Structure,' by I. C. and A. C. Buckler. The Reports on the restoration by Sir Gilbert Scott should also be mentioned, as well as an excellent description of the restoration, so far as it had advanced in 1874, by Mr. John Chapple, Sir G. G. Scott's clerk of the works at St. Alban's.

SAINT ALBAN'S.

PART I.

History and Details.

RESERVING for the Second Part the history of the foundation of St. Alban's Abbey, a description of the site, and of the earlier churches which may have stood on or near it, we come at once to the existing building, and to the history of its several portions.

A church, which can have been none other than that built by Offa of Mercia in 793, was standing in 1077; when Paul of Caen, the first Norman abbot, the friend and kinsman[a] of Lanfranc, took the place of the half-mythical Abbot Frithric. Former abbots, however, had made preparations for a great rebuilding, especially Ealdred, who, towards the close of the tenth century, destroyed the greater part of the ruins of ancient Verulamium, which had become a haunt of thieves and broken men, laying together carefully the tiles and stones from the demolished houses. These he

[a] It has been asserted that he was the son of Lanfranc, who may have been married before his monastic profession.

proposed to use in the construction of a new church[b]. But the time became troubled, and a great famine which spread over England obliged one of the succeeding abbots, Leofric, not only to disperse the treasures which he had gathered for the building of the fabric, but to sell for the support of the poor even the precious vessels belonging to the church. Paul of Caen found ready to his hand the store of tiles gathered from Verulamium, besides timber which had been prepared and laid together; and the Roman town still provided an extensive quarry. Lanfranc assisted him liberally. The Saxon church was pulled down, and much of its material was used in the new structure, which was completed by Abbot Paul in eleven years, "the vastest and sternest structure of his age[c]." The "sternness" was mainly owing to the material

[b] "Tegulas vero integras, et lapides quos invenit, aptos ad ædificia, seponens, ad fabricam ecclesiæ reservavit. Proposuit vero, si facultates suppeterent, dirutâ veteri ecclesiâ, novam construere; propter quod terram in profunditate evertit ut lapideas structuras inveniret."—*Gesta Abbatum*, i. 25.

[c] E. A. Freeman, 'Norm. Conq.,' iv. 399.

"Paulus Abbas, quum jam Abbas undecim annis extitisset, infra eosdem annos totam ecclesiam Sancti Albani, cum multis aliis ædificiis, opere construxit lateritio, Lanfranco efficaciter juvante; qui, ut dicitur, mille marcas ad fabricam contulit faciendam."—'Gesta Abbatum,' i. 53. The new church, however much it displayed the zeal of the abbot, was in some respects a monument of conquest. In building it, Abbot Paul swept away the tombs of his predecessors, declaring that they were rude and ignorant barbarians. "Tumbas venerabilium antecessorum suorum, Abbatum nobilium, quos rudes et idiotas consuevit appellare, delevit, vel contemnendo eos, quia Anglicos, vel invidendo, quia fere omnes stirpe regali vel magnatum præclaro sanguine fuerant procreati."—*G. Abbat.*, i. 62.

employed,—the flat, broad Roman tile from Verulamium. Similar tiles have been used elsewhere in this country in the construction of Christian churches. They are found, indeed, wherever the remains of a great Roman station or villa were near at hand for the builders; and the use of them is especially noticeable in such churches as that of St. Botulf's Priory at Colchester, or Brixworth in Northamptonshire. But they are nowhere applied so extensively, or made so completely the chief material of the structure, as at St. Alban's.

II. This Norman church was not dedicated until 1115; during the abbacy of Richard d'Aubeny, the successor of Paul. Henry I. and his Queen were present. There was a great concourse of nobles, bishops, and abbots, and the whole company remained feasting at St. Alban's "through Christmastide to the Epiphany." The ground-plan of the church was the same as at present; indeed, it is still for the most part the same church, from the west front to the central tower and the transepts, except that the west front was flanked by square towers. Each transept, however, opened eastward into two apsidal chapels—of which that adjoining the aisle of the presbytery projected farther to the east than the other. The presbytery was separated from its aisles by a solid wall, and ended in an apse, the chord of which was on a line with the three arches at the eastern end of what is now the feretory (see Plan). The terminations of the aisles ranged with this chord. They seem to have

been square on the outside, but rounded within, after the fashion of the aisles in the great church of Romsey, in Hampshire.

III. The church thus finished remained unaltered until the time of Abbot John de Cella (1195—1214). Early English had then been fully developed. The plain, stern, work of his predecessor seems to have been disliked by Abbot John; who, attending little, says Matthew Paris, "to that admonition of which mention is made in the Gospel, that 'he who is about to build should compute the cost,' lest 'all begin to jest at him, saying, This man began to build and was unable to finish it,'"—undertook to rebuild the western front in the new and enriched style. He dreamt, it may be, of rebuilding the whole nave. But money speedily failed him; and although he employed three architects, the three western portals alone were completed—if they were really completed—at the time of his death. What remains of his work is very admirable, and it was carried on by his successor, William of Trumpington (1215—1235), who rebuilt, at the western end of the nave, four piers, with their arches, on the south side, and three on the north. His work is excellent Early English, though it has not, in the words of Sir G. G. Scott, "the spiritual character which marks that of De Cella[d]."

IV. Whatever may have been designed, the rebuilding of the nave was not proceeded with after the death of Abbot William. Some slight changes were

[d] Report on St. Alban's Abbey, April, 1871,

perhaps made in the eastern arm of the church, but it was not until 1256—twenty years after Trumpington's death—that the next great work was undertaken. This was not in the nave. The comparatively short Norman presbytery and apse (the Norman choir was under the central tower, and extended for two bays into the nave) had probably been found inconvenient, and part of it seems to have shown some sign of weakness. At any rate, the convent determined to rebuild it; and the work was perhaps begun by Abbot John of Hertford (1235—1260), the successor of William of Trumpington. The plan involved a complete alteration of the Norman design. Nearly the whole of the presbytery, with its aisles, was rebuilt; but the apse was removed altogether, and the church was continued eastward for a considerable extent. The addition comprised, at least in plan, a continuation of the aisles for two bays, and a central, square-ended chapel projecting beyond them. Still farther eastward, but somewhat narrowed in width, there was added a Lady-chapel of three bays, also square-ended. The work thus designed brought the ground-plan of the great church to its present outline; but it was not all carried out at once. It is evident that the new building, from the western end of the presbytery to the entrance of the Lady-chapel, ranges over a period between the years 1256, when it may have been begun, and 1290. "Its style," says Sir G. G. Scott, "carries us on apparently to the last decade of the thirteenth century." The whole work is of extreme beauty; "as

perfect in art as anything which its age produced; indeed, its window-tracery is carried to higher perfection than in any other work I know[e]."

V. The foundations of the Lady-chapel were probably laid during this first period. It was not completed until the abbacy of Hugh of Eversden (1308—1326), and very rich and beautiful as it is, it is altogether inferior in "artistic sentiment"—(the expression is Sir Gilbert Scott's)—to the work westward of it. It is perhaps excelled by another work of Abbot Hugh's—the four piers, with their arches, and the triforium and clerestory above them, on the south side of the nave, east of those rebuilt by Abbot Trumpington. Either his alterations, or some insecure foundation, had rendered that part of the nave so weak that it fell, and was thus rebuilt under Hugh of Eversden. The apsidal chapels opening eastward from the south transept were removed in the fourteenth century to make way for a large sacristy, which has disappeared in its turn; and the corresponding chapels in the north transept were also removed, but at what period is uncertain.

These are the great architectural changes of the church. Much of the walls of the Norman nave, the great Norman arcade on the north side, with the exception of four bays; four bays on the south side; the central tower with its lofty arches, and the transepts which open from it, remain as they were built by Paul of Caen, and show us some of the earliest Norman

[e] Report, ut sup.

work in this country. We may be thankful that either the want of funds or the strength of the building saved thus much of it from transformation or reconstruction. The changes begun by John of Cella, and completed by Hugh of Eversden, supply us with examples of the highest beauty and value, ranging from the first development of Early English to the perfection of Decorated. But these, if not to be exceeded, may at least be paralleled elsewhere. The massive Norman work has a special interest of its own; and the material of which it is for the most part composed, carries us back through another range of centuries to the time of the Cæsars, and to that of St. Alban himself.

VI. It is not so pleasant to trace the later fortunes of the building. Changes had been wrought in it, by no means for the better, during the Perpendicular period. The walls of the nave-aisles were lowered, and their roofs flattened; so that the backs of the Norman triforia were exposed, and their openings were thus converted into windows. Perpendicular windows also were inserted in the western and in the transept fronts. At, and after, the dissolution of the abbey much of the more delicate work throughout the interior was greatly injured. The two shrines—those of St. Alban and St. Amphibalus—were removed, and their richly-sculptured bases were purposely smashed and shattered. The church itself remained in the hands of the Crown until 1553, when the main body of it was granted, for £400, to the mayor and bur-

gesses, "to be the parish church of the borough, for the inhabitants of the late parish of St. Andrew;" and they were also empowered to establish a grammar-school within the ancient Lady-chapel. For this purpose the arches at the east end of the feretory, and the aisles in a line with them, were walled up; precious fragments of all sorts, and especially portions of the shrine-bases, being used for the walling. East of this wall an open passage was formed, quite through the church, so as to allow of an independent approach to the Lady-chapel, which became the school. The beautiful outer chapels, which formed a sort of retrochoir and led towards the Lady-chapel, were thus opened, and speedily fell into decay. The windows were unglazed, and the boys of the grammar-school "age after age amused themselves by cutting the soft stone of the beautiful arcading with their knives." The cost of keeping the body of so vast a church in repair was necessarily great, and royal briefs were granted for collections throughout the country, "to preserve so ancient a monument and memorable witness," by James I., Charles II., William and Mary, George I., and George III. In 1832, collections were made, chiefly in the county of Hertford, for the same purpose, and some repairs and real improvements were effected under the direction of Mr. Cottingham. But most serious structural failures, which threatened the actual safety of the building, were at that time either unsuspected, or the arrest of them involved a far greater outlay than it was then possible

to provide for. In 1856 a meeting was held at St. Alban's, under the presidency of the Earl of Verulam, the Lord Lieutenant of the county, "to consider the best means of restoring and upholding the Abbey Church, and of obtaining for it the dignity of a cathedral." The latter object was found, at that time, to be unattainable. Subscriptions were accordingly invited for the repair of the building, and the work was then placed in the hands of Sir (then Mr.) G. G. Scott. A plot of ground closely adjoining the north side of the church, on which it was intended to build cottages, was bought, and that desecration was prevented. The walls on that side were opened to their original level, the earth having accumulated against them to the height of nearly ten feet in places. These walls were underpinned and repaired, drains were made, and the roof of the north nave-aisle was renewed throughout. These, however, were comparatively slight matters: and repairs of a similar character were in progress when, in 1870, a pier on the north side of the presbytery showed signs of so great insecurity, that Sir Gilbert Scott was desired to make a personal inspection, and to report on the condition of the church. It was then found that the continued existence of much of the building, and especially of the great tower, had been little short of marvellous. The tower is the heaviest in the kingdom. An attempt, to all appearance, to destroy it, had been made at some period later than the dissolution; and a cave, or hole, sufficiently large for a man to

creep into, had been worked into the foundation of the south-east pier[f]. Other sources of serious danger were discovered. Subscriptions were raised throughout the country to meet the cost of repair, and from that time (1871) to the present (1876) a faithful and satisfactory restoration of the great Abbey Church has been in progress. The church has thus been gradually preparing itself to become the cathedral of a new diocese. The difficulties which in 1856 seemed to be insurmountable, have happily disappeared, and St. Alban's is about to become the place of a bishop's see, whose diocese will comprise the whole of Hertfordshire and a great part of Essex.

VII. The restoration which has so far been effected embraces the entire repair of the tower, which has been rendered perfectly safe: the repair and restoration of both transepts, the careful restoration of the presbytery with its aisles, and the refitting, or building together, of the fragments of the base of St. Alban's shrine, found during the progress of these great works. Some of these works, and especially those connected with the central tower, presented unusual difficulties,

[f] "Some decayed pieces of wood found in this hole had evidently been used as props. . . . It is recorded that this mode of rapidly destroying large buildings was in some instances resorted to, and that when the excavations had been made to the very verge of safety for the operators, the wooden props inserted were fired, and as they became consumed the whole structure collapsed from its superincumbent weight."—*John Chapple:* 'The Restoration of the Abbey of St. Alban,' a paper read before the St. Alban's Archit. and Archæol. Soc., January, 1874. Mr. Chapple has acted as Clerk of the Works at St. Alban's throughout the restoration; and it is mainly due to his knowledge and exertion that the base of the shrine has been recovered and built up.

and were carried through at considerable risk. They will best be described in considering the divisions of the church to which they belong.

VIII. In the meantime the Grammar School had been removed from the Lady-chapel, into a new building. It thus became possible to reunite all the eastern portion of the Abbey Church with the presbytery and feretory; and a committee of ladies, at the head of which was the Marchioness of Salisbury, was formed for the purpose of providing means for the restoration of the Lady-chapel, and the beautiful group of chapels which adjoin it. The public passage through that part of the church has been stopped, although it still remains open below the level of the pavement. The restoration is (1876) rapidly progressing; and among other interesting discoveries already made, are portions of the base of the shrine of St. Amphibalus, which stood in this retrochoir. These fragments have been built up in the same manner as those of the base in the feretory.

It only remains to add that a considerable portion of the south wall of the nave, towards the west, has given way to such an extent, that measures have been taken to secure its immediate safety; whilst it will probably be found necessary to rebuild it altogether. This mischief has been caused by a great accumulation of earth and rubbish on the site of the ancient cloisters, the level of which is 5 feet below the present surface. The consequent wet has sapped the foundations of the aisle walls.

IX. We have thus brought the history of the church to the present time, and may proceed to examine it in detail. We begin by describing the general character of the whole of the remaining work of Abbot Paul. This is so completely the same throughout, that to point out the method of construction of one part of the Norman church is to do so for all the rest.

The whole of the materials for the Norman church (except the timber) was brought, as has been said, from the ruined Roman town of Verulamium, on the opposite side of the valley. They consisted of tiles, of flint, and of masses of stone. These were all used in the new building; but the tiles greatly preponderate above the foundations. They are used in these also, but with a much larger admixture of flint. The tiles are for the most part of one size, and measure 16 inches by 12, with a thickness of an inch and a-half. Every part of the Norman church—the great piers, the arches, the staircases, the towers—was constructed of these materials, and mainly of tiles. It was the almost exclusive use of them which gave, and gives, to the building its plain and almost stern character. The workmen who were raising it had before their eyes a distinct Roman model in the walls, chambers, and vaults which were destroyed at Verulamium; and they used the material brought thence in much the same manner as the original Roman builders had used them. Thus the Roman method of forming the walls in layers of brick and flint is imitated in

the main, although the system is not followed with extreme regularity. The tiles are generally laid in courses, which extend quite through the wall. The flint is for the most part arranged in thicknesses between the courses, and only now and then passes through to the inside of the wall; indeed, it is often a mere facing. Masses and courses of rough stone do occur, but rarely. The main horizontal cornices throughout the interior are formed of two courses of brick; but the imposts of all the principal arches are of stone, wrought for their situations. Stone is also occasionally employed in the small windows of the transept turrets, and in the abacus mouldings of other windows and arches. It occurs also in some of the exterior cornices. All the tile-work is built with little attention to exactness; and the joints are generally so broad that, "after comparison in various places, it has been ascertained that nearly an equal quantity of tile and of mortar enters into the composition of the walls. . . . . The deep joints seem never to have been compressed by the weight of the courses which were successively added to the walls, and the probability is that the mortar set or hardened as quickly as the cement of modern days. The process of building was by no means rapid; not more than an average of 7 feet in height all round the church having been erected in the course of one year[g]." The roughness of finish in the whole work was of the less con-

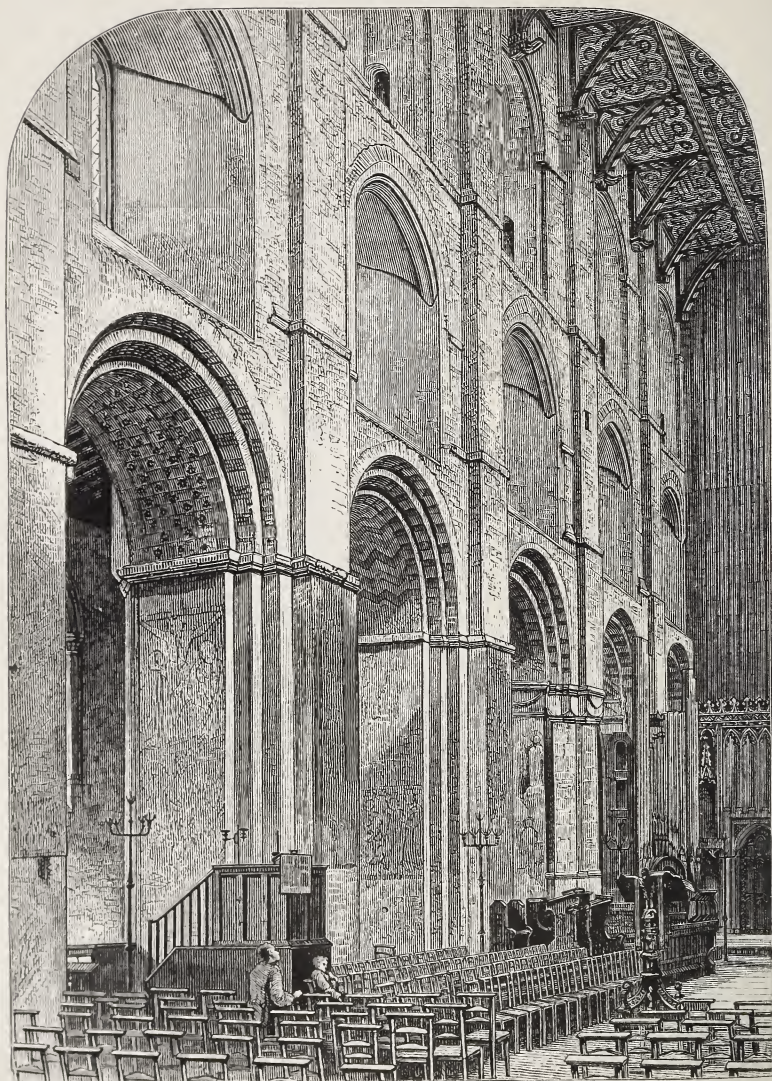
[g] Buckler's 'Abbey Church of St. Alban' (London, 1847), pp. 25, 26.

sequence, because the entire church, outside and inside, was covered with a casing of cement, prepared with gravel or sand. This is the "dealbatio" which is occasionally mentioned in the descriptions of early buildings. It may have been, in part, a Roman fashion; and Wilfrith (who brought Roman builders into Northumbria), when he restored the first Minster at York, in the year 669, is said to have "rendered its walls whiter than snow[h]." Thus the vast whitened church of St. Alban must have resembled a huge mountain of snow. This exterior covering has almost entirely disappeared; and the brickwork, exposed to the weather, has a certain rough appearance. Until the present restoration, the central tower received an occasional renewal of the plaster; but all trace of it has now been removed; the external tiles have been carefully trimmed; and although its present appearance is not that which was designed by the architect of Abbot Paul, the change is altogether for the better, and we are enabled to trace clearly the method in which the Roman material was used.

It may be noted that a cement of the same character as that used for covering the walls, occasionally served for the finish of abacus mouldings.

The foundations of the Norman building are carried down to unequal levels, varying from six to twelve feet. Those of the tower, where the ground was firmer, are not sunk more than four feet below the

[h] "Parietes quoque lavans, super nivem dealbavit."—*Eddius, Vita Wilfridi*, 50.



PART OF NAVE

level of the church. They are for the most part of flint, bonded with tile. The piers of the nave arcade stand on square masses, exceeding the measure of their own area; and they are connected by foundation-walls of considerable thickness.

X. In the *nave* proper, extending from the western piers of the central tower to the west front, there are thirteen bays. But three of these bays were included in the choir of the monks; and the screen now known as St. Cuthbert's separates them from the rest of the nave. The central tower, the transepts, and the three bays east of this screen, included in the choir, are all Norman. In the nave, west of St. Cuthbert's screen, the main arcade of five bays alone, on the north side, remains as Abbot Paul built it; and in these bays the triforium and clerestory have undergone alterations. This, too, has been the case with the bays east of the screen, and included in the choir; but still the complete Norman design is to be readily traced [Plate I.]. The massive piers which divide the bays are square-edged, a form better suited than circular pillars for the Roman tile, of which they are built. A plain, flat, buttress-like pilaster runs to the top. The plinth consists of seven courses of tile on a layer of cement. The arches, quite plain, recede in three orders; all have impost mouldings. The triforium arches, and those of the clerestory, resembled in the main those below them; but the triforium arch was somewhat narrower, and less lofty, than that of the great arcade; and the clerestory arch, although again narrower, was

higher. These portions, however, divide the height into three nearly equal parts; and severely plain as are the forms, nothing can well be grander or more impressive. The four great arches of the tower, of which the general character is the same, are especially striking; and their unadorned dignity would have been ill exchanged for even the magnificence of such a lantern as that of Ely. The cornice at the foot of the clerestory is carried round these piers. The height from the pavement to this cornice is 43 feet 2 inches. The crown of the arch rises 12 feet 6 inches higher.

XI. The Norman work of the *transepts* is of the same description. But there is one feature here which calls for special attention; this is the use, in some of the eastern triforium arches of the south transept, and in one arch of the north, of those peculiar ringed and bulging baluster shafts which are generally accepted as marking very early work, and which, where they occur in the North of England, as at Jarrow and Wearmouth, are undoubtedly Saxon. The balusters here are complete in shaft, capital, and base; but Norman capitals have been added to them; and the bases are made to rest on plinths of tile. They were certainly brought from some earlier building, and there can be little or no doubt that this building was the Saxon church raised by Offa, and destroyed by Abbot Paul. These shafts, therefore, add not a little to the interest of the existing church, since they represent, and are actual portions of, that which was raised on

the same site immediately after the Invention of the Martyr's relics.

XII. We return to the *nave;* and may now examine in due order that, and the other divisions of the church.

At the *west front*, through the central porch of which we enter the nave, we are met by the changes of Abbot John de Cella (1195—1214). These were the first changes in the Norman building. The west front of Abbot Paul's church was flanked by massive square towers, opening from the last bays of the aisles, and projecting slightly beyond the wall of the front. Of the character of the actual front we have no evidence. But the towers must have given great dignity to it, and must have grouped well with the central tower, besides affording a fitting termination to the great length of the nave. John de Cella removed this front altogether, taking down the towers, and the wall, with its portals, between them[i]. He removed also about two feet of the Norman foundations, and planned his new work so that there might be an ascent of several steps from the first bay of the nave, within the porches, to the level of the remainder. He designed three porches of great beauty, much enriched with Purbeck shafts, some of which were set in double rows round a central pillar; one row appearing in the intervals left by the other. He intended also to rebuild the towers. If the work had been carried out, the west

[i] "Murum frontis ecclesiæ nostræ . . . . veteribus tegulis et cæmento indissolubili compactum."—*Gest. Abbat.*

front of St. Alban's would have been as fine as anything in this country. But, whether from the great cost, or from some unknown reason, it did not prosper. When William of Trumpington (1214—1235) succeeded Abbot John, he found the whole in a very imperfect condition; and, except in the centre, it had not been carried up to any considerable height. He proceeded to complete it (without the towers), but in a much less perfect and costly fashion; and he also rebuilt or reconstructed five bays on the south side of the nave, and four on the north.

John of Cella removed the Norman wall altogether. William of Trumpington, in reconstructing these bays of the nave, removed the clerestory and triforium stages, together with the arches of the main arcade; but he left the great piers standing, and only reduced them sufficiently to allow of their adaptation to the new design. The Norman tile-work is still visible at the bases of many of the piers. The piers themselves are cased with Tottenhoe stone. They are less bulky, and less evidently cased, than the Norman piers of Winchester Cathedral, since the tiles of which they are composed are more trustworthy than the rubble which forms the usual Norman core. The piers are octagonal, with attached shafts; and they retain something of Norman heaviness. The triforium and clerestory stages, where there was no Norman work to be dealt with, have all the gracefulness of Early English. There was here nothing to prevent the use of detached columns; and they occur accordingly, but of Tottenhoe

stone, and not of the Purbeck introduced by Abbot John. The triforium has in each bay two arches, enclosed within an outer arch, with a rich quatrefoil in the tympanum. The string below the triforium, and the mouldings between the shafts, are enriched with dogtooth. The clerestory above has two lights in each bay, with plain mouldings and capitals. The walling at the back of the triforium was introduced when the steep roofs of the aisles were removed in the Perpendicular period.

It was at first intended that this new portion of the nave should have been groined; and slender detached shafts, with foliated capitals, occur between each bay, but terminate under the string of the triforium. This plan was, however, abandoned, and the shafts were left incomplete. The clerestory thus consists of an uniform series of lights, and is not divided into bays. Besides this change in his own work, William of Trumpington abandoned the earlier design, which proposed a lower level for the westernmost bay. He filled up again the ground which had been excavated, covering in the bases of Abbot John's porches, and of the arches into the towers on either side.

XIII. Trumpington, as has been said, completed the porches of John de Cella. But there had probably been, from the beginning, a serious defect in the foundations; and the whole range of building, at some time toward the end of the fourteenth century, was found to be in so dangerous a condition, that the front of the great central porch was taken down, and

the present massive wall and arch set up as an abutment to the older work. The porches of the aisles, which were greatly dilapidated, were, either then or at a later time, closed with solid walls; and they are now only to be entered from the nave. The beautiful work which remains in them, however, should not be missed by the architectural student.

The western towers were never rebuilt. The arch, which was constructed by John de Cella as the opening from the aisle into the south tower, remains built up in the wall. The opposite wall is built up with fragments designed for a similar arch.

XIV. The *aisles* of the Norman church were not uniformly vaulted. The western bays had vaults, but those farther east were covered with a flat wooden roof. "On the summits of the capitals in the north and south aisles are to be seen the springers of the arches of the original brick-vaulting, hemmed in by the beautiful mouldings of a subsequent period; the Norman arches, of which these are the fragments, extended across the aisles to the wall piers, and were reduced to their present irregular shape that they might be made as little unsightly as possible[h]." The aisles were vaulted by Trumpington, as far as his work extended. In the untouched Norman portion of the aisles it should be observed that the wall was never provided with pier-shafts; and the buttresses of the clerestory descend through the roof, and rest upon the impost-moulding of the arches opening to the nave

[k] Buckler's 'St. Alban's,' p. 100.

and choir. "The arch which separated the vaulted portion of the Norman aisle from the timber roof eastward remains, with the dressings in stone conferred upon it at the time at which the former was altered[1]."

The sharp manner in which Abbot William's work is made to unite itself with the Norman bays eastward of it deserves attention. There is no attempt to conceal the point of junction, "or in any respect to harmonise the figure of the supports thus brought together." On the south side the great block of the Norman pier is allowed to project between the work of Abbot William and that of Abbot Roger of Norton, which are brought up close to it on either side. The difference in the number of the bays reconstructed on the two sides of the nave is perhaps to be accounted for by the position of an important altar west of the last remaining Norman pier on the north side. Reverence for this altar may have prevented the removal of the pier.

The great western window was inserted by Abbot John of Wheathamstead (1420—1440). It is Perpendicular, of an ordinary type, and is, like the west window of Winchester Cathedral, little more than a stone grating. Trumpington's completion of John de Cella's design had two tiers of lancets, and there was a broad lancet over each of the side porches.

Before leaving this part of the nave, attention should be called to the bases of piers, which are exposed in

[1] Buckler's 'St. Alban's,' p. 102.

the lower part of the wall of the north aisle, extending throughout the four westernmost bays. These were the piers of an arcade which opened to St. Andrew's Chapel, —a parochial chapel which seems to have been destroyed at the dissolution. The foundations of it were uncovered in 1860–1; and it then became evident that the chapel had formed a long parallelogram, extending eastward for two bays beyond those in which the piers are shown. (These foundations are marked B in the Plan.) The arcade was walled up when the chapel was destroyed, and the absence of windows in this part of the aisle is thus accounted for.

XV. We come now to the reconstruction of the five easternmost bays on the south side of the nave. This was begun by Abbot Hugh of Eversden (1308—1326), toward the end of whose time, in 1323, we are told that "while the mass of the Virgin was in celebration, many men and women being present, suddenly two great columns on the south side of the church fell to the ground with a great noise and crash. In an hour after, all the roof and the beams of the south part, and nearly all the cloister fell[m]." The restoration of this part of the church and of the cloister was completed by Abbot Michael of Mentmore (1335—1349). Although we must certainly understand by the "two great columns" two of the main piers of the nave, it

[m] Nicholson's 'Abbey of St. Alban,' from the Cottonian MSS., Claudius, E. 4. 'Acts of the Abbots from Willegod to Thomas de la Marc;' and Nero, D. 7. 'Catalogue of Benefactors,' &c. See 'Gesta Abbatum,' ii. 128.

would seem that the others remained firm, and that the tiles in those that fell were used again in the building of the new piers, since it is evident that, to some extent at least, the same method of construction was adopted here that had been used for Trumpington's work,—that is, the Norman core was cased with stone. At any rate, the ruin led to the rebuilding of these five bays. The Norman pier between Trumpington's work and the new construction of Abbot Hugh "retains both facing pilasters, one ascending to the roof of the nave, the other giving support to the arch which crosses the aisle." The Decorated work, very rich as it is, shows, nevertheless, that Trumpington's earlier design had somewhat influenced it. The main plan of the piers remains nearly the same. The arch-mouldings differ, and there are finely-sculptured heads of king, queen, bishop, and abbot at the intersections. The general design of the triforium is also the same, but open lilies are used instead of the dog-tooth, and in some of the mouldings these are made to alternate with a peculiar ball flower. It should be remarked that some of the open lilies are larger than the others, and that where the flowers are laid in between the shafts they are alternately raised and sunk. This was, no doubt, in order to give effect to the whole ornament as seen from below, which it does without unpleasantly catching the eye. The secondary arches of the triforium are foliated. The ornament in the tympanum is a trefoil. There are heads at the junctions of the outer mouldings, and sculptured shields of arms occur

at the base of the triforium string-course, immediately over the junction of each bay, and above the heads already mentioned. These shields are—that assigned to Mercia (for Offa); those of England, Edward the Confessor, and the Abbey of St. Alban.

In the *aisle*, the work throughout these five bays is of the same character. It is clear that the aisle-wall fell in 1323 together with the cloister, and was certainly rebuilt. The windows are high in the wall, since the cloister extended below them. The small heads which terminate the string under the three recesses, into which the windows are prolonged, should be noticed. The vault, carried on clustered shafts, is quadripartite, with bosses of leafage. In the fourth bay west of St. Cuthbert's screen, is a square opening in the wall (marked 2 in the Plan), leading into a narrow passage which passed westward, by a flight of steps, into a parlour (locutorium), with the abbot's chapel above it; and eastward, by three or four steps, into the western walk of the great cloister. In the wall of the abbot's chapel was a small opening which commanded several altars in the church. In the same manner, at Canterbury, a recess in the Prior's chapel contained an opening which allowed a person, unseen himself, to assist at masses said at the altars in the north transept of the cathedral.

XVI. It is unnecessary to notice farther in this place the Norman portions of the nave, since the general description already given (§§ IX., X.) applies to them. But there remain to be described the

paintings on the great piers, and the roof. The distemper paintings on the west front of the six Norman piers were uncovered by the Rev. Dr. Nicholson, rector from 1835 to 1866. He caused the whitewash to be removed from these piers, and found that the subject represented on nearly all was the Crucifixion, with St. John and the Blessed Virgin. There may have been an altar beneath each of these representations, but this is uncertain, and there is no record of any such altars in the 'Annotationes' appended to John of Amundesham's 'Annals.'[n] The paintings are not all of the same date. Beginning with the sixth, or westernmost pier, is the figure of our Lord, crowned, on a cross coloured green, and taking the form of a tree; the cross "raguly" of the heralds. At the sides are St. Mary and St. John; and below is the Annunciation. (In the middle of the design a small stone bracket of Perpendicular character has been inserted, which supported a figure of St. Richard of Chichester.) This is the earliest painting, and may date from the beginning of the thirteenth century. On the south side of the same pier is St. Christopher carrying our Lord. The fifth pier has the same subjects on the western face, with a similar cross. The background is sprinkled with hexafoils. This, too, belongs to the early years of the same century. On the south side is a figure of

[n] These 'Annotationes,' which give a list of the altars, monuments, and sites of tombs in the Abbey Church, were written about 1428. The document is contained in the first volume of John of Amundesham's 'Annals,' which form a portion of the 'Chronica Monasterii S. Albani,' edited for the Master of the Rolls' series.

St. Thomas of Canterbury. On the fourth pier, with the same subjects, the cross is plain, and the work is later. There is an unknown female figure on the south side, which, from the dress, must have been painted about the year 1440. On the third pier is our Lord alone, on a plain cross. Below is the Annunciation. On the south side are the figures of William Tod and his wife, who were buried in this part of the church. He was the abbot's bailiff, and died after 1438. The second pier shows our Lord on the Cross, with the Coronation of the Virgin below. On the last, or easternmost pier, are the remains of a large figure representing the Saviour in glory.

XVIII. The flat wooden ceiling of the nave, as it now exists, is possibly of the Decorated period; but there can be no doubt that it represents, with slight difference of detail, the original inner covering of the Norman nave. It is not so early as the ceiling of the nave of Peterborough Cathedral; nor is the design which it bears so remarkable as is there retained. The Peterborough ceiling is clearly of the twelfth century. This is very much later; but, like that, it preserves the fashion by which, in the earlier Norman period, any wide space, nave, transept, or choir, was covered-in. The ceiling is painted with octagonal panels, having leaves at the cusps, and small figures of lions in the spaces between. In the centre of each panel is the monogram I. H. S. The ground is green, the lions red, and the leaf-cusping white. When examined from the clerestory it is evident that this pattern is

laid on an earlier one, in which the design was the same, but the panels were smaller.

The nave was rich in brasses and in monuments of benefactors to the abbey, and of its various officers. All these have disappeared. One memorial, against the second pier from the west, on the north side, calls for notice. It is that of Sir John Mandeville, the famous traveller, and the inscription runs as follows:—

> "Siste gradum properans, requiescit Mandevil urnâ
> Hic humili; norunt et monumenta mori."

> "Lo, in this Inn of Travellers doth lie
> One rich in nothing but in memory;
> His name was Sir John Mandeville; content,
> Having seen much, with a final continent,
> Toward which he travelled ever since his birth
> And at last pawned his body for y[t] earth
> Which by a Statute must in morgage be
> Till a Redeemer come to set it free."

Mandeville was a native of St. Alban's, but, in spite of this monument, there is some doubt whether he was buried here. Weever asserts (writing in 1631) that he saw the tomb of Mandeville in the church of the Guilliamites at Liège, and that it bore the date of November 16, 1371. That church exists no longer, and nothing is now known of the tomb. The inscription at St. Alban's dates from about 1622.

Against the easternmost pier of the nave, on the south side, is an inscription for John Jones, "Wallus," "Scholæ S. Albanensis hypodidascalus literatissimus; qui dum ecclesia hæc, A°. 1684, publicis impensis instauraretur, exculpsit sibi quoque monumentum, quod

inscripsit 'Fanum Sancti Albani,' poema carmine heroico, hoc lapide, hac etiam æde, ævoque perennius omni. Obiit anno 1686." Of this 'monumentum' not a single copy appears to be in existence.

XVIII. The *screen* which divides the nave from the choir of the monks has become generally known as the *screen* or *Chapel of St. Cuthbert.* At what time this name was first applied to the screen is uncertain. It would seem that, at some comparatively recent period, the description of an altar dedicated to St. Cuthbert in the time of Abbot Trumpington came to be considered as referring to this screen and altar. But it is expressly said that the altar raised by that abbot was connected with the 'hostria,' or hostel, of the convent, and consequently it can have had nothing to do with the great church. In spite of this, many antiquaries have insisted on placing this altar in the nave, and have exercised much ingenuity in attempting to reconcile the ancient description with the position and character of the screen, which there is no reason whatever for connecting with the name of St. Cuthbert.

This screen is simply the pulpitum dividing the choir of the monks from that portion of the church which was designed for the general use of the people. It is a very fine work of the later Decorated period, and was probably erected at the same time as the southern piers and arches were reconstructed. In the centre is the altar of the Holy Cross, with a door on either side, opening to the choir, eastward. On the

north side is a smaller altar, which, it has been suggested, may have been an "altare animarum," at which masses were celebrated for the dead. The whole is in white clunch stone, and the tabernacle work is very rich and of great beauty. The ground is formed of minute open flowers. The whole screen (which at one time crossed the aisles, and thus completely shut off the eastern portion of the church) deserves careful attention. It possibly supported a small organ; but it is certain that it never carried the rood or the rood-beam. This crossed the church a short distance to the east of the screen, and supported the usual great crucifix, with the figures of the Virgin and St. John. It was sufficiently near to the screen for the altars in front of the latter to be described as "coram sancta cruce," and "sub cruce." The rood towered to the roof, and was visible from all parts of the nave.

XIX. We pass up the south aisle, beyond the screen, into the south transept. In the central bay of this aisle, in the south wall, is a foiled arch, marking the burial-place of two hermits, Roger and Sigar, both of whom lived during the abbacy of Geoffrey of Gorham (1119—1146)[o]. The door in the next bay was the abbot's entrance from the east walk of the cloister. It is very rich late Decorated work, and of great beauty. The foliation of the inner arch, the lines of leaf ornament in the hollow moulding, and the

[o] Roger, who lived for a long time in a hermitage near Dunstable, became a monk in the Abbey of St. Alban's. Sigar was a hermit in the wood of Northaw. The lives of both hermits are given in the 'Gesta Abbatum,' vol. i.

cresting, all deserve attention. At each side is a bracket and canopied recess for a figure.

The Norman work of the central tower—the transept, and the three bays of the constructional nave which were included in the monastic choir—has already (§§ X., XI.) been generally described. The simple grandeur of Abbot Paul's building is nowhere more evident than in this part of the church; although here, as in the nave, the upper divisions of the bays have undergone change, except in one instance—the bay nearest to the western arch of the tower.

Above the great arches of the tower is an arcade, with three openings on each side. Above, again, on all four sides, are two window openings. This forms the lantern. The ceiling displays the Roses of York and Lancaster. The construction of all this upper part of the tower will better be understood from above. (See § XXXI.) The view from the back of the (so-called) St. Cuthbert's screen, looking through the tower arches to the massive screen which separated the presbytery from the place of the shrine, is striking. The stalls of the monks occupied the space from the western screen to the eastern arch of the tower. A light screen of wood seems to have crossed at the eastern end of the stalls, and to have separated the choir from the presbytery. A screen, occupying a similar position, still exists in the Cathedral of St. David's. At St. Alban's, the end of the upper portion of this screen remains imbedded in the centre of the tower pier, on the south side. This was not the pul-

pitum or the rood-loft proper; which was distinct from this screen, and from the beam which carried the actual rood. The gallery of the rood-loft crossed the church level with the triforium; and its north end terminated in the only unmutilated Norman bay remaining. This bay still contains a large horizontal beam cut with three mortices, into which beams must have been fitted, which helped to support the gallery.

The restoration (1875), conducted by Sir G. G. Scott, has brought back all this portion of the church to a condition, not only of safety, but of great order and beauty. The ancient colouring, so far as it was possible to ascertain it, has been re-applied. The tile-work of the walls and piers was originally, as has been said, covered with plaster. The whitened surface of this was marked with red lines, so as to suggest blocks of stone. The orders of the great arches are coloured in blocks of red and white alternately. The main arcade is red and yellow, with a zigzag pattern in the soffete of the arch. The roof is of late character.

The level of the tower is two steps above that of the nave west of it. The tiles which cover the space of the tower have been designed from ancient examples found in the church.

XX. The *south transept* is especially noticeable for the antique baluster shafts which appear in the arches of the triforium on the eastern side. These have already (§ XI.) been described, and it has been pointed out that they belonged, in all probability, to the Saxon

Church of Offa. In its original condition the *north* transept had, in its main front, two windows below, a triforial passage, not lighted from without, and two windows in the clerestory stage above. (The original completion of the transeptal gables will be pointed out, *post*, § XXXIII.) The south transept resembled this, except that there were no windows in the lower stage, since the conventual buildings abutted against this front. In the fifteenth century, a large Perpendicular window was inserted in the front of each transept. These windows have been carefully restored.

A change was made in the west wall of the *south* transept, by Abbot William of Trumpington (1214—1235). In the principal apse which opened from the eastern wall of the transept (as that was at first constructed), was an altar of the Virgin. The light in the transept was feeble, owing to the great space of blank wall on the south side. Abbot William constructed two windows on the west side, high in the wall, so as to be above the cloister which ranged without. These windows, with their short side shafts, and arches which rise into the triforium, remain; and below, adjoining the arch which opens to the aisle, is a small window (in its present condition of later date, but at first inserted by the same abbot) which opened from a watching-chamber in which a monk was stationed so as to command the several altars in the transept. The apse on the eastern side was swept away at some later period, to provide room for a large sacristy. This again was removed, and a square

recess in the wall alone remained, in which was an altar dedicated to St. Stephen. The adjoining apse, northward, underwent similar changes; the altar there was that of St. John the Evangelist. The present cupboard-like arrangement is not more ancient than 1721.

In the *north transept* the eastern apses were removed at some unknown period, and no building replaced them. The altars here were those of—(in the northernmost apse) the Holy Trinity, St. Sythe or St. Osyth, and the Holy Cross of Pity. On the wall adjoining this last altar are the remains of a painting representing the Incredulity of St. Thomas. In the north front, above a small door which opened to what seems to have been a sacristy (foundations of which have been discovered), one of the round-headed Norman windows has been walled up halfway in front, and was apparently made to serve as the window of a watching-chamber for this transept. The wall and splay of the window have been ornamented with a pattern of vine-leaves and cluster of grapes [p].

[p] The restoration of the transepts was begun in March, 1872. The levels were first lowered to the original lines (the south transept had been filled up two feet all over its area, thereby giving the doorways a grotesque appearance); the vaults and floors were concreted to a great depth, in order to obtain proper solidity, and to give stability to the whole of the foundations. "The walls of both transepts were found to be much shattered. . . . The rents and fissures were treated. . . . by the insertion of bond stones, run with liquid cement, and secured with iron-work; and each transept was screwed together with strong bolts in every direction thought to be necessary. The roofs and ceilings were carefully restored. . . The seventeenth-century painting of each ceiling was touched and

The roofs of both transepts are flat, and, like that of the nave, no doubt represent the Norman constructions, although of much later date. The painting of both seems to have been renewed, if it was not entirely designed, in the sixteenth century. In the centre of the ceiling of the north transept, the Martyrdom of St. Alban is represented with no great artistic skill. The arms of the Duke of Somerset occur here with an augmentation granted to the Seymours on the marriage of Henry VIII. with Lady Jane Seymour in 1536; so that this part of the painting, at least, must be of later date than that year.

A staircase in the south-west angle of the south transept leads upward to the tower. (See § XXXI.) Adjoining that transept, south, is a slype, or passage leading from the cloister eastward, of late Norman character and enriched. (See § XXXII.)

XXI. The *presbytery*, which occupies the space eastward of the tower, between that and the great reredos, has undergone considerable change at different periods. As at first built by Abbot Paul, there was a solid wall on either side from the tower as far as what is now the eastern end of the retrochoir or "Saint's Chapel." That point was the chord of the eastern apse which

renewed where necessary; and the representation of the Martyrdom of St. Alban was brought to light in the ceiling of the north transept, over the spot where it is traditionally believed that the martyrdom of the saint took place. Two Norman windows, and the north door, were opened in the north transept; and in the south transept the windows of Abbot Trumpington, which had been blocked, were opened and restored."—*The Restoration of the Abbey of St. Alban's*, by John Chapple, Clerk of the Works.

terminated the church. When Abbot John of Hertford began his alteration of all this part of the church (see § IV.), he did not entirely remove the wall. A portion of it, together with the corresponding walls of the aisles, was left standing, as far as the third bay of the presbytery on either side (the eastern sides, that is, of the chantries of Abbots Wheathamstead and Ramryge). From that point eastward the Norman walls were pulled entirely down, and the work is new from the foundations. In the bay adjoining the tower, the Norman wall was pierced on either side, so as to afford an entrance from the aisles. "Within the triforium, on either side, still appear the Norman walls as they were left at the period of the alteration of this part of the church; very irregular in point of height, and mutilated with an unsparing hand wherever space was wanted for the addition of any portion of the new work[q]."

This new work is of one general design as far as the eastern end of the retrochoir or Saint's chapel; but although it was certainly begun by John of Hertford, it would seem, from certain changes in the style, that the whole was in progress until at least the end of the thirteenth century (see *post*, § XXVIII). In the presbytery we see the beginning of the new work, and here it is pure Early English. The manner in which the central shaft of the pier dies into the arch-moulding, without any capital, should be noticed. Above the piers is a triforium passage (Norman, as we

[q] Buckler's 'St. Alban's,' p. 59.

have seen, in the western bays), and above is a clerestory, entirely Early English; since the Norman wall was taken down to the top of the triforium. The massive heaviness of the Norman work was thus made to disappear altogether in the remodelled presbytery, and an extreme grace was given to it by the beautiful portals, surmounted by tabernacle work, which were added to the Norman wall on either side. These, judging from their details, were additions of a period somewhat later than Hertford's time. Nothing of them was visible before the late (1875) restoration; but in examining the wall on the south side the fragments of the structure over the portal were found built up in the portal itself. They were carefully put together, and the whole was reconstructed, and replaced under Sir Gilbert Scott's direction. Some blocks on the north side of the presbytery indicated that a similar structure had existed there, and portions of it were found imbedded in the north screen of the Saint's chapel. These fragments were used in the portal which now opens from the north side; but the greater part of that, with the tabernacle work above it, is entirely new, and is a copy of the opposite structure. Figures probably stood in the main arches of the canopy. The portals themselves are recasings of the Norman arches, which, in the first (Abbot Paul's) design, communicated with the apsidal chapels projecting from the transepts.

The superb *reredos* [Plate II.] which divides the presbytery from the retrochoir was the work of Abbot

REREDOS IN PRESBYTERY

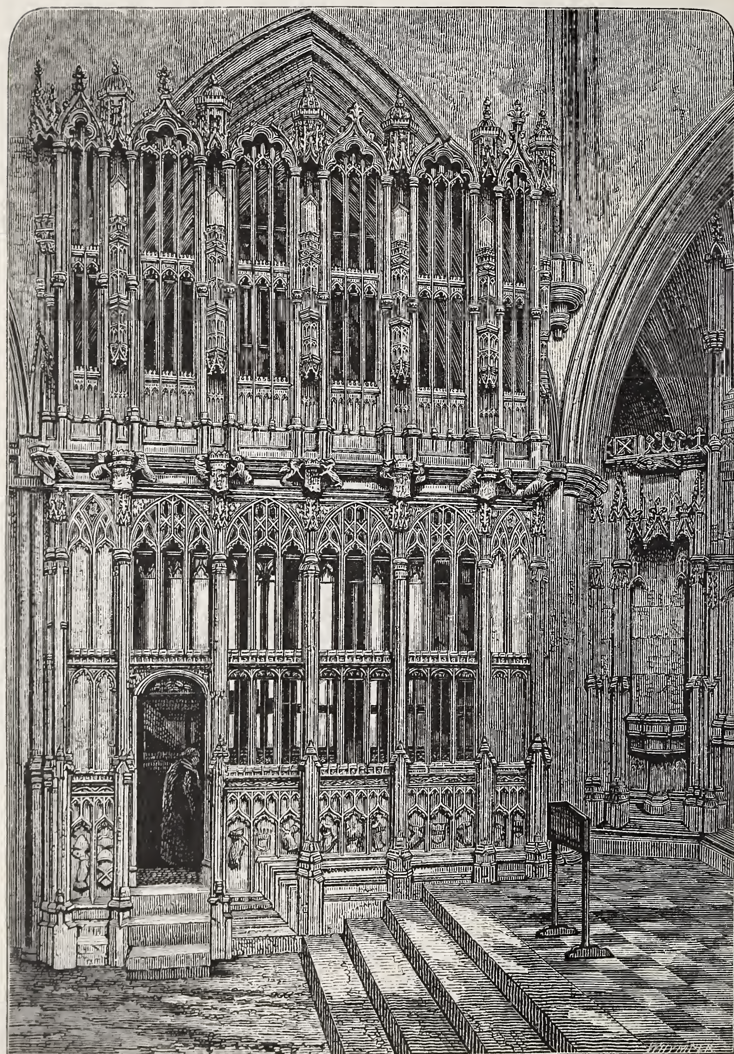
William Wallingford (1476—1484). The shield of arms of Abbot John of Wheathamstead appears over both the doors on the east side, and over the north door on the west side of the screen; but this is due in all probability to his having designed the work, which Wallingford executed. In general design this lofty reredos greatly resembles that in Winchester Cathedral, which was erected about the same time. In both screens there is a door on either side, opening to the place of the great shrine at the back. The whole is a mass of elaborate work, arranged, as at Winchester, so as to give the central outline of a large cross, to which it is possible that a movable crucifix was attached. In the thirteen central niches which form the actual reredos were probably figures of our Saviour and His Apostles. The hollow tabernacle work of the canopies and other portions has great effect. Much of this great screen has been defaced, and a "frontage of very debased character" was removed by Mr. Cottingham in 1832. No attempt has been made to restore this reredos; but the altar-pace in front of it has been laid with fragments of Purbeck marble, polished, found in different parts of the church. These fragments are of great beauty, and of a quality such as the beds do not now afford. There is an ascent of four steps to the altar-pace.

The wooden vaulting of the presbytery, extending to the end of the Saint's chapel, is the recorded work of Abbot John of Wheathamstead, whose devices, the eagle and the lamb, appear on it. These are in gold,

surrounded by very rich leaf-work, alternately red and green, with golden fruit. The whole is admirable, the eagle especially bold and fine. The lines inscribed above the eastern arch of the tower refer to this work, and tell us that wherever the "Agnus et ales" are seen, the hand of John of Wheathamstead is to be recognised.

XXII. The very rich monuments on either side of the high altar are those of (probably) Abbot WILLIAM WALLINGFORD (south), and Abbot RAMRYGE (north). The southern chantry tomb has usually been assigned to Abbot John of Wheathamstead; but it is expressly recorded that Wallingford expended one hundred pounds "for the building of his chapel and tomb in the south part of the church, close to the high altar, with its most suitable iron railings, and a marble slab, having his effigy super-imposed[r]." It is known that Wallingford constructed the great reredos on which the wheatears, the arms of Wheathamstead, appear. These arms, and the motto "Valles habundabunt," which also belongs to Wheathamstead, occur on the tomb. But it has been suggested, in explanation, that as the reredos may have been designed by Wheathamstead, but actually built by Wallingford, so the later abbot may have so cherished the memory of his predecessor that he placed his shield and motto on his own tomb. This explanation is not without difficulty; but the passage quoted above seems to prove with tolerable certainty

[r] This passage is contained in an Appendix to the Registrum of Abbot John of Wheathamstead.—*Gesta Abbatum*, i. 478.



ABBOT RAMRYGE'S CHANTRY.

that the chantry is that of Wallingford, abbot from 1476 to 1484.

Wallingford's chantry, which is a good example of the time, is considerably plainer than that opposite. For its construction, as it is pierced with an arch, a portion of the Norman wall, which had hitherto remained, was removed altogether. The effigy of the abbot, if it was ever completed, no longer rests within the chantry. In this is now placed, for the sake of protection, the very fine *brass* of Abbot Thomas de la Mare (1349—1396). This is of Flemish workmanship (as is indicated by the quadrangular shape of the plate, the diapered background, and scroll-work enrichment), and is one of the finest of its class in this country. The dimensions are 9 feet 3½ inches by 4 feet 3½ inches. The abbot is richly vested. The very fine canopy has, in the upper part, figures of SS. Peter, Paul, Alban; and of Offa, King of Mercia, founder of the monastery. Below them are SS. John the Evangelist, Andrew, Thomas, James the Great, Bartholomew, Philip, and others [s].

The chantry of Abbot Ramryge (1492—1524), on the north side [Plate III.], is a mass of the most elaborate carving, rising high toward the roof. Before the erection of this monument, the Norman wall remained here untouched. But "the beautiful open work of the

[s] In the church of North Mimms, Hertfordshire, is a Flemish brass, of nearly the same date, which should be compared with this of Abbot de la Mare. It commemorates a priest, perhaps William of Kesteven, rector of North Mimms in 1361; and has numerous figures of saints in the canopy.

canopy would not have appeared to the utmost advantage in front of a solid wall; the hitherto blank arch was therefore pierced by the entire removal of the wall; and, in order to secure both building and monument, a substantial inner member was added to the arch of the thirteenth century, handsomely finished with mouldings of a kind not calculated to conceal the period of the addition so cleverly executed[t]." Round the foundation of the chantry runs the inscription "Sancti Spiritus assit nobis gracia. Veni, Sancte Spiritus, reple tuorum corda fidelium, et tui amoris in eis ignem accende. Amen[u]." The collared rams which appear on the cornices, and the rams carrying an abbot's pastoral staff, refer to the name of Ramryge. There was an altar at the east end of either chantry. The tomb-slab of Abbot Ramryge had been removed, greatly injured, and laid in the south aisle of the presbytery. The grave had thus been laid bare, "giving facility for the interment of a family who had appropriated the chapel." This slab, which is of Purbeck marble, has happily been brought back to its original position (1872). It nearly covers the floor of the chantry. The arms of the abbot are still visible.

Four abbots—De la Mare, Hugh of Eversdon, Richard Wallingford, and Michael Mentmore—lie immediately in front of the altar steps. In the western bay of the presbytery are the tomb-slabs of the

[t] Buckler's 'St. Alban's,' p. 61.

[u] These words form the Antiphon for the Psalms for Whitsuntide, according to the Sarum Use.

abbots John Stoke, John Marynes, John Berkhamstede, and Roger Norton. Of these, the canopied brass of Abbot Stoke (1451) displays the ruin of a fine design. The brass of a knight in plate armour, with the collar of suns and roses adopted by Edward IV. after the battle of Mortimer's Cross in 1461, represents Sir Anthony de Grey, son of Lord Grey of Ruthin, created Earl of Kent by Edward IV. There is also a brass for Robert Beauner, a monk of the abbey, died 1470, holding in his hand a heart, with the scroll, "Cor mundum in me crea Deus."

XXII. The *restoration* of the presbytery "required the exercise of the greatest care. The floor was concreted, and the historic monumental slabs relaid. The missing half-piers in the north and south arcades were replaced; the openings in the lower part of the tower filled up, thus materially adding resistance to the lateral thrust; and the ancient doorways in the first bays from the tower were reopened and repaired."—The canopy work of the portals was also replaced, as has been said (§ XXI.). . . . . "Great care was necessary in repairing the chantry of Abbot Ramryge, subject as it had been to such lateral pressure from the tower. Only the necessary work was done in order to make it secure; the beautiful mutilated details now tell their own tale. . . . . The walls and roof of the presbytery . . . . were strengthened and repaired where necessary; and the decorations of the latter were cleared of all modern daubs. . . . . This peculiar restoration

was a work of some difficulty, arising from the delicacy of the painting[x]."

XXIII. The presbytery is considerably raised above its aisles, although no crypt exists, nor has at any time existed. Five steps lead from the aisles to the portals on either side. Before examining the aisles, however, it will be well to pass at once to the *retrochoir* or *Saint's chapel*, since the work there is continuous with that of the presbytery.

This chapel consists of one entire bay and half of a second, the great screen of the reredos dividing this bay into two equal parts[y]. The main design differs from that of the presbytery in being somewhat more enriched, but on the whole is identical. The eastern end is formed by three sharply-pointed arches, which to the height of eight feet from the floor were filled in with a solid stone altar-screen, terminating towards the aisle with a moulded cornice, and leaving the recess of the arches and pillars to the interior[z]. The manner in which the inner mouldings of these arches are finished on either side should be noticed. They are made to descend on the clustered piers in a kind of tracery-work. The vaulting-shafts at the angles entirely overhang, and their bases are supported by a remark-

[x] 'The Restoration of the Abbey of St. Alban;' a paper read before the St. Alban's Architectural and Archæological Society, January 19, 1874; by John Chapple, Clerk of the Works.

[y] Before the erection of this reredos, it would seem that the retrochoir comprised two whole bays, and that the high altar stood in front of the second bay from the east, a light screen passing behind it, between the two piers.

[z] Buckler.

able arched moulding, springing from the capitals of the side arches, and ending under the bases in a trefoil.

In all this work of John of Hertford and his successors great purity and beauty of outline are to be observed, and it may well be ranked "among the finest productions of the period[a]." "The mouldings are on a plan formed with more regard to depth than breadth; and the slender pillars composing the clusters stand out in high relief. The arches of the triforium are simply cusped; but the lofty windows of the clerestory are plain, lancet-shaped triplets, enclosed by recessed arches, highly finished with mouldings[b]." These windows are of the same date as those at the east end, above the triple arches. This eastern group consists of a large window filled with geometrical tracery, with a smaller single light on either side. The design of the central window is very excellent. Its purely geometrical character indicates that it was not inserted until after the death of Abbot John of Hertford (1260); and it is probable that the rebuilding began with the western part of the presbytery, and was continued eastward until the whole of the retrochoir was completed. The aisles, which extend beyond, are again later.

The eastern point of the great reredos has a broad arched recess between the doorways, with a niche above. The upper surface of the screen is covered with panels arranged between the buttresses. Below are three niches, which may have been filled with

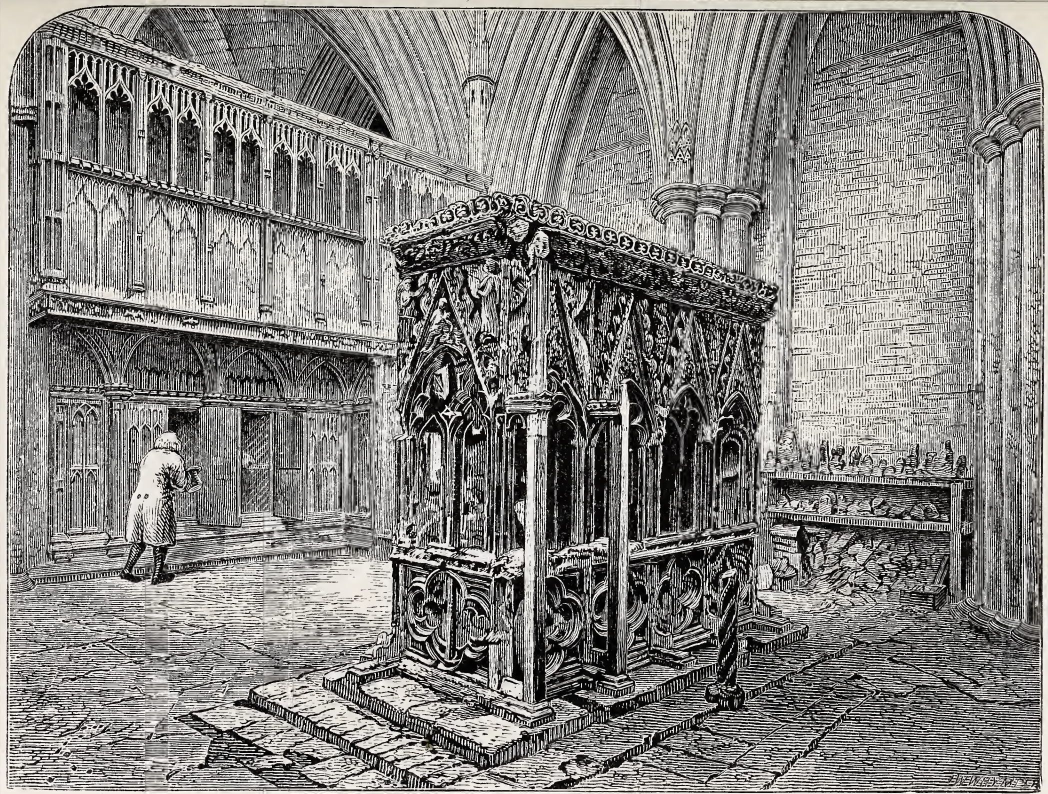
[a] Sir G. G. Scott. [b] Buckler.

figures relating to the shrine of St. Alban, which they faced[c].

XXIV. This *shrine* occupied the centre of the chapel. A portal on either side, in the bay west of it, opened to the north and south aisles; so that, in accordance with the usual arrangement, pilgrims and worshippers could enter by one portal, pass in front of the shrine, and leave the chapel by the portal opposite. Filling the eastermost bay on the north side, is the watching-chamber, which was always provided for the safety of a wealthy shrine. This watching-chamber was allowed to remained untouched when the shrine itself was carried off, and the base on which it stood deliberately broken and ruined.

It is this base of the shrine [Plate IV.] which has been discovered during the late (1876) restoration, and of which the fragments have been built up on the spot where the whole structure formerly stood in its integrity. Some pieces of carved Purbeck had been found by the Rev. Dr. Nicholson, about the year 1848, when opening the central blocked arch, at the east end of the chapel. These he believed to be portions of the shrine, but this remained uncertain until, in 1872, during the removal of the material which had been used for walling up a Perpendicular doorway and screen in the south aisle of the presbytery, many pieces of decorated groining, worked and coloured,

[c] On the south side of the north doorway of the screen, Dr. Nicholson pointed out an inscription now almost defaced. "Hugh Lewis souldier in his Ma^{ies} Army taken prisoner at Ravensfield Northampton-scr y^{e} . . . . day June 1645.'



BASE OF SHRINE

were found, some of which fitted to the Purbeck discovered by Dr. Nicholson. There was every reason for supposing that both belonged to the shrine. The eastern arches, which remained blocked, were accordingly opened, in the hope of further discovery. They proved to be filled with sculptured fragments; and not less than 2000 such fragments were recovered from the several places in which they had been hidden. These were built together, by the care of Mr. Chapple—Clerk of the Works under Sir Gilbert Scott—with the utmost skill and success; and we have accordingly the greater part of the base of the shrine recovered and restored, and bearing witness, in the thousand shattered fragments of which it now consists, to the deliberate manner in which it was broken to pieces after the great religious changes of the sixteenth century.

The base[d] is of rich early Decorated character, and may date from about the year 1308. It is oblong, and stands on two steps. The height is 8 feet 3 inches, the width 3 feet 2 inches, and it is 8 feet 7 inches in length. From the upper step rises a solid basement, 2 feet 6 inches high, having four quatrefoils in panels on either side, and one large quatrefoil at each end. On the south side, two of these quatrefoils are pierced with a lozenge-shaped opening, one of which runs

[d] The following description of the base of the shrine has been adopted from 'An Architectural and Historical Account of the Shrines of St. Alban and St. Amphibalus, in St. Alban's Abbey, by Ridgway Lloyd, M.R.C.S., 1872.' The shrines are there fully described.

through the centre of the opposite quatrefoil, while the other passes only halfway through. These may have been designed, like similar openings in the bases of other shrines, for the admission of diseased limbs, or of cloths to be applied to them, some benefit being expected from the close neighbourhood of the relics. Above this basement is a series of canopied niches, closed at the back. There are four on either side, and one at each end. The niches have straight-sided, crocketed pediments, of which the sculpture is unusually fine. In the tympana are groups of leafage, one of which, representing oak-leaves with their acorns, is carved in very high relief, with an excellence and truth of nature which might have seemed hardly attainable in so hard a material as Purbeck. (The whole of the base, it should be said, is of Purbeck marble, with the exception of the groining of the canopies. This is of clunch.) Between the pediments, at the sides, were three figures; only two of which have been found, and appear to represent Offa of Mercia and St. Oswin (with a spear held upright. The shrine of St. Oswin of Northumbria was at Tynemouth, where was a cell attached to the Abbey of St. Alban). At the west end the pediment shows the beheading of St. Alban, the head of the martyr having just fallen to the ground. At the east end the scourging of the saint is represented; and the tympanum below contains the figure of a king, holding in his left hand a cruciform church. This, again, is Offa, the founder of the abbey. The finials of the pedi-

ments terminate in a rich cornice, 6 inches high, sculptured with beautiful foliage. Above, again, is a cresting 5 inches in height.

The canopied recesses may have been designed to receive the offerings of pilgrims. Resting on the second step are fourteen projecting bases, "each of which supported a slender square shaft, having two points of attachment above to the main body, one by a horizontal crested bar, running in at the spring of the arch, the other by a flying buttress dying into the cornice; the whole terminating in a crocketed finial." On the lowest step are three sockets on either side, containing the hexagonal bases of as many twisted shafts. These probably carried tapers always burning round the shrine. There was an altar of St. Alban at the east end or head of the shrine, as was usual.

This base of the shrine of St. Alban may be compared with that of the Confessor in Westminster Abbey, the most perfect portion of an English shrine which remains. The general character is the same. Both are of Purbeck marble, and both have canopied niches closed at the back[e]. On these bases rested the actual shrine which contained the relics, and this was protected by a covering; generally, as at Durham, a richly-carved canopy of wood, suspended from the

[e] There are some portions of the shrine of St. Werburgh at Chester. The base of the shrine of St. David remains in his cathedral; and in Hereford Cathedral is what has always been regarded as the base of the shrine of St. Thomas Cantilupe. These are the only portions of English shrines which exist, so far as is known. The bases of the greater shrines were for the most part entirely destroyed.

ceiling. The shrine of St. Alban was double. The inner shrine, or *theca*, was begun in 1124 by Abbot Geoffrey of Gorham, and the work was superintended by a monk named Anketil. It was of silver, richly gilt; but its metal plates and the jewels which adorned them were removed by Abbot Ralph of Gobion (1146—1151), in order to buy for the monastery the vill of Brantefield. His successor, Robert of Gorham (1151—1166), reconstructed the shrine "of gold and silver and precious stones." The outer case, or true "feretrum," was made in the time of Abbot Simon (1166—1183), and was like that within, of gold and silver, richly jewelled. This double shrine required four men to carry it, and was frequently borne in procession round the church. (For the history of St. Alban see Part II.)

XXV. The *watching-tower*, attached to the shrine, deserves very careful attention. It is a wooden structure, filling the whole of the easternmost bay on the north side. The upper portion projects, and resembles a gallery with an open arcade, looking into the church. The lower part contains almeries or lockers, in which reliquaries and sacred vessels might be deposited; and, eastward, a steep wooden stair ascending to the upper chamber or gallery. The whole is of late date, and may possibly be assigned to Abbot John of Wheathamstead. On the upper frieze, and on the base-moulding of the gallery, are various subjects, referring for the most part to country life—such as a woman milking a cow, a sow and young ones, a pig pulled down by dogs, a

chained bear attacked by dogs, wrestlers, a reaper and corn, and figures carrying loaves in a basket. The best of these are on the north side, towards the aisle. The very boldly-carved foliage in the crockets of the panelled arcade should be noticed. The panels in the lower part of the gallery are closed, but have the same pattern as those, pierced and open, above them. The whole of this work should be compared with the much more elaborate structure in Christ Church Cathedral, Oxford, which served as the watching-chamber to the shrine of St. Frideswide. This is of the extreme end of the fifteenth century, and rises in three stages. No similar watching-lofts exist in England. A monk was always stationed in them, whose duty it was to keep a constant watch on the great shrine, the gold and jewels attached to which were sometimes attractive to other than discreet worshippers.

On the piers of the eastern arches in this chapel are some remains of colour, showing roses with leaves, on a red ground. On the north side is a figure of St. William of York, with his hand raised in benediction. The Archbishop of York (Walter Gray) pronounced an "oration" here in 1257, in which year a tomb was found on the site occupied by the shrine, and was pronounced to be that from which the relics of St. Alban had been raised by Offa[f]; and it is possible that this figure of his sainted predecessor commemorates that visit.

XXVI. Filling the bay opposite to the watching-

[f] M. Paris, 'Hist. Major' (ed. Wats), p. 942.

chamber is the chantry-tomb of HUMPHREY DUKE OF GLOUCESTER, fourth and youngest son of Henry IV., and Protector of the Kingdom during the minority of his nephew Henry VI. Duke Humphrey was arrested during the parliament held at Bury St. Edmund's in 1446, and was found, a few days afterwards, dead in his bed, murdered, as there can be little doubt, by order of Queen Margaret and Suffolk. His body was conveyed to St. Alban's, and this sumptuous monument, which had been already prepared, was raised above it by the care of his friend, Abbot John of Wheathamstead, whose device of the wheat-ears is sprinkled over it[g]. It was this duke who detected the fraud of the pretended blind man, who declared that he had been miraculously cured at the shrine of St. Alban.

The monument of the duke was so arranged as not to interfere with the view from the aisle into the Saint's chapel. "The triple arches of its sides are without immediate supports; yet science was exerted to uphold

[g] The burial-place and monument had been prepared during the life of Duke Humphrey. A 'Chronicle' (from 1377 to 1461), printed by the Camden Society, describes the bringing of the body to St. Alban's: "And there was done his Dyryge, and on the morewe his Masse: and thanne put into a feyre vout which was made for hym by his lyffe; and so closed and mured up." This "feyre vout" is, of course, the work of the chantry. It was constructed in the time of Abbot John Stoke (1440—1451). "Whilst he was alive and prosperous," we are told, "he caused to be made that stone tabernacle which is now set up over the tomb of the Lord Duke of Gloucester." —*Registr. Abb. J. de Whethamstead*, i. 470. Probably the work was not entirely completed in Abbot Stoke's time; for the wheat-ears certainly refer to Abbot John of Wheathamstead, during whose second abbacy the duke died, and was buried here.

with perfect safety the lofty stone canopy upon a groined roof and pendant arches. The opening between the side piers was sufficiently broad to admit a full prospect of the martyr's shrine[h]." A screen of iron-work, arranged in squares, and of very good design, was raised on the side of the aisle for protection and security. In the cornice of the monument are shields bearing the arms of Duke Humphrey—the royal arms with a border, argent. In the intervals are antelopes, the badge of the duke. The wheat-ears, as has been already said, indicate the completion of the monument by Abbot Wheathamstead; and the daisy-flowers in the sculptured coronet may possibly be regarded as the device of Queen Margaret. The figures in canopied niches may possibly represent the ancestors of Duke Humphrey—including Offa of Mercia, who holds a church, as founder. The sculpture of the whole tomb is very bold and vigorous.

The vault below the monument was opened in 1703, when the body was found entire; a crucifix was painted against the east wall. The opening of the vault remained in an unsafe condition until the late restoration, when it was closed, and all desecration of the remains was prevented.

XXVII. The very beautiful *portals* by which the Saint's chapel is entered from the aisles are probably the work of Abbot John of Wheathamstead. Above each portal is a canopied niche, perhaps designed for figures of St. Alban and St. Amphibalus.

[h] Buckler.

The arrangement of the aisles of the presbytery, and of the eastern portion of the church, will best be understood by a reference to the ground-plan. The Norman aisles terminated in a line with the east end of the Saint's chapel. The new design of Abbot John of Hertford carried them them two bays farther eastward, and provided a central space between them, forming a sort of second retrochoir (or antechapel), in which was placed the shrine of St. Amphibalus. Beyond again extended the Lady-chapel with its vestry. "The structure thus added, though only of the height of the aisles of the church and so intimately connected with it, forms, in its design, a separate and complete building of itself, almost like a distinct church, with its own nave, aisle, chancel, and vestry [i]."

We are first, however, concerned with the *aisles of the presbytery*, so far as they retained the original plan; that is, to the eastern arches of the Saint's chapel. Proceeding eastward from the transept, two of the bays on the south side, and one on the north, retain their Norman vaulting, and were little changed at the rebuilding. The bays eastward of these were entirely pulled down, "and the foundations of all the Norman walls now uphold the graceful pointed architecture which immediately replaced the older and more ponderous style. In the execution of this alteration additional width was given to the aisles by lessening the thickness of the walls on the inside to such an extent

[i] 'Report on the Lady-chapel of St. Alban's,' by Sir G. G. Scott.

that the stone seat at its base falls short of the breadth of the original foundation, which still appears above the pavement in a rude and irregular line of brick- and flint-work[k]."

In both aisles, in the westernmost bay, a Norman doorway opened to the apsidal chapel of the transept. In the south aisle this doorway remains, but has been contracted to a pointed arch. In the north aisle it has been filled by a Perpendicular window, inserted, probably, when the apse was destroyed. Opposite these doorways, in the enclosing wall of the presbytery, were Norman portals, which were adapted, in the early Decorated period, to the beautiful structures raised in connection with them, and already described (§ XXI.).

The vestry opening from the south aisle was built in 1846, and the wall was then pierced for the doorway to it. The stained-glass window in the aisle is a memorial of Archdeacon Watson (d. 1839), and is by Clutterbuck of Stratford. On the floor is the *brass* of Ralph Rowlatt (d. 1519), merchant of the staple of Calais, and his wife Jane. This Ralph Rowlatt was the lineal ancestor of Sarah, Duchess of Marlborough. The estates of Gorhambury and Sandridge were granted to him at the dissolution. Gorhambury passed to one daughter, whose husband sold it to the Bacons. The younger daughter, who inherited Sandridge, married Ralph Jennings, of Churchill, in Somersetshire, from whom descended the duchess.

[k] Buckler.

In the wall of the bay of the south aisle, which fronts the entrance to the Saint's chapel, a doorway and open screen of Perpendicular work were discovered in 1872. For the insertion of this screen the Decorated arcading had been cut away; and the screen separated the aisle from a small external chapel, of which the foundations have been traced. This chapel seems to have been appropriated as the chantry of Duke Humphrey. There was no altar attached to his monument, probably because the view toward the shrine would have been intercepted by it. The chapel, which, it has been remarked, occupies much the same position with respect to the monument as the chantry of Henry IV. to his monument in Canterbury Cathedral, was thus assigned to him, although it had apparently been built by Abbot John, of Wheathamstead, for his own burial. East of this chapel, and divided from it by a solid wall, was a second chapel, also of Perpendicular date, entered by a door from the aisle. "When the chapel was laid open in 1846, a stone-lined grave was also discovered, occuping the centre of the structure. No human remains were in it. The destruction of this chapel probably took place on the building becoming a parish church. . . . . The colour and gilding on the wall were at first very apparent, and even vivid in places[1]." (See these chapels marked in the plan, O, O, O.)

The wall of the aisles is lined with a rich early Decorated arcade, cut through in places, as has been

[1] Nicholson's 'St. Alban's,' p. 48.

mentioned. There is a similar arcade in the *north* aisle, with a recess under the window in the easternmost bay. Here, also, the arcade has been cut through for the insertion of a Perpendicular doorway, opposite Abbot Ramryge's monument.

Above the vaulting arch, at the end of the Norman work in the north aisle, is painted a seated figure of Offa, with the lines—

> "Quem male depictum et residentem cernitis alte
> Sublimem solio Mercius Offa fuit."

This decoration is no doubt part of Abbot Wheathamstead's work.

The *window tracery* in both aisles deserves attention, especially one in the south aisle, in the fourth bay from the east. This is early Decorated, and of great beauty.

XXVIII. Passing beyond the eastern end of the Saint's chapel, we come to that portion of the church which was a direct addition to the Norman building. The ground-plan of this addition may possibly have been designed by Abbot John of Hertford, or his successor, Roger Norton (1260—1290); but the details were not carried out in the manner which was at first proposed. The original design, as has been discovered from foundations still in great part remaining, embraced two ranges of pillars in the centre of the ante-chapel, extending eastward in a line with the piers carrying the arches at the east end of the Saint's chapel or feretory. Three central aisles would have

been thus formed, of three bays in length. The outer aisles, which continued the aisles of the presbytery, were only two bays in length. The manner in which the aisles of the antechapel were to terminate eastward is not certain. At present a single arch opens into the long Lady-chapel. The aisles were to have been groined with wood, in the same manner as the presbytery; and springers of stone, to which the wooden groining was to be attached, were provided (and remain) on the pillars of the arches of the aisles. The whole of these aisles were to be of equal height; and the general design of this portion of the church very closely resembled the eastern portion of Winchester Cathedral, built by Bishop Godfrey de Lucy (1189—1204) at a much earlier date. De Lucy's work is among the most beautiful of his time; and this eastern end of St. Alban's, in spite of the change in the original design, and of the fact that the Lady-chapel itself was not completed until the Decorated of the thirteenth century had passed into a new phase, must, when in perfect condition, have been hardly less admirable in all its details. The change of plan undoubtedly lessened the beauty of this whole group of chapels. Instead of the triple aisles with their vaulting, the whole of the broad central space was covered with a flat ceiling of oak, in square panels. It may, perhaps, have been feared that the many columns would have too much crowded the space of the antechapel; but the intricacy and beauty of outline suffered greatly from the alteration.

The whole of this eastern work had been begun, and much of it was considerably advanced, when Hugh of Eversden became abbot in 1308. His abbacy lasted until 1326. He found, apparently, the presbytery and the Saint's chapel or feretory completed. The ante-chapel was far advanced, and the Lady-chapel begun. We are expressly told that he "brought to a praise-worthy completion the chapel of the Virgin, in the eastern part of the church, which had been begun many years before. . . . . Moreover, that place contiguous in the shape of a square chapel, separating the presbytery from the said chapel; with a ceiling, in the middle of which the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin is figured (wherein now the shrine of St. Amphibalus is placed), he at the same time took pains to finish." It is to this abbot, therefore, that we owe, in all probability, the change of plan. There is no record of the beginning of the rebuilding or re-modelling of the eastern portion of the church; not even of the presbytery. The work may, perhaps, have been begun by Abbot John of Hertford (1235—1260); but from its general character we should probably accept the suggestion of Sir Gilbert Scott, that the greater part is due to Hertford's successor, Roger Norton (1260—1290); though it may still have been in progress during the time of Abbot Berkhamstead (1291—1302). "The style," in Sir G. Scott's words, "is decidedly later in character than that of the older parts of Westminster Abbey (1245—1269); but, as it appears to me, earlier than that of the Eleanor crosses

(about 1291)[m]." We are thus brought to the time of Abbot Norton; and, in confirmation of his especial interest in the work, not only of the presbytery, but of the eastern aisles, we learn that his body was buried before the high altar (see *ante*, § XXI.), while his heart was placed before the altar of St. Mary of the four tapers, at the east end of the south aisle of the antechapel. The enclosure for the abbot's heart was found in 1875, during the work of restoration. It was a cylindrical hole sunk in a block (or two blocks) of stone. In the hole remained the cover of a wooden box, about 5 inches in diameter. This is richly painted, and is certainly oriental, "a fact which seems to connect itself with the friendly diplomatic relations which at that time existed between this country and Tartary."

But whatever be its earlier history, no portion of the vast church of St. Alban has suffered more, not merely from neglect, but from defacement and wilful destruction, than this group of eastern chapels. The Lady-chapel, as was the case in other churches, was appropriated, in 1553, to the purposes of a grammar school. The aisles of the presbytery, and the eastern arches of the Saint's chapel, were then walled up. Doors were opened in the walls of the aisles on either side, and a public passage was thus formed through what had been the antechapel, the delicate carvings of which were given over to the tender mercies of generations of schoolboys. The work in the Lady-chapel

[m] Sir G. G. Scott. 'Report on the Lady-chapel,' p. 5.

itself lay not less open to destroying hands. The antechapel, at the beginning of 1875, is described in the report of Sir Gilbert Scott as "a mere ruin, excepting only that its roofs have been preserved and cared for. Its stonework, externally, is in almost the last stage of decay, and is rudely repaired with brick; while internally, in addition to this, it has suffered, wherever within reach, from deliberate mutilation. . . . . The state of the Lady-chapel proper differs little from that of the antechapel, for though it looks more neat within and without, this arises mainly from the groined ceiling within being plastered and whitened, and the floor boarded; while on examination the beautiful wall arcading is found to have been almost wholly hewn away, and the niches mutilated[n]." This report was made by Sir Gilbert Scott after the removal of the school had been happily accomplished (see *ante*, § VIII.), and when it had consequently become possible to restore all this eastern end to the church. This has accordingly been done; and the restoration of this group of chapels, as recommended by Sir G. Scott, is in progress (1876) under his superintendence.

XXIX. The aisles of the presbytery are connected with those of the antechapel by arches of great beauty. The aisle-walls were lined with a very rich arcading, which has cinquefoiled heads on the south side, and trefoiled on the north. This arcading is continued in the later work of the Lady-chapel; and the same dis-

[n] Report, pp. 11, 12.

tinction is preserved, even to the arches flanking the great altar. All this arcading had suffered terribly, and the foliations on the north side had almost disappeared. The windows of these aisles (which were greatly shattered before the restoration of 1875—1876) deserve special notice, from the extreme beauty and delicacy of their tracery. The window at the east end of the south aisle is, perhaps, the most remarkable. In it, the central tracery, with its cusps, is made to resemble a twisted crown of thorns. (The exterior of this window is shown in the *Frontispiece.*) In this, and in the forms of the piers (especially the eastern responds), a certain advance may be traced beyond the work of the presbytery. The Decorated style had not as yet passed fully into its second phase, such as is displayed in Abbot Eversden's work in the Lady-chapel; but the first, or geometrical phase, had become far more completely developed than when the presbytery was begun under Abbot Hertford.

At the east end of the south aisle, under the window just mentioned, was the altar of St. Mary of the four tapers, first established by Abbot William of Trumpington, in the south transept, but removed here on the completion of this part of the antechapel. Four tapers were lighted at this altar during the daily celebration of the mass of the Virgin; and it was in front of it that the heart of Abbot Roger Norton was entombed. On the south side was a very rich and elaborate triple piscina, beneath one comprehending arch, over which was a wide gable. A small door on the north side of

the altar opened to a passage pierced through the wall, and a second passage in the thickness of the westernmost buttress of the Lady-chapel led into that. The object for which so very unusual a passage was provided is not evident; but it seems probable that the door opening to the aisle was used as the principal means of approach to this eastern group of chapels. The arcading in the wall of this south aisle is broken away in the westernmost bay; and from some fragments which have been found, it appears likely that there was here a very rich sedile or chair of state for the abbot.

The ceiling of the central space was, as we have seen, the recorded work of Abbot Eversden. There are fifteen panels, of which only the framework remained before the restoration. The panels were at first painted in various subjects, the Assumption being in the centre. This painting was obliterated by Abbot Wheathamstead, who replaced it with his favourite symbols, the eagle and the lamb. This ceiling has been restored. In the south aisle there is a vaulting of wood, with carved bosses. This is apparently of the same date as the vaulting of the presbytery. If a similar vaulting ever existed in the north aisle, it had entirely disappeared before the restoration of 1875—1876.

The altars in the antechapel and its aisles, besides that of St. Mary already mentioned, were:—that of St. Michael, at the east end of the north aisle; that of St. Edmund the King, west of the central pier

between the north aisle and the antechapel; that of St. Benedict, similarly placed in the south aisle; and that of St. Amphibalus, west of his shrine. This shrine occupied the centre of the antechapel. Many portions of the base of it have been discovered, built up in the same walls which contained fragments of the base of St. Alban's shrine; and these have been arranged and set together in a similar manner, on the spot where the shrine anciently stood. For the story of St. Amphibalus see Part II. His relics, or certain relics which were held to be his, were discovered at Redbourne, near St. Alban's, in the days of Abbot Simon (1166—1183), and were brought in solemn procession to the church of the monastery. The shrine of St. Alban was carried to meet the relics of Amphibalus as far as the place where the church of St. Mary des Prez was afterwards built; and on this occasion it "became so light that it could be carried without difficulty by two brethren, yea, even by one, whereas at other times it could hardly be transported by four from its own place to one not far distant[o]." The relics were placed at first near the high altar, on the north side of the shrine of St. Alban. They were removed to the antechapel by Abbot Thomas de la Mare (1349—1396); and at the same time, "by the industry of Ralph Witechurch, sacrist, the feretrum (shrine) of St. Amphibalus was more honourably set up upon a most beautiful tomb (tumba) of stone[p]." This is the

[o] M. Paris, 'Hist. Major,' p. 136.
[p] 'Gesta Abbatum,' iii. 384.

base of which we now see some portion. It is in a far more fragmentary and imperfect condition than the base of St. Alban's shrine; and like that, had been deliberately broken to pieces. On a plinth 6 inches high is a basement 23 inches in height, sculptured all round with fret-work. On the western face are the letters "Amphib . . . s," and a fleur-de-lys. The eastern face has not been recovered. The north and south faces have fleurs-de-lys within raised lines, forming quatrefoils; and the letters R. W., the initials of Ralph Witechurch the sacrist. West of the shrine stood the altar of the saint. The work is entirely in clunch stone, and is far less rich than that of the base of the greater shrine.

A staircase in the north-east angle of the north aisle led to the turret and roofs.

XXX. An enriched arch at the eastern end of the antechapel opens to the *Lady-chapel* itself. The lower part of the walls of the Lady-chapel belong, as we have seen, to the earlier work; and the arch of entrance is also earlier than the time of Abbot Eversden, who, we are told, finished the Lady-chapel. This is evident from the existence of groining springers here, which would not have been inserted by Eversden. The very rich niches on either side of the arch correspond with those in the Lady-chapel, and are proofs that although Abbot Eversden did not build this wall and arch, he made alterations in them, so as to adapt them to the rest of his work. The foliage in the tympana of the pediments which surmount these niches is very fine,

and the pediments themselves are richly crocketed. An oaken screen, part of which still remains, crossed the main arch, and separated the Lady-chapel from the antechapel.

The Lady-chapel consists of three bays; and the whole of the work above the lower part of the wall is no doubt due to Abbot Eversden (1308—1326). It differs altogether from that westward of it, not only in the greater richness of its details, but from the adoption and developement of a distinct phase of the Decorated style. The side windows, each of four lights, have their mouldings combined and enriched with figures and imagery in a very unusual manner. There are small figures in the jambs, and on the central shaft. The ball-flower runs round all. The tracery varies, but in all it is more or less curvilinear. Between the windows are rich niches, which intercept the vaulting shafts. These carry stone springers, from which rises the oaken groining, with elaborate bosses, and having a greater number of ribs than the earlier groining of the presbytery. The eastern window is of five lights, declining from the centre. The tracery is singularly combined with tabernacle work, which forms a sort of pediment above each light. A ball-flower runs round the outer splay and the main jamb. There are piscinas in the east wall both north and south of the altar, and a niche in the angle on either side.

The easternmost bay on the south side is partly obscured by the vestry or sacristy, in which was the

altar of the Transfiguration. But in the upper part of the bay is a very beautiful window, consisting of a richly-traceried circle placed within a curvilinear triangle. Beneath, a remarkable range of niches is set into the window; and below, again, is a range of sedilia greatly broken and shattered. Oaken stalls lined this chapel on either side, and for their reception the lower part of the walls and shafts had been cut away in places. This defacement, however, could not have been visible when the stalls were in position.

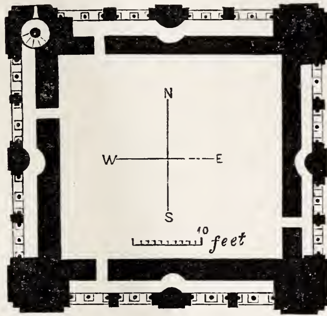
In the centre of the chapel, after the first battle of St. Alban's (May 23, 1455), were buried three great Lancastrian nobles, who fell during the fight. These were Edmund Beaufort, Duke of Somerset; Henry Percy, Earl of Northumberland; and the Lord Clifford. They were killed in the street, near St. Peter's church; and no one dared to touch their bodies until the abbot, not without great difficulty, obtained leave from the victorious Duke of York to bury them in his church. They were buried in the order of their rank, the duke lying furthest to the east.

It should be noticed that the walls of both the Lady-chapel and antechapel are constructed of Roman tile, procured in part, no doubt, from the demolished apse, and thinly coated, externally, with flint-work. Tiles are more or less used in all the later building; but the flint casing occurs nowhere else.

XXXI. In the interior of the church there only remains to be noticed the *upper part* of the *central tower*, approached by staircases in the western angles

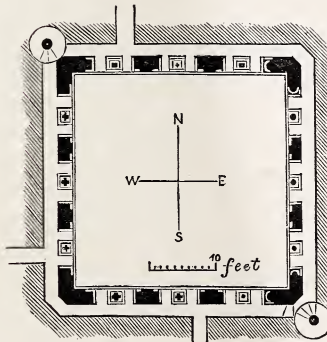
of the transepts. The tower rises, as has been said, in four stages above the arches on which it rests. "The lower stage, within, consists of a gallery in the thickness of the wall (see Plan opposite), and is recessed with three arches on each side, supported upon piers of brick" (tile), "and subdivided by columns of stone into two smaller arches, which are pierced, an arrangement productive of great lightness and beauty of effect in the interior design. . . . . The walls of this gallery are pierced on three sides with small doorways opening to the timber-work of the roofs; but towards the east there was no such aperture, on account of the vaulting of the presbytery. . . . . The middle stage above corresponds in design with the one just described; it penetrates the substance of the wall, and presents the open arcade of the gallery towards the exterior. This gallery, unquestionably one of the most singular features in the whole design of the church, ... forms a distinct passage 20½ inches wide, and 6 feet 9 inches high, within the thickness of the wall on each side of the tower, and its arcade has always been open to the weather. All the angles are solid except the north-west, containing the staircase; there are four narrow doorways opening from the galleries to the belfry, which originally included this as well as the stage over. The columns, capitals, and bases are of stone." (This open gallery, immediately below the windows of the uppermost stage, is seen in Plate V. The Plan is given on the opposite page. Similar galleries occur

1.



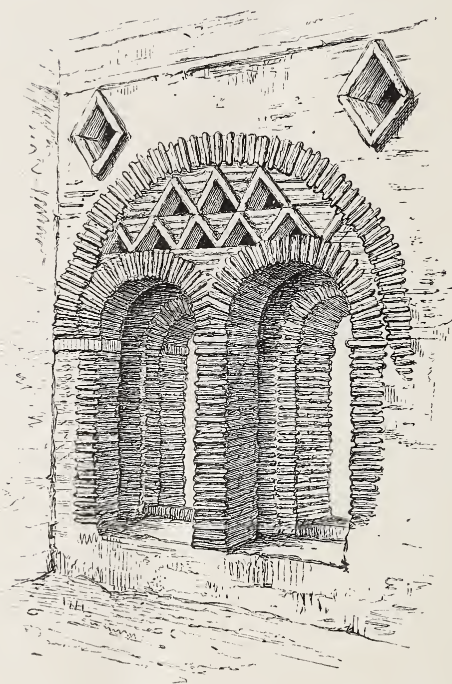
PLAN OF OPEN ARCADE, EXTERIOR OF BELFRY.

2.



PLAN OF OPEN ARCADE IN LANTERN.

To face p. 766.



WINDOW IN BELFRY STAGE OF TOWER.

in some Romanesque churches on the Continent.) "The upper, or belfry-stage, differs remarkably in the features of its design from the rest, having circular turrets on the angles, and piercings in the windows and in the wall over, unlike any others. The walls are built perpendicularly, as is also the interior surface of those below; but the exterior of these, from their commencement to their union with the belfry-stage, slopes or contracts more rapidly between some of the divisions than others. . . . . Strength was the leading consideration in the design. The wall of every stage sets within the one immediately below. . . . . In the belfry-stage, the outer arches of the windows spring from columns, but the double openings within are formed with piers having impost mouldings of brick, the space between the larger and smaller arches being distinguished by triangular piercings, and the spandrels over the lozenge-shaped apertures[q]."

These peculiar piercings, which were probably designed as sound-holes, are shown in the *Frontispiece*. The interior of the belfry [Plate V.] should, if possible, be visited. The extraordinary roughness of the tile-work can thus alone be fully understood, since it is not evident from below. This tile-work is carried in regular courses through the deep reveals of all the openings to the exterior. The stone employed in the gallery-stage under the belfry is from the Barnack

[q] Buckler's 'St. Alban's,' pp. 119–123. The description of Messrs. Buckler is so perfect and accurate, that it leaves little or nothing to be added by those who come after them.

quarries. But these were worked at a very early period, and there is every reason for believing that some of the stone piers used in the gallery may have been brought, like the tiles, from Verulamium, whilst others may have been retained from the destroyed Saxon church of Offa. The shafts have been cut in different ways to suit their present position. The rudely-formed tile-plinths and imposts deserve attention.

The present termination of the tower, above the belfry-stage, is modern; and this uppermost portion has undergone various changes. The Norman turrets and parapets which finished it in its original condition were removed by Abbot William of Trumpington (1214—1235), perhaps on account of their insecure condition. He capped the tower by an octagon, based on eight ribs, which descended to corbels fixed in the angles and between the windows. For some unknown reason all this work was removed in the fifteenth century, and the octagon was replaced by a spire of no very great height. This in turn disappeared in 1833, and the tower now appears much as in its first condition, except that the angle turrets or pinnacles—which probably resembled those of the transepts—have not been restored. The plastering with which the whole exterior surface was anciently covered has been removed, not without some discussion as to the propriety of such an innovation. But the tile-work, which is the great feature of St. Alban's, is thus shown in its integrity, and the tower has infinitely gained in beauty of tone and colour.

The restoration of the tower, or rather the placing of so vast a mass in a condition of safety, was a work of no small labour. It was found that the great piers were gradually crumbling, and the sinking of the whole became more and more evident, even after the first supports had been inserted. The concrete used in building the piers became pulverised at a point about 18 feet from the ground, where it was apparently of a less cohesive nature than above or below. At this point, in the north-east pier, the crushing became first evident. The tower gradually leaned to the weakest corner, and eventually burst open, causing rents from the crowns of the northern and eastern arches, extending upwards through the outer arcade, the bell-chamber windows, and the parapet. In spite of arches hastily bricked up, of double shores and trusses, and of triple trusses in the arches of the presbytery aisles, the mischief was not arrested. "The tests still broke, and the ceiling of Abbot Ramryge's chantry opened farther. A cluster of heavy balks planted deep in the ground as raking shores from the north-east, bent like bows under the pressure; the north-east pier crumbled and crumbled until there was a continuous shower of dust and small particles dropping around it, a sure and certain indication of a crushing up. . . . . At length, after many days and nights' continuous labour, during the whole of which time the workmen stuck bravely to their posts, we perceived, to our great relief, that the downward progress of the tower was arrested, and that the great trusses in the

northern and eastern arches were doing their work handsomely, for they had caught the shifting mass and were upholding it[r]."

This was in January, 1871. Not quite ten years before, the central tower of St. David's Cathedral had been similarly propped and secured under Sir Gilbert Scott's direction. In both cases the work was one of extreme danger, as is plain from the fall of the spire of Chichester, in spite of all precautions. The long continuance, indeed, of the tower at St. Alban's without repair or support can only be regarded with wonder. The mutilation of the piers and the cavern dug into one of them (see § VI.) were alone sufficient to bring down the whole mass. But, as was rarely the case with Norman towers, the actual foundations were unusually firm and good, and it is to this that the preservation of the tower may safely be attributed.

As soon as the tower had been rendered safe the necessary repairs were begun. The foundations (which had been injured by excavations for interments) were strengthened by the insertion of cement concrete; the missing members of the piers were carefully built up with hard bricks in cement. Iron ties were freely used. "Such was the crushed state of the north-east pier that at one particular place it was found neces-

[r] 'Restoration of the Abbey of St. Alban,' by John Chapple, Clerk of the Works. Mr. Chapple was the superintendent on the spot during the whole of this anxious time; and it is to his incessant care and watchfulness that the success of the operations must be attributed.

sary to take out the old work to a depth of 7 feet into the pier, creating a hollow which presented the appearance of a large cavern. All the old work was well saturated with water to render it adhesive to the new, and at every two layers of brickwork liquid cement-grout was used in abundance, thereby completely filling up every crevice. This method of repair was continued, wherever necessary, throughout the whole height of the tower. . . . . At four stages, viz., at the triforium, the clerestory, the ringing-floor, and the bell-chamber, a system of strong iron bolts was inserted, passing in every instance through holes specially bored through the walls. . . . . New outer stone-arches and oak louvres were fixed to the lower windows, and the upper string-course was renewed in Chilmark stone—a durable material taking the place of the perishable clunch or Tottenhoe stone used originally.

"The floors of the ringing-chamber and of the bell-chamber were renewed. . . . . A new bell-frame was constructed and fixed in the south-west corner, and the whole peal received an entirely new set of fittings by Warner and Son of Cripplegate[s]." The exterior of the tower was afterwards repaired, and the Roman tiles were pointed.

XXXII. We pass to the *exterior* of the church; and first, through the door at the east end of the south aisle of the nave, to the space originally occupied by the *great cloister*. This was in the most ordinary

[s] 'Restoration of St. Alban's,' by John Chapple.

position, in the angle between the nave and the south transept. It extended westward for the length of seven bays of the nave, and projected toward the south for at least double the length of the transept and slype. Of this great cloister, about 150 feet square, the centre of monastic life, nothing whatever remains. The refectory was on the south side; the dormitory on the east, with probably a passage over the chapter-house, connecting it with the south transept of the church. The chapter-house intervened between the dormitory and the transept.

Against the walls of both nave and transept are portions of the inner wall-arcading of the cloister. These, as we now see them, bear evidence of two distinct periods of construction. There was, beyond doubt, a Norman cloister. This suffered, as we know, at the fall of the aisle-wall in 1323. (See *ante*, § XV.) It was afterwards rebuilt; but it would seem that the whole of the wall had not fallen, and that some of the Norman arcading remained in such a condition as to be adapted and remodelled for the new work. The wall-arcading along the south side of the nave shows very good Decorated tracery. But the third arch from the transept is circular, and contains within it, irregularly placed, a traceried arch resembling the others. The outer or circular arch is Norman. Whether there was an intention of completing this side with the Decorated work is uncertain. There were Norman doorways opening to the church at the angle where the present entrance exists—(the Norman

tile-work remains there)—and in the west wall of the transept. Of this there is evidence without and within.

Adjoining the south transept, and in a line with it, is a short *slype* or passage, now closed at either end. This is Norman, of a much later period and character than Abbot Paul's building. The walls are lined with an intersecting arcade, decorated with a peculiar ringed moulding. The shafts which descended to the floor have in most cases been removed; but the capitals remain, and are curiously carved. The vault is a plain barrel.

The chapter-house adjoined this slype on the south. From the foundations it is evident that it was a long parallelogram, with an apsidal termination. In it were buried many of the earlier abbots, including Paul of Caen, the builder of the Norman church; John of Cella; William of Trumpington; and John of Hertford; all of whom were restorers and rebuilders.

A second slype occurred south of the chapter-house; then came the small chapel of St. Cuthbert, and then the dormitory, extending far beyond the cloister. The chapel of St. Cuthbert was first built by Abbot Richard D'Aubeney (1097—1119), who had been present at Durham at the great translation of the body of St. Cuthbert, and had been there miraculously cured. William of Trumpington rebuilt this chapel, and dedicated its altar to St. Cuthbert, St. John the Baptist, and St. Agnes. It was also known as the Hostry, or Hostelry chapel; and in spite of its position in the

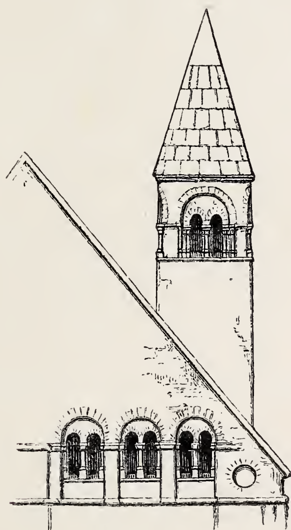
cloister, was in some manner connected with one of the guest halls of the monastery. It rose into an upper story, which was used as an adjunct of the dormitory, with which it communicated [t].

XXXIII. The exterior of the *south transept* should here be noticed. The Norman design embraced a lofty and steep gable, running along the lower part of which was an arcade of blank arches, each arch enclosing two others, divided by a stone shaft. Of this arcade a fragment remains at the base of the circular turret. This turret rose above the staircase, and was completed by a conical top [Plate VI.]. There was but one such turret, on the western side of each transept. The second, in either case, is a later addition.

Cottages had been built against the south side of the nave, and the ground adjoining was used as a garden. The houses have been removed; but there can be no doubt that the very insecure condition of this portion of the church, which still (1876) unhappily exists, was greatly increased by these buildings.

XXXIV. The *west front* of the church, in its present state, is altogether unworthy of so vast and stately a structure. The change by John de Cella has already (§ XII.) been described. The central porch is alone accessible from the exterior. The abutment piers of the Norman work remain, reaching nearly to the summit of the building; the tile-work being hemmed in on one side by the ashlar of Trumpington's archi-

[t] This is the chapel which has been so strangely confounded with the screen at the east end of the nave. See § XVIII.



TURRET OF SOUTH TRANSEPT
ROOF RESTORED.

tecture, and on the other by that of the exterior. In the porch itself, "all above the columns, namely, the arches and groins, must be ascribed to Trumpington, who appears to have been under the necessity of altering, if not of destroying, much of the earlier work[u]. The pier of the clustered pillars on each side of the inner portal is a mass of wrought stone-work inserted by him; it encroaches upon the capitals, and its introduction involved the alteration of the Purbeck masonry. The clustered shafts forming the supports of the outer arch were similarly strengthened, and the addition averted for a time the mischief which eventually deprived the porch of its stately gable, and of all the characteristic ornaments of its exterior design[x]."

The very rich doors which remain at this entrance are probably the work of Abbot John of Wheathamstead, who inserted the western window (see § XIV.).

XXXV. On the *north* side of the church, parallel with the west front, was the chapel of St. Andrew, of which the foundations have lately been discovered (§ XIV.). The exterior of the north transept originally resembled the south. Foundations of buildings have been found beyond it to the north, which may be those of a large sacristy.

The massive tile-work of the transept, the central

[u] Matthew Paris tells us that the walls of John de Cella became ruinous long before their completion, "together with their columns, bases, and capitals, and fell with their own weight, so that the wreck of images and flowers became the laughing-stock of beholders."

[x] Buckler's 'St. Alban's.'

tower, and the exterior of the presbytery and Saint's chapel, are well seen from this side of the church. The presbytery has octagonal turrets at the angles, with small buttresses, rising into pinnacled caps. The mark of the ancient gabled roof of the transept is seen against the tower. The nave also has lost its steep roofs; and although this change was effected long before the dissolution of the monastery, it has injured the general outline more decidedly than any later neglect or alteration.

XXXVI. The *monastic buildings* have disappeared at St. Alban's more completely than around any other great English monastery; and little is left to tell us of the ancient life of the Benedictines, to whom the church belonged, and who served and worshipped at its altars. There were of course the usual offices: the infirmary and the infirmary cloister; the abbot's house, guest halls and chambers, fitted, according to their rank, to the numerous pilgrims and strangers who were constantly entertained in the abbey; besides all the domestic buildings, the barns, stables, and store-houses, which were assembled in the outer court[y]. An especial set of chambers was provided for the use of the king whenever he should halt at St. Alban's[z];

[y] For a description of the usual arrangement of a great Benedictine monastery, see 'Canterbury Cathedral,' Part I.

[z] There was also a Queen's Chamber. Abbot Geoffry of Gorham (1119–1146) built a noble guest-hall; and near it "a very handsome bedchamber, which we have been accustomed to call the Queen's bedchamber, because it was appropriated to the use of the Queen, besides whom it was not lawful for any woman to be entertained in this monastery."—*Gesta Abbatum.*

and after each battle of St. Alban's, Henry VI. was brought by the victors to these chambers, having first been allowed to kneel in the church before the great shrine. But of all this pile of building which covered the whole hill on the south side of the church, and stretched downward to the river, nothing whatever remains; and the positions of the several halls and cloisters can only be guessed at from the manner in which they are arranged in such monasteries as have been less entirely destroyed. The whole of the monastic buildings, with the ground lying round about the church, were granted to Sir Richard Lee in 1540. He at once proceeded to demolish them; but some portions were still remaining in 1722, when Dr. Stukeley visited St. Alban's. "They have lately," he writes, "been working hard at pulling up the old foundations of the abbey; and it is now levelled with the pasture, where, three years ago, you might make a tolerable guess at the ichnography of the place. This very year they pulled down the stone tower or gatehouse on the north side of the abbey, within a month after I had taken a sketch of it[a]."

XXXVII. The *great gateway*, which stands somewhat below the west front of the church, is the sole remaining relic of the monastery. This opened to a quadrangle about 400 feet square, on one side of which was the church, and on others various buildings, among which were the "King's stables." The gateway itself is of unusual height and size. "An arch,

[a] 'Itinerarium Curiosum.' Iter v.

with a postern, leads to the interior. The roof is groined in stone; and on the sides are doorways, which formed the approaches to the staircases and the different apartments. These are very numerous; and the principal chamber in the centre, over the archway, spacious. The ceilings have beams of oak, supported upon stone corbels; and many of the fireplaces are ancient. But the most remarkable portions of this building are its groined avenues, two on each side of the archway, incorporated with the present edifice. One of those on the west side is of the thirteenth century[b]." The main portion of the gateway was, however, built by Abbot Thomas De la Mare (1349—1396); and it is consequently early Perpendicular in character. It served, until recently, as the prison for the Liberty of St. Alban's. It should be remarked that the great wooden doors which closed the main entrance were placed in the centre of the passage, which was open on either side of them, and thus afforded shelter and a resting-place. This is the marked distinction between a military and a monastic gateway. The doors of the former were placed at the openings of the passage, sometimes at both ends, but were never in the middle. One of the grandest remaining examples of a monastic gateway is that of the Cistercian house of Whalley, in Lancashire. In its general arrangement it nearly resembles this of St. Alban's.

XXXVIII. No good general view of the church is

[b] Buckler.

GENERAL VIEW ON THE NORTH SIDE.

to be obtained near at hand. The best are on the south side, where the monastic buildings formerly rose [Plate VII.]; but even here the eastern portion is much concealed. (A very picturesque view of the south-east portion of the church, east of the transept, is shown in the *Frontispiece.*) The great length of the nave is, however, a marked feature in these nearer views; and it is hardly less so in the distant prospects. Of these by far the most striking, as well from the picturesque grouping as from the associations which it suggests, is the view from the site of ancient Verulamium. From this point we look, beyond a foreground of fine trees, across the narrow valley to the ridge crowned by the huge minster, with its long ranges of clerestory lights, and its massive tower of Roman bricks. This tower rises grandly, and serves as a landmark in the approach to St. Alban's from the east and south. There is one ridge on the ancient road from London where it suddenly breaks on the sight in the distance of a broad green landscape. So, for long ages, it must have greeted pilgrims and travellers as they journeyed onward through the far-spreading forest of Hertfordshire.

It has been constantly asserted that the great church of St. Alban's Monastery is the longest in England, and consequently in the world, with the exception of St. Peter's at Rome, the exterior length of which is 613½ English feet. But the exterior

length of St. Alban's, including the buttresses of the western porch and those of the Lady-chapel, is not more than 548 feet. This exceeds the mean external length of Ely (where the north and south walls are not exactly parallel), which is 537 feet, but is not so great as that of Winchester—555 feet 8 inches. Winchester Cathedral is therefore the longest mediæval church in the world.

SAINT ALBAN'S.

PART II.

History of the Abbey and See.

THE city of Verulamium, on the right bank of the little river Ver, was one of the most important in Roman Britain. It had been the chief town of the British Cassii; and after the Romans occupied and walled the site, the place was distinguished by buildings of which the traces and foundations sufficiently indicate the extent and unusual size. During the persecution of the Christians under Diocletian (A.D. 305), it is believed that a Roman, named Albanus, suffered here, and became the Protomartyr of Britain. His story, as told by Bede[a], runs as follows:—

Albanus, still a pagan, received and sheltered in his cottage (tugurium) a certain Christian priest (clericum quendam), who was hiding himself from the persecution. The sight of his constant prayers and vigils greatly struck Albanus. He sought instruction from his visitor, accepted his teaching, and speedily became himself a Christian. The place of refuge of the priest was by some means discovered: and when the soldiers appeared at his door, Albanus presented himself instead of his guest and teacher, wrapped in the priest's long cloak[b]. He was led before the judge, who was at that moment

[a] 'Hist. Eccles.' L. I. c. 7.

[b] "Mox se sanctus Albanus, pro hospite ac magistro suo, ipsius habitu, id est, caracalla, qua vestiebatur indutus, militibus exhibuit." Beda, *ut supra.* It should be observed that Bede gives no name to the "clericus;" and the passage is remarkable in connection with that (Amphibalus) by which later writers distinguished him. See *post.*

assisting at a great sacrifice. Albanus was told that because he had concealed and had procured the escape of a "sacrilegious despiser of the gods," he should take the place of the priest, and should suffer the punishment justly due to him, if it appeared that his own ancient faith had been in any way shaken. Albanus, giving his name to the judge[c], professed himself a Christian, refused to sacrifice to the gods, and was then severely scourged. But nothing could shake him; and an order was given for his immediate beheading. Accordingly he was led from the city toward a hill, which rose on the opposite side of the Ver. The bridge which crossed the river was narrow. There was so great a crowd seeking to pass and to witness the execution, that Albanus, eager for martyrdom, feared that evening would come before he could reach the appointed place. But at his prayer the stream shrank away, and the host of witnesses was able to pass over dryshod. The executioner was so impressed by the miracle, that he flung away his sword, and fell at the feet of Albanus, desiring rather to die with him than to take his life. The hill was at last reached; and on its summit, Albanus, thirsting, desired water from God. Immediately a spring burst forth, which, "when its ministry had been performed," returned again into the heart of the earth. Then the Martyr's head was stricken off, and he received a crown of life. But the executioner who had taken the place of him who refused to strike the blow was not permitted to rejoice in his evil deed. His eyes fell on the earth at the same moment that the head of Albanus struck it. The other was beheaded at the same time and place, receiving a baptism of blood in the room of the Christian sacrament. The judge, continues Bede, impressed by so many miraculous signs, soon discontinued the persecution of the Christians.

[c] "Ait Judex, 'Nomen tuum quæro, quod sine mora mihi insinua.' Et ille,—'Albanus,' inquit, 'a parentibus vocor, et Deum verum et vivum, qui universa creavit, adoro semper et colo.'" Beda, *ut sup.* It is frequently asserted that Albanus was a Roman soldier. Of this there is no trace in Beda's narrative.

Of this narràtive it must be remarked that, as we now read it in Bede's 'Ecclesiastical History,' it must have been written at least four centuries after the event which it describes. The earliest notice of Albanus is to be found in the 'Life of Germanus, Bishop of Auxerre,' by his contemporary, Constantius. Germanus visited Britain in the year 429; and, according to some, the Council in which he protested against the heresy of Pelagius was held at Verulamium. The place of meeting is not named by Constantius; but we are briefly told that Germanus visited the tomb of the martyr Albanus, opened it, placed in it certain relics with great honour, and carried away with him a "massa pulveris" (a sod) from the spot of the martyrdom. The sod, we are told, was yet stained with the blood of Albanus. This visit of Germanus was made 125 years after the date assigned for the martyrdom.

We have next the testimony of Gildas, writing about A.D. 564. He mentions Albanus at Verulamium, and Aaron and Julius at Caerleon (Legionum urbis cives) among the martyrs who fell "in the time of persecution." The chief points in the story of Albanus are briefly touched on by him,—the hiding of a Christian, the change of garments, the drying-up of the river, and the conversion of the executioner[d]. It is possible that certain 'Acta' recording the sufferings and martyrdom of Albanus were already in existence, and that such a book was used by Gildas. Between Gildas and Bede, however (who died in 735), there is no mention of the Protomartyr. Bede's story is much fuller and more detailed than that of Gildas. His authorities may have been the work of Gildas himself, and either the same 'Acta,' or an enlarged version of them. Of the true date, or of the value, of such 'Acta,' we have no means of judging. They must, at any rate, have been compiled long after the death of Albanus. We are thus compelled to accept the conclusion of the editors of the 'Concilia;' that of the circumstances and details of the martyrdom we know nothing on which we can rely with safety. "All that seems certain is, that within 125 years after the

[d] 'De excidio Britonum,' § 11.

persecution under Diocletian, a belief existed at Verulamium that a martyr named Albanus lay buried near that town[e]."

The story was, however, fully accepted in the neighbourhood of Verulamium when Bede wrote. He tells us that a church had been built on the place of the martyrdom, worthy of the saint whom it commemorated; and that frequent miracles—healing of the sick, and other signs—took place in it[f]. The city of Verulamium was then known as "Verlamacaester," or "Vaetlingacaestir,"—the latter name being given to it from the fact that the great Watling-street passed through the centre of the place. Probably much of the Roman town was still standing. Whether it was still inhabited, or whether life had already passed away from it and had gathered round the church of the martyr on the opposite hill, the germ of the present town of St. Alban's, we have no means of knowing. It was on this hill that Albanus suffered; and on it the miraculous fount of water broke forth. It is described by Bede, perhaps from his own observation, but far more probably after a passage in the earlier 'Acta,' as a place of much quiet beauty, not unworthy to witness the end of a martyr[g]. A church, as

[e] Haddan and Stubbs, 'Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents relating to Great Britain and Ireland,' i. p. 5.

[f] "Postea, redeunte temporum Christianorum serenitate, ecclesia est mirandi operis atque ejus martyrio condigna extructa. In quo videlicet loco usque ad hanc diem curatio infirmorum et frequentium operatio virtutum celebrari non desinit." Beda, H. E. l. i. c. 7. The passage in Gildas, § 10, does not imply, as has been asserted, that the place of martyrdom was unknown when he wrote, but only that it had fallen into the hands of Saxon conquerors. "Deus . . . persecutionis tempore . . . ne crassa atræ noctis caligine Britannia obscuraretur, clarissimas lampades sanctorum martyrum nobis accendit; quorum nunc corporum sepulturæ et passionum loca, si non lugubri divortione barbarorum, quamplurima ob scelera nostra, civibus adimerentur, non minimum intuentium mentibus ardorem divinæ caritatis incuterent."

[g] "Montem cum turbis reverentissimus Dei confessor ascendit; qui opportune lætus gratia decentissima, quingentis fere passibus ab arena situs est" (the "arena" was the actual place of execution),

we have seen, had been raised on it. Yet it is quite certain that before the end of the eighth century this church, if it still existed, had been reduced to ruin ; and that the actual place of the interment of Albanus was unknown. This we learn from the story of the foundation of the abbey by Offa of Mercia; who, troubled in conscience for the murder of Ethelbert, King of the East Angles, determined, about the year 793, to found a monastery in honour of St. Alban at Verulamium ; close to which place the kings of Mercia had a royal villa or manor-house [h]. But no one knew where the relics of the protomartyr lay. A vision was, however, vouchsafed to Offa at Bath, and, guided by a miraculous light, the coffin which contained the remains, and which "had long been hidden under the turf," was duly found by the king. It contained, we are told, the remains of Albanus, besides certain relics which had been laid beside them by St. German. They were placed in a reliquary, and conveyed to the small temporary church which had been prepared for them, until that of the new monastery should be built. Offa procured the canonisation of the martyr from the Pope, Adrian. The monastery was at once founded. A company of Benedictines was established in it: and thus arose that great abbey of St. Alban which was distinguished by so many privileges and by such extensive donations; and which, from its foundation to

"variis herbarum floribus depictus, immo usque quaque vestitus; in quo nihil repente arduum, nihil præceps, nihil abruptum, quem lateribus longe lateque deductum in modum æquoris natura complanat, dignum videlicet eum, pro insita sibi specie venustatis, jam olim reddens, qui beati martyris cruore dicaretur." H. E. I. 7. Tradition afterwards fixed the place of execution (the "arena" of Bede) on the top of this hill, within the walls of the existing church, in that part of the North Transept where the martyrdom is figured on the roof (Part I. § XX.). But the words of Bede imply that the "arena" was at the foot of the hill.

[h] The earthworks which enclosed this manor-house are still visible below the town of St. Alban's. The place is called Kingsbury, the King's "burh," or "strong house."

the dissolution, was generally regarded as the principal house of the Benedictine order in England[1].

Of the thirteen abbots who ruled the monastery, from the foundation by Offa to the Norman conquest, many were of royal descent,—a sufficient indication of the distinction at once assigned to the house of St. Alban. In their time the town gathered round the walls of the abbey; and Ulsi, the sixth abbot, founded, it is said, the three churches dedicated to St. Peter, St. Michael, and St. Stephen, and established a market. Ælfric, the eleventh abbot, bought the royal manor of Kingsbury, the officers of which had been troublesome and oppressive to the monks. His successor, Ealdred, began the deliberate breaking up of the buildings at Verulamium, which had become the resort of men and women of evil note, and of robbers from the neighbouring forests. Both he and Eadmer, the next abbot, laid aside the materials procured from the Roman town for the building of their new Church (see Part I., § I.). But this building, owing apparently to the troubles of the time, was not begun; and it would seem that Offa's church remained undisturbed until the first Norman abbot, Paul of Caen, pulled it down and raised the existing structure. (Part I., § I.)

There was a belief at St. Alban's, recorded by Matthew Paris in that portion of the 'Gesta Abbatum' which was compiled by him, to the effect that, in the time of Vulnoth, the fourth abbot, the Danes plundered the monastery, and carried off the relics of St. Alban to Denmark. They were recovered by Egwyn, sacrist of the abbey, sent back "in a strong box with three feet and three locks," and replaced in their own shrine. We are also told that Ealfric, the eleventh abbot, again fearing troubles from the Danes, sent to Ely, for safety, in a rich chest

[1] This position was at one time contested by Westminster, and the priority in Parliament was for some time assigned to the latter monastery. St. Alban's subsequently recovered it; and in the list of signatures attached to the 'Articles of Faith,' drawn up by Convocation in 1536, that of the Abbot of St. Alban's stands first of the Abbots.

(in capsule pretiosa) the remains of some unknown monk, intending that all should believe them to be the actual relics of the martyr. These latter he buried in his own church, near the altar of St. Nicholas. The monks of Ely afterwards sent back other relics in the same chest, thinking that by this fraud they were keeping the remains of St. Alban. But the true relics were, when the time had become safe, raised and placed in a shrine[k]. What amount of truth there may be in these stories is very uncertain: but they bring an additional element of confusion into the question of the authenticity of the relics preserved in the great shrine at St. Alban's[l].

It is unnecessary to dwell on the lives of the twenty-seven abbots between Paul of Caen and Richard Boreman, who surrendered the house to the visitors of the Crown on the 5th of December, 1539. The works of those more immediately concerned in the building and renewing of the existing church have already been mentioned in Part I. The importance of the abbey increased after the Conquest; and its position, on the course of the Watling Street, made it a frequent resting-place for kings and great personages as they journeyed along that line of road. All who came paid their vows at the shrine of the protomartyr. This was at first a chest of painted wood. Geoffry of Gorham, the sixteenth abbot, began in the year 1124 a shrine (theca) "of marvellous design," and after some delay this shrine was completed "by the labour of a monk called Anketel." In this shrine was placed "the very ancient chest containing the relics of the martyr;" and the "Translation" was held on the 2nd of August, 1129. This ancient chest was opened, and, continues Matthew Paris, "in order to silence the claims of the monks of Denmark and those of Ely, who falsely asserted that they possessed the body of St. Alban

[k] 'Gesta Abbatum,' vol. i. pp. 12, 29, 34.

[l] There is much reason for believing that the hill on which the Church of St. Alban now stands was occupied by one of the cemeteries of Roman Verulamium. In that case the discovery of a coffin by Offa is readily explained.

entire or in part, therefore before all who were able to be present, all the bones of the martyr were counted and exhibited one by one, and the head being held up on high before all men in the hands of the venerable brother Ralph, at that time Archdeacon of this monastery, was found to have, hanging from the back part by a silken thread, a scroll, with this inscription, in very old letters of gold: 'Sanctus Albanus.' Now, the revered King Offa had placed a golden circlet round the head, engraven with these words, 'Hoc est caput Sancti Albani, Anglorum Protomartyris;' but it was afterwards carelessly destroyed for the sake of the metal, which was devoted, it is said, to the construction of the shrine (ad fabricam feretri). But the abbot being angry, another was made to be put in the place of the former [m].'"

The shrine thus made was afterwards stripped of its silver plating by Abbot Ralph of Gobion, who desired to buy the vill of Brantefield. His successor, Robert of Gorham, restored it. This was the inner shrine. The great outer shrine, also constructed of gold and silver plates, and rich with jewels, was made in the time of Abbot Simon (1166—1183). The whole mass—the outer shrine inclosing the inner, or reliquary—required four men to carry it.

It was during the abbacy of the same Simon, or Symeon, that the relics of St. Amphibalus were discovered at Redbourn. This was effected by the help of St. Alban, who, by supernatural guidance, directed the abbot to their resting-place. Amphibalus, the Christian priest who appears in the story of Albanus, was, according to his legend, martyred, apparently during the same persecution, at Redbourn, a village about five miles from St. Alban's. Matthew Paris describes the discovery of his remains as follows:—"The blessed martyr Amphibalus was found in the middle between two friends, side by side with them, the third friend occupying a solitary position at right angles to, and over against them. Moreover, there were found near that spot six in number of the friends of the aforesaid martyrs, so that the blessed martyr Amphi-

[m] 'Gesta Abbatum,' i. p. 80.

balus was counted as the tenth. Amongst the relics of Amphibalus, the soldier of Christ, two great knives were found, one in the skull, and another near the heart, confirming the truth of that which is contained in the book of his Passion, written in old time at St. Alban's. And, just as the text of his Passion describes it, the others lay slain with swords, but he lay, his entrails having been first exposed, and then taken out, afterwards pierced with spears and knives, and finally shattered with stones, so that scarcely one of his bones appeared entire, whilst those of his friends remained almost uninjured. . . . All these relics were brought to St. Alban's, and the convent went forth from the town taking with them the feretrum of the protomartyr, and met the relics of St. Amphibalus and his friends at the place whereon was built soon afterwards the church of St. Mary de Pratis, or Des Prez[n]." For the history of the shrine in which the relics were afterwards preserved, see Part I., § XXIX.

The Scriptorium, which for so long a period gave great celebrity to the abbey, was established by the first Norman abbot, Paul of Caen. Abbot Simon (the "inventor" of the relics of Amphibalus) is described as "librorum amator specialis." He caused many books to be written, and had them placed in a painted aumbrie or book-press (in almario picto) in the church, opposite the tomb of Roger the Hermit. (For the position of this tomb see Part I., § XIX.) But there is no trace of what has been called the historical school

[n] M. Paris, 'Hist. Major,' p. 136 (ed. Wats). Mr. Wright (Essays on Archæological Subjects, i. ch. 12) observes that this account seems to indicate a Saxon burial place. "Any one who has been in the habit of opening Saxon barrows will at once recognise the position of the spear-head (which might be taken for a large knife), which is invariably found by, or sometimes under, the skull, and the knife (supposed to be the seax), which is found near, or very little below, the breast." It need hardly be said that the name Amphibalus is thought to have been 'invented' from the cloak (which the word signifies), in which Albanus presented himself to the soldiers (see *ante*).

of St. Alban's until the reign of John. Then, the monk Roger of Wendover may claim the great merit of having begun the great work which was afterwards referred to as the 'Chronica Magna,' or 'Majora,' 'S. Albani.' Matthew Paris, also a monk here, augmented and continued the Chronicle of Wendover; and the chronicles known as the 'Flores Historiarum' of Matthew of Westminster, are, in reality, a compilation made at St. Alban's under the eye and by direction of Matthew Paris as an abridgment of his great chronicle. The 'Chronica' were continued by Thomas of Walsingham, William of Rishanger, John of Trokelowe, and others. These chronicles have all been printed. The English Historical Society published an edition of Wendover. The 'Historia Major' of Matthew Paris was edited by Wats in the seventeenth century, but a better and more correct edition is much required. The 'Historia Minor' has appeared in the series of chronicles, edited for the Master of the Rolls; and in the same series will be found eleven volumes entitled 'Chronica Monasterii S. Albani,' ranging from Walsingham downward. In this collection are included the 'Gesta Abbatum,' containing a history of the abbots and their works, from A.D. 793 to A.D. 1411.

An Act of Parliament for establishing an episcopal see at St. Alban's was passed in 1874. The new diocese will be taken from that of London and Rochester, and will embrace the whole of Hertfordshire and a great portion of Essex. The first bishop has not yet (1876) been appointed.

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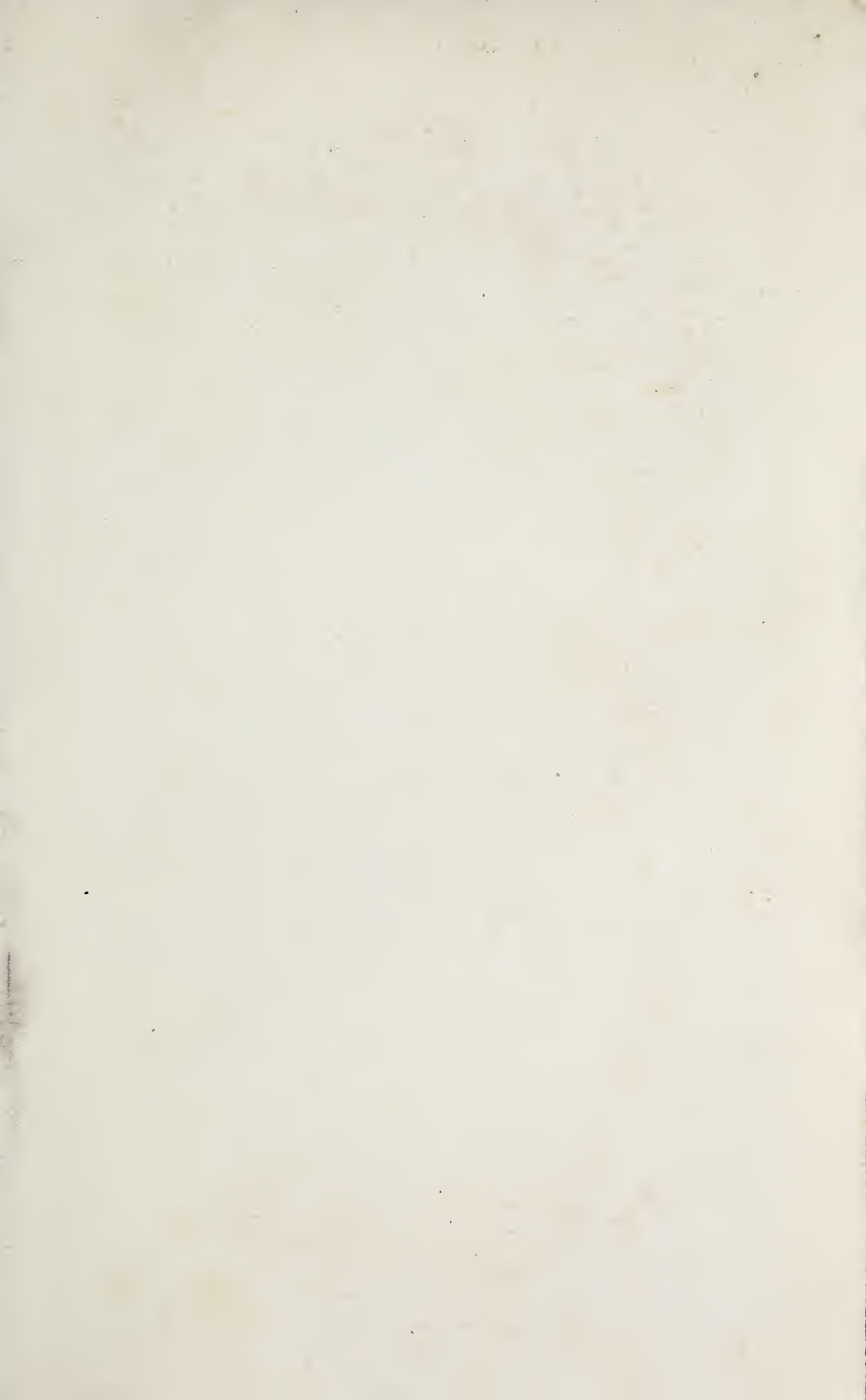

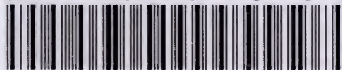
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