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AND
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PROCEEDINGS.

Meeting held at the Town Hall, S. Albans,
June 7th, 1895.

Present—The Rev. Canon Davys, in the chair; the Revds. H. Fowler, P. Deedes, C. V. Bicknell; Messrs. W. Page, W. J. Hardy, W. Pollard, W. R. L. Lowe, F. Trevor Davys, W. C. Morgan, F. W. Silvester, H. Wilton Hall, G. Mowat, A. E. Gibbs, C. H. Ashdown, with many ladies and friends.

The Minutes of the last Meeting having been confirmed, the Chairman announced a plan for an Excursion—to visit Bishop's Stortford and afterwards join the Essex Society in a meeting at Saffron Walden. He appealed for the payment of arrear subscriptions. Mr. W. Page, F.S.A., read a paper entitled—"Notes on the Remains of Verulamium," which he illustrated by a plan of the site of the Roman City, enlarged from that made for the British Archæological Association in 1869.

At the request of the Chairman, Mr. W. Pollard, of Old Cross, Hertford,* delivered his "Notes on Abbeys and other ruins existing near the river Witham in Lincolnshire." He exhibited in illustration some valuable old engravings. The cordial thanks of the meeting were given to him.

Discussion having been invited on the subject of Mr. Page's paper, Mr. Fowler exhibited and explained a section of a portion of the wall and foss existing at the Verulam Hills; he offered the suggestion that the Rampart and Ditch were the Roman modification of the lines of defence of the British *Oppidum* of Tasciovanus.

Remarks were offered by Mr. C. H. Ashdown on the position of some of the Roman foundations which he had tested.

After votes of thanks, some mediæval and other pottery excavated on the premises of Mr. Fisk were shown by Mr. Page; also "an hexagonal plate of copper, decorated with quatrefoils containing shields in Limoge enamel, of thirteenth century work." Also "a small figure of *latten* probably intended for the B. Virgin, hollowed to fit on a bracket, and forming part of a "Rood Mary and John," found at Willian Church, and lent by the Rev. G. B. Gainsford. These objects had been exhibited at the Society of Antiquaries, and described by Mr. S. John Hope.

WALTER J. LAWRENCE.

May 16, 1896.

* Since deceased.

The History of the Monastery of St. Mary de Pré.

BY W. PAGE, ESQ., F.S.A.

There is nothing now but a slight unevenness of the ground a little way down on the right hand side of the Gorhambury drive, to indicate the site of the Benedictine Nunnery of the Blessed Mary of Pré, or the Blessed Mary of the Meadows, but it is surprising, considering the smallness of the Monastery, to find so much documentary evidence as we do, concerning it. From this, I propose to sketch briefly the history of the Monastery, and to attempt to show how the Nuns lived, and how they occupied their time. It is to be hoped that at some future time excavations may be made on the site, and a ground plan of the buildings obtained, so little being at present known of these small English Nunneries.

The story of the foundation of Pré, told by Matthew Paris, is as follows:—A poor man of the town of St. Albans, in 1178, had a dream in which St. Alban appeared to him and revealed the place of sepulchre of St. Amphibalus. Upon examining the spot indicated, the relics of this Saint are said to have been found between two of his companions. As the relics were being brought from Redbourn to St. Albans, the Monks of the Abbey went out in procession to meet them with the Shrine of St. Alban, which, when it approached the relics of St. Amphibalus, became so light that it could be carried by two brothers, “yea, even by one, without difficulty,” while at other times it was so heavy that it could be scarcely moved, so strongly was the Holy Martyr attracted to his teacher and master. Some ten or twelve years afterwards a certain faithful man of Walden, we are told, while calmly reposing in deep slumber, had a vision, in which there appeared to him a venerable cleric bright as a ray of sunlight, who stated that he was St. Amphibalus, the master and converter of the Blessed Alban, proto-martyr of the English, in whom he was well pleased and in whose glory he was glorified, and after referring to the attraction which the place where his relics rested had to the Shrine of St. Alban, the visionary Saint added “Go therefore to Abbot Warin and tell him from me that the same place should be honoured with

fitting reverence." Upon the Saint's messenger relating his vision, the Abbot determined to honour the spot by building there a church. And being apparently a man of impulse and energy, he, within a very short space of time, completed the buildings, endowed the Monastery, put in religious persons and instructed them in religion, lest anyone should say of him that he commenced to build but was unable to complete his work. He dedicated the church to the Blessed Mary, and made John de Warden, son of the messenger of Saint Amphibalus, the first master and proctor, who, although a layman, by preaching to the more simple, instructed many, and calling upon them to follow virtue, he refrained himself from vice. Abbot Warin having completed the buildings brought there leprous Nuns, restricting them within certain bounds lest they should be entangled in the errors of the world, and keeping them removed from the leprous men at St. Julian's.*

By a charter dated 15 September, 1194, the Abbot granted to the monastery of Pré the place in which their church was built together with the monastic buildings on both sides of Watling Street, certain procurations, the first and last loaf at every baking, licence to grind corn at certain mills, thirteen old garments of the Monks yearly, and certain alms, corrodies, etc. He also provided that their chaplain should have daily from St. Albans Monastery a loaf of a monk, two measures of ale of a monk, and two dishes from the kitchen of the Guest-house, and their clerk, a loaf of an esquire, one measure of ale of a knight, and one dish from the kitchen of the Guest-house, also that the same chaplain and clerk should receive yearly a mark from the church of Walden and half a mark from the church of Newham. He further endowed the house with the tithe from the lordship of Luton, and the tithe from the rent of the Stone House upon the wall of the cemetery of St. Albans, certain rents in Cambridge, pannage for pigs and provender for horses, a certain woodland, called Coppedethorn, with firewood, and some other tithes. The charter ends with the abbatial curse: if any one presume to take anything from the Abbot's gifts, let his

* It would appear from the wording of the Gesta that there were both men and women at St. Julian's.

name be erased from the Book of Life and let him participate in perpetual punishments with Judas, the betrayer, Amen. As all the possessions granted belonged to the Abbey of St. Alban, Abbot Warine was much blamed for impoverishing the Abbey in order to found Pré. King John, who is not usually accredited with very much liberality, was the greatest royal benefactor to this priory. On 14 June, 1199, he granted to the church there, the right to hold a fair yearly on the vigil and feast of the Nativity of the Blessed Mary the Virgin,* which fair was held yearly at Romeland in St. Albans. Also on 1 May, 1204, he gave to the same church 60 acres of land about St. Albans,† and again on 18 May, 1215, he granted a protection to the inmates.‡ The next mention I have found in chronological order concerning the House of Pré is the consecration of the cemetery there, which was performed by the Bishop of Down during the Abbacy of William de Trumpington (1214-1235). Under Abbot Warine's charter, Richard, the keeper of the House of Pré, on the death of Abbot Trumpington in 1235, claimed a corrody, or a supply of meat and drink for one person, as had been supplied upon the deaths of former Abbots, which was granted to him.

About this time the house of Pré appears to have become very poor and the buildings dilapidated, so that in the account given in the *Gesta* of the visitation of the Bishop of Norwich by order of the Pope and Henry III., for the taxation of the tithe to be granted for the Crusade, it is described as the Church of St. Mary de Pratis, where the poor women scarcely have the necessaries of life. Possibly at the intercession of this Bishop, Pope Alexander IV. came to the assistance of the house and issued a Bull in 1255, granting 40 days' indulgence to such persons as should contribute towards the repair of the buildings, and again in the two following years similar bulls were issued.

I have seen no record relating to the House of Pré for nearly a hundred years after this date, and as, about the middle of the fourteenth century, there commences a series of the accounts of the Priory, made up yearly, and

* Dugdule, Vol. III., p. 355.

† Charter Roll, 5 John.

‡ Pat. Roll, 16 John.

preserved at the Public Record Office*, which illustrates the life within its walls, it may be well to digress here from the chronological order of events and consider how the inmates of Pré lived.

First with regard to the buildings, as there are now no indications of the position of any of these, I cannot lay before you a ground plan, but speaking generally the plans of most nunneries were similar, adapting themselves, of course, to local requirements. There was the cloister, around which the various buildings ranged. The church was usually to the north, running, of course, east to west, the chapter house on the east side, with probably a parlour or hall adjoining, and over these was the dorter or sleeping apartments, on the south was usually the frater or dining-hall, and on the west were the guest chambers, kitchens, etc. Mr. William Brown, in a paper upon small Yorkshire nunneries, which he contributed to the Yorkshire Archæological Journal (Vol. IX.), states that most of the chambers were comfortless abodes, plastered inside, and weather boarded out, few of them had fireplaces, and in some cases the windows were unglazed, and were placed with an utter disregard to what was under or above them. The cloister walk or ambulatory was, however, sometimes glazed in the Yorkshire priories.

With reference to Pré, I have found mention in the accounts before referred to, of the church with the chancel of the Nuns and Sisters, the cloisters, the chapter house with the great solar or dormitory over it, the chamber of the Nuns, the house of the Sisters, the ambry or almonry, the great hall, the red hall, the chamber of the guest house, the frater, the hall of the Prioress, the wardrobe, the rere dorter, the kitchen, the laundry house, the stable, the dove house, the cemetery of the Nuns and Sisters, the garden, etc. The buildings had apparently all of them tiled roofs and the windows were all glazed. There appear also to have been fire places in the dormitories as there are items for coals to be expended there. The Monastery was possessed of a clock, the cost of the repair of which occurs on the account for 1461.

* Ministers' Accts., Bdle. 867, Nos. 21 to 37, dating from 15 Edw. III. to 2 Rich. III.

Concerning the inmates of the buildings we obtained some little information from these rolls of accounts. At first the house was ruled by a master and was merely a hospital for leprous women, but as leprosy died out in this country, it became purely a monastic establishment. The masters or wardens continued to manage the affairs of the priory till the middle or end of the fourteenth century, but after that time till the Dissolution of the House the direction of all its affairs devolved upon a prioress as in an ordinary Nunnery. I find, however, in the Bulls of Pope Alexander IV., on behalf of the priory, as early as 1255, and also in the early ministers' accounts, there is mention of the Prioress of Pré at the same period as the house was under the rule of a master. At the time of the foundation of the hospital there were apparently only leprous sisters there, with probably a professed superior to take charge of them. Shortly afterwards, however, there were two classes, namely Nuns and Sisters, and these continued down to the Abbacy of Thomas de la Mare of St. Albans, whose sister Dionisia, as she is called in the Gesta, or Alice in the accounts of Pré, became a professed Nun of this house in 1342, when she paid 2*li.* at her entry. This lady, from the position of her brother, probably became prioress. Shortly after he was elected Abbot of St. Albans, Thomas de la Mare altered the constitution of the house, doing away with the remains of its character as a hospital and making it purely a Nunnery. He ordained that the Sisters, the successors of the leprous women, should become Nuns and from thenceforth no more Sisters should be received. And whereas the greater part of the Nuns had been illiterate and so unable to say the services, he ordained that the then present and future Nuns should learn to read, that they might say the services at the canonical hours, and for this he gave them six or seven ordinals from the Monastery of St. Alban. He further commanded that from thenceforth all the Nuns should profess the rule of St. Benedict in writing in the presence of the Archdeacon of St. Albans, or a Monk to be appointed by the Abbot. It is about this time, viz., in 1357, that there is the last mention, I can find, of the Master or Warden of the house, and the Prioress takes his place in all deeds and charters and in the control of the Monastery and all its possessions, and

this was the date, I fancy, at which the house was changed from a Hospital to a Nunnery. As to the number of inmates, I find that at the time of the foundation provision was apparently made for 13 Sisters; in 1341 there were four Sisters and about as many Nuns; in 1352 mention is made of the Prioress and eight Nuns, the number of Sisters not being given. After the abolition of the class of Sisters, the number of Nuns was about ten. From 1482 to 1484 there were a Prioress and nine Nuns besides a novice. Before the alterations by Abbot de la Mare, the household consisted, besides the Master, Prioress, Nuns, and Sisters, of a Chaplain who received 20s. a year, a clerk receiving 4s. a year, a master groom receiving 5s. a year, two officers called tenators, whose duties were apparently similar to those of a steward or bailiff, two huntsmen, one carter, one shepherd, one cowherd, one porter, two maidservants for the house, and one maidservant especially for the Nuns, a man called the "Preyman," two ploughmen, and a barber. All these received yearly wages and lived in buildings adjoining the Monastery. I find also items in the accounts for repairs to the chambers of brothers John de Fluttewyh, John le Potter, and others who were probably corrody men receiving board and lodging at the Monastery in consideration of a sum paid down or other gift to the house. After the reconstitution by Abbot de la Mare, the household consisted of a Prioress, a Sub-Prioress, Nuns, and Novices, a Chaplain, a Steward of the Household, a man-cook, and the other out-door servants before mentioned. The Prior of Redbourn also used to come over regularly at certain times of the year to hear the confessions of the Nuns, when he received entertainment at the Nunnery. In the latter half of the fifteenth century some ladies appear to have received board and lodging at the Pré, for protection, probably, during the troublous times of the Wars of the Roses.

The Nuns wore the habit of the Benedictine order, which was a black robe with an under tunic of white or undyed wool, and when they went into the choir they wore a black cowl similar to that of the Monks. They kept daily the canonical hours, which consisted of the service of Matins at 3 a.m., or at some Monasteries at

5 a.m., immediately after which was Prime. Tierce was at 9 a.m., then High Mass, succeeded by Sext, which lasted about 20 minutes. They had leisure till 11 a.m., when they dined, and at mid-day Nones was celebrated, which lasted for about 20 minutes. They then had recreation for an hour and worked or read till 3 p.m., when Vespers began and lasted for about an hour, this being followed by meditation for another hour in the choir. Supper was at 5 p.m., after which came Compline, the last service of the day. This was ended about 8 p.m., when silence was rung for retirement to bed. Fosbrooke tells us the singing of the English Nuns was exquisite, and a welcome sound it must have been to the weary travellers and pilgrims journeying along the Watling Street, the main road from the south-east to the north-west of England, to hear the Nuns chanting Compline, and to know they could obtain rest and shelter for the night. The chapter was held every Thursday before Sext, when the affairs of the house were discussed, confession made, penance enjoined, and discipline administered. But the rules as to the daily life in the Nunnery, the services in the church, penances, &c., are too long to enter upon here, those of the Nuns of the Bridgetine order, which were founded upon the Benedictine, are fully set out in Aungier's History of Sion. Manual labour was enjoined, but the principal industrial occupation of the inmates of Pré, recorded upon these accounts, and that a somewhat sordid one, was making beer, for which Sister Isabella Ruthersfeld appears to have become noted during the middle of the fourteenth century. The candles for use in the church and monastery were also made in the house. Attached to the Nunnery was a large farm, the stock of which in 1353 consisted as follows:—16 cart horses, whereof 2 died, one was diseased and one stolen; 7 oxen, whereof 2 were slaughtered for the larder and 2 sold: one bull; 13 cows, whereof 2 were slaughtered for the larder and one sold; 2 calves; 3 heifers which were slaughtered for the use of the house at Christmas; 49 sheep, 20 of which were slaughtered for the larder; 56 ewes; and 40 pigs, 6 of which were eaten by the household. There was also a laundry attached to the House, in which possibly the Nuns and Sisters worked, and as I have found an item for needles in a late account, it is probable that garments were made for the poor. There

is, however, no evidence of the Nuns being employed upon embroidery, tapestry, or silk weaving as in some other English Nunneries. From these accounts it would also appear that the Nuns and Sisters fared well as regards food and drink. On the six principal festivals of All Saints, Christmas, Purification, Easter, Pentecost, and the Nativity of St. John the Baptist, they had great feasts, at each of which in 1352-3 the Nuns received 60 flagons of ale. "And let it be known," the accountant adds, "that they ought to receive at every feast 100 flagons besides the ale brought in the town on the day of the obit of Richard Bosard." We must hope this ale was of a mild character, for a hundred flagons for a dozen ladies at one feast seems a rather large allowance. Besides these there are the charges in the accounts for feasts at several other church festivals, and also for "Wasseyll" at Christmas, and Twelftide, "Bonfyreale" and "Mawndyale." Every year we find that a store of salt fish was laid up from Stourbridge Fair. In these accounts the charges for food include such items as meat, fish, eels, olive oil, milk, wine, spices, salmon, red herrings, geese, fowls, butter, eggs, cheese, "cawdell," almonds, &c. A few other noteworthy items in the accounts are as follows:—On the roll for 1341-2 for a pastoral at Easter; for 1356-7, paid to Richard Bonere, not to carry off two servants of the Nunnery, because they were villeins of the Earl of Warwick, 2s.; for 1461-2, 20s. given to divers soldiers coming with Queen Margaret from the east. This was probably after the second battle of St. Albans, and these soldiers some of the remnant of the Lancastrian Army fleeing to the north. The whole yearly income of the Nunnery varied during the 14th and 15th centuries from about 40*li.* to 70*li.* a year. In the account for 1341-2, the receipts amounted to 55*li.* 6s. 3½*d.* and expenses to 46*li.* 5s. 5*d.*, out of which they spent 4*li.* 3s. 8*d.* on wages and salaries, 12*li.* 4s. 7*d.*, or not a quarter of this expenditure on food, and 1*li.* 12s. 4¼*d.* on clothing. In 1484-5 (a hundred and forty years later) out of a total expenditure of 65*li.* 13s. 8*d.*, they spent on wages 13*li.* 4s. 9*d.*, on food 29*li.* 7s. 3*d.*, or under a half of their expenditure. Considering the increase of the price of food this would not warrant an accusation of very greatly increased luxury in living. As regards charity and hospitality, they had

little to expend, but every year they distributed to the poor on the feast of St. Roman, on the feast of the dedication of their church, and on Maunday Thursday 60 loaves, and each year there are recorded in their accounts some expenses of the guests. There is one peculiarity which appears by these rolls of accounts, and that a satisfactory one, which is that they almost invariably show a balance on the right side to be carried forward. In my experience, both of ancient monastic accounts and modern charitable ones, the balance is generally on the other side.

But to return to the history of the Priory. In 1416, Henry V. granted to the Priory of Pré the reversion, after the death of Joan, Queen of England, of the priory or manor of Wenge in Buckingham, a cell of the Abbey of St. Nicholas of Angers in Normandy, and which had been dissolved as an alien priory on account of the war with France.* The expenses of this confirmation are set out in the accounts before referred to. They are as follows:—3*s.* 4*d.*, the expenses of the Lady Prioress going and returning to and from London; 4*s.* to William Ball for writing the petition to the King; 6*s.* 8*d.* to the Attorney of the King; 8*li.* 9*s.*, fee for the Letters Patent; 13*s.* 4*d.* for enrolling the same in Chancery; 20*d.* paid for wax; 6*s.* 8*d.* to the clerk of the Parliament; and 21*s.* 4*d.* for enrolling in the Exchequer and for divers writs.

Henry VI., in 1440, confirmed the privilege which the Priory had of being exempt from payment of subsidy† Both these grants were confirmed in 1461 by Edward IV.,‡ on account, it is stated, of the poverty and need of the Priory.

Towards the close of its existence, the Priory obtained an evil reputation. At Cardinal Morton's Visitation of St. Albans Abbey in 1489,§ Abbot Wallingford is accused of having admitted a married woman living in adultery to be a Sister of the Monastery of Pré, and of having made her Prioress, and also of permitting the monks to visit the Nunnery for licentious purposes, with impunity.

* Pat., 4 Hen. V. m. 20, and Pat., 8 Hen. V. m. 26.

† Pat., 19 Hen. VI., p. 1, m. 31.

‡ Pat., 1 Edw. IV., p. 2, m. 11.

§ See Lectures on the Council of Trent, by J. A. Froud, p. 22. Pré is there wrongly spelt Bray.

There is little more to add to the history of the Priory of Pré. When Wolsey became Abbot of St. Albans, it seems he found the priory in a neglected condition, and he caused a jury to be impannelled to inquire into its state. On April 28th, 1528, the jurors made return that a certain monastery or priory of nuns of the Order of St. Benedict, was founded by the progenitors of the Lord the King at Pré, and was called the monastery or priory of St. Mary de Pré, and that a certain Lady Elienora Barnarde was lately prioress of the same, and afterwards, on June 4th, 1527, she died at the same monastery, after whose death no prioress had been elected. At the time of the death of the said prioress, there were in the monastery three nuns, who after her death retired from the same monastery, leaving it wholly destitute as a place profane and desolate, whereby divine service, obsequies, alms, and other works of piety, which, according to the foundation, ought to be performed, given, and done, have wholly ceased from the death of the same prioress. The jurors then set out the possessions of the priory.* Wolsey, upon this report, applied to Pope Clement through Stephen Gardiner, then his secretary, for a Bull, to suppress the priory and to annex its possessions to St. Albans Abbey. The Bull was obtained in 1528, and after reciting the relaxation of discipline which it is said existed at Pré, authorised its suppression and annexation to St. Albans. The king, however, on July 3rd, 1528, granted the monastery with all its possessions to Wolsey himself. In the meantime Wolsey's scheme for the Colleges at Oxford and Ipswich, commonly known as Cardinal's Colleges, came to the fore, and Wolsey wrote to Peter Vannes asking him to obtain another bull authorising the annexation of Pré to Cardinal's College, Oxford, now known as Christ Church; but without waiting for a reply to his request, Wolsey appears to have granted the house and its possessions for the development of his pet scheme of a new college at Oxford. Upon the attainder of Wolsey in 1529, the endowments of Cardinal's Colleges were seized by the Crown, as though they had been Wolsey's private property. Pré was leased out by the Crown, at first to

* Chan. Inq., P.M., Hen. 8, Cardinals Bdle. 1.

Thomas Abraham, a merchant of London, and then, on 19th March, 1530, to Richard Raynshaw, yeoman of the King's Guard, for a term of thirty years. Henry VIII. afterwards, on 30th September, 1531, made an exchange with the Abbot of St. Albans, the Abbot taking the possessions of Pré, except Weng and Swanburne, and the King the Abbey lands of More, Bachwood, &c.* Upon the dissolution of St. Albans Abbey, the site of Pré Monastery was granted to Ralph Rowlatt.

I have compiled an incomplete list of masters and prioresses of Pré.

A List of Masters of St. Mary de Pré.

John de Walden, 1188.

Richard, 1235.

Richard de Bovyndon, 1341-1352.

Nicholas Redhod, 1352-1353.

John de Kyrkeby, paid 10*l.* at his entry in 1353, and mentioned in 1357.

Prioresses.

Dionisia or Alice de la Mare, was probably prioress at the end of the 14th century.

Lucy Botelere, 1430.

Isabella Benyngton, 1446-1464.

Elizabeth or Isabella Baroun, 1468, retired by reason of old age and infirmities in 1480.

Alice Wafer, 10 July, 1480-1487.

Christina Basset, 1487.

Margaret Vernon, 1515.

Elienora Barnarde, died 4th June, 1527.

Excursion to Saffron Walden, August 1st, 1895.

On August 1st an excursion to Saffron Walden was conducted by the Rev. Canon Davys, in accordance with arrangements made with G. Alan Lowndes, Esq., President of the Essex Society. A party including the two Hon. Secretaries, Rev. C. W. Harvey, Mr. F. Trevor Davys, Mr. R. L. Howard, and others, leaving St. Albans, 9.25 a.m., travelled *viâ* Tottenham, and by Great Eastern Railway to Audley End Station, arriving 12.24 p.m. Thence they proceeded to Audley End House, where they were welcomed by the Mayor of Saffron Walden, Mr. Edward Tayler and Mr. G. A. Beaumont, F.S.A., conductors of the Essex party. Lord Braybrooke received the

* See Letter and Papers, Hen. VIII., sub. dato, and Pat., 23 Hen. VIII., p. 2, m. 24.

visitors, and most courteously conducted them over the principal apartments, pointing out the family portraits and works of art. The history of the Mansion was observed to be summarised in an inscription on a tablet in the great saloon:—"Henry VIII., A.D. 1539, granted the Monastery of Walden, on the site of which this House stands, to Lord Chancellor Audley. Elizabeth, A.D. 1597, by special writ, summoned to Parliament Thomas Lord Howard de Walden, in the next reign, created Earl of Suffolk; he built this House in 1616. After many reductions it descended to Sir John Griffin Griffin, K.B., confirmed Baron Howard de Walden in 1784. He, among other additions and alterations, refitted this Saloon, to commemorate the noble families, through whom, with gratitude, he holds these possessions."

After visiting the Museum, Picture Galleries, Libraries, and Chapel, the gratification and thanks of the party were expressed to Lord Braybrooke by Mr. Macandrell and Canon Davys. At two o'clock, lunch was taken at the Town Hall under the presidency of Mr. G. Alan Lowndes; after which a business meeting of the Essex Society took place.

At three o'clock, the Parish Church, a noble example of Tudor work, was visited, the Rev. W. E. Layton reading a paper on its history, and afterwards pointing out its features and monuments. The fan vaulting of the nave, the belfry tower, and lofty spire (a notable restoration by Thomas Rickman, the reviver of Gothic architecture), were much admired. The ruins of the Norman Castle were then inspected at the Bury, notes on its history being read by Mr. G. Maynard, who afterwards gave an account of the Local Museum, established in the building on Castle Hill, erected by the late Lord Braybrooke for an Agricultural Hall. After partaking of tea in the grounds and paying a hasty visit to the Museum, the party took leave of their Essex friends, and returned by train, leaving Saffron Walden at 5.13 p.m., reaching St. Albans at 8.13 p.m. The expedition proved extremely interesting and agreeable.

S. FLINT CLARKSON.

Cassiobury, 16th June, 1896.

Meeting held at the Town Hall, S. Albans, May 11th, 1896, 8 o'clock p.m.

Present—The Ven. Archdeacon Lawrance, M.A., in the chair; the Revs. Canon Davys, and H. Fowler, Hon. Secs., Messrs. S. Flint Clarkson, W. Page, F. Trevor Davys, W. R. L. Lowe, W. J. Hardy, F. Kinneir Tarte, F. W. Silvester, H. R. Wilton Hall, and other members and friends. The Minutes of the last Meeting were confirmed. The Rev. Canon Davys announced the unanimous election of Lord Aldenham, F.S.A., as President, in succession to the late Earl of Verulam; he read Lord Aldenham's letter of acceptance. The announcement was received with acclamation.

The following were elected Ordinary Members (after nomination by the Committee,) F. Wallen, Esq., of "Bricketts," Watford, proposed by Mr. Silvester, and seconded by Mr. Fowler; John Rider, Esq., Victoria Street, S. Albans, proposed by Mr. Page, and seconded by the Chairman.

The audited Balance Sheet for 1895 was read by the Chairman, and accepted.

The Chairman announced that the Transactions of 1893 and 1894 had been printed for circulation.

Mr. W. Page, F.S.A., one of the Honorary Secretaries of the Committee for the proposed County Museum, gave information respecting the general objects of the Scheme, and the progress which had been made in arranging a Temporary Museum in rooms kindly lent by Mr. R. W. Ellis, Market Place, S. Albans. Mr. R. T. Andrews, of Hertford, expressed his interest in the County Museum Scheme, and promised his hearty support. Mr. F. Silvester moved the following resolution:—“That this Society desires to express satisfaction, that the first steps have been taken towards the foundation of a County Museum, and congratulates the Committee and the Secretaries on the progress already made.”

This was unanimously adopted.

Mr. S. Flint Clarkson, F.R.I.B.A., being called upon by the Chairman, delivered his Notes on “The Gateway of the Pemberton Almshouses,” illustrating the subject with detailed drawings, which he had prepared, specimens of the bricks, a diagram of the Brass of Roger Pemberton, the Founder, and a chart of the relationships of the chief members of the family. He remarked on the Architectural features of the interior of a house reputed to be the Pemberton Mansion. He also criticised the popular story referring to the terminal spike of the Almshouses Gateway. Mr. Fowler called attention to some documentary evidence, showing that Sir Francis Pemberton was practising as a conveyancing Barrister at S. Albans in 1673.

Mr. H. R. Wilton Hall then read a paper entitled, “Notes and Memoranda on some Hertfordshire Churches at the beginning of this century.” He also exhibited copies, made by himself, of diagrams and sketches produced by Mr. Pridmore, schoolmaster of Tewin, c. 1797, in illustration of his descriptions contained in six volumes, now in possession of the Hon. Baron Dimsdale.

Votes of thanks were accorded to the readers on the proposal of Mr. Touhmin, and seconded by Canon Davys, who offered some interesting comments. The meeting then became conversational. The drawings and other objects of interest were examined.

S. FLINT CLARKSON.

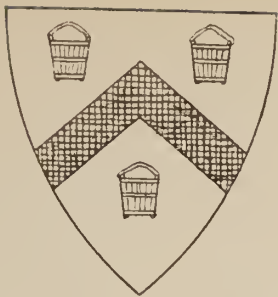
Cassiobury, 16th June, 1896.

The Gateway at the Pemberton Almshouses, St. Albans.

BY MR. S. FLINT CLARKSON, F.R.I.B.A.

The gateway is certainly very charming—quite perfect in its way. It is well proportioned in itself, and in relation to the six little one-storied dwellings to which it leads. The bulky piers give restfulness, and the unadorned simplicity has now-a-days a special charm. The sunken road is a happy accident. The bank demanded retaining walls, which, as they rise above the

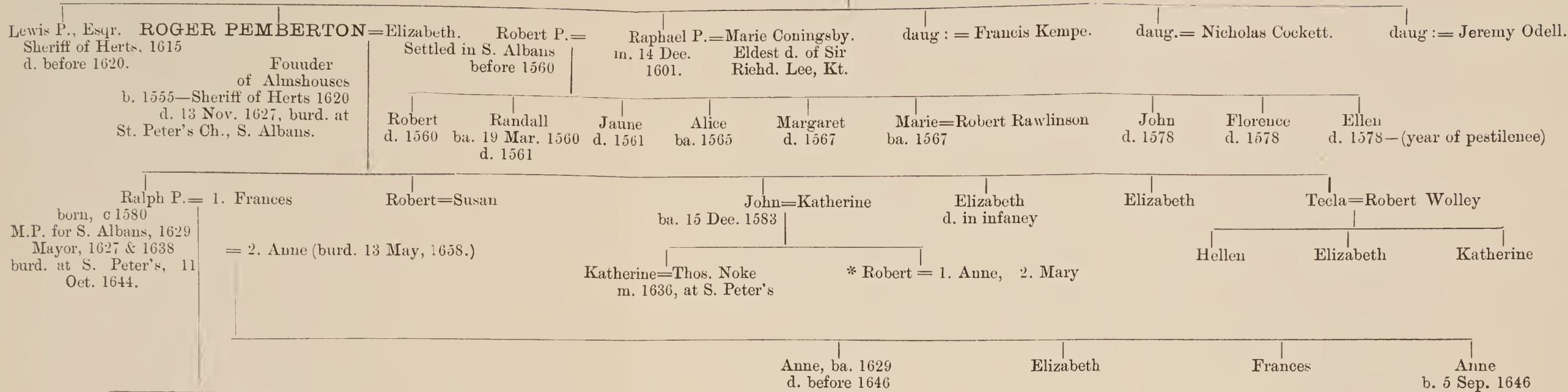
PEDIGREE † OF THE FAMILY OF PEMBERTON IN CONNECTION WITH S. ALBANS.



SIR GODDARD PEMBERTON, Knt

of S. Albans, Lord of Manor of Shelton, in pars. of Wootton and Marston-Morteyne, Co. Beds, Sheriff of Herts, 1615, & died same year.

Arms of Pemberton—*Arg., a chevron between 3 buckets, sa. hooped & handled or.—From the Presbytery of Abbey Church S. Albans—for Rafe P., one of the Trustees for the Reparation Fund, A.D. 1683.*



SIR FRANCIS PEMBERTON, Knt. = Anne Whicheote. ba. 18 July, 1624. d. 10 June, 1697. Rafe P. = Anne ba. 1626. Trustee for Abbey Repar. Fund, 1683. Robert, ba. 1682.

Francis. Jeremy. Ralph. Anne = Geo. Scott. Mary = Dr. Wm. Stanley. Elizabeth = Nathaniel Stephens. Jane.

* Robert P. = 1. Anne d. 1666. = 2. Mary

Elizabeth ba. 1659. John = Robert ba. 1661 bur. 1663. William ba. 1661. Roger ba. 1663. Anne ba. 1664 bur. 24 Oct. 1665. Katerine ba. 11 Oct. 1666. Mary ba. June 22, 1667. Robert ba. 1668. Steven ba. 12 Dec. bur. 16 Dec. 1669. Hanna ba. 1672. Maria ba. 1672. Steven ba. 1674. Sarah ba. 1675. Roger ba. 1676.

Robert P., A.B. = Anne Haselden, of Goldington, Beds. b. 1692, d. 1732. Resided in par. of Wootton, bur. in Church there (see monumental inscription).

1 daug. and 2 sons

Rev. John P. = Judith of Cardington Co. Beds b. 1724, d. 14 May, 1795, bur. at S. Peter's, S. Albans.

Anne Pemberton d. Oct. 5, 1787, buried at S. Peter's, S. Albans.

N.B.—Compiled from Old Register of Parish of S. Alban, † The Will of Roger Pemberton, (proved, 5 Dec. 1627), and the County Histories.

† Partly tentative.

‡ Edited by W. Brigg, Esq., B.A., in the "Herts Genealogist."

heads of passers-by, suggest privacy without seclusion. As nothing discordant has been done for some time, there is the appearance of genuine antiquity. All the colouring is in harmony; and, with the exception of a few bricks replaced and of the terminals at the top, the gateway, as we see it, is very much as it was in the 17th century.

The brickwork is of smaller bricks than those we are using at the present time in the neighbourhood; their size being $8\frac{1}{2}$ ins. by $4\frac{1}{4}$ ins. by $2\frac{1}{8}$ ins. The splayed and shaped bricks of jambs, imposts, copings, and strings were brought into the forms we see by cutting bricks already burnt. They lent themselves to this not ill-naturedly, the weakened bricks cracked only when specially exposed.

This mention of cut bricks may lead to the mention of the original cut-brick terminals, over the centre and at the sides of the gateway. An elevation to a large scale has been prepared, showing the present condition of everything. It is evident that the upper portions of the terminals are missing. The tender pieces of brick, flayed on their outer surfaces, imperfectly cemented together, and placed where specially exposed, probably needed repair after they had been standing half-a-century. They no doubt crumbled away before their condition was observed; and no attempt was made to replace them.

But the general form and the details of the almshouses, erected in memory of Thomas Saunders, at Flamstead, in 1669, were evidently influenced by the previously-erected Pemberton Almshouses, whose founder died in 1627, leaving money for the purpose, and the task of erecting them to his son. The inscription on the stone panel over the gateway is—

These Six Almshouses were Erected and Endowed
with five pounds per annum each
Out of the Manor of Shelton in Bedfordshire
By Roger Pemberton, of St. Albans, Esquire
Who was bury'd in the Church of St. Peter,
Nov. 20, 1627.

The Flamstead Almshouses are thus about forty years younger, and the gable terminals, which melted away at St. Albans, are in sound condition now at Flamstead. Perhaps the model was improved upon, the jointing being more carefully arranged, and the mortar better.

If the buildings were erected without any intention to

repeat the form and details of the earlier building, the resemblance must be considered very singular. The general form and the materials are similar (bricks at Flamstead, $8\frac{1}{4}$ ins. by 4ins. by 2ins). The chimney stacks are almost identical in plan, rectangles placed on the angle and connected; these at Flamstead retain the old caps. There is the same treatment of the eaves; each has a necking, a band, a large brick ovolo, and well projected tiles above. The doorways at both places have semi-circular heads; are all very small and almost exactly the same size. There are medallions over the doorways at Flamstead, but not at St. Albans. The windows are similar. At the Pemberton Almshouses the original gable courses have disappeared except at the gateway, but those which remain are practically the same at both places.

These things being so, and the terminals at Flamstead being exactly what might be looked for, I have ventured to show similar terminals on a second drawing of the Pemberton Gateway, and to ask you to believe that what I have shown represents the original finish.

THE PEMBERTON FAMILY.

We know that there was a Randall Pemmerton born in St. Albans in 1560, and doubtless we shall know the names of many 16th and 17th century Pembertons as time goes on. It is clear that the family was fairly represented in St. Albans in the 16th century. We may yet learn also what members of the family came from Lancashire. Pemberton, in the parish of Wigan, between Wigan and Ormskirk, is named as the place from which the southern migration took place. "Pemberton" is the first railway station after leaving Wigan for Liverpool, on the Lancashire and Yorkshire Line. In the inscription on Sir Francis Pemberton's monument at Highgate is the statement:—

" Ex antiquâ Pembertonorum Prosapiâ
In Com. Palat, Lancastræ oriundo."

Sir Goddard Pemberton, Knt., was apparently the first of the family of any note; he was sheriff of Herts in 1615, and died the same year.

Roger Pemberton was born in 1555. He arranged for the erection of our almshouses in his will of 1624, and made further provisions in a codicil apparently signed on his deathbed, for it was dated Nov. 7th, 1627, and he died on Nov. 13th, and on Nov. 20th was buried in St. Peter's Church. By the kindness of Mr. Harding, who has taken so keen an interest in the St. Peter's charities, I have had opportunities for studying Roger Pemberton's will. His fairly prosperous state as an owner of property, his feeling towards family and friends, and his general good intentions are evident. There are besides touches of self-revelation and of self-pity; so that, for a formal legal document, it has a very human character.

BRASSES AT ST. PETER'S CHURCH.

A zealous friend has made for me a careful rubbing of the portions of the memorials of Roger Pemberton and his family which remain at St. Peter's Church; and I can thus make clear what Chauncy saw and recorded in his book, published in 1700. Roger's figure is 17½in. high, and his wife Elizabeth is also 17½in. high; each figure on a separate plate. The inscription under these figures has been lost, but Chauncy printed it thus:—

“Here lieth Roger Pemberton, Esq., some time High Sheriff of this County, who by his last Will ordained six alms-houses to be built near this Church for six poor Widows; and hath given out of his manor of Shelton, in the County of Bedford, thirtie pounds per annum for their maintenance; to whose pious memory Elizabeth, his loving wife, and Ralph Pemberton, their dutyful son, mayor of this towne, executors of his last will, have dedicated this Remembrance. He lived well, and departed this life the 13th of November, 1627, in the 72nd year of his age Here now his body rests in expectation of a joyfull resurrection.”

A small brass 12in. broad and 12in. high, contains effigies of sons and daughters, and an inscription.

SIR FRANCIS PEMBERTON.

Ralph, the eldest of the sons, was Mayor in 1627, when as “dutyful son” he prepared the brass in remembrance of his father. He was Mayor again in 1638; discharged other public duties here; and was buried at St. Peter's, Oct. 11th, 1644.

Francis, the son of Ralph, we all recognise as illustrious enough to reflect distinction upon the whole family, who are not known beyond town and county except through him. He was born, July 18th, 1624. The entry in the Abbey Register is "Francis, sonne of Mr. Rafe Pemberton, by Francis, his wyfe." He was thus four months old when his grandfather made his will—giving "to each of my grandchildren, Ellen Woolley, and the three Elizabeth Pembertons, one hoope ring of pure gould, of the vallew of thirtie shillings a peece, with this poesie to be engraven therein (Feare God)." He was three-and-a-half years old when his grandfather signed the codicil, without naming him—although his year-old brother Raphe was provided for in it. This Ralph was, in 1683, one of the Trustees of the Reparation Fund for the Abbey Church; and his arms appear in the Presbytery. Francis was at the Grammar School (about six years old) in 1630; was called to the Bar at 29; Sergeant-at-Law at 49; Knight-Sergeant at 50; Judge of Queen's Bench at 54; dismissed the next year (1680) for serving Justice rather than the Government; Chief Justice of King's Bench, 1681; again removed to make way for a supple tool; Chief Justice of Common Pleas at 59. He tried and condemned Lord William Russell, but was dismissed for his moderation, and Jeffreys was appointed in order that Algernon Sidney might, without doubt, be condemned. In his diary for October 4th, 1683, John Evelyn wrote: "At this time Lord Chief Justice Pemberton was displaced. He was held to be the most learned of the Judges, and an honest man. Sir Geo. Jefferies was advanc'd, reputed to be the most ignorant, but most daring." Pemberton resumed practice as counsel; defended the Bishops in 1688, and secured their acquittal, and honour from the nation—expressed for all time in the vigorous often-quoted language of Macaulay. He married Anne Whichcote, had seven children by her, and died June 10th, 1697.

Chauncy was Pemberton's contemporary. Though a few years his junior [Pemberton 1624-1697; Chauncy 1632, Sergeant-at-Law, 1688, 1719], he probably knew Francis Pemberton well. There is warmth of personal feeling in the estimate of him, something more even than

the recognition of the virtues of a recently-deceased Hertfordshire Worthy:—

“He was endowed with a ready Wit, and a quick apprehension, which were attended with a rare memory and excellent parts, by the help of which and his own indefatigable Industry, he attained to a great perfection of Judgment in the Laws of the Land. . . . He would not suffer any Lawyers upon Tryals before him, to interrupt or banter Witnesses in their Evidence a practice too frequently used by some counsel in bad causes to stifle truth and obstruct justice, but allowed every Person liberty to recollect his thoughts, and to speak without Fear, that the Truth might be better discovered.

. . . No temptations of Profit or Preferment, no Threats, no Menaces of deprivation nor loss of place nor Honour, could move him to Act anything against the Law.”

SURVIVAL OF THE FAMILY.

One would like to believe that the St. Albans Pembertons entered into their third century here: and that the Anne Pemberton, who died October 5th, 1787, and was buried at St. Peter's, was a descendant of Roger Pemberton Her memorial stone is on the site of the destroyed N. Transept. She was the daughter of John and Judith Pemberton, late of Cardington, Beds; the mother died eight years later, and was buried in the south aisle of the Church.

THE TRADITION ABOUT AN ARROW.

The iron terminal now over the centre of the gateway was put up when the brick terminal decayed. The rage for metal terminals without number, which was very strong early in this generation, has somewhat abated; but it springs eternal in some human breasts, and we may live to see it rampant again. The terminal over the gateway rises 21 inches above the brick-work at present. Rough sinkings were made in the bricks in order to receive it. The shaft, now showing about 16 inches of its length, was originally a full half-inch square, but has been rusty for long years, and in parts is now like a circular pencil—less than a quarter of an inch in

diameter. At the top of the shaft is a pyramid $1\frac{1}{8}$ ins. square at the bottom, and $4\frac{1}{2}$ ins. high. The spike terminal is thus a pointed lump of iron at the top of a thin rod.

It is quite easy to believe that this terminal, put up in innocence by someone thinking of nothing at all—is mainly responsible for the story of Roger Pemberton accidentally killing an old woman with an arrow, and founding these almshouses in remembrance of the accident. The story had probably been passed about orally in the last century; Bayley thought it mature enough for print in 1808. In Vol. 7 of "Beauties of England and Wales" we may accordingly read, "Over the gate of the little court before the almshouses is an arrow, or short spear-head, stuck upright in the brickwork; and the tradition of the place is that the founder shot a widow with an arrow by accident, and built the almshouses by way of atonement." Clutterbuck, of course, did not mention the subject. F. L. Williams (1822) copied Bayley word for word; and the statement has been repeated, apparently without examination, or the expectation that anyone would believe it. As usual, there has been development in the way of details and embellishments. The story apparently became more piquant when Roger Pemberton was represented as disappointed of sport, shooting in the air at random, and killing an unseen unfortunate woman engaged in gathering sticks behind a hedge, the bolt striking her in its descent. Mr. Foster ("Tourist's Herts," 1891), merely mentioned "the worthless tradition" (page 42). It was thus reserved for the recently published "Murray" (1894), to state as a fact, without qualifying the remark, that "opposite the church are some almshouses for aged widows, founded by Roger Pemberton, who accidentally shot an old woman gathering sticks in the forest. There is an iron arrow over the gateway."

I am afraid this statement in Murray led to these notes being put before you. When the so called arrow breaks off, and is placed in the museum, it will doubtless be merely labelled "terminal spike"—unless it should then be thought desirable to keep well in mind so noteworthy a local example of, and warning against, the development of traditions.

ARCHBISHOP ABBOT.

So many things are possible however, that the “worthless tradition” *may* have been in existence before the iron terminal was put up.

George Abbot’s career up to a certain point was remarkably successful;—he had risen to the head of his profession from humble beginnings. His father was a weaver and cloth worker at Guildford; and the place of the archbishop’s birth in 1562 was, till 1864, one of the objects of interest in that town, where his memory is held in honour. In 1609 he was made Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry; a month after he was promoted to London, and succeeded Bancroft as Archbishop of Canterbury in 1611. There were difficulties before; but his great misfortune was the killing of Peter Hawkins, one of Lord Zouch’s keepers, with a barbed arrow on July 24th, 1621, while shooting in Bramshill Park at deer with a cross-bow. James stood by him; but a Commission was considered necessary, began its sittings in October, and gave a halting decision. A formal pardon or dispensation from the King was dated December 24th, 1621—five months after the accident.

His career, the details of the mishap, the Commission and its report, and Abbot’s present and future position were doubtless long talked over in most of the parishes in the kingdom. The size and style of the hospital built by him at Guildford—his native place—would naturally be mentioned with appreciation again and again. Even a modern critical visitor, spending leisurely hours within its walls and quadrangle, and enjoying prospects from the roof of its tower, may be willing to apply to himself the inscription at the entrance—“Deus nobis hæc otia fecit.”

Roger Pemberton and George Abbot were contemporaries. Pemberton was the elder by seven years, and he died six years before Abbot. He made his will November 30th, 1624—three years after Abbot’s mishap. But his intention as to almshouses was not new; the wording of the will is;—

“And whereas I have had a desire and determination for many years past, to erect and found an almshouse or houses for six poore widowes to inhabit and dwell in, and for that purpose have purchased a close or meadowe

of pasture in Bowgate in the parish of St. Peters in the towne of St. Albans aforesaid in my owne and my sonne Ralph's name to us and our heirs and assigns to build the same thereon; which if I shall not performe my selfe in my life time, then I doe will and require my executors, and my will is that they shall build or cause to be built in the same close or some parte thereof, sixe sufficient roomes of brick or stones for six poore old widdowes to inhabit therein, and the same to continew and bee an almshouse for ever, with sixe convenient garden plotts to be severed from the same close and added unto the same roomes for the use of the same widdowes; to bee walled with a wall of bricks and stones and each garden to bee devided one from the other with a very sufficient pale."

Thus what Abbot had done and what Pemberton intended, would be discussed by the populace at the same time.

No candid person has ever accused Abbot of a desire to set himself right by providing for alms-people. Speaker Onslow put the case very sympathetically,—

"The Archbishop himself" [he meant that his brother Robert, Bishop of Salisbury, had died in 1617, and Anne of Denmark in 1619] "began also to grow infirm [aged 57], and finding himself less fit for the affairs of the world than he had been, resolved, while he had still strength, to enter upon a great and good design, which he had long meditated as a testimony of affection to his native town of Guildford, where, on the fifth of April, 1619, he laid the first stone of his hospital." There is interesting glass in the hospital made for the place and dated 1621. All was evidently well forward by June 20th, 1623, when James granted the Charter. Still Abbot's ideas expanded as he went on, and he did not consider that he had brought everything into its final form even when he made his will in 1632. He then wrote: "Touching the hospital erected by me in Guildford, where I was born, and my parents of good memory long inhabited, I have finished the main building, and if there be anything of decency or ornament convenient to be added thereto, if God permit me life [he died in 1633] I shall accomplish these also."



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THE PEMBERTON ALMS-HOUSES, ST. ALBANS.
EAST SIDE OF THE GATEWAY, 1897.

S. FLINT CLARSON
MENS & DEL.



INK PHOTO SPRAGUE & CO LONDON



THE PEMBERTON ALMS-HOUSES, ST. ALBANS.
EAST SIDE OF THE GATEWAY, AS IT WAS ORIGINALLY.

S FLINT CLARSON
MENS. & DEL.

STARTING "A WORTHLESS TRADITION."

Ralph Pemberton was chosen Mayor of St. Albans September 21st, 1627, about two months before the death of his father, Roger Pemberton. The inscription on the memorial brass showed that it was prepared during the year of mayoralty—that is with a becoming promptness. It is thus not improbable that he also carried out his father's wishes as to the almshouses without delay, and completed them ready for the reception of the almspeople about August 17th, 1629, when Abbot finished the Statutes for his hospital.

Such concurrence of events might permit anyone, having a wish that way, to suggest that the two founders might have been talked of in St. Albans in the same breath; and possibly to go a step further, and hint that Archbishop Abbot's mishap might by chance have had something to do with the tradition as to Roger Pemberton, since ignorance and gossip, with or without malice, are responsible for so much.

FURTHER WORK.

The St. Albans Pembertons afford a fresh subject; but in putting together notes about them there is a sense of skating over thin ice. Happily, there is promise* of much trustworthy information about them. The Pembertons of Pemberton; the migration to St. Albans; the members, connection, residences and possessions of the family, and many other subjects, will then call for persevering labours.

Notes and Memoranda on some Hertfordshire Churches at the beginning of this Century.

BY H. R. WILTON HALL.

Mr. Cussans twenty years ago wrote:—

“At Essendon Place is preserved a large collection of local sketches, the value of which it would be difficult to over estimate. They were made about the year 1797, by a schoolmaster of Tewin, named Pridmore, and are bound in nine thick volumes. The collection consists of coloured views of nearly all the Gentlemen's Seats in the

* The Reverend H. Fowler, our Secretary, has devoted much attention to the subject; and the pedigree, though he looks upon it as merely “provisional” in parts, goes far beyond my expectations when writing this paper.

County; all the Churches, and principal monuments within them, together with objects of antiquarian interest, such as old stained glass, windows, rood screens, fonts, etc. One volume is devoted to the Coats of Arms of Hertfordshire families. These volumes bear witness to the fearful destruction of ancient monuments which has taken place during the last eighty years. Modern restorers have as much to answer for as the popularly abused soldiers of Cromwell, destroyers as they were. It seems incredible that scores of Churches in this County, which now possess as much Archæological interest as the waiting-room of a railway station, should less than a century ago have been rich in brasses, stained glass, and exquisite carvings in wood and stone: yet such is the case.”*

In the year 1884, Baron Dimsdale allowed the Rev. Dr. Griffith to have copies taken from the collection, relating to his Parish of Sandridge. It was my good fortune to try my hand at making these copies for Dr. Griffith, and I thus had an opportunity of examining this Collection of Views to which Mr. Cussans refers. I found that there was no Catalogue of the Views, or Index, and that a very large number of the drawings of the Arms were unidentified.

On talking the matter over with Dr. Griffith, he suggested the desirability of a careful examination of this Collection being made, a description written, and an Index compiled. Baron Dimsdale most kindly gave his consent, and I was permitted at my leisure to go carefully through the whole Collection, and draw up an outline of its contents, noting what was depicted on each page, and any information given by the Artist concerning the same; further, to supply as far as the Arms are concerned, what the Artist had omitted, viz., to give the Blazon of the Arms, and where possible the names of the families to which they severally belong. This, of course, involved a considerable amount of labour: still, it was satisfactory up to a certain point, in that I was able from various sources to identify the Arms in a large number of cases; leaving, however, a considerable number still awaiting identification. It was a most delightful occupation, and I shall always feel most grateful to Baron Dimsdale for giving me such ready access to the collection during such a lengthened period.

It is from the Notes and Memoranda made at the time of going through this unique collection that my Paper this evening is mainly compiled. As it is now some

* Hundred of Hertford, page 155.

seven or eight years since I last saw the Collection, I cannot of course speak with the authority of one who has the volumes open before him; still, the impressions given at the time were so vivid, that, allowing for errors arising from want of sufficient specific knowledge, and lack of discrimination on my part, and a less intimate knowledge of the County than I now have, I hope that on the whole, I have fairly summarised this matchless Collection.

As you have already heard in the quotation from Mr. Cussans, there are nine volumes in the Collection, with an average of considerably over 500 pages in each. Volume VIII. is devoted wholly to the City of St. Albans. Volume IX. consists of only about 200 pages.

The Drawings are on ordinary cartridge paper, about 14 inches by 11 inches. The Notes, which are not very full as a rule, are on a sheet of paper similar to that on which the drawing is made, and face the View to which the Note or Notes refer. The Views of Churches, Houses, and Monuments are for the most part in water colour: some are in sepia, some in black and white; the brasses are in black and yellow colour; other interesting features in pale brown or yellow.

Taking the sketches as a whole they have no claim to artistic beauty—they will probably be voted crude and puerile—they seem to be the work of a self-taught Artist. Pridmore evidently aimed at making a complete Collection of views of the County with his own pencil, and when we consider the tremendous difficulties in the way of travelling which existed 100 years ago, we must confess that he succeeded most admirably. His aim was evidently to give some clear idea of what the Church or Building or Monument looked like; not to produce a pretty picture.

Of exterior Views of Churches there are 129, and in four cases two views are given from different standpoints. Nearly all these Views of Churches are in colour, and measure about eight inches in length by six inches in breadth. A small number measure about half this size, viz., four inches by three inches, and these are for the most part in sepia: some few have had a yellow wash laid over the darker colour.

Every old Church is represented, including the ruins of

Ayot St. Lawrence, Chisfield, and Minsden Churches, except Ashwell, Aspeden, Chipping Barnet, East Barnet, Cheshunt, Hunsdon, St. Margaret's, and Totteridge.

Of Parsonage Houses there are 27 views:—Aston, Baldock, Bennington, Bramfield, Clothall, Cottered, Datchworth, Digswell, Graveley, Hitchin, Ickleford, Ippolitts, Kelshall, Letchworth, Norton, Radwell, Sheephall, Shenley, Stapleford, Stevenage, Walkern, Welwyn, Westmill, Weston, Willian, Great Wymondley, Yardley.

Of Manor Houses, 20 views are given, and in the case of Kingsbury, and also of Gobions (North Mimms) there are two drawings:—Abbot's Langley, Brent Pelham, Chells, Chisfield, Fairlands, Garston, Gobions, Ickleford, Kingsbury, King's Langley, Lanock, Letchworth, Maiden-crofts, Pulter's, Radwell, Renesley, Rickmansworth, Sandon, Weston, Great Wymondley.

Of Houses, including those specifically called Parsonages and Manor Houses, there are no fewer than 222 views in all.

These do not by any means exhaust the Drawings. There are 40 Altar Tombs, 194 Brasses, 34 Gravestones, 61 Monuments (that is, structures built against the wall and rising upwards from the floor level), 195 Mural Monuments (that is, slabs of all descriptions built into the wall, but not reaching the floor line).

No fewer than 530 pages are devoted to drawings of Shields of Arms, the majority of the sheets containing several Coats, immense numbers of them fully coloured.

Of Fonts, Screens, Stained Glass, Bench Ends, and Doorways, I shall have something to say further on in the Paper.

These do not comprise all the drawings, or exhaust the range of information conveyed by Pridmore's active pencil, but they serve to show something of the tremendous industry of the man who drew them. There can be, I think, no doubt but that they were all the work of one man; and as they present but little variety of treatment, one is led to infer that their execution was not extended over any great number of years. Nearly all of the drawings appear to be original; the copies of other drawings, so far as I can gather, are one each of Aldenham House, Bramfield Place, and Cassiobury, and two of Ashridge. There is one coloured lithograph included in the Collection.

I am aware that to Archæologists the study of the aspect of Churches and Houses only a hundred years ago at first sight is not a very fascinating subject. To the latter-day Ritualist, who delights in the modern imitations of so-called "correct" mediæval "Ornaments of the Church and of the Ministers thereof" which fill the showrooms of Ecclesiastical Furniture Dealers, the aspect of our Churches a hundred years ago is "the abomination of desolation;" but to a society such as this, which reverences the past, and would carefully preserve its records, nothing connected with that past "useless is, or low."

I do not think that there is at the present time one of the 129 Churches which Pridmore drew, which has not undergone "Restoration" in a greater or a lesser degree. Of the arrangement of these Churches previous to restoration, there no doubt exist records and notes, but so far as I know, no systematic attempt has been made to preserve faithful records of the Churches of the County. It is not too late yet, but every year which passes without an attempt being made to bring together these notes on our Churches as they existed before Restoration, will help to make the task an impossible one some day.

A hundred years have passed since Pridmore began his sketches. In very few instances does he give us an interior view: all the 133 views are taken from the exterior. From these views one can see the general style of our Churches; Chancel, Nave, and Tower at the West End.

He shows 39 Churches with Towers, without Spires, and the only two Cross Churches in this group are Great Berkhamstead and Northchurch.

Churches with Tower and no Spire:—Aldbury, Ayot St. Lawrence, Aston, Broxbourn, Buckland, Bushey, Berkhamstead (cross), Bovington, Caldicote, Digswell, Little Gaddesden, Hinxworth, Hormead Magna, Ickleford, Kelshall, Kensworth, Markyate, Long Marston, Newenham, Northchurch (cross), Norton, Offley, Puttenham, Reed, Ridge, Royston, Rushden, Sacomb, Sandon, Sarrat, Tewin, Throcking, King's Walden, St. Paul's Walden, Wallington, Walkern, Walton, Willian, Great Wymondley.

In 47 instances the Churches had both Tower and Spire.

Churches with Tower and small Spire:—Albury, Aldenham, Anstey (cross), Baldock, Barkway, Bennington, Bishop Stortford, Datchworth, Eastwick, Essendon, Flamstead, Great Gaddesden, Gilston, Hadham Parva, Hertford All Saint's, Hertford St. Andrew's, Hertingfordbury, Hexton, Hitchin, Kimpton, Knebworth, King's Langley, Abbot's Langley, Layston, Much Munden, Furneaux Pelham, Brent Pelham, Pirton (cross), Radwell, Redbourn, Rickmansworth, Sawbridgeworth, Standon, Stevenage, Thorley, Thundridge, Ware, Watford, Westmill, Weston (cross), Wheathampstead (cross), Widford Wyddial, Yardley, St. Alban's Abbey (cross), St. Peter's, St. Albans (cross), Amwell.

Of the whole number, 8 only are cross Churches—St. Alban's Abbey, St. Peter's, Anstey, Hemel Hempstead, Northchurch, Pirton, Weston, and Wheathampstead.

In very few instances does the Spire seem to have been of any great height; apparently the tallest were at Braughing, Cottered, Great Hadham, Hemel Hempstead, and North Mimms. All the others seem to have been of the ordinary "dwarf" character, frequently termed "extinguisher" or "spike." At Codicote, Graveley, Harpenden, Ippolitts, and St. Michael's, the "shaft" or "spike" proper appears instead of a "spire" or "spirelet." The most peculiar spirelet was at Therfield, which had a good deal of open work about it.

Some few Churches had a kind of "stable bell" erection on the Tower. Barley and Hatfield were the two best instances. Sandridge had a rather tall erection of this character at the west end, on the Nave roof; while Welwyn had one much smaller, and uglier, in a similar position. "Welwyn people sold their bells to build the steeple." Their taste first of all in selling their bells at all is not to be commended; and secondly, spending the money thus realized on such a queer piece of work is still less worthy of commendation.

There were not many wooden Towers. Elstree had one, Old Flaunden Church had one, and Shenley had one; but all have now disappeared—that at Shenley since Mr. Cussans wrote. He describes it as "a low tower of 'feather edge' boarding, painted white, in every respect resembling the 'hoist' of a flour mill."*

* Hundred of Dacorum, page 314.

There seem to have been only two instances of Towers detached from the Church, and only one exists, I believe now; viz., that at Standon. The other was at Ayot St. Peter, of which I shall have something further to say.

There was a wooden erection for the bells at the west end of the Nave in twelve instances:—Bengeo, Little Berkhamstead, Bayford, Bramfield, Hormead Parva, Lilley, Northaw, Stocking Pelham, Sheephall, Stapleford, Wormley, and at St. Stephen's. This feature has very largely disappeared. They had all much the same character. Facing page 91 of our Transactions for 1887, is a view of one on old Bengeo Church, which still exists. That at Bayford was one of the largest, and seems to have been tarred like an ordinary barn or cattle shed, as in fact most of them appear to have been. The erection at Bramfield has been gone this 50 years, while that at Little Berkhamstead was restored; and I imagine considerably modified some 40 years ago.

In most instances, the walls of Tower, Nave, and Chancel alike seem to have been covered with plaster, and in some cases from the appearance of the drawings, they seem to have been colour-washed as well. As a rule the Chancels were tiled, while the Nave and the Aisles were covered with lead.

The brief note which faces the view of every Church in most cases is a transcript from Chauncy or Salmon, and frequently the note and the drawing do not agree. As the two historians wrote about a century before Pridmore's time, this is rather a gain than a loss, as by this means we are able to see roughly the changes made during the 18th century.

There are very few Churches in the County with apsidal Chancels, and the only instances shown by the Views in this Collection are at Amwell, Bengeo, and Great Wymondley—that which existed at St. Andrew's, Hertford, has disappeared.

So far as I have been able to test the accuracy of Pridmore's drawings, I am led to believe that he copied the details which he saw accurately, but it would of course be impossible to determine positively from them the dates and styles of the various portions of the buildings. Dilapidations, blocked windows, patched buttresses and so forth, he draws stiffly, but there is no difficulty in understanding what he aims at representing.

The most peculiar Church depicted is that of Ayot St. Peter. It is an octagonal brick structure after the style of Rowland Hill's Chapel in the Blackfriars Bridge Road. The Tower was detached from the Church, and seems to have stood at the entrance to the Churchyard, where it formed a kind of lych-gate. It was a two-storied structure, something like a Chinese Pagoda, only uglier: the top storey formed a kind of obelisk, crowned with a big ball, on which was a weather vane. It was built by Ralph Freeman, in 1732, and pulled down in the summer of 1862.

Offley Church is shown with a square Tower, at the four corners of which are pinnacles—a very unusual feature in this county—but *the* feature of the Church is the Chancel, which was built by Sir Thomas Salusbury in 1750. It has a leaded dome with a skylight. Our Artist describes it as “the very elegant chapel.”

The view of Radwell Church from the south-east has puzzled me. It shows a Chancel with high-pitched roof, and a Nave with flat roof, very much lower than the Chancel roof. There is a Spire at the west end, and the base of the Spire seems to rise immediately from the wall at the end of the Nave. In fact, the summit of the Spire is apparently very little higher than what ought to be the ridge of the Nave roof. From a note in our “Transactions” for 1885, I gather that Radwell Church is now regarded as “a bijou ecclesiastical edifice, and a model Church for a population of 101.”

It is curious that our Artist takes no notice of the Chancel of St. Paul's Walden Church. The screen is the handsomest of its kind in the County; and, in fact, the general arrangement of the Chancel hardly deserves the condemnation which it has frequently received.

Sandridge Church is altogether unrecognizable; both the views given are very small, and the tall open bell turret gives it certainly a very striking appearance.

Of post Reformation Churches there were very few in Pridmore's time; there are but four drawn by him, viz., Buntingford Chapel, Hoddesden Chapel, Markyate, and the new Church of Ayot St. Lawrence. Mr. Cussans calls this last building “a disgrace to the disgraceful period of British ecclesiastical taste.”*

* Hundred of Broadwater, p. 236.

The following account of its Consecration is worth repeating, as it does not quite agree with the extract from the Gentleman's Magazine (vol. 47, p. 374) quoted by Mr. Cussans:—

“28 July, 1779, a new Church on the Grecian Model, lately built at Ayott St. Lawrence, at the sole expense of Sir Lionel Lyde, Baronet, was this (day?) consecrated by the Bishop of Lincoln. On this occasion the neighbouring nobility with their Ladies attended together with many hundred persons of all denominations from different parts of the County. The procession was preceded by a band of music; upwards of 20 Men and Women dressed in a neat uniform at the expense of Sir Lionel, followed the Music, and after them the Bishop, Clergy, and rest of the Company in regular procession. When they arrived at the Church, the doors were thrown open (each of the populace eager to enter first), when the usual service was performed: after which the Company were regaled (under tents fixed for the purpose) with wine, cakes, &c. They returned to the mansion House where an elegant dinner was provided, after which the Company dispersed themselves in the adjoining fields where they diverted themselves in innocent rural Games till the close of the day, and at last parted highly delighted with the pleasure they had received. A wedding was the only thing wanting to complete the festivity, which was intended, but the consecration of the Church was not over till past Twelve.”

As an example of a complete Churchwarden renovation of a Church, I think Essendon Church stood out the most prominently. In 1777 it had a “thorough restoration,” and was probably regarded as “a bijou ecclesiastical edifice” at that time, and “a model of what a village Church should be.” The view given by Pridmore tallied exactly with the Church when I became acquainted with it in 1877. I must confess that I remember the destruction of the old Church with a pang, as it certainly was a unique specimen of 18th century skill in obliterating every ancient feature. We continue now-a-days, I am sorry to say, the obliterating process, only we adopt our favourite “correct” period of Gothic Architecture in place of Churchwarden Classical.

The following Churches have been completely, or almost completely rebuilt since our Artist took sketches of them:—Ayot St. Peter's (twice), Bayford (twice), Bovingdon, Bushey, Eastwick, Elstree, Essendon, Flaunden, Harpenden, All Saints' Hertford, St. Andrew's Hertford, Hertingfordbury, Hexton, Lilley, Northaw (twice), Rickmansworth, Therfield, and Thundridge. I am sorry to say that the list is far from complete.

Our Artist does not give many drawings of interiors of Churches. Pirton Church was once a cross Church, but it had lost its Transepts. A view is given of a "Room under the Tower, between the Church and the Chancel." Three of the interior walls of the Tower are shown. On the right is a plain pointed archway with double doors and a fanlight above; sky and clouds can be seen through the fanlight. Seated on a chest near this door is a man in a blue coat. Immediately opposite to the door is a similar archway, and on the floor there is a gravestone. In front is a smaller archway, very dark, apparently leading into the Chancel, or possibly into the Nave. There is a smaller door in the angle to the right, leading apparently to the Tower stair. This is particularly interesting, as the Tower was re-built from its foundations in 1877.

The view of the Chancel Arch in Great Wymondley Church shows the Chancel Window, square-headed, and apparently of late date, the Altar rails, but no Altar.

The Chancel Arch appears to be Norman work; a drawing is also given of a similar Arch in Little Wymondley Church. He also gives a drawing in colour of the Room under the Chancel of Hitchin Church. A low room, with arched doorway, and four steps leading down to it is shown on the left-hand side, and also an arched fire-place; two windows are shown in the wall opposite the spectator. There is also a sketch of the door from the outside, and a plan of the Chamber. These are the only interiors of Churches given, except one or two in the Abbey Church.

FONTS.

Of Altars he gives only one sketch, to be noted presently, but of Fonts he figures no fewer than 58. St. Alban's Abbey, Aldenham, Aston, Ayot St. Lawrence (old), Baldock, Bengoe, Bennington, Bygrave, Bovington, Caldicote, Cheshunt, Clothall, Codicote, Datchworth, Digswell, Elstree, Flamstead, Graveley, Hexton, Hitchin, Ickleford, Ippolitts (two drawings), Kelshall, Kimpton, Knebworth, Abbot's Langley, King's Langley, Letchworth, Lilley, St. Michael's, Newenham, Norton, St. Peter's, Pirton, Radwell, Ridge, Rushden, Sandridge, Sandon,

Sheepall, Shenley, Standon, Stapleford, St. Stephen's, Stevenage, Throcking, Thundridge, St. Paul's Walden, Walkern, Wallington, Welwyn, Weston, Wheathampstead, Willian, Wormley, Great Wymondley, Little Wymondley, Yardley.

SCREENS.

There are not as many sketches of Screens as Mr. Cussans' note would lead one at first sight to expect—there are 16 only in 12 Churches. They are all drawn in colour.

Aldenham has two. The one in the North Aisle shows four bays, the second from the left being the doorway; while in the South Aisle Screen there are three bays, the doorway being in the centre.

Aston. A central doorway is shown, with two narrow compartments on either side, each with tri-cusped heads, and two pierced quatrefoils.

Baldock. The Chancel Screen is of ten bays; the two central bays forming the doorway. The North Aisle Screen shows two tiers of small Arches, twenty in each, with doorway in the centre. Very elaborate work is shown in the South Aisle Screen: there are six bays on either side of a central doorway. The Perpendicular fan tracery is enriched with colour, blue and gold.

Hexton. A Chancel Screen in colour shows five panels of equal size, including the door. On either side of the door are narrow pointed openings with seven cusped heads. I do not know whether this screen is still existing or not. The Church was re-built except the Tower in 1824. Mr. Cussans does not note the Screen, so that I conclude that it no longer exists.

Hunsdon. There is a plain pointed central Doorway shown, with four five-cusped openings, on either side; six shields bearing arms are shown along the top beam.

Ippolitts. The Chancel Screen is here shown. There is a depressed Arch in the centre, with richly cusped (five cusps tri-cusped) head. The two openings on either side are simply plain oblong openings, without tracery.

Kimpton. A wide central Arch, much depressed, has two narrow lights on either side, with obtusely-pointed Arches.

Offley. The Screen shown in this case is drawn in a dull yellow tint, and shows three narrow lights, with a double row of quatrefoils above; the doors are larger and have heads with Perpendicular tracery. Pridmore's note reads:—"Screen formerly between the Church and the Chancel but taken away when the new Chancel was built, and now partly remaining in the lower part of the Tower."

Rushden. A plain square-headed Doorway, without tracery or doors, shows two openings on either side, with flamboyant heads.

Stevenage has two Screens. That at the end of the North Aisle shows four narrow openings, with Perpendicular work above. The central doorway is more ornate. Three shields are on the top beam. At the end of the South Aisle is a very similar Screen, but the details are more ornate still.

Wallington. The doorway is not in the middle, but between the 7th and 8th compartments, reckoning from the left. There are nine compartments, and the character is Perpendicular.

Willian. Either there is no Chancel Arch here, or the opening above the Screen has been filled in, for on the plain wall surface above the top beam is a board bearing the arms of George III., and on either side of it, also on boards, are the Ten Commandments. The woodwork of the Screen appears to be Perpendicular.

DOORWAYS.

Twelve sketches of Doorways are given, nearly all of which are what he terms of "Saxon" work; *i.e.*, Norman. Those showing Norman details are from Datchworth, Hemel Hempstead, Little Hornead, Ickleford, Royston, Stapleford, and Thundridge. The others figured are from Amwell, Caldecote (showing the Holy Water Stoup in the angle), Knebworth, Stevenage, Wallington, and Willian.

AUMBREYS AND PISCINAS.

Aumbreys and Piscinas are shown at Baldock (2), Clothall (2), Knebworth, King's Langley (2), Offley (showing the "Offa" tiles), Rushden, Stevenage, Wallington, and Little Wymondley.

BENCH ENDS.

Interesting sketches of Bench ends are given from Anstie, Ashwell, Baldock, and Great Berkhamstead.

STAINED GLASS.

Mr. Cussans speaks especially of the Stained Glass. In most cases, the Glass drawn by our Artist consists of Coats of Arms.

At *Broxbourn* he gives a drawing of which appears to be an Ecclesiastical Banner, with the foot within a mitre: this is in a pale blue colour.

Clothall. A female figure in a hood, the back-ground red.

North Mimms. There is a figure, half-length, of a man, holding an arrow in his right hand, point downwards. He wears a shirt of mail, scale pattern, and a cloak or mantle with an ornamented border. On his head is a kind of barret cap, with a rose and three plumes on the left: the head is surrounded by a nimbus.

Stevenage. A demi-figure of an ecclesiastic with cowl and frock, in blue colour, and an open book at his side. Pridmore says "supposed to be a Friar of the Order of St. Bennet."

Wallington. A figure of St. Katherine.

Willian. *ihc* in colour.

That in St. Peter's Church, I shall refer to later.

The other 77 instances of Stained Glass, are Coats of Arms, not all of them in the Churches, some being in old Inns and Houses.

There are many other interesting features connected with this collection worth notice, but time fails for dealing with them all.

MEMORIALS OF THE DEAD.

Our Artist made a special point of recording with pen and pencil, the *Memorials of the Dead*. These may be classified as Brasses, Altar Tombs, Monuments, Mural Monuments, Gravestones, and Hatchments. Of *Brasses* he gives 194 Drawings; of *Altar Tombs*, 40; of *Monuments*, *i.e.*, structures rising from the floor and built

against a wall as a rule, 61; of *Mural Monuments*, i.e., tablets built into the wall above the floor line, 195; of *Gravestones*, 31; and *Hatchments*, 148.

He was particularly fond of drawing in colours the Arms which he found on these Memorials, and the Coats of Arms must number over a thousand. When we remember that the "Hatchments" or "Atchievements" as he invariably calls them, have almost entirely disappeared from our Churches, we may form some idea of the value of this man's work, from an heraldic point of view. And they are not rough trickings of the Arms; in almost every instance they are beautifully finished, and the colours almost as brilliant as when first laid on.

The *Monuments* which for the most part attracted his attention, were those of the 16th, 17th and 18th centuries, and these have suffered greatly during the Restoration epidemic. Some, I know, which once occupied honoured and dignified positions are now thrust away in odd nooks and corners, stowed away behind organs, where they are chipped and battered and abused. I have in my mind's eye two very handsome 17th century Monuments with recumbent figures, which once occupied positions one on each side of an unusually spacious sacrarium. Now they stand in the basement of the Tower, where a Choir of 25 or 30 men and boys struggle into their cassocks and surplices, in a very confined space, and use these stately Memorials of the Dead, as convenient resting places for hats, caps, coats, umbrellas and walking-sticks.

Mural Monuments have suffered even a worse fate. They have been voted ugly and out of place on the walls of our Churches, and so sadly maltreated. Robbed of their borders, which were almost invariably of costly stone and marble, they have been inserted "higgledy piggledy" in the walls of the Tower, or behind that Moloch of our modern Churches—the Organ—where no one can see them, and the walls they once occupied are covered with a drab, dreary plaster, not more comely than the Slabs, and certainly giving less variety to the bare surface of the wall. Stained Glass Windows have been voted as the "correct" memorials of the dead, and already we have tired of the "beautiful" windows erected 30 years ago, and think them hideous. Ought we therefore to smash them all?

Very little protection is extended to these Memorials as a rule. Most Faculties specify that those removed in the course of the Restoration shall be replaced as nearly as may be in their original positions, but nine times out of ten nobody takes any particular note of the Monuments likely to be disturbed, or the exact positions which they occupied. The builder is allowed a free hand, and when once they have been removed it is a rare thing indeed to find them replaced in their proper positions.

“To lie like an epitaph” is proverbial; but Restorers frequently have out-Heroded Herod and transformed a truth into a lie, by placing the Memorials anywhere, without any regard for the position of the graves which they were intended to mark. I am afraid that it is too much to hope for, but I feel very strongly that no Faculty should be granted until plans have been made showing exactly what graves and Memorials of the dead will be interfered with, not only by the proposed restoration but also on the ground which the builder is going to use during his operations, and accurate copies should be taken of the inscriptions on the Memorials disturbed. Many instances have come to my notice of Memorials which have been ruthlessly smashed and used for “filling-in” by the builder.

Of all classes of Memorials our Artist has preserved the Inscriptions, either by drawing or writing out in no fewer than 477 cases. We may not admire these Memorials, but they are worthy of preservation: they do no harm to the living and are links with a past daily becoming more remote. To my mind it is a scandal that such slight care should be taken of them. We have no right to expect that those who come after us shall respect the works of our hands while we wink at such indecent practices. We may cynically comfort ourselves with the cant phrase that it will make no difference to us a hundred years hence, but the principle is as wrong as it can be.

CHURCHES OF ST. ALBAN'S.

The Churches in St. Alban's naturally claim some attention. As I have said, Pridmore devotes one whole volume to St. Alban's, and he is very particular to give

very full notes, much fuller than the notes accompanying the views of other parts of the County.

THE ABBEY CHURCH. Only one small view of the exterior is given. This is in grey and yellow, and the building is almost hidden by trees.

A drawing of the West Door, and of the panels of the door is given in colour; there are two of the Slype, one of the Abbot's Doorway in the South Aisle of the Choir, and a "Sketch of the inside of the Transepts and Tower, with the parts which have been altered and restored to their original Norman Architecture as erected soon after the Conquest."

This last view is fanciful, and shows three queer little figures of men evidently inspecting the building. In the course of his notes he gives us some interesting particulars. "The picture of the Lord's Supper," he says, "which till lately hung over the Altar, is now fixed up over the Watch Loft." "The Flag of the late Association of St. Alban's is hung up at the West end of the Choir." He gives a very full description of the carvings on the Watching Loft and also drawings of them.

There is also a very valuable list of Gravestones in the Abbey in his day, occupying ten closely written pages. He specifies the parts of the Church where these stones lay, and they number no fewer than 199. The latest date on any stone which he notes is that of the year 1802, so that we may gather that his list was made in or about that year.

A view of the *Font* shows the basin which is now in the Workhouse Chapel, standing under a triangular, wooden canopy. He says:—"The Font is a white marble basin, ornamented on the outside with flutes and cablings, and standing upon a moulded and carved base . . . over it is a canopy of wood upon a triangular plan, supported by three columns with their Pedestals, Architrave, Frizz and Cornice, and above the Cupolar are three very small pillars upon the triangle, which make legs to a small Pedestal on which is perched a Dove, with an olive branch in his mouth, which finishes the summit of the Canopy, the pillars, &c., are painted white, and the Dove overlaid with gold." The drawing is in colour, and shows a very primitive-looking screw attached to

one pillar, evidently intended for use in raising and lowering the Font cover.

There is a most interesting drawing in colour of the *High Altar* and Screen. This is the only instance he gives of an Altar in the whole Collection. Whether he drew upon his imagination or not in this effort I am unable to say, but if to a certain extent it is an ideal picture I am afraid that he had somewhat Ritualistic proclivities. It is a standing witness at any rate to the fact that certain adjuncts were not regarded as being antagonistic to the Protestant Views which then dominated the Church. The Screen is very faithfully drawn, and shows the 13 niches above the altar. Below these is a Dossal of violet colour, with a gold fringe. The Altar itself is vested in a loose covering of the same colour, and apparently of the same material as the Dossal, and on it are displayed two Altar Candlesticks, with Tapers, two Flagons, two Chalices and a large dish heaped up with flat Altar breads. At the North and South ends of the Altar are high kneeling stools. I do not know whether the good man ever saw this display of Altar Furniture, but there can be little doubt but that he thought that those "Ornaments" ought to be there, and that they were thoroughly in keeping with the building and its associations.

Apparently the Church never had many Monuments; he only gives a list of 18. They are as follows:—Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, John Gape, Robert Nichols, Barbara Griffith, Chas. Maynard, Ralf. Maynard, Margery Rowlatt, John Thrale, Wm. Atkinson, Wm. King, John Jones, J. J. Wallus, Rev. Edw. Carter, Christ. Chamberlaine, Chris. Rawlinson, Jos. Handley, John Handley, and Ptolemy James.

Drawings are given of the Front of Abbot Ramridge's Chapel; the Thrale Monument, the Maynard Monument; the *Mural Slabs* to John Handley and Wm. Atkinson; the North side of Duke Humphrey's Monument; the sketch of the Coffin, Vault and Mural Painting; the South side of what he calls Wheathamstead's Monument, and another view of it from the Presbytery; the wall Slabs to Joseph Handley and Archdeacon Carter, Robert Nicholl, Christopher Chamberlain, Christopher Rawlinson, Chas. Maynard, John Gape, William King, Barbara Griffith.

There are drawings of 10 of the *Brasses*: Abbot de la Mare; Earl of Kent; Civilian and Wife; Rauff Rowlatt; Bartholomew Halsey; Robert Beamer, Thomas Fayreman; Monk with label; a Saint with cross in right hand; another with short stick resting on the right shoulder.

He gives drawings of 203 *Coats of Arms*, some with many quarterings: 47 of these are in plain colour, and 156 fully coloured; and 8 Hatchments coloured.

There are 21 drawings of the quaint carvings on the Watching Gallery.

Only three specimens of Coloured Glass are given; one Az. a saltire Or for St. Alban's impaling Arg. on a bend Sa. three eagles displayed Or for De la Mare. The second shield is Or, two bars Gules; and the third, Az. a saltire Or, within a bordure charged with 8 garbs Arg.

Ten *Inscriptions* existing in the Church are drawn or written out, and 28 are given from Monuments. A lengthy description of Abbot Ramridge's Chantry Chapel is given, and another of the Watching Gallery. He gives an extract from Gough respecting the Wheat-hamstead Monument, a note on Mr. Robert Shrimpton, and another on Mr. John Kent.

ST. STEPHEN'S CHURCH. The view given of this Church is only a very small one and is taken from the South-west. It is in gray, with a yellow wash over all, and shows the Chancel Aisle, Nave, South Porch, West Front, and Wooden Bell Turret. From the Notes furnished we learn that the Chancel Aisle was called St. Mary's Chapel. There were three entrances, one through the South Porch, another at the West End by means of a "pair of folding-doors," and the third was through the North Wall into the Nave; an opening now blocked. Four bells were in the wooden belfry, which was surmounted "with a very small spire."

The *Pulpit* stood against the North wall, and the Font was standing between the pillars towards the West end of the Nave.

He notes the *Brass Eagle Lectern* and says it should be looked upon as a great curiosity, in so small a Church. A drawing is given of it, and also a description. It stood within the Altar Rails, "on his wings lay Fox's Book of Martyrs."

The *Monuments* are then noted: Jas. Rolfe, 1630, Thomas Kentish, and Wm. Chaplin. There was but one Brass and 13 Gravestones having Coats of Arms, and he gives a further list of 15 other Gravestones without Arms, and specifies their positions in the Church. He says that there were several stones which once had had brasses attached to them, but he gives no particulars concerning them. He notes that there was a Hatchment, for Mrs. Olave Montgomery against the North wall of the Chancel, and "Another against the North Aile" for Mrs. Ashurst.

Commenting on the fact that so many of the Kentishes are buried here he says: —

"Of the name of Kentish, in and about St. Albans there are several distinct families who absolutely deny all manner of Relationship, but it is natural to suppose that they were originally all one. There are here at this day:

Gentlemen Kentish's
Tradesmen Kentish's
Husbandmen Kentish's
Labourer's Kentish's."

A drawing of the *Font* is given, and in the middle one of the three niches shown, is a woman with a staff in her right hand, and a book in her left; men in armour are in the niches on either side.

He draws in colour the *Mural Monuments* of Wm. Chaplin, 1719; Thomas Kentish, 1712, and James Rolfe; the Brass of Wm. Robins is shown; the two Hatchments are given in colour, eight shields of Arms in plain colour with the accompanying Inscriptions are given, and also drawings of the Inscriptions on the four bells.

ST. MICHAEL'S CHURCH. The view given is similar in character to that of St. Stephen's, and is taken from the South-east, showing Chancel and Chancel Door, the Nave, with a flat roof; the South Chapel roof is high pitched, and apparently higher than the Nave roof; the South door is shown, and the square Western Tower, with shaft thereon. From the Notes it appears that there were doors on the North and South sides of the Nave and in the Chancel two doors also. At the North-east corner of the South Chapel, "is a small staircase which originally led up to the Rood Loft, at the upper end of the middle aile. Over where the Rood Loft used to be

the ceiling is richly carved and painted and gilt, and here is placed the King's Arms, dated, C.R. 1660, on one side a rose crowned, on the other a thistle; below the King's Arms is the Crest of Bacon, dated 1625. . . . The roof of the middle Aile is timber and has some open work, carved on the upright posts."

The *Pulpit* stood on the North side of the Nave, and a Gallery brought from Gorhambury, occupied the Western end of the Church. On it in gold capital letters was the Inscription "This Gallery was the gift of Viscount Grimstone, 1787." It was supported by four "elegant Corinthian columns of brown wood."

The *Font* stood at the end of the North Aisle. There were two handsome brass chandeliers, one to hold 14 candles, and the other capable of holding 10. On the last was the inscription "Thy Word is a Lanthorn unto my feet, and a Light unto my Paths." This was given by Mrs. Ann Marston, April 28th, 1748. This lady who died in 1759, was "apprehensive of being interred alive." She left a considerable sum of money in her will to Mr. Smith of Kingsbury on condition that he should daily visit "her body whilst placed in the Vault." The Vault was not closed until the specified time had elapsed.

A list is given of 20 *Monuments*, and the Inscriptions on them are written out: Sir Thomas Meauty (no inscription); George Grimstone; Henry Gape (brass); John Mason (brass); Francis, Lord Bacon; Margaret Lowe; Amos Marten; Jane Atkinson; John Bressie; Mary Martin, 1703; Amos Martin, 1706; Ann Carter, 1719; Thomas Hall, 1710; Mary Smith, 1722; Henry Smith, 1768; Christopher Topham, 1725; Susanna Williams, 1758; Rev. Wm. Marston, 1726; Wm. Smith, 1758; Henry Dowdall, 1776.

There is a drawing in colour of Sir Francis Bacon's Monument, and also of the Dowdall Mural Monument.

Drawings in colour of five Hatchments belonging to the Grimstone family are given in colour, viz., William, 1st Viscount; James, 2nd Viscount; Mary, wife of James; Harriet, wife of 3rd Viscount; Samuel, son of William, 1st Viscount; and there are four belonging to the Lomax family. There are drawings of nine Shields, one in plain colour, and eight coloured. These last he

says belong to the Maynard family and were painted on the wall.

ST. PETER'S CHURCH. He gives two small views of St. Peter's Church, in grey and yellow; the one from the North-east shows the Tower with Turret, Spire, Chancel; the other view is from the West end.

In his Notes he says that as it lately stood it was built Cathedral fashion. He says the Tower and the Transepts were the oldest, next came the Chancel, and lastly the West end. The Communion Table stood at the East end of the Chancel within a railing, and the sides of the Chancel were fitted up with ancient stalls of oak, "but very plain." Under the Tower and part of the three Aisles were the "Pews and other accommodations for Public Worship." At the West end stood a Gallery, "upon eight fluted pillars, containing a very good organ." The *Font* stood still further to the West. He describes a Chandelier which bore the date 1717.

Of the *Stained Glass* he says:—

"In the three most Eastern windows, in both North and South Aisles, are remains of painted glass principally in the upper compartments, but each of the middle divisions of the lower part is a piece of it."

And so he goes on at considerable length, furnishing a very complete account of what the Church was like before the present Tower was built.

The havoc wrought among the *Monuments* and grave-stones must have been most greivous. He gives a list of eight Monuments: Lt.-Col. Wm. Dobyngs; his 2nd daughter; Robert Rumney, S.T.P.; Thomas Arris; John Rudston, LL.D.; Mary Tombes; Robert Clavering, B.M.; Edward Strong.

Of *Brasses* he gives the following list: Seven. A Priest; Priest with a Chalice; John Atkyn, glover; Skipwith; Roger Pemberton and John Ball; Wm. Victor or Mitor; John Spencer.

A list of 18 *Gravestones* some with and some without Arms follows: William Dobyngs; Abraham Dobyngs; Robert Rumney, D.D.; Sir Richard Lee; Robert Robotham; John Robotham; Ann Jenyns; John Coxe; Robert New; Edith L. Vineter; Elizabeth Palmer; Jasper Arris Borradale; Mr. David Tombes; Mary Strong; Margaret New; William Thomson; Edward Strong; Robert Clavering.

He says that the first two brasses were lying in the Chancel under a pile of stones; that that of John Spencer was in the North Transept in the same condition; and that the gravestone of Edward Strong was covered with timber.

The *Inscriptions* are written out for: Rob. Rumney, 1743; John Robotham, 1675; Ann Jenyns, 1656; Rob. New, 1762; Jasper Borradaile, 1774; Mary Strong, 1741; Margaret New, 1773; William Thomson, 1768; Robert Clavering, 1747; William Clarke, dean of Winchester, 1679.

Drawings in colour are given of the Monument to Edward Strong, 1723; and of the Mural Monuments of Thomas Arris, 1726; Elizabeth Dobyns, Rev. Rob. Rumney, 1743; Mary Tombes, 1779; Rev. John Rudston, 1691; Robert Clavering, 1747; and Lt. Col. Wm. Dobyns, 1738; in all, eight.

He gives drawings in colour of the Brass to John Ball, which he says is on the back of Robert Pemberton's Brass; Roger Pemberton's Brass; also the two Ecclesiastical Brasses. These two are now lost; and no wonder. The drawing of the Brass to William Mitor and Grace, his wife, 1486, shows the figure of the man, the inscription, and the space for the wife. Chauncy also gives the Inscription. It, too, is missing. A drawing of another missing Brass, that of John Atkin, glover, and Johanna, his wife, 1449, is also given. Haines has noted the shield and says the figures are gone. Our Artist does not draw the shield, only the figures of the man, his wife, and the inscription. A shield bearing . . . three bars and on a chief a lion passant . . . for Skipwith, is also drawn. This brass is also missing, but we learn from Chauncy that Richard Skipwith died in 1420. The last Brass shows a man and wife kneeling on either side of a desk, and gives an inscription for John Spencer and Margaret his wife, 1622; with the Coat of Arms. Eight Drawings of Brasses in all.

There are drawings of three Gravestones with their Inscriptions, viz., Edith le Vineter; Robert Robotham, 1672, and Edward Sadleir, Richard and Margaret Lee, on one stone. He gives one also to John Coxe, 1630, of which he says that it was described in Salmon's History

as lying in the middle Aisle. Further he notes that it was lately discovered broken in many pieces, lying about a foot below the pavement, immediately over the leaden coffin. A note on the Cox family informs us that they held Beaumonds, Kingsbury and Butterwick. In Pridmore's time he says it belonged to Mr. Thomas Kinder, whose father married the widow of Archdeacon Cole. Through this marriage Beaumonds passed to the Kinder family.

Drawings are given of four specimens of *Stained-glass*. The first in colour gives the Arms of France and England quarterly, over all a label of three points Arg. each charged with three toretaux. The next, also in colour, is he says, by tradition the portrait of John Wheathamstead, "the initial letter J, with a crown over it repeated upon the garment gives some probability to the account." The third, also coloured, represents an Angel, with a thurible. In the last is a figure, apparently that of St. Peter, seated on a throne, a key in his right hand, and a clasped book in his left.

Drawings are also given of the *Font*, which appears to be a dwarf Corinthian pillar; the heads of a King and Queen from the label over the North Door; some capitals, Norman; some cable mouldings; the top of a floriated cross, which he says were taken out of the solid walls in pulling down the Tower; and four stone coffin lids, wedge-shaped, and with crosses extending the full length, also taken from the walls. He gives but one Hatchment, that of Elizabeth Dobyns.

These closing years of the 19th century show the wonderful advancement we have made since the closing years of the 18th century. Our taste, we claim, is more refined, and founded on sounder principles than those which obtained in Pridmore's day. Every town has now its School of Art in connection with South Kensington, and pretty and correct drawings of plums and apples and conventional ornament are made from plaster models, which have the *imprimatur* of the Science and Art Department, are produced wholesale all over the country; but the interesting old buildings and vanishing landmarks of our country are flagrantly neglected. So far as my own observation goes, I am compelled to own that there are fewer boys now-a-days, who try to draw from

what they see around them, than there were some five-and-twenty or thirty years ago. Every little gutter snipe must draw as *per pattern*, whether he will or no. I am of course bound to believe that South Kensington is working at first principles and by right methods to make us an Art-loving Nation—it would be rank heresy for me to believe otherwise—but in the vast majority of instances, it leads on to nothing beyond copying a few plaster casts, and gaining such and such certificates. The “first principles” have not yet led on to the second.

The picturesque, the beautiful is around us in many a quaint nook and corner of such an old-world place as St. Alban's; picturesque and beautiful not merely as studies in light and shade, effective grouping, and delicate and varied tones, but because of its vital connection with a living past. “Your fathers, where are they?”—Around us on every side in the good and bad work which they have left behind—work with its faults and conceits, but with its high aspirations and conceptions as well: we without them had not been; we without them cannot be made perfect.

So much is vanishing of the past and we as an Archæological Society must “Gather up the fragments that remain that nothing be lost.” The camera, the pencil, and the cycle are within the reach of everyone now-a-days. I should like to see them enlisted in a systematic and enthusiastic survey of every nook and corner of this beautiful and interesting little County of Hertford.

To observe accurately and to record correctly and systematically memorials of the past is in itself an education, and calls into play that which is best and noblest of our faculties, ever opening out wider and deeper interests.

Meeting held at Cassiobury during an Excursion, June 16th, 1896.

Present—Mr. S. Flint Clarkson, F.R.I.B.A., in the chair; the Revs. Canon Davys, and H. Fowler, Mr. F. Trevor Davys, and Mr. A. E. Elkins.

The minutes of the last Meeting were confirmed. Canon Davys stated that he had received letters from Lord Aldenham, Sir John Evans, and the Rev. R. Lee James, expressing their regret at being unable to attend.

On the motion of Mr. A. E. Ekins, seconded by Mr. Trevor Davys, the Officers of the Society were re-elected, also the retiring Members of the Committee.

On the proposal of Canon Davys, seconded by Mr. Clarkson, Mrs. G. Upton Robins, of Delaport, and Henry Phipps, Jun., Esq., of Knebworth House, were elected Ordinary Members of the Society.

July 6th, 1897.

W. J. LAWRENCE.

Minutes—Excursion, June 16th, 1896.

An Archæological Excursion, planned by Mr. S. Flint Clarkson, F.R.I.B.A., in concert with the Hon. Secretaries, was conducted, Tuesday, 16th June.

In accordance with the programme, the party, numbering about 20, assembled at the Railway Station, Watford, at 9.30 a.m., where carriages were provided for the expedition. This commenced with a visit to the old Parish Church, S. Mary's. The Rev. Canon Davys, who was guide, first pointed out the features of the exterior. The new appearance of the walls, which are of flint, interspersed with fragments of clunch, is due to the Restoration carefully carried out by the Architect, Mr. J. T. Christopher, and completed in 1871, under the present respected Vicar, the Rev. R. Lee James. The South projection, or *quasi* Transept, has been rebuilt, and a new porch added on this side of the Church, built conformably with the original "Perpendicular" Porch on the North. The chief features of the "Perpendicular" Tower were noted. It exceeds in dimensions most of the Hertfordshire steeples. Its thick walls contain earlier work, for Mr. Cussans reports that worked stones of Norman and Early English character, were found built into the upper story. The massive angle-buttresses are partly hidden by the westward extension of the Aisles made at a late period. The corner turret once carried (as we are informed,) a Beacon Cresset.

On entering the interior, it was remarked that the spaciousness of the building was adapted to the requirements of a town of considerable traffic in former times, being on the great North road. It was in the jurisdiction of the Abbots of S. Albans, who, as Rectors, appropriated the great tithes. A portion of these was assigned in the time of Abbot John de Hertford, to the support of the Refectory. The Abbot appointed the Vicars, from whose modest emoluments an annual pension of 12 marks, was reserved to the Kitchener of the Convent. There is the record, that in the Incumbency of Vicar John Madery, the sacred building was desecrated by the spilling of blood, thro' the carelessness of two clerks, whereupon Abbot William Albon came with eight of his monks and performed the function of "Reconciling the Church," Thursday, 29th October, 1467.

The excellent present condition of the interior, with its handsome fittings, (notably the ornate font, the pulpit, the choir stalls, and the sculptured reredos,) was pointed out, also the fact that this is largely attributable to the exertions of the present Vicar. When the Antiquary, John Britton, visited the Church in the first quarter of the present century, he described it as "of mean aspect."

In a walk round the Church, the ancient Architectural features, carefully preserved in the "Restoration," were observed—the low

arcades of the long Nave (of six bays) having a general conformity of appearance, altho' belonging to different periods, the South side being Early English, with certain alterations, and the North wholly Perpendicular; as also the high Clerestory, with fair oak roof and Stone Angel corbels. Vestiges of the earlier structure were observed in the Chancel arch, and the double Piscina close to the eastern end of the South side of the Chancel, the walls of which are probably on the Early English lines. An Aumbry of Decorated character (restored) was seen in the South Transept, probably indicating a chapel or chantry there. On the South side of the Chancel were noticed the two Tudor Arches, opening into the Chapel of S. Catherine, dated about 1505, for "William Hayden (according to the inscription now concealed by the organ) with Johanna his mother (who died 1505) newly builded or finished this Isle or Chapel of S. Katherine." It was noted that the original Chapel on the North side, (probably the Lady Chapel) has been superseded by the existing spacious Elizabethan structure, (commonly called the Morison or Essex Chapel) erected in 1595, by Bridget, Countess of Bedford and her son, Sir Charles Morison. The Eastern Arch has been walled up, and the Western one altered into the Renaissance character, a Screen with a door being inserted in it. Some time was agreeably spent in the Chapel, in examining the notable historical monuments of the lords of the manor of Cassiobury, and Patrons of the Church, viz: the two central Altar Tombs, that towards the East with its recumbent alabaster effigies gorgeously painted, in memory of the Foundress, the Countess Bridget, and the Western, of her granddaughter, Lady Elizabeth Russell. These strongly resemble some monuments in the Russell Chapel at Chenies, and may have been executed by the same (unknown) sculptors.—On the South, against the blocked arch, the imposing architectural monument of Sir Charles Morison, commemorating also (by a medallion) his father, Sir Richard Morison, founder of the family, with portrait effigies, executed in the best manner of the Jacobean period (an: 1619) by Nicholas Stone; and against the opposite wall a similar classical erection of marble, commemorating Sir Charles Morison the younger, his lady and children, by the same "Tomb-maker and Carver," in 1628, (according to Horace Walpole). The connecting link between the Morison and Capel families is here represented by the kneeling figure of Elizabeth Morison, who married the famous Arthur Lord Capel. The Brasses placed to the memory of three faithful servants, by Dorothy Lady Morison were noted. Tablets to the memory of three members of the Capel family were noticed with interest, also other memorials, as far as the time permitted. The North wall of the Chapel has been placed in a line with that of the North Transept, thus obscuring this feature. The panelled oak roof of the North Transept is but little higher than that of the Aisle. In the South-western Vestry, opening into the Tower by a late Perpendicular Arch, some Architectural fragments of the earlier structures were pointed out, also an old oak Communion table, and a carved vestment-press, of foreign character, given by the Vicar.

After thanking the Rev. C. Hutchinson, the Lecturer of the Church, for his kind assistance, the party proceeded to pay a short visit to the modern Church of S. John the Evangelist, erected in the Early English style, from the designs of Mr. J. T. Christopher, and completed in 1894. Here the excellent work of the interior and fittings was examined with much appreciative interest.

The Excursionists were driven through Cassiobury Park to the Mansion. This, as is well known, was rebuilt about 1800, from the designs of James Wyatt, the elder, for George Capel Coningsby, 5th Earl of Essex. The effect of the exterior of the "Modern Gothic," edifice in its picturesque surroundings having been observed, the party, by the courteous permission of the Earl of Essex, entered at the West Cloister, and were conducted to the Great Cloister, situated on the South side of the Central open Court, and handsomely fitted up as a Reception Room. Here the Rev. H. Fowler read some historical notes. Attention was attracted to a very interesting object here, placed on an easel: the portrait of Henry IV. (a bust) painted on board, described by Horace Walpole as "an undoubted original," in his time located at Hampton Court, in Herefordshire, the old seat of the Coningsby family, which afterwards came by inheritance to the Earls of Essex. The Picture bears this inscription, "Henry the Fourth, King of England, who layed the first stone of this house, and left this picture in it when he gave it to Lentall, who sold it to Cornwall of Burford, who sold it to the Auncesters of Lord Coningesby in the reign of Henry the Sixth." There is a counterpart at Windsor Castle, also claiming to be an original.

After inspecting, in the East corridor, the Devereux relic—a warming-pan punctured with the family Badge, an "Agnus," the party proceeded to the principal apartments, on the ground floor, situated on the East and South sides of the mansion; passing through the Vestibule, in which are some interesting portraits of the Morison family, into the "Dramatic Library," where are displayed miniatures, bronzes, ivories, personal relics of Charles I. and other curiosities; thence to the Inner Library, where attention was directed to the oak carvings, by Grinling Gibbons, brought from the old house. Over the chimney piece was seen the noted historical painting by Cornelius Jansen, of which Horace Walpole remarks,—"It is a large piece, curious, but so inferior to Jansen's general manner, that if his name were not to it, I should doubt of its being by his hand. It represents Arthur Lord Capel, who was beheaded, his lady (Elizabeth Morison) and children. Behind them is a view of the garden of Hadham, at that time the chief seat of the family." Close to it, on the left, was seen the well-known Brass inscription, recording the history of the relic there deposited—Loyal Lord Capel's heart. Here are also portraits of William Anne Hollis, 4th Earl of Essex, and his Countess Frances (Williams), by Sir Joshua Reynolds. In the Great Library (next visited) a long and lofty wainscotted chamber, lighted from the Eastern oriel, about 15 family portraits were seen above the book cases, which sustain some fine marble busts. Among the portraits examined, were—"George Capel, Lord Malden, and his sister, as children, in a landscape," by Reynolds; the carving of the frame by Grinling Gibbons, is itself an exquisite picture. A three-quarter length of Arthur Capel, first Earl of Essex, the friend of Evelyn; by Sir Peter Lely. Lady Mary Bentinck, wife of Algernon, 2nd Earl of Essex. Lady Jane Hyde, the handsome first wife of William, 3rd Earl of Essex; her sister Catherine, "the beautiful" and eccentric Duchess of Queensbury, as a Shepherdess; by Jervas. In the principal Drawing Room, adjoining, were viewed some good landscape paintings, rich cabinets, and rare specimens of porcelaine, labelled. The "Cabinet Room" has a painted ceiling adopted from the old mansion, it is that which is described by Evelyn as decorated with allegorical figures by Verrio.

Here some exquisite inlaid cabinets were noted, also Kneller's portrait of "Elizabeth, Countess of Ranelagh, mother of Lady Coningsby." In the Dining Room were specially noticed among the portraits—"Algernon Percy, 10th Earl of Northumberland, as Lord High Admiral," full length, attributed to Vandyck; Lady Elizabeth Percy, his sister, wife of Arthur Capel, the 1st Earl, by Lely; and Sir Charles Hanbury Williams, the poet, by Hudson; also a full length of George Capel Coningsby, 5th Earl, who built the present house. The Western bay of this room opens into a porch towards the gardens. In the Oak Dining Room, on the Eastern side of the building (perhaps a portion of the old house erected by Hugh May) is a remarkable portrait of Robert Devereux, Queen Elizabeth's unfortunate favorite, with the date 1599, (painter unknown). This and a half-length of Sir Joshua Reynolds, in heavy spectacles, painted by himself, attracted much attention. Other paintings and curiosities, also the handsome oak staircase, could only be glanced at in the limited time. A rather hurried visit was paid to the extensive Pleasure Grounds and Artistic Gardens so notable for their "rarity."

The party proceeded in their conveyances to a previously selected spot, outside the park, on the banks of the River Gade, where a picnic lunch was enjoyed under the trees. A business meeting was afterwards held.* The next stage was Rickmansworth, which was reached about 1.30 p.m., after a pleasant drive over the high ground, commanding an extensive prospect of the valleys of the Gade and Colne. At the Church, the Rev. A. E. Northey welcomed the party, and kindly gave information respecting the former structure, exhibiting an engraving. Canon Davys, who conducted, read some notes on the Manor. This (it was stated) was conferred by Offa (as "Rykesmaresworth") upon S. Albans, c. 795, and continued with the Abbots till the Dissolution. Edward VI. granted it, in 1550, to Ridley, Bishop of London, together with the Patronage of the Church. It was resumed by the Crown, and granted by Charles I. to Hewet, who sold it to Sir Thomas Fotherley—(monuments of the latter family are in the Church). The Vicarage is now in the gift of the Bishop of the Diocese. The site of the old Manor house, "the Bury," adjoins the South side of the Church-yard, which is notable for its fine Yew trees. The features of the old Tower, which was spared, were noted, the lower portions appearing to be Decorated and Perpendicular, and the upper stage a very late addition—the date 1630, seen below, may relate to repairs. In 1826 the body of the old Church was pulled down, and a plain brick Church erected; this has happily been replaced by the present handsome structure erected, in 1890, in the "Perpendicular" style, from the designs of Sir Arthur Blomfield. The good effect of the Nave arcades, the Clerestory, the Roofing and the extended Chancel were observed. In the latter, the choice work of the Altar Reredos, the painting of the roof, the stained glass in the East Window, also the Carolan Monuments of the Carey family, and of the Fotherleys, and the Jacobean Brass of Thomas Day, preserved from the old Church, were examined with interest.

After thanking the Vicar, the party resumed their Archæological journey and reached Chenies, about 3 p.m. The old name *Isenhampstead*, appears to mean the *Homestead of iron*; it was once the Homestead of Royalty. The natural beauty of the village (perhaps the most picturesque in Buckinghamshire) placed on the well-wooded

* For particulars see above.

brow of a hill overlooking the valley of the Chess, having been observed, the party proceeded to the Church (of S. Michael) under the guidance of Mr. Flint Clarkson. After pointing out the features of the late Perpendicular structure and the older work of the Font, near which are some Brass Memorials of the Cheney family, also the remains of ancient stained glass in the East window, Mr. Clarkson gave a brief account of the Russell family, noting that Kingston Russell, between Dorchester and Bridport, was their ancient seat, where was born in 1485, John Russell, the Founder of the Noble House of Bedford. The incident of the Arch-Duke Philip's enforced landing at Weymouth, in 1506, which led to the introduction of John Russell to the Court of Henry VII. and the subsequent promotions of the able soldier and accomplished diplomatist, under three successive Sovereigns, was related. Notices of other distinguished Earls of Bedford were given. (The Earldom dates from 1550). Attention was directed to the interesting Mortuary Chapel of the Russells, built by the first Earl's widow, "Anne, Countess of Bedforde," in 1556. "This Anne, was daughter and co-heir of Sir Guy Sapcote, Knt., nephew and heir of Dame Alice Cheyne, heiress of that family." The estate came to the Russells through the marriage of Anne Sapcote with John Russell, in 1515.

The visitors were then admitted, by the kind permission of the Duke of Bedford, to the Russell Chapel. It appears that the original Chapel, which was probably the Chantry of the Cheney family, formed a North Aisle to the Chancel. The extended Tudor Mausoleum comprises this and also the site of the North Aisle of the Nave of the Church. The handsome oak timbered roof, which rises to the same height as the Nave roof, was observed, also the trophy relics, banners, helmets, and weapons suspended on the walls. Two mutilated stone figures: a knight and lady, (believed to be of the Cheney family, and of the 14th century) "recumbent" on the floor against the North wall, were observed. A stone block has been substituted for the Knight's missing legs, with grotesque effect. Eight effigy-bearing monuments of the Russells, five of them being altar-tombs, were successively inspected. Notably the dignified tomb of the first Earl and his lady, (Anne Sapcote) occupying the place of honour next to the East window. This is of a light-tinted marble, the carved panels being enriched with armorial shields with blazon, the black marble basement bearing the inscriptions; the recumbent effigies, reputed to be portraits, sculptured out of a yellowish delicately-veined alabaster, are placed rather too high to be well seen, they have their faces abnormally turned to the West, and this applies to all the Russell effigies. The Earl appears of venerable aspect, long-locked, long-bearded, coronetted, in complete armour, and mantled with the insignia of "The Garter." His right eye, blinded in the wars, is represented as closed. The likeness is stated to be authenticated by the Holbein portraits preserved at Woburn Abbey. His lady has long hair depending to her shoulders, a low forehead, and large strong features, her state costume is skilfully worked out in alabaster without paint. It is curious that the unknown sculptor has given her name as "Elizabeth." (The bare hands of both figures are raised in prayer). The sculpture is stiff, but appears masterly of its kind. It was observed with pleasure that this, and all the Russell monuments have been preserved from mutilation, with the single exception of the "George" ornaments of "the Garter." On either side were seen the

altar-tombs of the son and granddaughter, viz: on the South, that of Francis the 2nd Earl, with his first wife, Margaret S. John. His second wife was the Countess Bridget, whose tomb had been seen at Watford, where are also the almshouses which he founded by her advice in 1580. The Architectural details are Jacobean, altho' he died in 1585. The recumbent portrait-effigies are crudely painted. The monument on the North, that of his daughter, Anne Countess of Warwick, the foundress of the almshouses, who died in 1604, has a pleasing effigy, the headdress being of the Mary Queen of Scots' type. The table tomb of Edward, 3rd Earl, who died in 1627, was noticed, also the sumptuous Jacobean monument of Francis, the 4th Earl, the philanthropic drainer of the Fens. This is erected against the South wall, or rather, walled-up arch. He is commemorated as Lord Francis Russell, of Thornhaugh, before his accession to the Earldom, with his wife, Catherine Brydges, Lady Chandos; both the recumbent effigies have rather youthful countenances, and are glaringly coloured. Their two children (daughters) kneel in the niches of a kind of reredos above. He died in 1641. The inscription affords the information, that the tomb was set up in his own lifetime (and clearly in the lifetime of his predecessor) to "keep him mindful of his own mortalitye"; also that he erected at the same time the monuments to his grandfather, the 2nd Earl of Bedford, and to the Countess of Warwick, the cost being provided by his mother Dame Elizabeth Russell. The tomb of the latter lady had been seen at Watford; she died in 1611, and this is probably about the date of these monuments. The next monument Westward, a table of dark marble resting on white marble pillars, to the memory of Lady Frances Bouchier (who died in 1612) granddaughter of the 2nd Earl, is specially interesting, because erected by a very heroic lady, Anne Clifford, Countess of Dorset, who was married in this Church, June 3rd, 1630, (according to the entry in the parish register) to Philip Herbert, Earl of Pembroke. She long survived him, was a staunch Royalist, and had the satisfaction of rebuilding her castles in the North, which had been battered down by the uncivil Parliament. At the West end of the Chapel was seen the imposing white marble memorial of William, the 5th Earl, who was created Duke of Bedford, in 1694, "to solace him, (as the patent sets forth,) an excellent father, for the loss of his noble son, (referring to the patriotic William Lord Russell, beheaded in 1683) and to celebrate his memory, &c."—The grouping of the sculpture appears to be intended to convey the idea of this family affliction. Beneath a somewhat ponderous classical alcove, are seated the Duke, mantled with the "Garter" robes, and his consort (Anne Carr) veiled and in mourning "weeds"; the medallion portrait of their son is elevated conspicuously between them; the Duke's attitude is that of complete composure, but the Duchess turns away her head as if to avoid a mournful spectacle. Medallions of their other children are grouped on either side. The Russell shield, bearing "arg., a lion ramp. gu., on a chief sa. 3 escallops of the field," seen in the Presbytery at S. Alban's Abbey, was put up in 1683 for this Duke; he died in 1700. It appears that the names of the artists who executed these interesting monuments, have not been preserved. The 4th Earl employed Inigo Jones for some Architectural works, the latter may have designed the Earl's monument. The memorial of the 2nd Duke (Wriothlesley,) which is in white marble, and has two kneeling youthful figures (probably for himself and wife), with sacred symbols

and angels above, was seen on the left. (He died in 1711); the inscription states that it was designed by William Chambers. No memorials appear for the eight succeeding Dukes. A simple tablet was seen, to the memory of Lady Ribblesdale, first wife of the distinguished statesman, John Earl Russell, son of the sixth Duke, who was buried in the crypt below.

On leaving the Church, after thanking the Curate in charge, Mr. Burdekin, a visit was paid to the Mansion (the portion of it that remains), now converted into a farm house. It was noted by Mr. Clarkson, that the ancient Royal residence here with the Manor of Isenhampstead, was bestowed by Edward III., on his shield-bearer, Thomas Cheney, whose descendants held it till 1494, when it passed by the will of Agnes Lady Cheney to the Sapcotes, and from them by marriage to the Russells. Of the Early Mansion, Leland, writing about 1538, says—"The old House of the Cheynes is so translated by my Lord Russell, that hath this house in right of his wife, that little or nothing of it remaineth ontranslated; a great deal of the house is even newly set up, and made of bricks and timber." The remains of this Tudor building now seen, are ranged on the West and South sides of a quadrangular court, which was probably once completely enclosed by buildings. Here Francis, the second Earl, being at the time a Privy Councillor, underwent with a good grace, the honour of a "Progress" Visit from Queen Elizabeth, in 1570. When the Russells transferred their residence to Woburn Abbey, probably the interior fittings, chimney-pieces, &c., were removed thither. The exterior features, notably the ornate chimneys, were pointed out, as "pretty characteristic of the first half of the sixteenth century," and were compared with contemporary examples existing at Compton Wyngates, Hampton Court, Eton, Hengrave, and elsewhere. "Queen Elizabeth's Oak" escaped notice. It was found that the fine "Warwick Almshouses" had been removed.

The party resuming their carriages were conveyed by a devious route along lanes and field tracks across the Chess to their last stage, Sarratt. At the Parish Church ("of the Holy Cross") they were welcomed by the Rector, Mr. E. Riley, who proved a most interesting guide. It was gathered from his information, and from the notes on the Architectural subject read by Mr. F. Trevor Davys, that this small but attractive example of an Early Cruciform Church, stands close to the site of a Roman Cemetery. Roman bricks found in the walls, notably of the Tower, also indicating the proximity of Roman habitations. The old name Syret, under which the estate was granted in Saxon times to the Abbey of S. Alban, signifies "a lurking place," perhaps having reference to a resort of forest marauders, who may have sheltered themselves in the Roman ruins. Abbot Paul, it appears, made a grant of the manor to Robert the mason, the builder of the Norman Conventual Church. Just before his death, a surrender of the reversion was rather ungraciously extorted from him. The Abbots had the Rectorial tithes and patronage of the Church till the Dissolution. Pluralism was certainly prevalent in Monastic times, for in 1479 the Vicarage of "Sarett" was given by Abbot William Walyngforde to Thomas Hemyngforth, a priest belonging to the Order of Friars Hermits, who by a dispensation from Pope Pius II., was allowed to hold that of Shephall with it. He afterwards fell under very serious censure. A notable feature of the building, is the plain unbuttressed Western tower, with its *saddleback* roof, the gables facing North and

South, the upper stage appears to have been largely composed of Roman tiles. Some account of the Restoration work, carried out by Sir Gilbert Scott in 1865, was given. An Aisle of one bay, it appears, was added on each side of the Nave, next to the Transepts; the severe simplicity of form and character in the piers and pointed arches has been preserved. The new South porch, of open oak timber-work, is necessarily placed more Westward than the original one, of which it is a reproduction. Here part of the North wall fell, during the progress of the works, owing, as it proved, to the shallowness of the foundations. The Early English features of the interior were pointed out, among them the Purbeck shafts of the Font, the large bowl of which, (now discarded) is said to have been Norman, and a stone coffin slab carved with a calvary cross. The windows appeared to be of a later date. In the long Chancel, were observed the Easter Sepulchre recess, a Piscina and Sedilia, and above, the Jacobean effigy-monument of William Kyngesley, Esq., who acquired the Manor of Roos Hall, in Sarret, 25th Elizabeth, and was buried here 31st March, 1611. The inscription states that the monument was erected by his wife Katherine (Tottell). A memorial of their descendants, of the Williams family, was seen. It was observed that the small Jacobean pulpit has oak panels carved with the *linen pattern*, probably taken from a pre-Reformation Screen or bench-ends. It was discovered at the restoration, when the walls were cleansed, that the plainness of the interior had been relieved by painted foliage decoration, placed on a crimson ground. Over the Chancel arch, and in the South Transept, were revealed the remains of distemper paintings representing scriptural subjects; those visible in the Transept, of an early character, perhaps of the 13th century, were pointed out.

Near the Church, Eastward, were seen the Baldwin Almshouses, neatly re-built in 1821, by Ralph Day, Esq., of Sarratt Hall.

Mr. Riley kindly conducted the visitors, by a walk of half a mile, to his beautifully situated Rectory house. The view towards the woods of Chenies, from the sloping garden, proved most attractive. The substantial tea, which the hostess had hospitably provided, was much appreciated by the somewhat exhausted guests. Afterwards some specimens of local natural history and Geology were examined, also Roman antiquities: tiles, sepulchral pottery, a key, and other curiosities, dug up in the churchyard, also the Rector's careful tracings of the mural distemper paintings in the Church portraying "the Nativity" and other sacred subjects. After cordially thanking their kind entertainers, the members departed to return to Watford, which was reached before 7 o'clock, whence they were conveyed by railway to their several destinations. The long Archæological pilgrimage was much enjoyed.

Notes on the Church of St. Mary, Watford.

BY REV. CANON DAVYS, M.A.

We have agreed of late to a very salutary rule, which is not to have papers of any length during our excursions, but to examine our subjects with a chiefly oral description, and to commit our notes to paper with some additions later, should they be thought worthy of a

place in the published transactions of this Society. I shall therefore detain you in our view of this Church to-day for as short a time as will suffice for a very brief sketch of its history so far as it is known. It will interest us to remember that Watford, like so many other Churches in this district, originally belonged to S. Albans Abbey, the convent, as was the wont of such establishments in Mediæval times, appropriated the *great* tithes, and appointed a Vicar, supported by the *small* tithes, for the discharge of the spiritual duties of the parish. It will be well to explain here that these great tithes, for the matter has become of some interest of late, were tithes on cornlands, then regarded as the most valuable of landed possessions, while the *small* tithes were only charged on grazing lands, orchards, or gardens. These greater tithes in more modern days have been called the *Rectorial*, and the *lesser* the *Vicarial* tithes, Abbots often as we have seen, held the former, and the parochial Clergy the latter. At the dissolution however, these greater tithes were not generally restored to the Church, but were the spoils of Court favourites, hence the origin of "*Lay Rectors*," or as they are sometimes called "*Lay Impropriators*." In some favoured instances, however, the Abbey tithes were retained by the Cathedrals or Collegiate Churches, which took their places, or went to the support of Colleges in the Universities founded with the money of dissolved religious houses. It appears that all the Vicarages in this Hundred of Cassio were in the patronage of S. Albans Abbey, which will show that the *greater* tithes were the property of the Monastic Rectors, till the time of the dissolution. Mr. Cussans, in his valuable history of Hertfordshire, has recovered a list of the Vicars of Watford from the year 1309 to the present time, which is most valuable for reference, for it often happens that some of the architectural features of a Church may be assigned with much probability to the date and superintendence of some diligent and skilful incumbent of the olden time. As to the building before us, it ranks as one of the largest parish Churches in Hertfordshire, it has been considerably restored, and some portions, notably the south wall, have been rebuilt. Its architectural period is chiefly *perpendicular*, but some old fragments which have been preserved point to work

here of a considerably anterior date. The finest external feature is the tower before us, which is an unusually lofty example of a type very common in Hertfordshire, with the angular staircase, capped with a battlemented turret. These turrets have sometimes been called "beacon," turrets, and it is not improbable that when found on the coast, as for instance in Dorsetshire, where a fine example is seen at Wyke, near Weymouth, and in view of the dangerous Chiswell beach, they might have been so constructed as to contain lanterns, but I don't think that our Hertfordshire Towers were so employed, for the same needs were not apparent here. Access had to be obtained of course to the tower roofs, and the angular staircase had to be enclosed from the weather, and a covering of sufficient height to admit of a door of exit had to be provided. Hence our corner turrets, not always much to be admired, and if the spirelet which carries the eye above them is absent, give an effect which has been described as that of "an object with one ear." To remedy this necessarily constructive effect, the Mediæval Architects were wont to make use of some expedients, which were not difficult of execution in counties where they could get stone; even with the resources of Totternhoe they concealed their one turret for the staircase by three companions at the other angles, in the beautiful, though sadly decayed, Tower of Luton, while its very existence is forgotten in the noble groups of Pinnacles, and magnificent Parapet arrangements, which make up the surpassing beauty of so many of the Towers of Somersetshire. Of our own Towers however, built as they are with the minimum of freestone, and that of a perishable nature, and the maximum of flint and rubble, we must be satisfied that the best was done with the materials then available, and that proportion made up for their meagreness of detail, for as we look at the Tower before us we can admire the former, while confessing that there is much to be desired in the latter. I observed that this was one of the loftiest of this character of Tower in Hertfordshire, another of about equal height has been seen by this Society at Aldenham, and recently described in our Transactions, while a less lofty, but to my eye the best proportioned Tower of the kind

we have, has been visited by us at Kimpton; this with its beautiful Spirelet is now in perfect order, having been repaired by that most skilful of builders, Mr. John Thompson, of Peterborough, under the direction of Mr. John Oldred Scott. We have a Paper on this Church, and a sketch of its Tower in some previous Transactions. But we are now at Watford, and when we enter the Church you will notice a singular arrangement in the fact that the Arches of the Chancel and Tower do not stand even with the roof of the Nave. You will also notice that the fine Chancel has side Chapels, that to the North is built apparently on the site of an Ancient Sacristy, but is now famous for its remarkable Monuments, which by the courtesy of the Earl of Essex, we are permitted to examine to-day, and we hope to view them under the guidance of the custodians of this Church. They have been so often, and so fully described that I need only refer to our County Histories for their record, and mention that the builder of the Chapel, as we see it, was Lady Bridget, Countess of Bedford, the mother of Sir Charles Morrison, of Cassiobury, in 1595. I have only now to add to the Architectural history of this Church, that the Chapel on the South side of the Chancel, now occupied by the organ, known in later years as the Haydon Chapel, was originally the Chapel of S. Catherine. Speaking of the organ reminds me that this Church was one of the first to exhibit an instance of that wonderful choral revival which the present generation has seen. I believe I am right in saying that its choir was the second in this County, that of S. Albans Abbey being the first, to wear surplices. To this, much opposition, as in many similar cases, was shown, but if "fools" are proverbially said to "set the fashion," "wise men" generally "follow it" and such choral "fools" should certainly have been suffered gladly, when it has been seen how contagious has been their example. For in my own experience in the "S. Albans Church Choral Union" when we founded it some 30 years ago we had but four surpliced choirs at our first central festival, while at our last, in 1896, we had none unsurpliced, and most wearing cassocks also. This is a digression, neither Architectural nor Archæological, but certainly Historical, and so I trust pardonable. Another Historical fact, and then I

have finished, the Registers of this Church are of interest and date from 1539 ; being on the high road, some poor travellers are mentioned as having fainted and died by the way, and the dangerous proximity of London, not then as it now boasts itself to be “the healthiest Capital in Europe,” is responsible apparently for many out-breaks of infectious diseases. The awful Plague too, which devastated the Metropolis in 1665, appears to have continued its march of death to Watford. So were things once, but now happily Watford rejoices in brighter days.

Cassiobury.

BY REV. H. FOWLER, M.A.

It is hardly necessary to mention that the House, which we have the privilege of visiting by courteous permission, is a modern structure, having been erected about the first year of the present century, for the fifth Earl of Essex, by the well-known Architect, James Wyatt, who also rebuilt in the *modern Gothic* style the Mansion at Ashridge.

The few minutes which can be allowed for notes I propose to occupy chiefly with reading a passage from Evelyn's Diary, which gives some interesting and authentic information about the rebuilding of the predecessor of this seat in 1680. It will be necessary, however, to give some words of introduction in reference to the origin of the first Mansion here.

The Estate of Cassiobury variously denominated in Mediæval times as Cægesho, Caissou, Caishoo, Kayso, and latterly Cassio or Cashio, is supposed to preserve the name of the British tribe of the Cassi, whose seat of Government was at Verulamium, called by the Saxons Verlamceaster and also Watlingaceaster. It was one of the important estates conferred by Offa on his Monastery ; and the Manor of Cassio, reduced some time after the Domesday survey to probably its present dimensions—the Manor of Watford being taken out of it—remained with the Abbots till the dissolution of the Monastery. In 1546, August 29th, it was granted by Henry VIII., not as a free gift, but for purchase-money

and in exchange for certain properties in Yorkshire, to Sir Richard Morison. From the inscription on the monument of his son, Sir Charles Morison (erected by his grandson), we learn that he was a person highly distinguished for polite literature and diplomatic ability, and he acquired great honour as Ambassador to the Emperor, Charles V., and other princes. He was eminent as a lawyer and a controversialist, and employed his pen in defence of the cause of the Reformation of the Church according to his views under Henry VIII. and Edward VI. He was a wealthy man, and acquired other monastic estates besides this of Cassiobury. His grant here names the Lordship of "Cayshobury with Wippingdon Grove and Cayshobury Grove (apparently the estate which is now called 'The Grove,' Lord Clarendon's), in the parish of Watford and Cayshobury"—this seems to be a double name for the parish—also (the document says), all woods, messuages, mills, etc., Courts Leet, and Courts Baron, as completely as the Abbots held them—to hold of the Crown by the service of a tenth of a Knight's fee, and a yearly rent." The patronage of the Church of Watford was at this time granted separately from the Manor lordship and given to John Lord Russell (afterwards Earl of Bedford), who was bailiff of the Manor at the time of the survey. This afterwards came (in 1653) by family arrangement or purchase to Sir Charles Morison, Junior. Chauncy says that soon after Sir Richard obtained possession, he "commenced to erect a fair and large house on a dry hill, not far from a pleasant river (the Gade) in a fair park." For fuller information I am indebted to the "History of Cassiobury," compiled by the Antiquary John Britton in 1838, and dedicated to Geo. Capel Coningsby, 5th Earl of Essex, the builder of the present Mansion. The house was built on the site of the Abbots' Manor House. An old drawing shews that part of a Mediæval timber and plaster structure was incorporated in the Morison House; this structure must have been the Monastic Manor House. It appears that Sir Richard built only a portion of the Mansion he had designed, but probably sufficient for temporary habitation. On the accession of Queen Mary he fled from the threatened persecution, and at Strasburg

joined the exiled Reformers, with whom he had been associated—Peter Martyr, Grindall, Jewell, and others. Here he died, May 1556.

After the accession of Elizabeth, the design was completed by his son, Sir Charles Morison, who founded the Mortuary Chapel, at Watford Church in conjunction with his mother. He lived till 1599. This Tudor residence has been described in general terms as “a stately structure in the midst of a park with beautiful gardens.” Britton reproduces in his work an old plan, existing at Cassiobury, which shows it to be a very spacious residence. It appears in the form of the letter T. I exhibit a copy. The longest member (according to the scale on the plan) extended about 225 feet, the other member 190 feet. These dimensions exceed those of the present house as given in Britton’s plan of it. In an old picture made at another stage of its existence, after the alterations and additions made in about 1680, the North wing of the house appears as a Tudor structure of brick, long and rather narrow, having five window bays extending the whole height (two stories), a sharp gable at the end, and very ornate Elizabethan chimneys. This was the portion of the Morison house which was preserved at that period. Britton informs us that some of this Elizabethan work still exists in the North wing of the modern mansion—I must return to the narrative—After the death of Sir Charles Morison, (son of the first Sir Charles) who erected the monument to his father in the Chapel, the Lordship of Cassiobury and the other estates were brought to the Capel family by the marriage of the heiress, Elizabeth Morison, with Arthur, the Great Lord Capel, of Hadham. He resided chiefly at Hadham. The interesting picture by Cornelius Jansen, which we are to have the advantage of seeing in “the Inner Library,” represents him with his beautiful and devoted wife, and his five children, grouped in the gardens at Hadham. This was painted before the outbreak of the Civil war. Early in the struggle the Parliament party had their hand upon Watford and Cassiobury. The loyal Capel had little opportunity of attending to his house here. After the battle of Marston Moor, the Parliament chose to confiscate his estates, and made a grant of them, in 1645, to Robert Devereux the last Earl

of Essex of that name, son of Queen Elizabeth's favourite, and General of the Parliamentary forces. He died in the following year. Nothing seems to be known about his occupation of Cassiobury. There is a curious relic here to be seen in one of the corridors—a copper warming-pan impressed with the Devereux badge. This is said to have been brought from Rayne Hall, a former seat of the Capels. After Lord Capel's execution, or rather, immolation (March 9th, 1649), till the end of Cromwell's domination, nothing can be said about Cassiobury House, except that it is supposed to have been granted to Sir William Brereton. After the restoration of the Monarchy, Lord Capel's son, of the same name, recovered his inheritance here, and in 1661, April 20th, was created by the King, Viscount Malden and Earl of Essex. He was the 21st in order of the Earls of Essex, but the first of the family of Capel, whose honorable reputation he well sustained, till he was cut off by a violent death. The work which he effected here in regard to the family mansion, I will now relate in the words of his valued and gifted friend, Evelyn, and so bring to an end these short notes.

Under the date 18th April, 1680, in the Diary, we read :—

“ On the earnest invitation of the Earle of Essex, I went with him to his house at Cashioberie in Hartfordshire. It was on Sunday, but going early from his house in the Square of S. James', we arrived by ten o'clock; this he thought too late to go to church, and we had prayers in his chapel. The house is new, a plain fabric, built by my friend Mr. Hugh May. There are divers faire and good rooms, and excellent carving by Gibbons, especially the chimney piece of the library. There is in the porch or entrance a painting of Apollo and the liberal arts. One room parquetted with yew, which I liked well. Some of the chimney-mantels are of Irish marble, brought by my Lord from Ireland when he was Lord Lieutenant, and not much inferior to Italian. The tympan or gabal at the front is a bass-relievo of Diana hunting, cut in Portland stone handsomely enough. I did not approve of the middle dores being round, but when the hall is finished, as designed, it being an oval with a cupola, together with the other

wing, it will be a very noble palace. The Library is large and very nobly furnished, and all the books are richly bound and gilded; but there are no MSS. except the Parliament Rolls and Journals, the transcribing and binding which cost him, as he assured me, £500. No man has been more industrious than this noble lord in planting about his seat, adorned with walks, ponds, and other rural elegancies; but the soile is stonic, churlish and uneven, nor is the water nere enough to the house, though a very swift and clear stream runs within a flight shot from it in the valley, which may be fitly called Cold brook, it being indeed excessive cold, yet producing fair troutes. 'Tis pity the house was not situated to more advantage, but it seems it was built just where the old one was, which I believe he only meant to reparaire; this leads men into irremediabile errors and saves but a little. The land about it is exceedingly addicted to wood, but the coldnesse of the place hinders the growth. Black cherry trees prosper even to considerable timber, some being 80 feet long; they make also very handsome avenues. [Note one mentioned by Cook as 85 feet long]. There is a pretty oval at the end of a faire walke, set about with treble rows of Spanish chestnut trees. The gardens are very rare, and cannot be otherwise having so skilful an artist to govern them as Mr. Cooke, who is, as to the mechanic part, not ignorant in mathematics and pretends to astrologie. There is an excellent collection of the choicest fruit. As for my Lord, he is a sober, wise, judicious, and pondering person, not illiterate beyond the rate of most noblemen in this age, very well versed in English historie and affairs, industrious, frugal, methodical, and every way accomplished. His lady (being sister of the late Earle of Northumberland) is a wise, but somewhat melancholy woman, setting her heart too much on the little lady her daughter, of whom she is over-fond. They have an hopeful son at the Academie. My Lord was not long since come from his Lord Lieutenancy of Ireland, where he showed his abilities in administration and government, as well as prudence in very considerably augmenting his estate without reproach. He had been Ambassador extraordinary in Denmark, and, in a word, such a person as became the son of that worthy hero his

father to be, the late Lord Capel, who lost his life for King Charles I. We spent our time in the morning in walking and riding, and contriving (improvements), and the afternoones in the Library, so as I passed my time for three or four daies with satisfaction. He was pleased in conversation to impart to me divers particulars of State, relating to the present times. He being no great friend to the D (uke of York), was now laid aside, his integritie and abilities being not so suitable in this conjuncture. 21 May.—I returned to London.”

Notes on Sarratt Church.

BY F. TREVOR DAVYS.

The parish of Sarratt is in the county of Hertfordshire, in the Hundred of Cashio, and in the Diocese and Archdeaconry of St. Albans. The village and church stand on the high Northern ridge of the valley of the river Chess, which river for a short distance up forms the division of Hertfordshire and Buckinghamshire.

The name of Sarratt, the Rev. H. Hall, M.A. tells us, may be traced to a corruption of Soar, signifying water, with the syllable yatt (or yott as in Ayott) which latter may be traced back to the Saxon word goet, a very usual word to indicate a road; thus signifying, the road by the water, the g being generally transformed into y when the g is followed by a vowel.

The village stands on a long strip of a green, and is wanting in picturesque cottages. The extent of the parish is 1,550 acres, and the population in 1891 was 704.

Sarratt from an early period belonged to the Monastery of St. Albans, and is mentioned in the confirmation charters of King Henry the First and King John by the name of “Syret,” but no mention is made of it in the Domesday Survey.

Its Manors, Mr. Clutterbuck gives as being distinctly two in number, viz., “Sarret and Rose Hall,” which are now, however, vested in the same family, though came into their possession through the hands of different owners.

The Church, which is a mile South of the village, is dedicated to the "Holy Cross," and is built of flint facing with stone quoins. At most of the angles are large boulders of "plum-pudding" or conglomerated stone, commonly used in ecclesiastical buildings for foundations. The site is supposed formerly to have been that of a Roman Cemetery, for in the Churchyard fragments of cinerary urns, etc., have been frequently turned up.

The original plan was that of a Greek Cross, but when in 1865-66 Sir Gilbert Scott restored it, the Aisles and a small Vestry were added, during which work some portion of the Nave wall collapsed near the tower owing to the workmen excavating too near to the old walls which were not built on proper foundations; this led to the restoration being carried out on a larger scale than was at first contemplated.

The present plan gives us a Western tower 9ft. by 8ft. 10in. internally, with walls 3ft. 2in. thick, a Nave 28ft. 5in. by 16ft. 9in., a Chancel Arch 2ft. 10in. thick, Chancel 24ft. 9in. by 13ft. 3in., North and South Transept 14ft. by 12ft. 11in., North and South Aisles 13ft. by 11ft. 1in., with walls 2ft. 10in. thick between Nave, a South porch, and a Vestry on the South side of the Chancel.

During the Restoration remains of frescoes were discovered and some are now visible, though indistinct, on the East wall of the South Transept.

On the North side of the Chancel is a small apsidal trefoiled niche, 1ft. 6½ins. wide by 1ft. 11½in. high, and 1ft. 3½in. deep. It has been suggested that this was an Easter sepulchre, as among the furniture of the church is "a cloth of yellow silk for the Sepulchre." Adjacent to this niche is a locker in which the sacred vessels were kept, but the door and ironwork are now missing.

In the altar steps are some old tiles which were discovered. On the South side of the Chancel is a Sedilia, and West of it a Piscina of "Early English" style, with a shaft supporting two pointed arches. A second and smaller Piscina is East of these, and apparently of "Decorated" style.

Above is a monument to a man and woman kneeling on the opposite sides of a desk. Behind the man are six

sons, and behind his wife, one daughter. The date 1502 painted at the bottom of the Monument is supposed to be erroneous. The inscription itself bears no date, but the parish registers show that a William Kingesley who married a Katherine Tottell, was buried at Sarratt in 1611, and it is suggested that the Memorial was designed for him, as both figures have ruffs, and the head dress of the woman is similar to that of the two daughters of Sir Henry Cock in Broxbourne Church, erected about 1610.

The Chancel is curved with a tiled roof with purlins supported by three principal rafters of different construction, the design becoming richer towards the East end. The two Eastern ones have tie beams, but the Easternmost one is a nicely-proportioned example of a hammer-beam principal, with moulded timbers. Between the principals are covered braces, as an extra support for the common rafters which are laid showing the flat face.

The hammer-beam roof was adopted by the builders of the 14th and 15th century, and is a clever device of obtaining height, and strength, and getting rid of the tie-beam. Norfolk and Suffolk churches are peculiar for their enriched roofs of the hammer-beam construction, very generally having angels carved at the projecting ends of the hammer-beams.

The pulpit is a good example of Jacobean work with a nicely carved back-board, on which is carved the Scotch thistle, a sign of the time of James I. and a square sounding board over, on which is carved the quilloche ornament. The whole though is small in dimensions even for one of this date, the doorway entrance being only 1ft. $2\frac{3}{4}$ ins. wide in the clear.

A few of the old square headed bench-ends remain in the North Transept, having moulded hand-rails but otherwise plain.

The chief peculiarity of this Church externally may be said to be in the upper portion of its Western tower, as instead of the more usual forms of termination to be found in this County, such as embattled parapet, with a short spirelet or Hertfordshire "spike," we find here a gabled or pack-saddle roof, with the gables North and South covered with tiles, which run through to the verges without coping. The upper portion of this tower is

built of bricks $9\frac{1}{2}$ in. long $4\frac{1}{2}$ wide and 2 ins. thick, and is of considerably later date than the lower portion.

In Normandy this is a very common, if not the commonest termination to towers, but in England it is rare, though we have examples at Brookthorp, Gloucestershire; Tinwell, Rutlandshire; Thorpe Mandeville, and Maidford, Northants; Chinnor, Oxfordshire; and a few other places.

In Mr. Clutterbuck's history of this county, Vol. I, is an extremely picturesque engraving of this Church taken from the S.E. It is dated 1815, so shows it in its dilapidated condition, before restoration, and addition of aisles, and vestry. In the tower is a peal of three bells, viz:—

	ewt.	qr.	lb.	date.
Tenor B.	6	approx	—	1719
„ C sharp	5	„	—	1606
Treble D sharp	4	1	7	1865

St. Albans and Hertfordshire Architectural and Archaeological Society.

BALANCE SHEET FOR 1895.

Receipts.

	£	s.	d.
January 1st, Balance from last year	20	10	8½
Subscriptions	8	9	8

Expenditure.

	£	s.	d.
Meetings	0	8	0
Excursion	0	4	6
Printing	0	12	0
Society of Antiquaries	1	3	8
Stationery and Binding	0	5	4
Book (and carriage)	0	6	1½
Custodian of Library	1	0	0
Postages and Parcels	0	19	6

	£	s.	d.
Balance in Bank, Dec. 31st	23	9	9
In hand of Secretary	0	11	6

£29 0 4½

24 1 3
£29 0 4½

Examined and found correct,

G. N. MARTEN.

8th May, 1896.

BALANCE SHEET FOR 1896.

Receipts.

	£	s.	d.
Balance from 1895, in Bank	23	9	9
In hand of Secretary	0	11	6
Subscriptions	24	1	3
Balance due to Local Secretary, Dec. 31st	16	15	6
	1	12	8½

Expenditure.

Meetings—May 13th	0	8	0
Excursion—June 16th, at Cassiobury 5s. 0d.	0	17	0
" Mr. Large, 3 conveyance tickets, 12s. 0d.			
Printing—Gibbs & Bamforth, bills, Jan. 11th, May 14th, July 6th, Aug. 28th	15	15	3
Illustration—Sprague & Co., May 12th	1	15	0
Stationery	0	1	6
Exploration Fund, S. Andrew's Chapel	1	0	0
Custodian of Library	1	0	0
Postages and Parcels	2	2	2½
Balance in Bank	22	18	11½
	19	10	6
	£42	9	5½

Examined and found correct,

G. N. MARTEN.

12th April, 1897.

In Memoriam.

THE LATE EARL OF VERULAM.

This volume of our Transactions would be very incomplete if it did not contain an expression of the deep sense of the loss our Society has sustained in the death of our late noble President, the Earl of Verulam. Lord Verulam was elected President of this Society in February, 1846, and through half-a-century of a long life took a most active interest in its work; he was on all possible occasions our Chairman, and to his wise guidance the success of this Society from its earliest years is largely due. Courteous, kind, and always interested in our work he was indeed an ideal President, and he continued to be so interested while strength remained to him. His Lordship offered the greatest facilities at all times for antiquarian researches on the site of the celebrated Roman City from which he derived his honoured title, while he lived to see the great Abbey Church, which he loved so well, brought to such a condition as fitted it to be the Cathedral of the County of which he was Lord-Lieutenant, and the Diocese to which he was so great a benefactor.

O.W.D.

St. Albans and Hertfordshire
Architectural
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1897 & 1898.



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- Turle, Mrs., Cambridge Lodge, Hatfield Road, St. Albans.
- Verulam, the Earl of, Sopwell, St. Albans.
- Waddington, Mrs., Hilbré, St. Albans.
- Wallen, F., 96, Gower Street, London, W.C.
- Wells, T. P. Grosart, London Road, St. Albans.
- White, Miss, Marlborough Road, St. Albans.
- White, Mrs. S. M., Elmsleigh, St. Albans.
- Wigram, Canon, Watling House, St. Stephen's.
- Willecox, Rev. F. W., M.A., The Grammar School, St. Albans.
- Wilton, Charles, The Cloisters, St. Albans.
- Wingrave, V. H. W., M.D., Lemsford Road, St. Albans.
- Wix, E. N., M.A., Holywell House, St. Albans.
- Wolf, Henry John, Braintrees, Harpenden.
- Woodman, T. Foster, St. Peter's Street, St. Albans.
- Woollam, Chas., J.P., The Abbey Mills, St. Albans.
- Worssam, Henry J., Marlborough House, St. Albans.

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PROCEEDINGS.

Meeting held at the Town Hall, St. Albans,

6 July, 1897.

Present—The Venerable Archdeacon Lawrance, in the chair; the Revs. Canon Davys, H. Fowler, G. H. P. Glossop, and C. V. Bicknell; Messrs. F. Kinneir Tarte, F. W. Silvester, Andrew Oliver, W. Page, F. G. Kitton, together with a considerable gathering of other members and their friends.

The Chairman, in opening the meeting, read a letter from the Bishop of St. Albans expressing his regret at being unable on account of indisposition from presiding at the meeting.

The minutes of the last meeting were read and confirmed, and the balance sheet was presented and passed.

Mr. Fowler stated that steps were being taken to print the Transactions. Mr. Tarte expressed his opinion that all papers and illustrations should be submitted to the committee previous to printing. The Rev. Canon Davys replied that the papers had been read before the Society, and that a list of those offered for the Transactions had been regularly laid before the committee. The arrangements as to illustrations were, according to custom, left in the hands of the hon. secretaries for obviating inconvenient delay.

The Chairman called upon Mr. W. Page to deliver his paper entitled "The Parochial Chapel of St. Andrew, attached to St. Albans Abbey," which was illustrated by a large scale plan. The paper will be found in the transactions.

Mr. Andrew Oliver, F.R.I.B.A., read some notes on certain shields of arms and heraldic glass formerly existing in St. Andrew's Chapel, of which he exhibited drawings.

Mr. Fowler pointed out the documentary evidence for supposing that St. Andrew's Chapel included a portion of the north aisle of the Nave of the Abbey. He called attention to the character of the bases of the piers of the intervening arcade by means of enlarged copies of Mr. Neale's plan. He also adduced evidence in support of the opinion that a narrow aisle existing on the south side of the chancel of the height of the existing Norman doorway, and that the chancel wall here rested on a low arcade, an arrangement which would leave the Abbey windows clear. He illustrated this by a rough plan made during the explorations.

Mr. F. G. Kitton asked leave to propose a resolution expressing regret at the demolition of the old tower of St. Michael's Church. He stated in explanation that a memorial to this effect, addressed to Lord Aldenham and signed by certain members of the Society, had been prepared about a year ago but had not been forwarded to Lord Aldenham, and he proposed to substitute a resolution which by permission he read. Mr. A. E. Austin seconded the proposal. The

Chairman pointed out that such a resolution could not be brought forward without a regular notice, and as this rule had not been complied with he had no choice but to rule the proposal out of order.

On the motion of Canon Davys, a cordial vote of thanks was given to the reader of the paper and to the Chairman.

The meeting then became conversational.

S. FLINT CLARKSON,
Chairman.

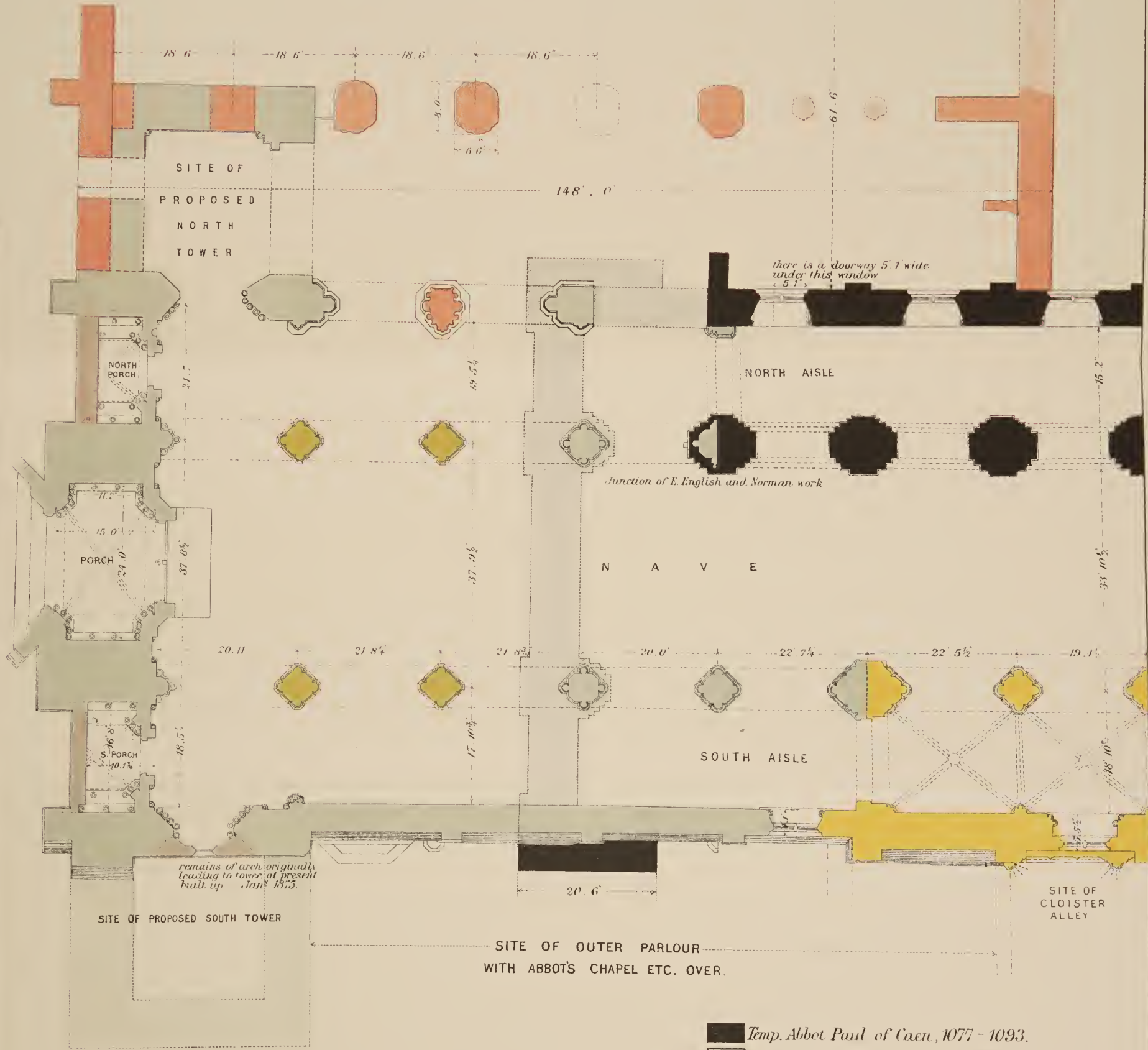
18th August, 1897.

The Parochial Chapel of St. Andrew, formerly attached to St. Alban's Abbey.

BY W. PAGE, F.S.A.

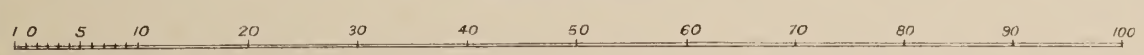
By those who have known St. Alban's Abbey since the recent alterations by Lord Grimthorpe, it will be remembered how untidy the north side of the churchyard, where the contractor's stone yard lay, remained for some time. The work of clearing up and turfing was at the beginning of last year, taken in hand by the Rev. G. H. P. Glossop, M.A., senior curate of the Abbey, who generously guaranteed the cost. During the progress of the work, the eastern wall of the chancel of St. Andrew's Chapel was discovered, and by the kindness of the rector and churchwardens, the Rev. Henry Fowler and I were permitted to make such excavations as we thought desirable. To keep on record what was discovered during these excavations I have brought together the few facts contained in this paper. The portion of the excavations with which I propose to deal to-night is that which revealed the ground-plan of the parochial chapel or parish church of St. Andrew, but prior to laying before you the information which I have gathered together regarding this church I want to say a few words about the hitherto unnoticed question of the origin and history of these parochial chapels which were attached to or adjoined very many of the larger Benedictine houses in this country. Among the examples of these churches may be mentioned St. Margaret's, Westminster, the Chapel of St. Faith, in Old St. Paul's, St. Nicholas, at Rochester, All Hallows, at Sherborne, St. Michael's Bedwardine, at Worcester, and St. Leonard's, at Romsey. Previous, however, to doing this, let me express any great indebtedness to my friend,

C H A P E L O F S T A N D R E W



- Temp. Abbot Paul of Caen, 1077 - 1093.
- " Abbot John de Cella, 1195 - 1214.
- " Abbot William of Trumpington, 1214 - 1235.
- " Abbots Eversden, R. of Wallingford and Mentmore, 1323 - 1349.
- " Abbot John of Wheathampsted (2nd abbacy) 1451 - 1464.
- " Post-Suppression.

SCALE OF FEET.



C.F. KELL & SON, LITHO

GROUND PLAN OF THE WEST END OF ST ALBAN'S ABBEY CHURCH.

Mr. St. John Hope, M.A., Assistant Secretary of the Society of Antiquaries, for much information and many suggestions upon this subject, and to Rev. Henry Fowler for kind assistance.

To understand clearly the origin of these parochial chapels we must go back to the early history of English Monasticism. As the word implies, the Monks or *Monachi* at first lived alone in outlying districts, like missionaries or hermits, and around them other fellow Christians afterwards settled, forming communities which were the principal factors in the conversion of Western Europe. It is probable that some of the English abbeys and priories had their origin in this way but most of the early Saxon Monasteries were founded at some existing church, in which the inmates served for the benefit of the laymen of the surrounding district, who were afterwards known as the parishioners, and in these churches, as a rule, the chancel became the monks' church and the nave that of the laymen. It is probably well known that the word parish at the date of which we are now speaking was used to denote a diocese. I mention this as the origin of the parish is an important question in investigating the history of these monastic parochial chapels.

Kemble in his "Saxons in England" (vol. ii. p. 430, etc.) intimates that the bishops governed their dioceses like large parishes receiving all the offerings of the laity, the priests, besides their glebes, having from the Bishop an allowance barely sufficient for their wants, but as more churches were built by the landowners, it became customary to allot the tithe or tenth of the produce of a certain district, usually corresponding in area with the manor, for the support of the priest. This district became the parish and the inhabitants of it acquired certain rights within the church.

It is a matter of some doubt and controversy whether the inmates of the early monasteries in this country lived according to any acknowledged rule. Shortly after the death of St. Benedict in about 542, the rule which he founded became for some three or four centuries the only recognized rule of the Western Church. As it originally stood, though strict, it was simple and fully answered the objects of its pious founder. The prin-

ciples it enunciated were labour, prayer, and obedience, practically summed up in the motto of the order *Laborare est orare*. It is maintained by some that the English monasteries subsequent to the time of St. Augustine and prior to the Cluniac revival were of the Benedictine order, while on the other hand Dr. Stubbs, the Bishop of Oxford, tells us that the monachism in this country before St. Dunstan's time was not after the rule of St. Benedict.* The fact is that the history of the præ-Norman monasticism has yet to be written, the material is mostly now available and an exceedingly interesting history it would be. I am inclined myself to think that although the Benedictine rule may, to a limited extent, have existed in this country before the Danish invasion, after that event till the time of St. Dunstan it existed in little more than in name. From the description we have of Winchester, Abingdon, Glastonbury, and other monasteries in the tenth century, it appears that the monastic communities in this country, if one may term them so, were composed of secular priests and clerks who were in some cases married, and, as the Bishop of Oxford tells us, held their marriage vows in but light respect.†

When the endeavours of St. Dunstan, Oswald, and others to reform the monasteries by the introduction of regular monks, was being felt, difficulties arose with the laymen dwelling around such monasteries, who claimed certain rights in the churches. The case would not probably apply to any order, other than the Benedictine, as the Cluniac and Cistercian, which, according to date, were the next orders whose rules affected this country, were not established till after the parochial districts had been more or less defined, and care would be taken to exclude laymen from their churches. As time went on and the constitutions or the additional rules which were from time to time added at the meetings of the General Councils of the Benedictine order, made the monasteries more exclusive, their services more ornate, and what perhaps most concerns our present investigations, their processions more elaborate, these disputes became more frequent and acute, resulting eventually, in most cases

* Memorials of St. Dunstan (Rolls Series) Preface, p. lxxxiv.

† *Ibid.* p. cxviii.

during the fourteenth century, in the matter being referred to the Bishop and a composition or agreement being made between the monks and the laymen, when these parochial chapels were brought into existence.

We are fortunate in having full particulars of two of these disputes. In the case of the first, which occurred at Rochester, it appears that a quarrel had for a long time been going on between the Prior and Convent and the parishioners of the priory parish as to the use of the altar of St. Nicholas in the nave of the Cathedral Church, for the performance of Divine service by the parish chaplain. The prior and convent took the strong measure of removing the altar, which led, on the 6th April, 1312, to a composition between the disputants, whereby the Prior and Chapter undertook to build a church for the parishioners outside the Cathedral, to which the parishioners, on their parts, consented to transfer themselves. This composition, however, appears to have remained a dead letter for over a hundred years, as we find that in May, 1418, Richard Young, Bishop of Rochester, granted a licence to the parishioners to continue the services at the altar of St. Nicholas until a church had been built for them in the churchyard on the north side of the Cathedral, which church, when so built, was to be called the parish church of St. Nicholas, and was to be repaired and maintained by the parishioners in the usual way. The Prior and Chapter later protested against building the church, and in the proceedings it is stated that the parishioners were anciently accustomed from all time of memory to have a vicar who undertook the cure of the parishioners at the altar of St. Nicholas. The matter culminated in an ordinance by the Archbishop of Canterbury, in which he declared that the parishioners should have power to build at their own cost a church or chapel in the churchyard of the Prior and Chapter on the north side of the same, upon the lines of a church which had apparently been commenced. The church so built was to be called the church or chapel of St. Nicholas. It was to have a *vestibulum* for the vestments, books and ornaments of the church, a belfry at the north-west corner, the bells within which were only to be rung at certain restricted times. The parishioners were to

have the right of burial within the church, and the space called le Grenechurch Haw, between the north wall of the Cathedral and the south wall of the church and in the churchyard adjoining the church. The Vicar and parishioners might have their processions in their parish church, and beginning in the chancel of the same, going out of the west door they might turn to the right, round the north and east walls of the church, then down the ground between the two churches, called le Grenechurch Haw, and so round again to the west door, but the parishioners were not to process till the prior and convent had finished their procession. The parishioners were to keep their church in repair and pay to the prior and chapter 40*s.* a year. The question of tithes was left till the Archbishop had more leisure to consider it. The parishioners renounced all claims to any rights in the Cathedral church in 1423, and in December of that year, licence for the consecration of the new church was granted.*

The second example we have of a like dispute occurred at Sherborne, in Dorsetshire. It appears that a baptismal font had existed in the priory church from its foundation, at which every infant of the town of Sherborne had received baptism. The parishioners, however, had a chapel, dedicated to All Hallows, attached to the west end of the nave, in which they held their services, but the chapel was without the parochial rights of baptism and burial. The parishioners, early in the fifteenth century, set up a font in their chapel, whereupon a quarrel arose between them and the monks. To settle this and other points in dispute, Robert Nevill, Bishop of Salisbury, visited Sherborne in 1437, and decided that the new font should be removed, that the ringing of bells by the parishioners, another cause of grievance, should be restricted to certain hours, and a screen set up, cutting off the monastic church from the remainder of the nave. This, however, did not end the quarrel, and in the violence of the dispute the parochial chapel was burnt. The monks eventually, in order to get rid of the parishioners, gave in, and All Hallows became fully

* *Registrum Roffense*, p. 563, &c.

a parish church. Like St. Andrew's it was destroyed at the dissolution and the monastic church was made parochial.†

As one would naturally expect, the parochial chapels were usually on the north side of the monastic church, the buildings of the monastery generally occupying the south side. Nearly all of them, too, were of the Decorated or Perpendicular periods of Architecture, being either founded or rebuilt at those times. It must also be borne in mind that at some of the monastic churches the parishioners continued to hold their services in the naves which remain the parish churches to the present day, the chancel or monastic part of the church having been pulled down at the Dissolution, as we see at Dunstable and elsewhere.

Let us now turn to the case of St. Andrew's Chapel. St. Alban's Abbey, as is well known, was founded by Offa, King of Mercia, in 793, whether at an existing church or not is a matter of some speculation, and whether that possibly existing church was dedicated to St. Andrew, the patron Saint of many churches built upon hills, I must leave to further speculation of others.‡ Of the præ-Norman Church we know comparatively little. That it was divided into two parts we gather from an entry in the *Gesta Abbatum*, where it is stated that Abbot Wulnoth, the 4th Abbot, instituted semi-secular nuns (*sanctimoniales semiseculares*), who, we are told, were to hear daily mass *in majori ecclesia*. This greater church, I imagine, was the nave, where would be the altar (probably dedicated to St. Andrew) for the use of the lay congregation. From the same source we learn that about the middle of the 10th century, Abbot Ulsinus encouraged persons to settle at St. Albans, and founded the churches of St. Peter, St. Stephen, and St. Michael. As the question of tithes would arise at this time, the formation of parochial districts would be made, and that of St. Andrew, or what we now know

† Sherborne Minster, by Rev. R. Willis, M.A., F.R.S., *Archæological Journal*, xxii., 179.

‡ It is, perhaps, worthy of consideration whether the arms of the Abbey, *azure, a saltire or*, or St. Andrew's Cross may have been adopted at a time when the knowledge of an early church, dedicated to St. Andrew, existed.

as the Abbey parish, being surrounded by the three other parishes, must then have been defined, and the inhabitants of it would have had their own vicar or warden as he was called, serving in the Abbey Church.

I have found nothing further bearing upon our present subject till the time of St. Dunstan, who by authority of the Pope held a Council on 29th February, 992, for the reformation of clerks. Several ordinances were then made for the better living of the clergy, and under these, many monasteries were reformed, amongst them being the Abbey of St. Alban, where, we are told by Mabillon in the *Acta Sanctorum*, Dunstan procured Ælfric to be appointed Abbot. It is curious that there is no reference to such a reformation in the *Gesta Abbatum* in which the only information we have about Abbot Ælfric is that he purchased the Fishpool from the King. Considering, however, that Ælfric was the intimate friend of Dunstan, was probably with him at Abingdon and became a successor to him on the Archiepiscopal Chair of Canterbury, and that the life of St. Dunstan is dedicated to him, the statement by Mabillon seems likely to be correct. Besides which, Ælfric was a man to carry out reforms, being a strict regular and the compiler of the canons bearing his name which are printed in Spelman's Councils.

It is probable that the inconveniences of the presence of the parishioners in the Abbey Church first made themselves apparent at St. Albans at this time and when Abbot Paul de Caen, some eighty or ninety years later, introduced the Constitutions of Lanfranc and other reforms, these inconveniences probably became more pronounced.

It is after the time of the rebuilding of St. Alban's Abbey, by Abbot Paul de Caen, that we first hear of St. Andrew's Chapel, when from an entry in the *Gesta* we find it was dedicated by Herbert de Losinga, Bishop of Norwich, who held that see from 1094 to 1119. We can only speculate as to the size and position of this Norman Chapel, for we found, so far as we could ascertain, no definite remains of it during our excavations. The westernmost of the Norman doors in the wall of the north aisle of the Abbey probably led into it, and possibly the fourth buttress from the west end may be the remains of its western wall,

It is pretty clear, however, that the Norman Chapel of St. Andrew had but a very short existence, and that to rebuild it formed a part of Abbot John de Cella's elaborate scheme for altering the western end of the Abbey Church. This is shown by the easternmost of the two bases of the arches which formed the arcade between the Abbey Church and St. Andrew's, and which were brought to light some years ago, in the north west wall of the north aisle of the Abbey, but now are unfortunately hidden. By the drawing of this base shown in Mr. Neale's plan of the Abbey, and which will be seen on the plan accompanying this paper, there can be little doubt that it corresponded with the Early English bases of the western nave arches, and was probably built at the same date.

We know very little more of the Early English Church of St. Andrew than we do of the Norman. That it extended past the westernmost Norman door in the north aisle, seems clear from the description of the burial-place of William Wyghtman, who died in 1432, before the re-building of the Chapel in Abbot Wheathampstede's time, and it is stated, was buried near the middle door leading towards the chapel of St. Andrew, before the image of St. Richard.* The west end was probably in a line with the west front of the Abbey Church, being divided therefrom by an arcade of three bays and the tower arch to the west. How far north it extended it is difficult to say; the remains of the wall on this side, so far as they have been brought to light, having revealed little as to their date.

There were three stone altars in the Early English chapel, according to the survey of 1428, printed and annotated by our late fellow, Mr. Lloyd. The middle one, we are told, was dedicated to St. Andrew, another to the Blessed Mary, and the third to St. Nicholas.† Beyond this we have no more exact description of their position. It has been suggested by Mr. Hope that possibly the portion of the north aisle of the Abbey Church from the Norman arch crossing it, westward,

* See Wills at Somerset House, Archdeaconry of St. Alban, Stoneham, fol. 18, and Lloyd Altars, etc., in St. Alban's Abbey, p. 15.

† *Johannis Amundesham Annales* (Rolls Series), I. App., 448.

formed the south aisle of St. Andrew's Church. In favour of this suggestion we have a bequest by Alice atte Welle, about 1454, to St. Andrew's Chapel, in which the chapel is described as situate within the nave of the Abbey Church* (*infra navem ecclesie situatae*), and in the will of Thomas Gryme of 1450, it is described as in the monastic church of St. Alban.†

The subsequent history of St. Andrew's Chapel is principally drawn from the wills of parishioners amongst the wills of the Archdeaconry of St. Alban, now preserved at Somerset House. From them we learn that there were in the Church two lights, one dedicated to St. Mary, and the other to the Holy Cross, and to these there are numerous bequests. In 1454 there is mention of the light of the Holy Trinity in the will of Thomas Taylor.

The Chapel of St. Andrew was rebuilt during the second Abbacy of John Wheathampstead. The earliest reference I have come across to the rebuilding is in the will of Joan West, dated 1441, in which she leaves 6s. 8d. to the fabric of the Chapel of St. Andrew, if it should happen to be built anew.‡ Again, James Eyres, a baker of St. Albans, left in 1447, a legacy in exactly the same terms. Coming later we find that Thomas Makyn, in 1454, left 13s. 4d. as a contribution to the new building of his Parish Church of St. Andrew the Apostle in the town of St. Alban. In the same year Alice atte Welle left seven marks towards making a pillar in St. Andrew's Chapel. It is evident, therefore, that the work of re-building the chapel was commenced in 1454, and from this date down to 1462 there are frequent

* Liber Benefactorum, Nero D. vii., fol. 157. This note was kindly given by the Rev. H. Fowler, M.A.

† Wills, Archdeaconry of St. Alban, Stoneham, fol. 60a. In further corroboration of this, Mr. John Harris, C.E., of Hemel Hempstead, kindly writes to me that about 1861, Dr. Nicholson opened up the west end of the north aisle of the Abbey Church, which showed that the Early English level at the west end of the Abbey Church which was also the level apparently of St. Andrew's Chapel, before the re-building in the 15th century, was maintained up the north aisle to the arch which crosses this aisle at the fourth pier; the level of the nave being approached by five steps under this arch, and on the north side of the nave arcade.

‡ Wills, Archdeaconry of St. Alban, Stoneham, fol. 87.

bequests, generally to the fabric of the new Parish Church, or the new building of the nave of St. Andrew. In and after 1462, the bequests are to the repair of the Parish Church or Chapel, rebuilt or lately rebuilt. The fabric of the Church seems to have been completed in this year, when from the will of Nicholas Warner, we find the high altar, dedicated to St. Andrew, was being rebuilt. There can be little doubt that the chapel of St. Andrew was practically rebuilt in the Perpendicular Style at this date, and it is the foundations of this church which we excavated in the summer of last year. The entry in the register of Abbot John Wheathampstead referring to this event runs as follows:—
 “He* caused to be destroyed and pulled down the mean, old, and ancient chapel of St. Andrew, situated towards the north at the west end of the Church and caused to be erected anew another large enough and more pleasing to God and all people,” and towards the erecting and building of this chapel beyond the timber for the roof, and stone from the quarry, he gave and contributed every year in which it was being done, 10 marks of gold, and above this he procured very many other things to enlarge the same building.

In further evidence that the chapel was almost entirely rebuilt, I may state that we found stones with Decorated mouldings used as rubble in the east wall of the Chancel, and in the foundations of two of the nave piers we found used in like manner both Early English and Decorated mouldings. With regard to the size of the church as it will bring it more forcibly before us, I may say that it approximately corresponded in length and breadth with St. Peter's Church as St. Peter's now exists. The actual dimensions will be found on the accompanying plan.

Let us attempt to describe the interior of St. Andrew's Chapel. Entering the church by the principal door at the west end of the nave, we should walk into what is called in the will of Alice atte Welle, the *vestibulum*, or entry which was on the site of the north-west Early English Tower of the Abbey Church, begun by Abbot John de Cella, but never completed. Here we should be about

* Registrum Abbatie Johannis, Whethamstede secundæ, I., 427.

2ft. 6in. below the level of the nave and north aisle, and on the same level as the lower part of the west end in the Abbey Church; immediately on the south side would be the Early English tower arch corresponding to that now in existence on the south side of the Abbey. On the north side would be the Early English Ashlar seating, the top of which is still visible in the churchyard. We should at the east end of the tower foundations go up about five steps into the nave,* on the south side of which would be the arcading of four bays, including the tower arch, into the north aisle of the Abbey, the easternmost arch being probably Early English, and the two middle arches Perpendicular, judging from the bases shown by Mr. Neale in his plan of the Abbey. The nave of the chapel would be divided from its north aisle by an arcade of five bays about 18ft. 6in. from centre to centre, probably very like the nave arcading in St. Peter's Church, but the arches of a slightly greater span. The foundations of the first pier of this arcading from the chancel arch, appear to have been grubbed up as we could not find any traces of them, but the foundations of the second and third piers were laid bare. The fourth pier and the western respond, were built upon the tower foundations. The north aisle was only about a foot less in width than the nave, and was probably lighted by five Perpendicular windows. By the foundations of the pavement we found there was a gradual rise in the church from west to east. The chancel arch would have been about eighteen or twenty feet in span, a little more than that of St. Peter's. From the nave into the chancel there would have been two or three steps at which was evidently one of those beautifully carved perpendicular screens and rood lofts, for I find numerous legacies towards the cost of the rood loft in wills dated from 1466 to 1472. On the south of the chancel was the old Norman door leading into the north aisle of the Abbey Church, the window above, and the next one eastward to it being included within St. Andrew's Church. At the east end was the high altar dedicated to St. Andrew,

* The level of the nave appears to have been heightened when the church was re-built,

the floor level of which we found was raised about a foot above the rest of the chancel, and over the altar there would probably have been a large Perpendicular window. On the north of the chancel was a chapel, probably dedicated to St. Mary Magdalene, as that is the name of the only chapel in St. Andrew's Church, of which I have found definite mention, and the bequests to it in the St. Albans wills are very numerous.† The chapel was divided from the chancel at the east-end by a wall about 13ft. long, westward of which was an arcade of three bays. As the ground between the chancel arch and the wall of the north aisle was full of burials, we were unable to ascertain what foundations were there.

From the wills before mentioned I find, besides the high altar, that there were altars dedicated to St. Katherine and the Virgin. I have been unable to assign a position to the former, but I find the latter, which was also called the charnel altar, is described as near the pulpit which formerly implied the rood loft, where I find mention of Our Lady Light. I have also noticed this altar described as Our Lady Altar next the High Altar. From the same source, I find reference to the image‡ of St. Anne and the lights of St. John the Baptist, of the Holy Trinity, of St. Mary, also called the Tanners' light, and the light before the image of the Blessed Mary placed at the west end of the south wall of St. Andrew's Chapel, the light and image of St. Katherine, the Bachelor's light, and the light of the Holy Rood. Towards the perpetual maintenance of the last-mentioned light, Nicholas Jeffry, in 1504, left a tenement called the Harp, in St. Andrew's parish, upon condition that no manner of person should ask, pay, or receive any manner of sum of money or other thing, being little or much, of any person of what degree or condition he be, within the parish or without, for any part of the same Rood light, but that it may be evermore

† I have found a single reference to a light in the chapel of St. John, but it is not quite clear whether this chapel was in the Abbey or St. Andrew's Church.

‡ The word image is constantly used by mediæval writers for a pictorial representation of a figure.

maintained with the profits coming and growing from the said tenement.* I also find mention of the Processional Alley or space in front of the Rood screen.

The Church was paved and some stalls or pews were erected in 1475 and 1476. Richard Hyndmarsh had previously in 1464, devised a legacy towards a seat for the poor. In 1478 I find legacies for the purchase of a new silver cross, described also as the great cross, which was probably the Rood. And, again, from 1505 to 1508, there are several legacies towards re-roofing the church with lead, while in 1515 we have a bequest towards a pair of new organs.

We can form a very fair idea as to the external appearance of the Perpendicular church. At the west end there were probably two gables, one at the end of the chancel and the other at the end of the north aisle. At the north-west corner I think there may very probably have been a turret or belfry, the foundations of the west and north walls appear to have come to an abrupt end near here but owing to the pathway and burials we were unable to continue our excavations. There seems to have been some building on the north of the aisle, judging from the extension of the buttresses on that side, but in consequence of the burials here we could not ascertain what this was.

I might perhaps mention that about in a line with the north wall of St. Andrews eastward I came upon the remains of what might have been the foundations of a mud wall. They were about 8ft. in width and about 1ft. in depth, and consisted of a sort of loose concrete composed of broken tiles, flints, and lime. They extended from close to the north-east corner of St. Andrew's to within about 10ft. of the line of the west wall of the north transept, where they turned northward for about 49ft.

The ecclesiastical staff consisted of a vicar, usually called the warden or *custos* of St. Andrew's parish, who took the lesser tithes, while the abbot as rector received the greater tithes. To assist the Vicar, there were Priests or Chaplains varying in number from two at the beginning of the fifteenth century to four at the end

* Wills, Archdeaconry of St. Alban, Wallingford, fol. 125.

of that century, one of whom was probably the Sub-Warden. There were also a parish clerk and four *parvi clerici* or singing boys. I find also mention of two guilds or fraternities in the Church, that of St. John the Baptist first appears in 1485 and that of St. Clement and St. Katherine in 1491, each of which guilds had its own priest.

Between the parishes of St. Andrew and St. Peter there seems to have been a very close connection. The Vicar or Warden of St. Andrew's had certain rights in the Charnel Chapel in St. Peter's Churchyard, and from the beginning of the fifteenth century till its destruction, there was no churchyard available for burial attached to St. Andrew's. Occasionally the more important parishioners were buried either in the Abbey Church or in St. Andrew's, but ordinarily the parishioners were buried in St. Peter's Churchyard, in what is frequently referred to in the wills as the common burial belonging to the parishioners of St. Andrew's within St. Peter's Churchyard. In the earliest parochial register of St. Alban's Abbey there is a reference to a composition or agreement made between the parishioners of both parishes with regard to this matter.

In 1478 licence was granted by the Abbot of St. Alban's to N—— H——, Chaplain of the King's Chapel and Warden of St. Andrew's to absent himself from his cure at St. Andrew's while he was the King's Chaplain, and to receive the fruits and profits of the same upon condition that the parishioners should not be defrauded of divine services nor the cure of souls neglected. There seems to have been some conflict of opinion between the monks and the parishioners as to the rights of the former with regard to their processions, for it was especially stipulated in the licence that the services in St. Andrew's should be so modestly conducted that the monastic choir while making processions in the Abbey Church should not be disturbed by the services in the Chapel. Processions, both in the Conventual and Parochial Churches, seem to have been at this time an especial feature in the ecclesiastical services. It was also provided that the 20 marks yearly paid by the Warden should be continued.†

† Wallingford's Register (Rolls Series) II., 179.

There is little further that I have come across about the history of St. Andrew's church, till we come to the time of the religious changes in the reign of Henry VIII. About 1535 a certain Mr. Wakefield who had been chaplain to Cranmer, was appointed Vicar of St. Peter's church. It appears that he was an earnest preacher of God's word, according to the king's interpretation for the time being, and set forth plainly, we are told, how the people had been deceived by the Bishop of Rome, "so that everyone might perceive and smell the same," where it not, however, for the crafty juggling of Sir Thomas King, the Warden or Vicar of St. Andrew's, and his priests. Two worthy citizens of St. Albans, Thomas Skypwirth and Gregory Waren, took the matter in hand and laid an information against King with Archbishop Cranmer, who examined him upon certain articles. These articles were under three heads, firstly for saying the King's marriage with Anne Boleyn was null and void, and Katherine of Aragon was the true Queen; secondly, for taking a book out of the hands of a priest called Walter, in defence of the marriage, and saying it was heresy; and thirdly for persuading the people that they were bound under pain of damnation to obey the Pope. After the examination, King expressed an opinion that Cranmer was a man of small learning, and could not answer him on such points of Scripture as he brought forth in his defence. A difficulty, however, arose as to the Archbishop's jurisdiction, St. Albans being exempt from episcopal visitation, and an appeal was made to Cromwell, as Vicar-General, to punish King and his priests as an example to others; for, wrote Skypwirth and Waren—"we hope you will appoint true preachers amongst us, certifying you that with the exception of the Archdeacon, a monk of St. Albans, and Mr. Wakefield, there is never one to our knowledge, within this liberty, that manifests the full truth in their preaching, but rather smelleth of their old mumpsimus. So the people are in doubt whom to believe."* What happened to Thomas King, the warden and his priests, I have not discovered.†

* Letters and Papers, Henry VIII., Vol. VIII., No. 406, 407, 589.

† Mr. John Harris states, that Thomas King was in 1543 Vicar of St. Michael's, St. Albans.

The affairs of the St. Andrew's Church were now getting into a bad state. St. Alban's Monastery was dissolved in 1539, and in the same year it was proposed to make the Abbey the seat of a new diocese in Henry's great scheme for founding new bishoprics. With the dissolution of the monastery the income of St. Andrew's Chapel appears to have dwindled away, and we learn by the Chantry Certificate* that in 1548, the houseling people belonging to the said Chapel were estimated at the number of 1,000 and above, to attend upon whom the number of priests had been reduced to one. The origin of the decay of the Chapel is to be traced to the practice adopted by the Abbots of St. Alban's, to let out on farm or for a yearly rent, the Wardenship or Vicarage of St. Andrew's, the Warden making what he could by the tithes, and offerings of the parishoners. Thomas King, the Warden above referred to as of papistical proclivities, was a farmer or *mercenarius* of the Chapel, and again in 1541, we find William Bolton, clerk, was the farmer of the Chapel, and paid a rent of 13*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* a year, out of which he deducted 12*s.* for wine and bread for the sacrament, and 3*l.* 14*s.* 2*d.* for repairs to the Chapel.† So long as the Abbot let out the Chapel, his tenant was usually a cleric, but after the dissolution of the monastery we find in 1548 that the officers of the Court of Augmentations had let to farm the Chapel to Thomas Chadesley, who was the innkeeper of the Fleur de Luce Inn, at the annual rent of 13*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* Thomas Chadesley found he had not made a profitable bargain, for finding himself incapable of performing the duties of both innkeeper and Vicar, he had to procure assistance in the latter office, and we are told by the Commissioners for surveying the Chantries and like foundations, that "forasmuch as the whole profit belonging to the said benefice consisteth only in privy tithes, which by the poverty of the people, or else by the coldness of their devotions, as it is alleged, amounteth to so small a portion that it will scanty pay the wages of the priest, being but the sum of 20 nobles by the year;" therefore this matter was to be referred to

* Chantry Certificate, Herts, 27, No. 16.

† Mins. Acct. 32-33 Henry VIII., No. 71.

the officers of the Court of Augmentations.* Chadesley who found the management of the Church less profitable than that of his inn, at the termination of his lease represented to the officials of the Court of Augmentations the losses he had incurred by his speculation, and on 24th November, 1550, he obtained a decree to the following effect:—that whereas Thomas Chadsley, late farmer of the Chapel of St. Andrew, within the town of St. Albans, is indebted for 93*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* for arrears of rent, being behind 7 years, the said farmer represents he is unable to pay the same arrears because by means of the dissolution of the Monastery of St. Albans, the profits of the said Chapel were decayed. Upon examination whereof it appeared that the commodities, emoluments and profits whereupon the rent of the said Chapel should arise and be levied, did yearly come and grow by means of the family and household of the said late monastery, which said family and household during the time the said monastery did continue, did not only come to the said Chapel, and there were bounden to receive their sacraments and sacramentals, and pay their usual offerings, as in parish Churches was used and accustomed, but also the said farmer before the suppression had yearly for the finding of the priest serving the cure in the said Chapel, certain allowances amounting to the value 13*l.* 11*s.* 4*d.* a year, and forasmuch as the profits coming from the said Chapel since the dissolution, had not amounted, nor now the lease being determined, would amount to the charges of the priest there, it was ordered that the said farmer be discharged from such arrears.†

The days of St. Andrew's Chapel were now numbered. After Chadsley's lease had expired, a chaplain appears to have been put in and we find by the returns of the Crown ministers that from 1550 to 1552 there were no profits from the said chapel because the Chaplain

* Chantry Certificate, 27, No. 16.

† Aug. Off, Decrees, XV., 142. In Thomas Chadsley's petition (Aug. Off, Proc. 31, No. 68.), it is stated that the profits of the Chapel had decreased because a great part had been drawn from the ministers and inhabitants of the monastery, and the priest had been accustomed to have meat and drink, bread, wax, and wine from the Abbey, and the Abbots were accustomed to repair the Chancel of the Chapel. All which had determined by reason of the dissolution of the said Monastery.

received all the issues, which were insufficient to maintain him.‡ Subsequent to this latter date all mention of St. Andrew's Chapel in these accounts ceases. On 13th May, 1553, St. Alban's Abbey Church, which must have remained unused for about fourteen years, was purchased from the Crown by the Corporation of St. Albans, according to the enrolment of the Letters Patent for the sum of 40*l.*, but according to other documents for 400*l.*, and was to be made the parish church for the inhabitants of the late parish or chapel of St. Andrew. The new parish, which was to be called that of St. Alban, was to be co-extensive with the old parish of St. Andrew, the site of the old chapel and the churchyard being granted with the Abbey Church, which was at the same time made into a rectory.§

As St. Andrew's in this charter is spoken of as the late church, it may be inferred that it was pulled down between Michaelmas, 1551, when there is a return for it on the Ministers' Accounts, and May, 1553, the date of the charter. When St. Andrew's was destroyed, it of course became necessary to take away the arcade between the Abbey Church and the Chapel. A blank wall was therefore erected and in order to bring it out to the north-west corner of the Abbey Church it was built at a slight angle to the remainder of the north wall. This wall was re-built by Lord Grimthorpe and the windows inserted.

Appended to this paper I have given a list of the Vicars or Wardens of St. Andrew's.

‡ Mins. Accounts, 3-4 Edward VI., No. 25; and 4-5 Edward VI., No. 22.

§ Charter of Incorporation of the Mayor and Burgesses of St. Albans. Pat. 7 Edw. VI. p. 3 m (1).

VICARS OR WARDENS OF ST. ANDREWS.*

John Willy, described as late Vicar of the Church of St. Andrew, St. Albans, in 1386-7 (Feet of Fines, Herts, 10 Rich. II., No. 82).

Geoffrey Fillendene is given as vicar in 1415 by Mr. John Harris in an article contributed by him to the *Herts Advertiser* on 19th of September, 1896. Geoffrey Felydene, Vicar of St. Peter's, formerly warden of St. Andrew's, ob. 1426. (Amundesham I. 9).

John Beulee mentioned as warden 1417, 1421, afterwards Vicar of St. Peter's.

John Trylle mentioned as warden, 1428 to 1433. He became perpetual curate of St. Stephen's and Master of St. Julian's Hospital and died in 1449 (Wills, Arch. of St. Albans, Stoneham, 59).

Benedict Edrych, mentioned as warden in 1438 to 1473. He died in 1476 and directed that his body be buried in the chancel of St. Andrew's Church (*Ibid*, Wallingford, No. 23).

N.—H—, the King's Chaplain, mentioned as warden in 1478. Had licence to absent himself from his cure, which was probably undertaken by Richard Walshale, who is described in 1479 as sub-warden (Wallingford's Register, pp. 179, 191)

William Wooderof mentioned as warden in 1507.

Richard Cokkes, described as warden in 1509.

John Basse, mentioned as warden 1510 to 1519.

Thomas King, described as warden or farmer in 1531 and 1535.

William Bolton, warden or farmer in 1541, 1542.

George Wetherall, the first Rector of St. Alban's Parish Church in 1553.

* The names and dates in this list are principally taken from the Wills of the Archdeaconry of St. Alban, in which bequests to the Vicars are frequent. Mr. Harris, in his article above alluded to, states that Richard Walshale was Vicar in 1478, and resigned in 1482. He also gives Giles Ferrars as Vicar, apparently between Thomas King and William Bolton.

Archæological Excursion, 18th August, 1897.

An Archæological Excursion to Bedford, arranged by the Rev. Canon Davys, was conducted by the Hon. Secretaries on Wednesday, August 18th. About 35 members and friends, including Mr. G. Alan Lowndes, President of the Essex Society, with the party from Wheat-hampstead, met at the Harpenden Station at 9.51 a.m. Bedford was reached at 10.44. Carriages were waiting at the Railway Station, which conveyed the travellers to S. Mary's Church, situated in Potter's Ward, the primitive Mikesgate, on the south side of the Ouse. There they were received by the Rector, the Rev. G. H. Pratt, accompanied by the venerable local antiquary, Mr. George Hurst, whose copious information and fund of anecdote, were greatly appreciated. The vestiges of Norman work in the cruciform structure were pointed out, also Saxon features in the Central Tower, which Mr. Hurst surmised to have been originally a Watch-tower connected with the fortification of the South Burg, erected by Edward the Elder, c 919. The Decorated Chancel, restored under the present Rector, together with the good oak carving of screen and stalls; the late Perpendicular nave, the south aisle (stated to have been erected out of the materials of S. Peter's, Dunstable, in 1545), and the modern south aisle were viewed; also the fine Tudor altar-tomb of an ancestor of the Green family (in the North transept), and an Early English stone coffin, said to have been brought from S. Leonard's Hospital. The early Parish Register, dating from 1542, and a fine old copy of the Vulgate were exhibited by the Rector, who also pointed out the site of the destroyed church of S. Peter, Dunstable, in an open space to the westward. It appeared that these two churches were anciently in the patronage of the Priors of Dunstable. After thanking their kind guides, the party proceeded to the neighbouring Church of S. John the Baptist, formerly the Chapel of the Hospital, founded c. 1280, by Robert de Parys. It was observed that the Rectory adjoining retains features of the mediæval Master's House. The institution still exists as an Almshouse, of which the Rector is Master. The narrow aisleless nave of the little church, opening by an arch into the choir, speaks of its adaptation to the bedesmen. The lancet windows and other features may be a reproduction of original work, but all has a new appearance. The Chancel is Geometrical. A good canopied Recess on the South side appeared to be designed for an Easter Sepulchre. A peculiar feature is a narrow lancet arch (opening into the choir) on each side of the chancel arch. The good Perpendicular Western Tower appears to be a careful restoration. It was remarked that the old Parish Register, dating from 1557, contains entries of burial of three pensioned Nuns of Elstow, viz.:—Ann Preston, Elizabeth Fox, and Elizabeth Napier, the last dying in 1558. On reaching Elstow, the traditional remnant of the home of John Bunyan was viewed, also the exterior of the mediæval hostelry. The visitors, under the guidance of the Rev. Canon Davys, passing over "the Green" where the noted fairs were held, entered the church by the North doorway, above which, under a circular arch, are early sculptures representing Our Lord, in a vesica, and SS. Peter and Paul within niches. The Canon then read a paper on the history and architecture of the church. Afterwards in an inspection, the interesting features were pointed out in detail, viz.:—the plain Norman work of the Eastern bays (one arch having a shallow lozenge moulding), the richly foliated Early

English capitals of the two Western piers, the hood mouldings of the arches springing from a "Tau" ornament or incipient *buckle*, the remains of colour in the soffits of the arches, the lancet windows of the Clerestory (three being Norman and three Early English, on each side), the late Perpendicular windows in the East wall, adopted from some portion of the structure destroyed at the Dissolution of the Abbey, the sculptured brackets inserted here rather incongruously, and the Renaissance Monument of Sir Humphrey Ratcliffe over the altar, the one Decorated window in the South aisle, the doorway (now blocked) made for the use of the lord of the manor, whose pew adjoined, several well sculptured stone coffin covers, the notable memorial brass of Abbess Elizabeth Harvey (c. 1520) in admirable preservation; the Jacobean Pentagon pulpit (now disused); also the effective modern stained glass of the Bunyan Memorial windows. The Vestry, a vaulted octagon chamber (Early English), having a slender central shaft of Purbeck marble, was visited. This is reputed to have been the Chapter-house, but from its position near the West end, and the absence of the usual stone bench, it was suggested that it was probably the Locutory or Parlour, in which the Nuns conversed with their visitors. Here the Rev. A. J. Foster, Vicar of Wootton, contributed some interesting notes on the estates and customs of the Abbey, quoting from the Rev. S. R. Wigram's History of the Nunnery. It appeared that mention was made of the "Nuns' Cloister" in a document of Bishop Longland relating to laxity of discipline; also that Abbess Elizabeth Byfield surrendered the House in 1539, receiving a pension with twenty other members of the Sisterhood. The party inspected the ruins of the Jacobean House of the Hillesden family, built out of the remains of the Abbey; also the site of the destroyed Eastern limb of the Church. A picnic lunch was enjoyed on a shady bank, which seemed to slope down to the site of an ancient Fish-stew. Afterwards a business Meeting was held in the Vestry (for the minutes of which see below). The fine Early English work of the Western portal, with remains of a Galilee porch were viewed, also the detached Belfry tower, of good late Perpendicular work, the upper stage being post-Reformation. The excursionists on returning to Bedford proceeded to visit S. Paul's Church. This occupies a central position, surrounded by the principal public buildings, among which, Westward of the Church, was noticed the original School-house of Sir William Harper's foundation, altered in the Jacobean period, and now used as the Corporation Hall. Above the entrance was observed a marble statue of the founder—the maker of modern Bedford! The Church has a fine exterior, the attractive feature being the Central Tower and Spire of Decorated design, re-erected in 1868. In T. D. Parry's engraving, dated 1827, the original Tower is represented as standing over the East end of the aisle, dividing it from the South Chancel. The effect of the modern alterations (as it would appear), has been, to transform what was a double-bodied Church into a Cruciform structure having transepts of small projection. The visitors entered by the spacious South Porch (good late Perpendicular work, with a Parvise, enriched with statuettes of SS. Peter and Paul, in canopied niches). It was noticed that the inner doorway had deeply cut Early English mouldings (unrestored), and Purbeck shafts, caps and bases of the same character. The party was met by the Rev. G. F. Hills (on behalf of the Vicar), Mr. T. Bull, Churchwarden, Mr. George Hurst, and other friends. In the nave, the Rev. H. Fowler read a paper on the Early History of the Collegiate Church and

locality up to the date 1224. A perambulation was then made, in which Mr. G. Hurst and the Rev. J. A. Foster afforded guidance. The following points were brought under notice—The only visible features of the Early English structure (erected out of the materials of the Castle soon after 1224) are the West and South doorways. During the recent restorations (as pointed out by Mr. Hurst) the foundations of the South aisle were discovered to be very early work; (probably Norman), containing Roman materials. The existing walls (on this side), are believed to be on the lines of the Early English structure (and may contain Early English work), but with the exception of the doorways mentioned, none of the visible architectural features are earlier than the Decorated period. The South Arcade, with its tall clustered shafts and good caps and bases, is, according to Rickman, Early Decorated work. According to Parry's engraving, the windows of the South Chancel were of Geometrical character in 1827, also original Reticulated tracery (repaired) is to be seen in the North and South windows of the sanctuary. It may be inferred that the Church was mainly reconstructed or re-modelled early in the Decorated period, less than a century after its re-building. Injury from storms may possibly have been the cause. A remarkable feature is the imposing height of the arcade, which enabled the nave to obtain light from the upper (as well as the lower) tier of the South aisle (or Parochial nave) windows. The building of an additional North aisle in 1884, carried up to the same height as the nave, involved the loss of the clerestory windows, previously existing on this side of the nave. One result has been, that the carving of the oak roof, and corbels (figures of saints resting on embattled stone brackets having armorial shields), are but dimly discernible. The present arrangement, viz.: two naves and one aisle, of equal height and width, is probably unprecedented, but is not wanting in a certain grandeur of effect. In the Eastern portion of the building the handsome restoration work of the choir or chancel was seen, notably the sculptured terminals of the hood mouldings of the arches, and the angel corbels. The Decorated tracery of the windows of the sanctuary (which extends one bay Eastward of the South chancel)—the mutilated double piscina (Decorated) under the South window, the carved oak stalls (20 of which are old work), the large Perpendicular East window, the sculptured reredos and other decorative work of excellent design, were noted. The much worn marble slab (8ft. by 3ft. 4in.) having matrix for a brass, the supposed memorial of Simon de Beauchamp, now placed next to the East wall for better preservation, was examined, and it was ascertained that there is a slightly hollow margin, in which the inscription recorded by Leland may have been inserted. On the North wall was seen the memorial of Thomas Christie, owner of the great tithes, who gave them to the Vicarage some time before his death in 1697. The old Chapel and modern Vestry on the North side of the Choir were not explored; an upper chamber contains a Theological Library bequeathed to the town, c. 1700, and formerly kept in S. John's Church. The visitors descended by two steps into the South Chancel (the Lady Chapel) divided from the Choir by a good Decorated arcade and Perpendicular screen. There was seen the brass of Sir William Harper, removed from his altar tomb, and fixed on the North wall. The inscription dates his death, 27th February, 1573. On the North side of the altar is a richly canopied niche; and on the South side the medallioned memorial put up by the Trustees of the Harper Charity in 1768. In the North-

east corner is deposited, as an architectural treasure, the early Perpendicular stone pulpit, having panelled tracery with vestiges of colour and gilding; attached to it below are the remains of a canopy, the original position of which was probably above. The pulpit was in use in 1758, in which year (March 10th) John Wesley preached from it his famous sermon, "The Great Assize." Other historical monuments were pointed out. On leaving the church and thanking the conductors, it was noted that, early in the century, there was standing in the Churchyard (S.W. of the Church) an old building having massive buttresses, once known as the "Bedford Charity Boundary"; it was suggested by Mr. Fowler that this was the ancient "Charnel Chapel," in which masses were said for the departed.

The party were driven about half-a-mile North-westward to the site of the Franciscan Friary, situated in the Bromham Road, and approached by a lane retaining the name of Friars' Walk. Mr. Foster pointed out the ruins contained within a farm-enclosure retaining some portion of the ancient wall. A block of habitations, lying North and South, retain vestiges of Tudor work. The small house occupied by Mr. Stone may have been the Prior's lodging. The long buttressed building extending Northward from this has in its upper stage internally a series of recesses or aumbries, suggestive of a Library or Studies. The Frater may have been comprised in this block. Here, and in an adjoining ruined stable are mutilated remains of Gothic windows; all other architectural features are obliterated. The Cloister and outer Court probably occupied the space between these buildings and the wall against the street. It was noted that the Priory was quite a small one. The Foundress, Mabel de Patteshull, Lady of Blettesho, was buried in the Priory Church (c. 1350) and, according to Leland, had a memorial there, as had also John Lord Mowbray, (who died in 1361) and a few other benefactors. No traces of this Church are to be seen.

The last stage was a visit (by kind permission) to the beautiful grounds of Mr. L. C. Higgens, which comprise the main portion of the extensive site (about nine acres) of Bedford Castle. Here Mr. Fowler pointed out that, according to reliable information, Mr. Higgens' house stands about the position of the Great Tower, which defended the entrance to the inner Baily. Nothing remains but the Mount, reduced probably to about half its original height; it is about 200 feet in diameter at the base (including the ditch); on this rose the Norman Keep or Dungeon, the last retreat of Faulkes' garrison in the famous siege (1224); the position overlooks the river at the point where a group of small islands indicates the site of the ancient Ford. The party ascended by a winding path to the summit which forms a Bowling-green, 150 feet in diameter. A tracing of Mr. Hurst's plan of the site was exhibited. Time did not suffice for giving the Historical Notes which had been prepared by the Rev. H. Fowler. Some of the Members then followed the guidance of Mr. T. Bull, who, at Batts Ford Wharf, on the bank of the river, pointed to the traditional mudpool, in which (according to Matthew Paris) were submerged the chapel and tomb of King Offa. Necessary refreshments having been partaken of at the Station; the return journey was made by the 5.50 train. The weather favoured the expedition, which was greatly enjoyed.

H. FOWLER.

Conventual Church of S. Mary and S. Helen, Elstow.
Read at the Excursion 18th August, 1897,

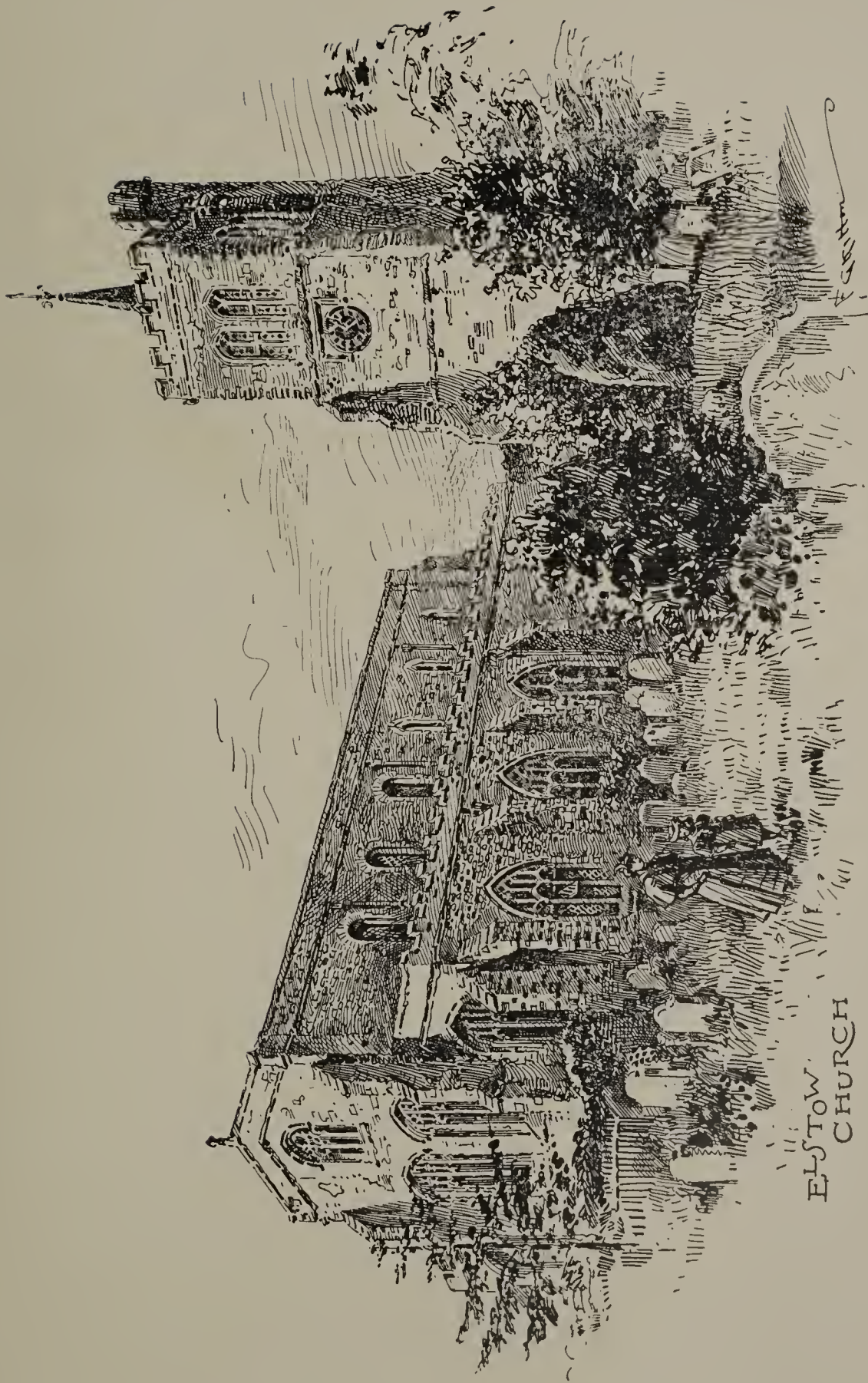
BY THE REV. CANON DAVYS, M.A.

We are visiting to-day a place of no common interest. It is not indeed situated within the county of Hertford, to which some would desire to confine the researches of this Society, but while, not far from our borders, it forms a subject respecting which no members of a Society like our own can afford to be ignorant.* The historical interest of the place is two-fold; the antiquarian will remember that it is one of the most valuable relics of a Royal Foundation for ladies, assuming the rule of S. Benedict, and will note every fragment of a Church and its surroundings, bearing on the history of so interesting an establishment, while some will view Elstow with another though later interest, as the home of the pious mechanic, who has left to the Christian world, in the "Pilgrim's Progress," an allegory which no less an authority than the late Lord Macaulay has declared to be a masterpiece. We saw in passing the cottage in which John Bunyan lived, much altered indeed, but containing the beam, I am told, from which chips have been dispersed throughout the world, as sacred relics in many lands. We have seen the green (now through the late drought all too yellow) on which as a youth the unconverted man sported, and where he believed his conversion to have taken place. We are near the tower where he rang the bells, till a serious dread of them seems to have possessed him. For we are told that he loved in his youth of all things best dancing and ringing. The first he discontinued after marriage, and if church ringers then were what unhappily some of us can remember such to have been before the late reform in our belfrys began, it is easy to understand why a religiously-minded man objected to their companionship. We too have lately crossed the river formerly spanned by an ancient bridge, on which stood a chapel, as we see to this day lower down the course of the Ouse at St. Ives, turned at Bedford into a house of detention, and familiarly believed, though the circumstances has since been doubted, as the place where the first inspiration of the Pilgrim's Progress seized Bunyan's mind when in brief captivity there, and which he describes thus:—"As I walked through the wilderness of this world I lighted on a certain place, where was a cave, and laid me down to sleep, and as I slept I dreamed a dream." Before leaving the thoughts of one whose name is inseparably connected with this place and neighbourhood, I may remind you that we possess in our own county, and in my own parish, a picture believed on the best authority to be an original likeness of John Bunyan. It was discovered by the late Rev. John Olive, in a very bad condition in a cottage in the village of Codicote. He purchased it, and had it carefully restored. This portrait has been seen on the occasion of one of our excursions by our Society in Wheathampstead House, while it was also carefully studied, I understand, by those who had charge of the erection of the monument which we hope to see at Bedford this afternoon. I may mention again that under the guidance of the late Dr. Griffith, some few years ago, our Society visited the remains of a cottage at Coleman Green, in the parish of Sandridge,

* I have since learnt, as connecting Elstow with Hertfordshire, that the *Rectorial* or "Great" Tithes of Hitchin, now the property of Trinity College, Cambridge, belonged to the Convent of Elstow till its dissolution, and formed part of the Endowments of Henry the Eighth's Royal Collegiate Foundation.

where it is generally believed Bunyan lodged and preached, for the labours of this good man, though far extended, took him generally to quiet places, though we may well hope that his efforts for good were treated with a more liberal toleration by those who must needs differ from his teaching, than the efforts of some others in Nonconforming history. For Bunyan appears to have had friends, and even admirers in the church, and to have been finally released from restraint by the aid of Thomas Barlow, afterwards Bishop of Lincoln.

I have touched on the life of this marvellous man, because it is impossible to visit this place without thinking of it, but beyond ringing in the detached campanile of this church, and occasionally worshipping within its walls, his history is unconnected with that more ancient history, in which an archæological and architectural society must find its chief interest. Let me then for a few minutes touch on this. The name Elstow, spelt Elnestow in the Doomsday survey, is a corruption of Helenstow, and the place is so named in consequence of the dedication of the conventual church to St. Helen, the mother of the Emperor Constantine, her name being associated in the dedication with the Holy Trinity and that of St. Mary. The Countess Judith, niece of William the Conqueror, and widow of Waltheof, Earl of Northumberland, Northampton and Huntingdon, here founded a conventual establishment for Benedictine Nuns. The days following that terrible Conquest were days of great church activity; the spoilers had seized great wealth and it has been regarded as a fact by high authority that many of their buildings were works of expiation. Those were troublous times; many fair lands were wasted by fire and sword, and refuges were frequently to be found alone in the houses of the religious. It might have been that there was some sanctuary here before, but the authentic history of the place begins with the foundation of Judith, who became its first abbess. We cannot view the interior of this stately fragment without being certain that we are within no ordinary church. There is a height and dignity about it which marks it as a remnant of a great Abbey church though one of but two stages, for we must observe that the triforium stage is absent. There can be little doubt too, that the easternmost bays are part of the structure of Judith, and that in accordance with the decorations of that date they were once richly coloured. It is stated by those who have studied the structure, and had some means of excavation, that the constructive nave extended one bay further eastward than we now see, and they believe that a central tower, transepts, apsidal choir, and lady chapel, completed the church in that direction. What we see now here of Norman work is suggestive of the usual Benedictine arrangement; for the ritual choir, as at St. Albans, would extend two bays into the constructive nave, and one more Westerly bay would be provided for a procession path. It often happened that this was as much as one generation of Abbey builders could accomplish, and if so much was done, the church was complete as far as its choral requirements went, and was structurally sufficiently supported to stand. This is about what has been accomplished at the new Truro Cathedral in our own times, though there the choir follows the more usual cathedral arrangement, and its fittings do not extend beyond the Eastern piers of the central tower, which they usually did in the Benedictine churches. If we are correct in our views here, we shall find the Western limb of the Norman church before us, while the rich Early English extension dating from, say, early in the reign of Edward I., would form a short nave. I put its conjectural date, for we have



ELSTOW
CHURCH

F. G. ...

no documentary evidence I fear, during the reign of Edward I., for we find curious examples before us of the buckle ornament, which a great authority, the late Mr. Hartshorne, has regarded as a certain indication of the times of that King. These arches are a beautiful study, and their massive piers are well adapted to carry on the lines of their Norman and more Eastern predecessors. There is an elegance and peculiarity in the foliage arrangement here, which is suggestive of ladies device, it is seen in the junction of mouldings, on their springing from the caps, as at the Western portal. At this West front were apparently porches, something like, though much smaller than, those at St. Albans, for the arcading which appears to have enriched them is to be seen upon the adjoining buttress. One most beautiful and remarkable feature is that which is believed to have been the chapter-house, a vaulted building with central Purbeck shaft constructed very shortly after the Early English extension of the church. The vaulting is remarkable and the shaft is peculiarly beautiful. Here probably the ladies of the monastery sat with the Abbess in Council. Some writers speak of the usual cloister adjoining, but I confess I see no traces of it, or find head room for its construction, as the south windows of the nave are now; the cloister was the scriptorium of monks, but did nuns need such places of literary labour? I speak for inquiry and correction. From the chapter-house a covered way would doubtless lead to the domestic buildings of the nunnery, which must have occupied the site of the fine house which the receiver of the Abbey property at the Dissolution built out of its dishonoured stones. One relic of extraordinary interest and value, of a religious house of unusual fame, is the brass of one of its latest Abbesses, the Abbess Elizabeth Hervey. We see her in the robes of her office, and holding her pastoral staff; but one other example remains in brass, and one only of a Benedictine Abbess in stone. For a full description I must refer you to a most interesting paper by the late Mr. Bloxam published in the Bedford Architectural Society's Transactions, included in the reports and papers of the Associated Societies for the year 1863, and I also find in these reports a very valuable paper on the church of Elstow by George Hurst, Esq. We have these in our St. Albans Library, and I had them at hand in writing my paper. Mr. Hurst's paper was apparently read here in 1855, and its illustrations show the state of the church before its restoration in 1880, for we miss now a screen which appeared formerly to mark the limits of the ancient choir; the old pulpit, too, now consigned to a corner, there appears *in situ*. The restoration of 1880, under the care of T. J. Jackson, Esq., architect, of Bedford, appears, to have been very carefully done, and the present condition of the church bears witness to much reverent love. Would that more of it had existed at the time when it was wholly robbed of its many possessions, and not even a pittance left for the ministrations of religion within it. One remaining and unusual feature I must notice in the massive detached bell tower. It belongs chiefly to so late a period of architecture, that it has been supposed to have been erected after the dissolution of the Abbey with its old materials. It has been thought, however, to rest on the foundations of an older campanile of large proportions, which would account for the width of its base, and the contractions at its various stages. It must be, however, considered as a remarkable tower, for, except at Chichester, we have but few detached campaniles remaining out of a good many once provided at our cathedrals and large Abbey churches.

The Collegiate Church of S. Paul, Bedford. Read at the
Excursion, 18th August, 1897,

BY REV. H. FOWLER, M.A.

In offering these notes to the members of our Archæological party I have to acknowledge my great indebtedness to some distinguished Bedfordshire Archæologists. I have verified the statements, as far as opportunity permitted, by referring to the original authorities. My remarks must be limited to the account of the early condition of things connected with the origin of this Church.

The Parish of S. Paul, which comprises the oldest portion of Bedford, is of unknown antiquity. It is probably older than the parishes of the south portion of the town, called "Potter-street Ward," which was not added to Bedford till 1019, in the reign of King Edward the Elder. It is a reasonable conjecture that the first Saxon Church in Bedford, whenever it was erected, was dedicated, either to the Apostle S. Paul, or S. Paul and S. Peter, jointly—of such primitive dedications there are many examples. The proximity of this site to the most ancient localities renders it likely, that the earliest Christian Sanctuary was situated here (on this site). I am referring to the ancient Ford and subsequent Bridge, the Saxon fortress, where would be the residence of a Thane or Alderman, and the Cheaping or Market-place, where the early Borough Moots would be held. But I must not pursue these speculations. What appears to be certain is, that the earliest associations of the church are monastic—Antiquarians agree that there was a primitive Monastery here in the 8th Century, and probably earlier, under the Mercian rulers. King Offa II had a partiality for it, and was perhaps a frequent visitor. There is reason for supposing that Abbot Allmund, whose name is among the signatures to Offa's Charter given to St. Albans (assigned to the year 795) was Abbot of Bedford. However this may be, we have the authority of Matthew Paris for the burial of Offa with regal honours in a Chapel at Bedford in 796, and the story of the subsequent submersion of chapel and tomb by an inundation



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of the river "Usca," (the Ouse), also the complaints made against Abbot Willegode for not having secured Offa's relics for St. Albans. The traditional site is, I believe, a few hundred yards up the river, opposite to Batt's Wharf: we may see this from the Castle Mount. It seems useless to speculate whether this chapel belonged to the Monastery or to a Royal residence. The Monastery was probably destroyed in the devastations of the Danes, to whom King Alfred ceded this district north of the Watling-street, afterwards called the Danelough: if so, however, it had been restored before 971, in which year Thurkytel was the Abbot. His name shows him to have been of Danish extraction. The Early English Chronicle informs us (under the year 971) that Oskytel, Archbishop of York died at Thame on All Hallows Mass Night (November 1st), and Abbot Thurkytel, his kinsman, conveyed the body to Bedford; presumably on its way for burial at York. This was in the reign of King Edgar, who was a great favorer of the Monks. We hear nothing more of the Monastery; it was probably merged in the College of Secular Canons which appears to have been established here a considerable time before the Conquest; their Church was dedicated to S. Paul, and probably in succession to the Church of the Monastery. In the Domesday Survey the Canons of Bedford are named after the Canons of S. Paul's, London. (I am following the account given in Parry's Illustrations of Beds.) They were a powerful body well endowed with estates, and were lords of the Borough Manor. In their time a Norman Church must have been erected, and, I suppose, on this site. I may be treading on debateable ground, in describing it as situated just outside the western precinct of the Norman Castle erected here in the reign of William Rufus by Payne de Beauchamp, 3rd Baron of Bedford. The distinguished antiquary Mr. George Hurst supposes the moat to have joined the river close to the present bridge, where the Swan Hotel now is. The church was on the Canons' land and clearly outside the castle. This Secular College would have been governed by a Dean or Provost.

About the time, when the Diocese of Lincoln was constituted by Bishop Remigius, who began to erect

his Norman Cathedral in 1080, the Canons were unjustly deprived of some of their privileges by this unscrupulous prelate. Leland says, "the Prebendaries had their houses about the circuit of S. Paul's Church; and the names of two Prebends remain, although their stalls be at Lincoln." Remigius seems to have appropriated two of the Canonries with their "corpus prebendæ," or estates, to his cathedral. There are still at Lincoln two Prebendal stalls having attached to them the names respectively of "Bedford major" and "Bedford minor."

Lysons states that in his time (c. 1820), a mediæval house was standing in S. Paul's-square, held under a lease from the Chapter of Lincoln, and was supposed to have been a Prebendal residence. In the reign of Henry I. these Seculars were transformed into Canons Regular of S. Augustin by Lady Royse (the widow of Payne de Beauchamp), who was thus accounted their foundress. The cloister, and walled precinct, which must have been erected for them, would have been rather cramped for room in this situation. Whether these Canons had the patronage of other churches in the town I have no information, but I have to note that three churches here were, at a somewhat later period, in the gift of the Austin Canons of Dunstable, viz.: S. Mary's, to which they presented a vicar in 1216, the church of S. Peter, Dunstable, which stood opposite to S. Mary's; and that of S. Cuthbert to the north of the castle site. Presentations to these in the 13th century are noted in the Dunstable Chronicle. The influence of the Black Canons must have been powerful in Bedford. The Prior here, of course, had the tithes, and was bound to provide for the parochial ministrations by means of a secular priest or chaplain. If the Norman Church of S. Paul was on the same lines as the subsequent one, it was what may be called a "double church," for such was the arrangement of this structure before the modern additions (made in 1884). It had two naves and two chancels, of nearly equal length and width. If this is correct, the north member must have been the Church of the Canons, and the south limb the church of the burgesses; the south chancel was probably the Lady Chapel.

In 1164, the ninth of Henry II., the Canons were still here, for in that year an incident, which had important consequences, occurred. The account is given by the Chronicler Ralph de Diceto. One of the Canons, Philip de Broc, committed homicide; when put on his trial before the King's Justiciary, he behaved contumaciously. He appears to have claimed benefit of clergy, *i.e.*, to be tried by the Bishop's Court. The account of the matter is by no means clear. It is stated that, when brought before the Archbishop (Thomas à Becket), he could not deny his offence. The issue was, that he was degraded from his Canonry, and banished the realm for two years. Which court pronounced the sentence is not stated, but the Chronicler says de Broc's trial gave occasion to the serious conflict between the Bishops and the Civil authorities on the subject of the trial of criminal Clerks, which controversy the King thought to have brought to a settlement by the "Constitutions of Clarendon." We know the unhappy consequences which ensued in regard to Archbishop Thomas. Leland thinks that this occurrence was the cause of the removal of the Canons to a new abode. The site was in the adjoining parish of Goldington (afterwards called Newenham), about a mile down the river. The removal probably took place soon after 1164. It is certain that the benefactor who promoted this was Simon de Beauchamp. The Chroniclers call him the son of Royse de Beauchamp, but Mr. Elwes (in his valuable paper on the Castle), has shown that he was probably her grandson. He was heir to the Barony of Bedford, but for some years his estates and Castle were kept in the King's hands, because he took the side of the Ecclesiastics in the struggle between Archbishop Thomas and the King. In 1190 he recovered the Governorship of the Castle from Richard I., by the payment of a fine (of £100). What concerns us is, that he was a liberal patron of the Canons, and transferred them to more convenient quarters at Newenham. He probably built their church, for he was esteemed their Founder. He died in 1207, the ninth year of King John, and was buried in S. Paul's Church. This is an interesting point. His monument was in this church in the time of Leland, who says, "He lieth before the High Altar in S. Paul's Church,

with this epitaph, graven in brass—*De Bello Campo jacet hic sub marmore Simon, Fundator de Newenham.*”

This is probably identical with the slab (8ft. by 3ft. 4in.), now placed close to the east wall of the chancel, (its former position was in front of the altar); it has case-ments for an engrailed Latin cross, and for two small shields (of arms) above. There is a slightly hollow border, in which the inscription was probably inserted in separate brass letters. I am stating this on the authority of the late Rev. C. Boutell, who names this as “the earliest recorded example of a Brass in England.”

The assertion, however, is not undisputed.

To return to our subject. From this time (I suppose), the Church became solely parochial, although Tanner disputes this. Its history is not concerned with the Canons, except in the matter of the exercise of their patronage in presenting the Vicars, and upholding their Rectorial rights in the chancel. It is probable that the Beauchamps did more for the structure than the Priors of Newenham. I must hasten on. The deeds of the notorious Faulkes de Breauté belong to the history of the Castle. As soon as he was put in possession here by King John in 1215, (we are told), he laid sacrilegious hands on Newenham Priory and other religious houses for the purpose of obtaining materials for his extensive works of fortification; for the same reason, as Matthew Paris tells us, he pulled down the Church of S. Paul. This does not necessarily imply its total demolition, it is reasonable to suppose that at least its foundations remained. The Church continued a ruin until the capture of the Castle (after the famous siege), August 24th, 1224. When the fortress was doomed to be destroyed and levelled, King Henry III. issued his mandate to the Sheriff of Beds., about the disposal of the materials. One portion of the stones was assigned to the Prior of Newenham for the re-instatement of his Monastery; another portion to the Prior of Caldwell, (the House of the templars situated on the opposite side of the river) and another portion was set apart for the work of re-building the Church of S. Paul—“*perfectioni operis ecclesiæ Sancti Pauli Bedfordiensis.*” It is inferred that the Church was re-built within a few years of the date 1224. We are now arrived at the history of

the present structure, and the question, what features it retains of the re-constructed Church of the Early English period. I will leave this in the hands of the Bedfordshire gentlemen, who have so kindly offered to give us the benefit of their investigations and local experience in this extremely interesting subject.

General Meeting, held in the Vestry of Elstow Church, Beds,
on 18th August, 1897.

Present—Mr. S. Flint Clarkson, in the chair; Rev. Canon Davys, and Rev. H. Fowler, Hon. Secretaries. Messrs. G. Mowat, R. L. Howard, F. Trevor Davys, H. R. Wilton Hall, A. E. Gibbs, and H. L. Waddington.

The Minutes of the last Meeting were read and confirmed.

On the proposal of Rev. Canon Davys, seconded by Mr. S. Flint Clarkson, the Rev. G. A. Lewis Brown, Vicar of Redbourn, was elected a member.

The local Secretary referred to a letter received from a Member of the Committee directing attention to the rules of the Society, which required the Annual Meeting to be held at St. Albans, on 22nd June.

The Rev. Canon Davys pointed out that this rule had been in abeyance for some years, as it had been found convenient to hold the Meeting during the excursions, and no objection had been raised. He proposed, however, that the Annual business of the election of officers be deferred to a future day, at St. Albans.

Mr. Fowler stated that Rule 17 had been discussed by the Committee about ten years ago (June 26th, 1886); its inconvenience was generally admitted, and its consideration was deferred to a General Meeting, but no resolution was passed. After discussion, it was unanimously resolved to adjourn the Annual Meeting to St. Albans, the date to be arranged by the Senior Hon. Secretary.

Canon Davys alluded to the wish of some members to extend the Society's work, in the direction of additional meetings and excursions, he threw out the suggestion that a third Secretary might be appointed to assist in carrying out such extension.

The consideration of the subject was deferred.

WALTER J. LAWRENCE.

15th September, 1897.

Annual Meeting, held at the Town Hall, St. Albans, at
6 p.m., on 15th September, 1897.

Present—Ven. Archdeacon Lawrance, Vice-President, in the chair; the Hon. Secretaries (Canon Davys and Rev. H. Fowler), and many members.

The Chairman read a letter received from Lord Aldenham, regretting his inability to attend.

The minutes of the last meeting were read and confirmed.

On the proposal of Rev. H. Fowler, seconded by Mr. Silvester, Miss Lydekker, of Hall Place, was elected a member.

Mr. Fowler communicated a request from the Rev. G. Lewis Brown, that the attention of the Society be invited to the ancient Camp at Redbourn, his proposal being to make some excavations, with the permission of Lord Strathmore, and under the advice of Sir John Evans, when this may be obtained. The cost to be provided by private subscription.

The Rev. Canon Davys proposed in suitable terms the re-election of the President and Vice-Presidents of the Society, with thanks for their services. This, being seconded by Mr. W. R. L. Lowe, was carried unanimously.

Mr. Mowat and Mr. Flint Clarkson volunteered to retire from the Committee, and offered themselves for re-election, and upon the proposal of Mr. R. L. Howard, seconded by Mr. Silvester, they were re-elected. Mr. Woollam proposed the re-election of the Hon. Secretaries, and that the thanks of the Meeting be voted to them; he referred to the zealous services rendered for many years by Canon Davys, and for a shorter period by Mr. Fowler. He also proposed that their labours should be lightened by the election of Mr. W. Page, F.S.A., as a third Secretary. Mr. Rokeby Price seconded, and Mr. Tarte supported the resolution, which was carried by acclamation. Canon Davys in making a suitable acknowledgment, referred in kind terms of his coadjutor (Mr. Fowler); he also made mention of the valuable assistance long rendered by Mr. Flint Clarkson, especially at the excursions; he recommended the appointment of a collector. Mr. Fowler and Mr. Page also spoke in acknowledgment.

On the proposal of Mr. Flint Clarkson, seconded by Mr. Kent, Mr. Toulmin was re-elected Hon. Treasurer, and Mr. G. N. Marten was re-appointed Auditor.

At the suggestion of Canon Davys, the Chairman put the following resolution:—

“That the Meeting request the Committee to look through the existing rules of the Society, with a view to revision, if necessary; and to report their recommendations for consideration at the next General Meeting.” A rider was proposed by Mr. Woollam, and seconded by Mr. Hardy:—“That it be an instruction to the Committee to condense the Rules as far as possible.” These were unanimously accepted.

WALTER J. LAWRENCE.

8th October, 1897.

General Meeting, held at the Town Hall, St. Albans,
at 6.30 p.m., on 8th October, 1897.

Present—Ven. Archdeacon Lawrance, in the chair; Rev. H. Fowler and Mr. Page, Hon. Secretaries; Messrs. Flint Clarkson, W. J. Hardy, F. Kinneir Tarte, R. T. Andrews, T. Askwith, Austin, Wix, Dr. Morison and others.

The minutes of the last General Meeting were read and confirmed.

The following gentlemen were unanimously elected Members of the Society, viz.—Mr. V. H. W. Wingrave, M.D., proposed by the Rev. H. Fowler, and seconded by Dr. Morison; Mr. F. G. Kitton, proposed by Mr. Tarte, and seconded by Mr. Hardy; Rev. G. H. P. Glossop, M.A., Mr. John Hopkinson, F.L.S., Mr. Charles Johnson, M.A., Mr. Arthur Phillips, J.P., Mr. Henry Worssam, and Mr. Charles Wilton, proposed by Mr. Page, and seconded by Mr. Hardy.

The Chairman proposed, seriatim, the revised rules and regulations, recommended to the Society by the Committee, after some debate and an addition to the regulations for the Library, these were adopted and ordered to be printed for circulation. The following resolution was moved by the Chairman at the suggestion of Mr. Page, and accepted:—

“That the St. Albans and Herts Architectural and Archæological Society desires to express its appreciation of the means which Mr. Andrew McIlwraith is taking for the protection of the Roman remains in the Verulam Woods, and its thanks to the Earl of Verulam for consenting to such protection being carried out.”

The meeting terminated with a vote of thanks to the Chairman.

W. J. LAWRENCE.

10th November, 1897.

General Meeting, held at the Town Hall, St. Albans,
at 8 p.m. on 10th November, 1897.

Present—Ven. Archdeacon Lawrance in the chair; Rev. H. Fowler and Mr. W. Page, Hon. Secs.; Messrs. Toulmin, Marten, Mr. and Mrs. Tarte, and many other Members and their friends.

The Minutes of the last Meeting were read and confirmed.

The following ladies and gentlemen were unanimously elected Members of the Society—The Earl of Verulam, proposed by Mr. W. J. Hardy, seconded by Mr. Toulmin; Lady Scott, Malabar House, St. Albans, proposed by Mr. W. R. L. Lowe; Mr. Edwin Legg and Miss Mabel Legg, proposed by Mr. W. Page; Miss R. White, proposed by Mr. Flint Clarkson; Mr. Eustace Lipscomb, M.D., proposed by Mr. G. Mowat; and Mr. J. E. Norman, M.A., L.L.D., proposed by Archdeacon Lawrance; Mr. W. S. Green, Chequer Street, proposed by Mr. W. J. Hardy.

Mr. Page announced that Viscount Dillon, Pres. S.A., Curator of the Armouries at the Tower of London, had kindly offered to show a party of the Society over the Armouries, on Friday, 19th inst., at 1 p.m. Members wishing to join the party were invited to send in their names.

Mr. Page read a report from Rev. C. V. Bicknell and himself on some recent excavations they had made at the West end of St. Michael's Church, in which they pointed out that they had found a Roman wall about 8ft. from the surface, and about 4ft. 6in. to 5ft. in thickness. The Northern side of this wall intersected the West wall of the tower, lately built by Lord Grimthorpe, about six inches from its North-west corner at an angle of about 55 degrees and passed, they were told by the foreman of the works, under the Church at the South-east corner of the new tower. To the North of this wall were found the remains of a Roman column. The drum nearest the tower could not be examined on account of the tower foundations, but the earth was cleared from around the second, which was lying on its side, with the lewis hole in the end farther from the Church. Unfortunately this drum fell to pieces on being brought to the surface. Its diameter was 2ft. 2in., and its height 2ft. 1 $\frac{3}{4}$ in.; the remains of it are now lying in the tower of the Church. Under this was the greater part of a third drum, and a little to the North-west was a fourth drum in an upright position, which is 2ft. 1in. in diameter, and 1ft. 8in. in height. Touching this again was a fifth drum, which could not be uncovered on account of burials. The drums are of sandstone, probably from the Barnack Quarries, Northamptonshire; they show indications of having been subject to the action of fire and small pieces of charcoal were found under and adhering to them.

Mr. Kitton proposed that a Sub-committee should be formed to report upon the condition of the walls of Verulamium. The matter was referred to the Secretaries with a view to their conferring with Mr. Kitton. Mr. F. W. Kinneir Tarte read a paper on the carved oak pulpit in St. Michael's Church, which he illustrated with numerous beautifully executed drawings and rubbings, introducing notes from the Churchwardens Accounts relating to the pulpit, and giving reasons for assigning the work to the reign of Queen Elizabeth. Mr. Page expressed the thanks of the meeting to Mr. Tarte for the trouble he has taken in preparing his interesting paper and the many drawings. He pointed out the continuance of the use of the "Crowned Rose" as a badge by James I, and also stated that Mr. St. John Hope, Secretary to the Society of Antiquaries, who had recently visited St. Michael's Church, was of opinion that the pulpit might be "Elizabethan." Mr. Toulmin quoted the opinion of Sir Gilbert Scott (as given in his report), that the work was not earlier than the reign of James I. Mr. Fowler suggested that the pulpit probably owed its existence to Sir Nicholas Bacon, who died in 1579. He gave reasons for supposing that in the old mansion of Gorhambury, erected by Sir Nicholas, there was a Chapel, and in the Chapel a pulpit from which the Lord Keeper's domestic chaplain preached, and that when, after the death of Anne, Lady Bacon, the Chapel was disused, the pulpit may have been removed to the Parish Church.

Mr. S. Flint Clarkson, F.R.I.B.A., showed drawings of English pulpits of the Renaissance period, calling special attention to noteworthy woodwork in screens and benches, and particularly to a pulpit at Croscombe Church, near Wells in Somersetshire. He pointed out the development, which took place from the box-form of late Elizabethan pulpits, with brackets, sunk patterns on bands and panels, but with few architectural features, to the later work with regular "Orders." At Croscombe, there are above the Ogee base, pedestals, pilasters at corners, and an entablature, all complete. That very fine pulpit was erected by Bishop Lake, of Wells, in 1616.

Mr. W. J. Hardy, F.S.A., read a paper, entitled—"Lady Cathcart and her Husbands," giving from documents an interesting and entertaining account of that lady's life and fortunes in connection with Tewin. The Chairman expressed to Mr. Hardy the gratification of the audience, and their thanks for his kind trouble.

Mr. G. N. Marten exhibited a coin (a half groat of Edward IV.) found at Marshall's Wick.

After a cordial vote of thanks accorded to the Chairman, proposed by Mr. Marten, the Meeting became conversational.

A volume of topographical prints, kindly lent by Mr. T. Hunt, and a portfolio of drawings and engravings belonging to the Society were exhibited.

WALTER J. LAWRENCE.

25th February, 1898.

Lady Cathcart and her Husbands.

BY W. J. HARDY, F.S.A.

I do not quite know how to introduce the history of Lady Cathcart to this Society, for it is not archæological, in the ordinary acceptation of the word, since she died but little more than a century ago, and I do not quite see how to make it architectural. Yet I will venture to tell it to you, because there must be a certain amount of human interest in the story of a lady who lived to the eve of 100, who danced when she was 80, who married four times, and who during marriage to her fourth husband inscribed her wedding ring with this emphatic resolution: "If I survive I will have five." Besides these reasons there is this which makes Lady Cathcart's story worthy of attention: It forms the basis of a portion of Miss Edgeworth's powerful sketch of Irish life and manners in the last century—"Castle Rackrent" and those of you who have read it will see that Miss Edgeworth's story is not a great exaggeration.

Then, too, when we find that Lady Cathcart's reasons for her respective marriages were—the first for love, the second for wealth, the third for title, and the fourth because "the Devil owed her a grudge and would punish her for all her sins," then, I say, we really get a little curious, too, about these husbands, and so I have christened this paper "Lady Cathcart and her husbands."

Elizabeth Malyn, who, became Lady Cathcart, was born in 1691, the daughter of Thomas Malyn, a brewer of St. Margaret at Hill, Southwark, who lived at Battersea.

We know nothing of her prior to her first marriage which was to James Fleet, son and heir of Sir John Fleet, a former Lord Mayor of London, and then lord of the manor of Tewin; this was the marriage for love. But James Fleet was also a wealthy man, possessed of a great deal of property in London, and Southwark as well as in Hertfordshire. When they married I do not know. He made his will on the 3rd of May, 1730, and was evidently haunted with the dread of premature burial for he desires that his interment should take place "not less" than eight days after his decease. He wished to be laid to rest under or near the pew in which he usually sat in Tewin Church, and he desired that there should be erected over him "such handsome monument" as should be appointed by his "dear and loving wife." She seems to have considered as sufficient a tablet, which is fixed to the south wall of the Church. This tablet bears the arms of Fleet impaling Malyn, and is inscribed with words testifying that James Fleet was an affectionate husband, that he lived like a good man, and died like a good Christian; the last event taking place on the 29th April, 1733, when he was in his 47th year. He was, therefore, born in 1686, and some five years older than Elizabeth. He left to her for life the capital mansion house called Tewin Water House wherein he then dwelt, and which he had lately repaired and beautified, and he made provision for his children by Elizabeth, should God bless him with any. He was not so blessed. His widow proved the will less than a month after his death and appears to have lived on at Tewin.

At Queenhoo Hall in Tewin parish resided General Joseph Sabine, and of his younger brother William, Elizabeth became the wife—when, I do not know, but before August, 1734, for then William Sabine made his "dear and loving wife" sole executrix of his will and residuary legatee. He died in 1738. This was the marriage for wealth, but I cannot tell what was the wealth that came by it for I have not found the marriage settlement.

A year later, in 1739, Elizabeth, at the age of 48, married Charles, eighth Lord Cathcart, who was born the same year as her first husband. Lord Cathcart was a widower, and his first wife, who had borne him ten children, had died five years before.

He was a distinguished military officer, and had served Queen Anne in Flanders; the triumph of the English troops at Sheriffmuir over the left wing of the Jacobites was largely due to his skill. He was Governor of Londonderry, and in the summer of 1740 was appointed Commander-in-Chief of the Army sent to attack the Spanish possessions in the West Indies. On his voyage thither he was seized with illness, and dying at sea, was buried on the shore at Dominica on the 20th December, 1741. He had made his will some years prior to the marriage with Elizabeth, and just before starting he had executed a codicil thereto, but that does not mention his second wife. No doubt she benefited by the marriage settlement. At any rate she gained a title.

Lady Cathcart continued for the third time a widow (residing in Lord Cathcart's town-house in Dartmouth Street, Westminster, and surrounded with every comfort that money could provide) till May 18th 1745, when, as she has told us, the Devil prompted her to take to husband Hugh Maguire of Castle Nugent in the Co. Longford, a man of a very different kind to Lord Cathcart. Had he fought at Sheriffmuir it ought not to have been on the side of the House of Hanover, for he belonged to a family of loyal Irish Jacobites, though from the fact I am about to mention, we may presume that he brought himself to take the oath of allegiance to George II. *The Gentleman's Magazine* states that Lady Cathcart bought for Maguire a Lieutenant-Colonel's Commission in the British Service. That she may have done, and if she did, the date of his obtaining the Commission is not without interest; for it was the 15th February 1742 (rather more than three years before his marriage with Elizabeth) that he became lieutenant-colonel of De Grangue's regiment of foot. Before 1750 a new lieutenant-colonel was appointed, and as Maguire's name does not appear on the half-pay ledgers, we may conclude that the horror of holding the Hanoverian King's commission suddenly struck him and that he sold the commission, which had been bought for him, and pocketed the money.

He came of a wild stock. Sir Brian Maguire, who in 1628 Charles I had created Baron of Enniskillen in the County Fermanagh, was a chief leader in the

Irish Rebellion of 1641, and he paid for his treason on the gallows at Tyburn three years later. His children and his children's children served abroad, one, always ignoring the act of attainder and styling himself "Lord Enniskillen." Like his ancestor, like scores, nay hundreds, of staunch Irish Roman Catholics, Hugh Maguire was in foreign service. There alone the dauntless courage of the Irish gentry could then display itself; from the English army the religious faith and the political creed of these men excluded them. It was, you may remember, the Irish Brigade in the French army that broke the English ranks at Fontenoy. The Spanish and Austrian Armies, too, were filled with these exiled Irishmen and the Emperor Francis declared that the more of them he got into his service the more certain did he feel of the success of his arms.

Hugh Maguire, in whom we are now interested, had been in the Austrian army, why he quitted it we do not know. His subsequent behaviour certainly suggests that he can have been little endued with the spirit of chivalry of his ancestors, and we can well believe that he did not find it difficult to fight for a Hanoverian King if he thought there was something to be made by it!

Where and when he met the richly dowered widow of three wealthy husbands we do not know; but if it is true that she bought for him his commission in the English Army, their acquaintance must have been of, at least, some years standing when in May, 1745 she (at the age of 54) became for the fourth time, a wife!

Now the story in Castle Rackrent, as many of you no doubt know, narrates how Sir Kit Rackrent brought his wealthy wife, an ill-looking jewess and not very juvenile, to Castle Rackrent, imprisoned her there and made ducks and drakes of her fortune. I have failed to find a portrait of Lady Cathcart, so, of her beauty or otherwise, I cannot speak. But I incline to the belief that a lady (even when rich,) of un-inviting appearance would have found difficulty in securing so many husbands.

Miss Edgworth's story of the imprisonment agrees almost exactly with what the *Gentleman's Magazine* says about it, in the obituary notice of Lady Cathcart: namely, that Maguire kept his wife a close prisoner at

Castle Nugent, and it adds that when she learnt of his intention actually to despoil her of her jewels, she secured, at least some, by carrying them plaited in her hair, and quilted in her petticoat.

But before a sombre assembly like the present we must not deal with fiction—at least, not nominal fiction. Most of what I am going to tell you now, is learnt from particulars in a suit in Chancery brought by Lady Cathcart in 1767. It may be true, or may not, at any rate it is of record.

The day before Lady Cathcart's marriage with Maguire, namely on 17 May, 1745, the marriage settlement was executed. It recited that the lady was then seized for life of property in the City of London, Middlesex and Hertfordshire and was entitled to the sum of £7,500 secured upon a mortgage of some property in Oxfordshire, as well as to £1,046, secured upon a mortgage of the manor of Canons, she was also possessed of jewels, rings and plate of very great value, as well as to a great quantity of household goods and furniture, china, pictures, horses, cattle &c., and to the use, for life, of the town house in Dartmouth Street already mentioned. All these were to remain, notwithstanding the marriage, at the sole and absolute disposal of Lady Cathcart, and by the deed she conveyed them to Dr. Yarborough, clerk, of the parish of Tewin, and a Mr. Thornbury in trust for her to receive the income from the property and to manage and dispose of it entirely as she pleased. The property was to be "in no wise subject to the debts, or be under the power or at the disposal of the said Hugh Maguire."

After the marriage they lived together at Tewin for some months. One morning they started to take a drive in her coach, and thinking that they had gone far enough, and that dinner would be spoilt if they were late, her ladyship begged the Colonel to return. "Make yourself easy, my dear," said he, "we shall not dine at Tewin to-day, for we are on the high road to Chester, and to Chester we will go." Lady Cathcart no doubt then guessed that their ultimate destination was not Chester, but the Emerald Isle which, it is likely, she had expressed her unwillingness to visit!

We may presume that at Tewin Lady Cathcart had

many friends, and with them the non-return of the coach must have caused a good deal of stir, especially when the ultimate destination of the drive was learnt. Quickly the news was carried to her ladyship's kinsmen, and they sent an attorney post haste to Chester, carrying with him writs of *habeas corpus* and *ne exeat regno*. Armed with these the Attorney found the gallant Colonel at an inn in Chester and demanded a sight of the lady. Now in the Colonel's company were often ladies other than Lady Cathcart, and he easily persuaded one of these to impersonate his lawful wife, whom the unfortunate Attorney had never seen and who, for all he knew, might be thirty or sixty. "Are you going to Ireland with Colonel Maguire of your own free will?" pompously enquired the Attorney. "Most certainly," replied the lady dropping a low curtsey, and the discomfited lawyer made as graceful an exit as he could, got back to his inn, and, ere long, was in his coach and on the way to London.

But he still had the writs, and so long as he had them, Maguire did not feel quite safe. Where there's a will there's a way, runs the old saying, and the Colonel's way was this: A man of war himself he naturally cultivated the acquaintance of those who fought at home, as well as of those who fought abroad, of those who cared better for combats in the prize-ring than on the battle-field. Four of these gentlemen were known to him in Chester. These he deemed would be sufficient to tackle the Attorney and his coachman, so he speedily arranged that they should hasten from Chester and meet the returning travellers a few miles on the London Road, the Colonel telling them, of course, that they need not damage the attorney or the coachman more than was actually necessary in order to obtain all the papers the attorney carried!

Faithfully these individuals executed their office, and with the writs in his possession Maguire (carrying with him Lady Cathcart) left for Holyhead and sailed for Ireland. There are various versions of the story of her treatment there, her imprisonment in a portion of the house at Castle Nugent, where she could hear the revelry in which Maguire indulged at her expense, and so forth.

For these stories there was doubtless some foundation in fact, unquestionably she was placed under some kind of restraint from which she would have escaped if she could.

The Chancery suit recites that Maguire carried her over to the north of Ireland where "by threats and other ill-usage" he compelled her to execute the following deed: It is dated on 3 October 1746, rather more than a twelvemonth after the marriage, and is between Lady Cathcart of the first part; John, Lord Ward, Baron of Birmingham, Arthur Stafford, and Theobald Taaffe of the parish of St. George's, Hanover Square, of the second part; and the Hon. Hugh Maguire of the third part, and it witnesses that: "For and in consideration of the tender love and affection which she bore towards her dear and well-beloved husband, the said Hugh Maguire, and as an acknowledgment of that tender and affectionate regard which he has always shown for her," and in order to make an independent provision for him out of her fortune, she, in consideration of 5*s.* paid to her by the parties of the second part, conveyed to them: "All and singular the said lands, tenements and hereditaments, chattels real and personal," of which she was possessed, in trust, to pay an annuity of £52 10*s.* to Mary Horton, spinster, till she attained the age of 21 years, or should be married, and to raise upon the premises the sum of £500 and pay it to the said Mary on her coming of age, and also to pay an annuity of £23 to Henry Sabine of Glenallen, co. Wicklow, and after the death of the said Henry to raise and pay to Elizabeth Nugent, spinster, some sum not exceeding £500 as Lady Cathcart should appoint.

Now all this is rather mysterious! The words "as Lady Cathcart should appoint," were, I suspect, merely put in for the sake of appearance, and Mary Horton and Elizabeth Nugent were ladies whom Lady Cathcart would be exceedingly unlikely to desire to enrich!

The deed then goes on to direct that Lady Cathcart was to receive one half of all rents and revenues arising from the property for her sole and separate use, the other moiety being paid to Maguire.

After the death of either Lady Cathcart or Maguire the Trustees were empowered to raised £12,000 on

the property and to dispose thereof as the *survivor* should think fit. Doubtless Maguire intended to be survivor.

This deed was executed by the parties at Dublin and it is likely that Lady Cathcart's actual incarceration did not begin till afterwards.

So soon as executed, this deed was transmitted to Joseph Hickey of Westminster, Maguire's agent, to be enrolled in Chancery and Hickey was then appointed by Maguire as general agent and receiver of Lady Cathcart's property. By virtue of this appointment he entered upon the receipts of her rents, &c., to the value of over £1800 a year, and leased or otherwise dealt with the property as he thought fit, and continued to do so till June or July 1766 without remitting "one shilling" of money to her ladyship. It was to recover the money received by Hickey that Lady Cathcart brought her suit in Chancery.

Lady Cathcart once safely shut up in Ireland, Joseph Hickey, Maguire's agent, took possession of Tewin Water House and all her other property, including the furniture of the house in Dartmouth Street, and sold the same. Tewinbury House, which, whilst she remained in Ireland remained unlet, the said Hickey took wholly into his own hands, sold the poultry and game, and put his own horses and those of his friends to graze on the lands around.

How rigorous was Lady Cathcart's incarceration in Ireland we shall probably never exactly know. It will perhaps be safest to accept her own description of it in the Chancery suit: that from the time of her going over to Ireland her said late husband kept her, in a manner, confined in her house in the country there, till the time of his death, being almost twenty years together, allowing her only the bare necessaries of life. Upon his death, she came to England.

It is said, and we can well believe it, that Maguire forced Lady Cathcart to make a will in his favour, leaving to him all he had not robbed her of during her life. That will turned out of little use. In the early spring of 1766, Maquire fell sick, and before the end of April he was a dead man. His will is dated on the 20th of March, and was proved in Dublin.

He leaves his landed property in Ireland in trust for

his nephew, legacies to many servants and like his ancestors a Jacobite, at least in name, £100 to the Pretender—"to a certain gentleman in Germany," as he styles him. He makes two mentions of Lady Cathcart. In one he refers to the deed of 1748 between himself and her ladyship and confirms its stipulations, and he leaves his brother's estate at Tempo to trustees, to pay therefrom what is due to Lady Cathcart for "her share," of the money lent upon the mortgage thereof. The other reference is as follows:—"I leave to Lady Cathcart all jewels and plate of which she was possessed at the time of her marriage." There is much dry humour displayed in this bequest inasmuch as of the majority of these possessions he had already disposed.

There is no necessity for us to stop to consider the feelings with which Lady Cathcart must have learned of Maguire's death. She hastened to England. With wondrous rapidity recovered from her ill-usage, and fought (with the spirit of her less exalted namesake who still hovers about the law courts) a number of legal battles to recover such of her property as she could.

The tenant of Tewin Water House, a Mr. Joseph Steele, she ejected after an action at the Herts Assizes, and she took up her residence in her former home, entertaining and being entertained. But she did not carry out her resolve to have a fifth husband—perhaps she could not get one, perhaps the fourth proved enough for her. When eighty she danced, it is said, with the spirit of a young woman.

On the 3rd of March, 1780, Lady Cathcart, at the age of 89, made her will. She desired to be buried by daylight "as privately as may be," and without pall-bearers, in the vault where her first husband's body had been laid nearly 50 years before. She left a few legacies to the poor people in the parish, £200 to Francis, Lord Napier, Lord Cathcart's grandson, and several sums of money to relations and others. The largest legacy being to Marjorie Reynolds, who received £1,000 and the furniture of Lady Cathcart's bed-chamber at Tewin, the bow window room and the tapestry room. But the feature of her will is the bestowal of the bulk of her possessions on those in her employment:—To her housekeeper all her wearing apparel, and the furniture

of the room where she slept, and in the dressing-room and dancing-room, besides one half of all household linen. To her "cook-maid" she left the contents of the kitchens and scullery. To her housemaid the contents of the "common parlour." To her dairymaid all cattle and poultry and the contents of the dairy. To the gardener the stock of her garden and garden tools. To the gardener and footman jointly all ale and beer in the cellar. To her coachman her post-chaise and harness, and stable furniture and a pair of post-chaise horses to be chosen by himself. Her sheep and pigs, she left equally between the labourers on her estate. Her steward, Philip Cosgrave, she made sole executor and residuary legatee. All these legacies were in addition to monetary gifts. Some four years later she made a codicil by which she gave money and plate to her kinsman, Mr. John Loveday, and her watch and some jewellery to his eldest daughter.

She had, in 1783, given the sum of £5 a year towards the schooling of poor children in the parish of Tewin.

Five years after making this codicil, namely on the 3rd of August 1787, Lady Cathcart died at Tewin. Before interment her body was dressed in linen and laid in a leaden coffin, and this again was placed in one covered with velvet and trimmed with gold on which was a gold plate recording the names of her husbands, her age, etc. From a desire to honour her memory, and from the natural interest which the circumstances of her life had awakened, her funeral was not so simple or so quiet as she desired. A hearse drawn by six horses bore her body to the Church, and this was followed, as *The Gentleman's Magazine* tells us, by two coaches and six, and "a prodigious concourse of people." Hatbands and gloves were given in general to all who chose to attend, and "a sumptuous entertainment" was provided for all. Cussans describes the only monument to her memory which is a large oval tablet on the south pier of the chancel arch. The inscription on this records that she was "sometime the wife of James Fleet, esq., of Tewin Water, but afterwards the widow of the Right Hon. Lord Cathcart."

The memory of her second and fourth husbands is not perpetuated.

General Meeting held at the Abbey Institute, St. Albans.
25th February, 1898.

Present—Ven. Archdeacon Lawrance, in the chair ; Rev. H. Fowler and Mr. W. Page, Hon. Secs. ; Messrs. Toulmin, W. J. Hardy, G. Mowat, Carey Morgan, F. Silvester, Wilton Hall, E. N. Wix, J. Hopkinson, F. G. Kitton, Dr. Morison, Revs. Canon Wigram and F. Willcox, Lady Scott, Mr. Andrew Oliver, Mr. Bickley, and many others.

The Minutes of the last meeting were read and confirmed. The balance sheet for 1897 was presented by the treasurer, Mr. Toulmin. Mr. Fowler stated that the balance in hand (after deducting £10 devoted by the Committee to special objects) was about £30.

Mr. Page announced that the following books and pamphlets had been given to the Society, viz. : “A Chart of the Diocese of St. Albans, giving a list of the Bishops who had jurisdiction over the district now comprised in the Diocese of St. Albans” by Ven. Archdeacon Lawrance.

“An Illustrious Neighbour, Lord Bacon,” by Rev. Canon Gee.

“Francis Bacon,” an address, by Mr. John Hopkinson.

“Charles Darwin,” an address, by the same author.

“Notes and Queries,” from July to December, 1896, given by Mrs. Masters.

“Middlesex and Hertford Notes and Queries,” Vol. I. II. III., by the publishers.

“Notes from The Herts County Records,” from 1620, by Mr. C. E. Longmore, Clerk of the Peace for Co. Hertford.

Several Pamphlets relating to Hertfordshire, by Mr. W. Page.

The thanks of the Society were voted to the donors.

The following ladies and gentlemen were duly proposed and elected members of the Society, viz. : Rev. Canon Wigram, Mr. F. W. Dobbin, M.D., Mrs. Turle, Dr. Hellier, Mr. S. L. Harding, Rev. R. A. Squires, Mr. F. A. Blaydes, Mr. Charles Ashdown, F.G.S., Mr. A. Moseley, Miss Lee and Mr. J. H. Gunyon.

The following report on the condition of Gorhambury Block and St. German's Block by Messrs. Kitton and Page, made in accordance with the desire expressed at the last meeting, was read by Mr. Page : “We beg to report that we have examined the two pieces of the Roman wall of Verulamium as desired at the last meeting of this society. With regard to the portions of the wall known as Gorhambury Block, we find this is in a good state of preservation. It is protected by a thorn hedge, which, although somewhat hiding the wall, will, if kept trimmed, make an effective protection from destruction by boys and heedless persons. This piece of wall has a particular value, because for a part of its length the original face still remains to about a foot above the ground level. We cannot, however, make so favourable a report respecting the portion of the wall, known as St. German's Block. This is about 60 feet in length, and has an average height on the north side of about 7 feet, and on the south of 11 feet 6 inches. The middle of the wall from the ground level on the south side is in many parts very thin, being for some distance only from 3 inches to about a foot in thickness, while the top which considerably overhangs varies from 2 feet 6 inches to 4 feet in thickness. At two places at the ground level on the north side there are holes from 6 feet to 7 feet

in length which leave the wall at these places without support. The first thing we would suggest as being necessary for the preservation of this piece of wall is protection from the hands of thoughtless persons; the field in which it is situated is now used for football, and is consequently visited by many people. On the day on which we examined the wall we noticed fresh damage had very recently been committed, especially at a most dangerous point at the foot of the wall on the north side. We think it very desirable that the Earl of Verulam should be asked to permit a fence to be erected to protect the wall, and with regard to its preservation we would recommend that the portion over the two holes should be supported by two small pillars of brick set in cement in each hole, and if practicable, that the weaker portions in the upper part of the wall should be carefully strengthened. In conclusion, we should like to point out that this piece of the Roman wall is perhaps the most interesting of any that surrounds the City of Verulamium, being probably the highest portion now remaining, and having in it two curious holes about 2 inches in diameter, which, so far as we are aware, do not occur elsewhere. But beyond this, it marks the traditional site of the house in which St. Germain, Bishop of Auxerre, dwelt when he first visited this country in A.D. 429, at the invitation of the British bishops to combat the Pelagian heresy, when, it is stated, he carried off some of the relics of St. Alban, and upon which story the claim is set up that the head of the English Protomartyr is now in the Church of St. Mary Schnurgasse at Cologne. This isolated piece of wall owes its preservation probably to the fact of having formed either a part of St. Germain's Chapel or of its adjuncts, which chapel was first erected on the site of St. Germain's house by Ulpha, prior of St. Albans, about the middle of the 10th century, and was not finally destroyed till early in the 18th century."

At the proposal of Mr. Toulmin it was resolved that this be forwarded to the Earl of Verulam with a letter signed by the Chairman.

Mr. Page read a report on the proceedings of the Archæological Congress, which he attended as delegate. In reference to this report he advised (1) That the Society should put itself in communication with the Ordnance Survey Department with a view to recording on their maps any fresh information which might be obtained relating to the ancient earth works in the County. (2) That a photographic survey of the county might be taken in hand by volunteers (3) That a national portrait catalogue for the County might be commenced (4) And a County Bibliography be undertaken. After some discussion it was resolved that a Photographic Survey should be undertaken by the following Committee:—Messrs. Askwith, Lowe, Phipps, and Mr. Hugh Baker, acting as Hon. Sec., and one of the Hon. Secretaries, with power to add to their number. That the National Portrait Catalogue be taken in hand by a committee consisting of the Earl of Verulam, the Earl of Clarendon, Lady Scott, Mr. G. Marten, Mr. Hine, Mr. Kitton, the hon. secs. of the society, and Mr. W. J. Hardy, as Secretary, power being given to add to their number. That the County Bibliography be left in the hands of Messrs. Hopkinson and Page. The Chairman called upon Mr. Page to read a paper on "The Norman West Front of St. Alban's Abbey," in which he contended that Abbot John de Cella extended the Church three bays westward. His paper, which was illustrated by a ground plan and specimens of Norman and Early English mortar had, he stated, formed part of a

paper which he had read before the Society of Antiquaries, and which would be printed in the *Archæologia*. The Chairman in proposing a vote of thanks to Mr. Page for his paper, complimented him on the ability he had displayed in controverting their cherished traditions about the length of the Norman church. Discussion having been invited, Mr. Bickley in supporting the vote of thanks, offered some interesting remarks. By comparing the proportions of various Norman churches which he had examined in this country and on the continent, he inferred that the normal length of the nave was about four and-a-half or five times its width. He commented on the excessive extension of the naves of Ely, Peterborough, Norwich, and Winchester Cathedrals, which were exceptional instances and abnormal to a certain degree. He considered, however, that the length of the existing nave at St. Albans, being about 290 feet and nearly 7 times its width, was altogether abnormal for Norman work. He agreed with the views of Mr. Page, whose investigations appeared to reduce the length to a normal proportion. The Rev. H. Fowler remarked that Abbot Paul's work being much earlier than the existing examples of large Norman churches in this country, it was difficult to institute a comparison. The idea had long existed that it was this Abbott's ambition that his Church of the Protomartyr should exceed all others in its extension. The actual length of the Norman nave could not of course be determined by any *a priori* speculations, but could be tested by investigation of foundations. It is well known that the traditional opinion had been supported in modern times by the investigations of Messrs. Buckler, whose authority for the Norman character of some of the foundations of the West front, consisting of courses of Roman bricks with thick layers of mortar, had been accepted by other eminent architects and antiquaries. It was to be hoped that some of their architectural members would offer remarks on this point, it was a question for *Archæological Architects*. Mr. Fowler pointed out the possibility of obtaining some hints from the record of Abbot John de Cella's work, written by the chronicler Roger de Wendover and adopted by Matthew Paris, who, according to the best authorities, was not born till after 1297, the date of the commencement of the Early English work. This account, he said, is unfortunately indefinite and obscure. There is no mention of adjuncts to the newly designed West front, nor are any Architectural features specified except the "Medium Opus," perhaps the central porch which subsequently collapsed. The first operation was the pulling down of the Norman front. If the new front was to be placed some 70 feet to the westward, we should rather have expected that this demolition would have been deferred till the new work was considerably advanced, proceeding from west to east. When the materials had been collected (which appear to have included the drums of Roman columns brought from Verulamium) an excavation was made for inserting the foundations in new ground, and this is implied in the expression "*Confosso et projecto fundo*," noticed by Mr. Page, the ground was trenched and the earth thrown out, but there is no hint of old foundations being eradicated. The inference is that the Early English front was not built exactly on the site of the Norman front, but to the westward of it, although it might be at a very short distance from it, so far as the chronicler's description is concerned. No further light is thrown on the question by the history of John de Cella's failure, or the subsequent account of Abbot Trumpington's success in bringing the work to

completion. We are much indebted to Mr. Page for so clearly placing before us the results of his careful investigations of this interesting matter.

Mr. Toulmin professed his unwillingness to accept Mr. Page's theory, because, however ably propounded, it was subversive of long cherished ideas about the unique length of their grand Norman church. It was a time honoured tradition that it was the aim of Abbot Paul de Caen to outvie, in building, his kinsman Lanfranc of Canterbury. If this was questioned he might appeal to the analogies of the long Norman naves of Durham, Norwich and Ely, also to the opinions of well known authorities. The Chairman stated that Sir Gilbert Scott had examined foundations beneath the Early English west front in 1856, and concurred in the opinion of the Bucklers as to their Norman character. This determined his views about the length of the Norman nave.

Mr. Page in reply said that with regard to what Archdeacon Lawrance mentioned about Sir Gilbert Scott, that when he (Mr. Page) read his paper before the Society of Antiquaries, Mr. Micklethwaite, F.S.A., now Architect to the Dean and Chapter of Westminster, who was one of Sir Gilbert Scott's assistants during the restoration of the Abbey, stated that Sir Gilbert Scott's opinion as to the position of the Norman west front was based, he believed upon Messrs. Buckler's book, and the possibility of an extension of the church westward in Early English times had not been brought to his notice. Mr. Page said that the extension of the naves of English Monastic Churches, which was frequently to be noticed, was due, he fancied, to the more elaborate processions which in this climate had necessarily to be conducted under cover.

The vote of thanks to Mr. Page having been unanimously accorded, the meeting became conversational. By the kindness of Archdeacon Lawrance, Mr. Page exhibited some pieces of 15th century glass, recently found stowed away in the watching loft in the Abbey, one piece, the fragments of which Mr. Page had been able to put together, was of an Eagle, probably belonging to the latter part of the Abbacy of John Wheathampstead, also several quarries showing conventional flowers of the same period, and one of a Tudor Rose probably later. Mr. A. Bond shewed two pieces of glass.

4th April, 1898.

H. ROKEBY PRICE.

General Meeting held at the Town Hall, St. Albans, on Monday Evening, 4th April, 1898.

Present—Mr. H. Rokeby Price, in the chair; Messrs. Lowe, Clarkson, Hardy, Wilton, Kitton, Toulmin, Wilton Hall, Legg, W. Page, Hon. Sec., and many others.

The minutes of the last meeting were read and confirmed.

Mr. Page read a letter from the Earl of Verulam to Archdeacon Lawrance consenting to the protection of the portion of the Roman wall known as St. Germain's Block.

Mr. Kitton proposed, and Mr. Clarkson seconded a vote of thanks to Mr. Page, for preparing an index to the Transactions.

The following gentlemen were duly proposed and elected members of the Society:—Dr. T. P. Grosart Wells and Mr. Henry John Wolf. In the absence of Mr. W. Carey Morgan, Mr. Page read the first part of the paper on St. Peter's Church, St. Albans.

The Chairman, after the completion of the paper, said he was sure the Society would concur with him in regretting the absence through illness of Mr. Morgan, and that they were deeply indebted to him for the paper which he had prepared. Mr. Lowe suggested that the supposed portrait of Abbot Wheathampstead was by a Flemish artist, and the type of face was Flemish.

Mr. Clarkson made some remarks as to the Anchoress, and suggested that the whole paper should be discussed when the second part of it was read. Mr. Page called attention to the number of Anchoresses there were in the neighbourhood, and mentioned some additional paintings and figures in the church.

WALTER J. LAWRENCE.

22nd April, 1898.

The Annual Meeting was held at the Abbey Institute,
Spicer Street, St. Albans, on Friday, 22nd April, at
8.30 p.m.

Present—The Ven. Archdeacon Lawrance, in the chair; Rev. Canon Davys, Rev. H. Fowler, and Mr. W. Page, Hon. Secs.; Messrs. H. J. Toulmin, G. Marten, W. J. Hardy, Rev. G. H. P. Glossop, S. Flint Clarkson, John Hopkinson, and others.

The minutes of the last meeting were read and confirmed.

The following gentlemen were elected as the Officers and Committee of the Society for the ensuing year:—President—Lord Aldenham, F.S.A., etc.; Vice-Presidents—Viscount Cranborne, M.A., M.P., Ven. Archdeacon Lawrance, M.A., Rev. Canon Gee, D.D., Sir John Evans, K.C.B., etc. Hon. Secretaries—Rev. Canon O. W. Davys, M.A., Rev. H. Fowler, M.A., and Mr. W. Page, F.S.A. Hon. Treasurer—Mr. H. J. Toulmin, J.P., D.L. Auditor—Mr. G. N. Marten, J.P. Committee—Mr. S. Flint Clarkson, F.R.I.B.A., Mr. Lewis Evans, J.P., F.S.A., Mr. W. J. Hardy, F.S.A., Mr. F. G. Kitton, Mr. W. R. L. Lowe, Mr. W. Carey Morgan, Mr. G. Mowat, J.P., Mr. F. W. Kinneir Tarte, M.S.A.

The Treasurer presented the balance sheet which was passed.

The Rev. Canon Davys gave notice of an excursion to take place after the middle of July, to Cheshunt, Waltham Cross, and Waltham Abbey.

The chairman read a report and made a few observations about the work of the Society during the past year, stating that since the last Annual Meeting held in September, 1897, thirty new members had been elected, and two resignations received. It was pleasing to be able to report that there had been no loss of members to the Society by death during the past year. The Society numbered 121 members, there being ten honorary members, 81 ordinary members, and 30 life members. The life compositions had unfortunately been all spent, so that the Society had to depend upon the ordinary members, whose subscriptions only yielded an income of a little over £40 a year, but a very small sum to carry on the work of the Society efficiently. It was to be hoped therefore that the members would induce their friends who take an interest in architecture and archaeology, to join the Society.

The photographic survey of the County had been started, and a National Portrait Catalogue for Hertfordshire had been taken in hand. The Secretaries of these two Committees would be pleased to hear from any who would assist in forwarding either of these schemes.

One of the objects of the Society was to encourage the preservation of ancient works, and this could be in one way very largely promoted by indicating historic monuments, and pointing out their value as records of by-gone ages. The Committee had been anxious to promote a scheme for erecting monumental tablets to mark historic places in the County, and a beginning had been made by the erection of a board at the entrance to the Verulam Woods, describing the Roman wall and the foss. The Committee hoped that similar notices may be put up elsewhere.

Thanks to Mr. Andrew McIlwraith, the portion of the walls of Verulam within the Verulam Woods, had by the consent of the Earl of Verulam, been protected by an unclimbable fence. A similar protection was about to be afforded to the piece of the wall known as St. Germain's Block.

Some interesting excavations have been made at St. Michael's, which may throw light upon some important buildings of Verulam. The result of these excavations, would, it was hoped, be laid before the Society.

A valuable and representative collection of old silver plate was exhibited. Amongst the articles shown were the communion plate of St. Peters, St. Michael's, and Wheathampstead, and various articles by the Rev. Canon Davys, Rev. G. H. P. Glossop, Rev. H. Fowler and Messrs. Hardy, Marten, Toulmin and Page. Some discussion followed upon the exhibits, and the meeting became conversational.

J. W. ALBAN.

3rd November, 1898.

ST. PETER'S CHURCH

15th CENTURY ALTERATIONS

1603 ALTERATIONS

1893 ALTERATIONS



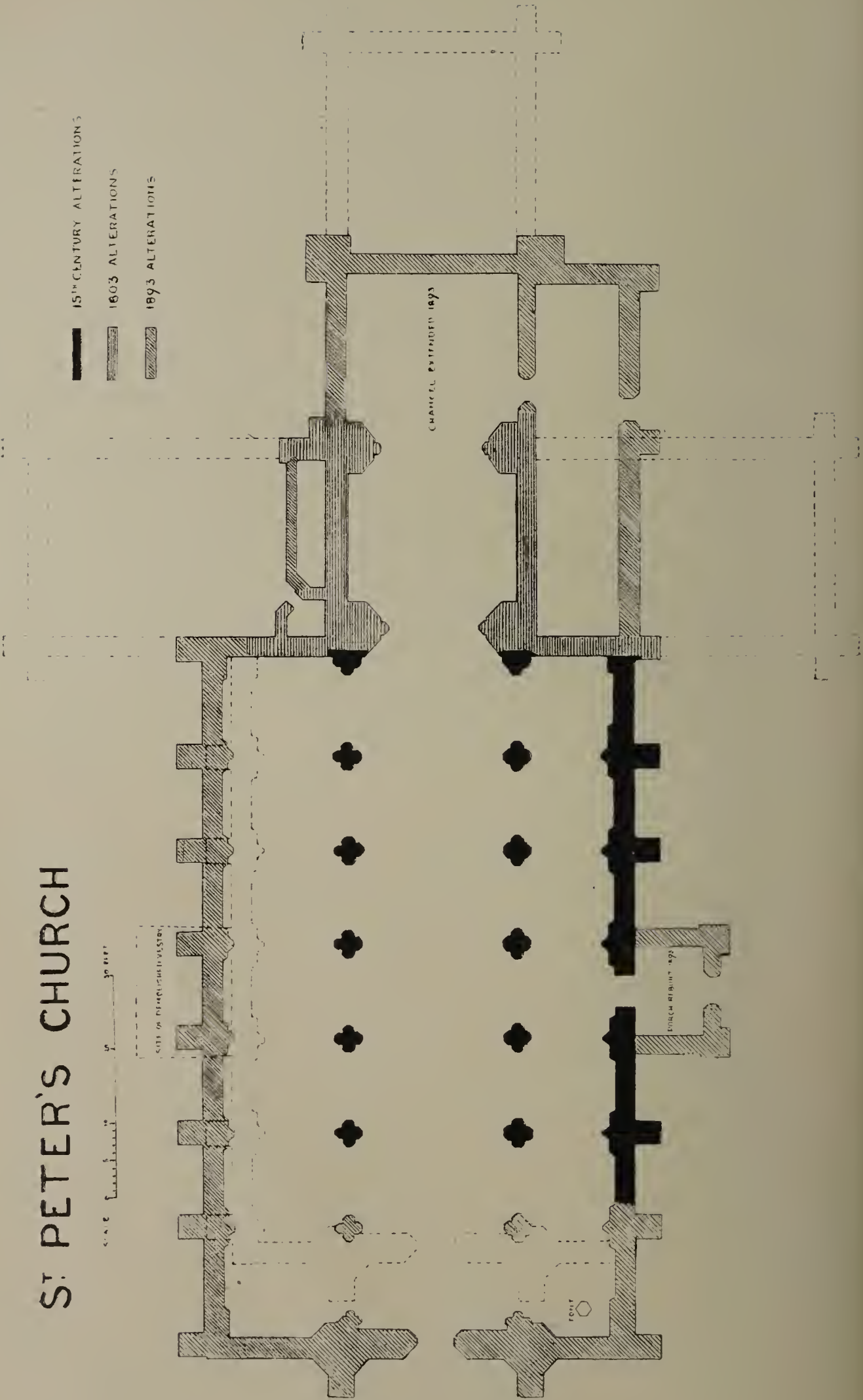
SCALE 1" = 30 FT.

SITE OF DEACONAGE

CHANCEL EXTENDED 1893

TOURCH REPAIRS 1893

FOUNT



St. Peter's Church, St. Albans.

By W. CAREY MORGAN, ESQ.



OLD ARMOUR, ST. PETER'S.

HE founder of the Church of St. Peter at St. Albans was Ulsinus or, to give him his Saxon name, Ulsig. He was the sixth Abbot of the great Monastery of St. Albans, and governed here in the reign of King Etheldred, A.D. 950. Ulsinus built a church upon each of the main roads to his Monastery,

St. Michael's to the West, St. Stephen's to the South, and St. Peter's to the North. This Abbot and founder of churches appears to have been a strong as well as a good man, securing from his sovereign confirmations of all former grants and privileges, and exercising his great resources and influence for the benefit of the town and district.

No record exists affecting St. Peter's for nearly 200 years after its foundation. During this period ten Abbots reigned and passed, but between A.D. 1119-1146, Geoffrey de Gorham, the 16th Abbot, according to Matthew Paris, "gave the Church of St. Peter to the Infirmary of the Monastery for medicines for the sick." I take it that the effect of the Abbot's gift was simply an appropriation by him to the infirmary of the great tithes. Clutterbuck states that the advowson of the Vicarage continued in the Abbot and Convent until the dissolution, upon which it came to the crown, and was granted to Sir Nicholas Bacon and Thomas Skipworth in 1544,* and came in the time of Queen Elizabeth to

* Pat. Roll, 36. Hen. VIII., p. 27.

the Bishop of Ely and his successors. To this Bishopric the advowson continued to belong until the present century, when it passed to the Lord Chancellor.

Mr. Kinneir Tarte, in his interesting article upon St. Peter's Church, published in the *Hertfordshire Illustrated Review* in 1893, tells most of what is known—chiefly from the writings of Matthew Paris—about the Church in mediæval times. Mr. Tarte says:—Godfrey, Bishop of St. Asaph, consecrated an altar in honour of St. Nicholas, in the time of Abbot Robert de Gorham, and on December 26th, 1215, at the request of Abbot William de Trumpington, Thomas, Bishop of Down, dedicated the churchyard. This, it will be noted, was in the year after the removal of the Interdict; probably this was an enlargement, for burials had taken place in churchyards since about 758. Large numbers of persons were buried in the churchyard in 1247, when a pestilence swept over the town. A great calamity occurred on the vigil of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary in 1254, for, during a thunderstorm, the tower was struck by lightning, the oak timber work at the top being shivered and destroyed; and, it is further related, that an intolerable stench and smoke was left in the tower and church. Building was evidently going on between the years 1335-1349, for the parishoners cut down certain trees in the churchyard, which were valued at twenty-five shillings, for the use of the work at the church. These people were promptly excommunicated by sentence of the Archdeacon, for doing this without the licence of the Rector, but, fortunately for them, pardon was granted, on being submissively asked for. A similar irregularity took place in the time of Abbot Thomas de la Mare (1349-1396), and was again repressed.

A carved cross was erected in 1342, in the churchyard, by Master Roger de Stoke, a clockmaker, which he had executed himself on successive Fridays while fasting. This cross existed as late as 1533, being mentioned in the Will of John Laverock of that date. It apparently gained considerable notoriety from the fact that miracles were worked at it, and consequently it became a means of drawing offerings. William Puffe, who was vicar at this time, was judged by the Consistory Court to pay a fine of forty shillings to the Infirmarer for having

appropriated these oblations. It is unfortunate that, during the rebellion headed by Wat Tyler, 1380, the books of the Vicar of St. Peter's, were burnt by the rioters. Richard II., attended by Judge Tresilian and 1,000 soldiers, visited the town to try the delinquents, and many of the townsmen were executed.

As early as the beginning of the 15th century, and probably very much earlier, there existed in the churchyard of St. Peter's, besides the cross of Roger de Stoke, two small chapels and probably a small hermitage for an anchoress. One of the chapels known as the Charnel Chapel dedicated to All Saints, and which appears to have been under the special protection of a local guild, known as the "Guild of All Saints of the Charnell," was situated in the south-west corner of the churchyard. The site of this chapel has been identified by Mr. Gibbs and by Mr. Page, who have found in the western boundary wall of the churchyard clear indications of the return wall which formed the northern side of the chapel; the width of the chapel seems to have been about 11 feet. It has not been possible at present to determine the length of it, but probably it extended in an easterly direction, almost to the present south gates of the churchyard.

The other chapel was known as Cornwall's Chapel, and was dedicated to the Holy Cross, and probably adjoined Roger de Stoke's Cross. Cornwall was no doubt the name of the founder of the Chapel, but I have not been able to find any record of him. It is impossible to fix the precise site of this chapel, but in some references to it, it is called the "West Cross" instead of the "Holy Cross," and this appears to indicate a site to the west of the church. It was apparently re-built in 1488 (Archdeacon of St. Alban's Wills, Wallingford, fol. 54).

During the 15th century, numerous parishioners whose wills may still be read at Somerset House, gave legacies to both these chapels. Thus we find that John Reykyndon by his will in 1416, gives a legacy to "the fabric of the Chapel of the Charnel." John West in 1424, gives a legacy to "the Chaplains of the Charnel and the fabric thereof." During the following years, Mr. Page has traced no fewer than eleven

wills containing legacies to the fabric and priests of the Charnel Chapel. Richard Herryer in 1466 is very specific in his description. He gives a legacy "to the repairs of the Chapel of All Saints, called the Charnel Chapel of St. Peter's churchyard." By his will dated 1448, John Wagstaff desired that his body might be buried in St. Peter's churchyard "at the first entry thereof by the Chapel of the Charnel there," which gives a clue to the position of this Chapel; and in the Churchwarden's accounts, to which further allusion will be made later, there is a reference under date of 1586 to a desperate—or as we should now say a doubtful—debt due to the Church by the executors of one John Nunnye, who had bequeathed 11*s.* 8*d.* "unto the maintenance of the Corner Chapel," and in 1495, Robert Stodeley directs in his will that he should be buried opposite the "Corner" Chapel in St. Peter's churchyard. In 1517 John Green bequeathed a legacy to the new building of the Charnel Chapel. I find that in a vestry order dated 7th August, 1751, the churchwardens were directed "to have the wall from the church gate to the corner by the highway taken down to a proper height, and to fix on it such pallasades as Jasper Borradale Esquire hath offered to give for the same." The wall to which this order relates would be in the precise position occupied by the south wall of the Charnel Chapel, and it may well be that the wall so taken down or lowered at this time was the last remaining wall of the Chapel on that side.

As regards Cornwall's Chapel, Johanna More, in 1440, gave a legacy "for repairs of the Chapel called Cornwayle Chapel." By his will dated 14th February, 1458, William Datis directed that he should be buried in St. Peter's Churchyard "by the cross of Cornwayle, otherwise called the West Cross." John Purchas in 1459 directed that he should be buried "near the Chapel of the Cross, called the Rood of Cornwaile." Edward Westby (no doubt the same Edward Westby who gave shelter in his house* to King Henry VI. at the time of the second battle of St. Albans), in 1471 gave a legacy to the lights of the Holy Cross, and Edward Bensted two years later gave a legacy "for the repairs of the

* Hall Place, now occupied by Miss Lydekker.

Chapel of the Holy Cross of Cornwaylle" as well as to the Chapel of the Charnel, and in 1488 John Tanner left money for the new building of "Cornwelle Chapel." In the Churchwarden's accounts under date 1588, there is a note that it is "agreed that William Moore, Vicar of St. Peter's towards the repair of the vicarage house, shall take down the stone house now standing in the churchyard so as he do sufficiently repair and amend the churchyard wall where it is now decayed." It seems not improbable that the stone house so removed was what then remained of Cornwall's Chapel.

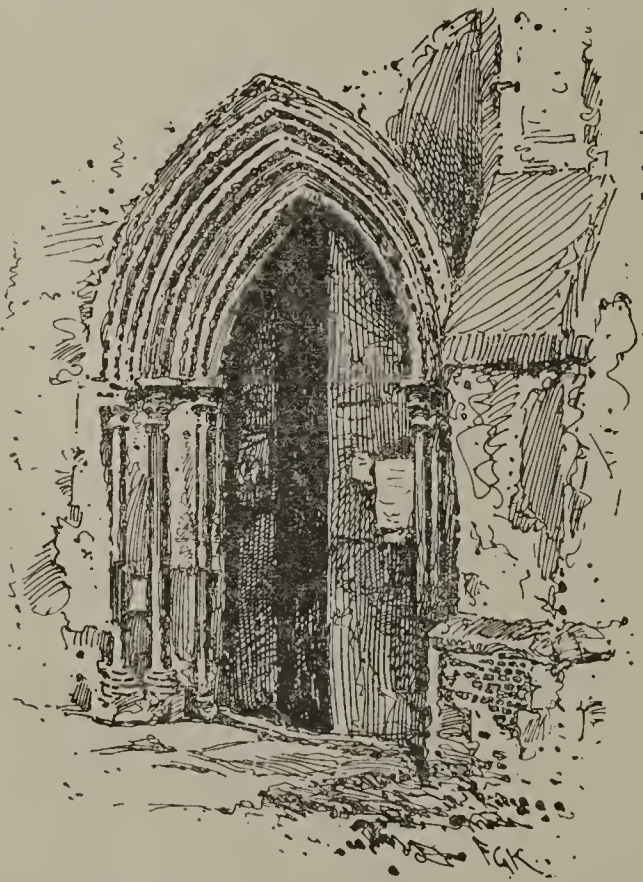
As early as the time of Abbot John de Hertford (1235-1260) there was an anchoress in St. Peter's Church. In 1258, the lady occupying this position, we are told, had a vision in which she saw an old man with a long beard climb to the top of the tower, and heard him cry out "Woe! Woe! Woe! to all the inhabitants of the earth!" Consequent upon this displeasing communication from the unseen world, it is said there was a great famine in the land, in which 15,000 persons died in London alone.* In 1410, Alice, anchoress of St. Peter's, was received into the fraternity of St. Alban's Abbey † and in 1458, Henry VI., while staying with all his Court at the Abbey, paid a visit to the anchoress here. ‡ The Wills of the Archdeaconry of St. Albans to the end of the 15th century show that there continued to be an anchoress residing within the church precincts, and bequests are constantly made to her. It is difficult to understand what could have been the attraction for this position of anchoress. The inmates of an anchorage were usually admitted by the Bishop, but at St. Peter's the anchoress was admitted by the Abbot of St. Alban's. Some of the anchoresses appear to have lived by a rule called the Aneresse Rule, but they fully retained their civil rights. It is evident, however, that the position was one much sought after, as we find that in 1479 or 1480, King Edward IV., Queen Elizabeth his consort, and many of the Peers of the Realm petitioned Abbot Wallingford to admit Elizabeth Katherine Holsted as anchoress, which he did. ‡

* *Gesta Abbatum S. Albani*, I., 388.

† Cott. MSS., Nero, D. 7.

‡ *Registrum Abbatis Johannis de Wheathampstede* (Roll Series) II., 202.

What was the precise position of the anchoress' residence, we do not know, but in the will of Robert Gowler, dated 18th August, 1456, it is described as within the precincts of St. Peter's churchyard, which would lead one to suppose she had a small house in the churchyard, probably not attached to the church, within which house was probably an oratory; and I think it exceedingly likely that this was the small Chapel of St. Appollonia, constructed in St. Peter's churchyard, towards the repair of which Ralph Tremylyn, in 1479, left a legacy of 20*d.*, and to which William Hawse left a like sum in 1524.



WESTERN DOORWAY OF ST. PETER'S CHURCH
BEFORE THE ALTERATIONS OF 1893.

With regard to the fabric of the Church, it may be said that of the Saxon Church built by Abbot Ulsinus in the latter half of the 10th century we have no knowledge, but that this Church, or the principal part of it, was re-built in less than 200 years is clear from the quantity of late Norman moulded stones which were found during Lord Grimthorpe's recent alterations. We have hardly more

information about the Norman Church than we have of the Saxon, although it seems likely, judging from the evidence of the 13th century Western door, which existed up to the time of Lord Grimthorpe's alterations, that a part of the Western end was re-built during the 13th century. It is difficult from the old sketches we have of the tower and Eastern portion of the Church, to arrive at any very definite conclusion as to the date of these parts of the Church before they were re-built at the beginning of the present century.

The wills of persons dying in the parish during the 15th century, show by the bequests of sums to the fabric, that repairs were then in hand, and from the architectural indications, it seems clear that the nave was entirely re-built from the foundations, excepting the west and south doors, at the end of that century. It will be noticed that the bases of the north and south nave arcades differ slightly, the southern side being probably the older. The nave arcade is a good specimen of its period, the clerestory windows, which have been re-built of a larger size by Lord Grimthorpe, were peculiarly low, and each light appeared to be cut out of one piece of stone. The church, down to the beginning of the present century, consisted of a nave with north and south aisles, transepts and chancel, the entrances being on the north, west and south sides. The vaulting shafts on the north and south aisles indicate an intention to have erected a groined roof. The south transept probably formed the Lady Chapel, and among the bequests in the wills of the early part of the 15th century, before mentioned, are several items referring to a painting to be executed in this Chapel, and we find from the Churchwarden's accounts that the Chapel was repaired in 1624 under the name of "the South Chapel."

In the north transept was probably the altar of St. John the Baptist, where services were held of the guild of that name which existed in the church during the 14th century, but which was dissolved at the time of the Wat Tyler rebellion. There are references in the wills for the Archdeaconry of St. Albans to the *pulpitum*, or rood loft which crossed the chancel arch, and to lights before the images of the Rood or crucifix, and the figures of the Virgin and St. John, which were placed on either side of it. Besides the high altar, of course dedicated to St. Peter, and near to which was probably the picture of St. Peter mentioned in the will of Richard Boydekyn, we have mention of the altars of the Holy Trinity and St. Giles, but the position of these, cannot, from our present information, be fixed. There were in the Church many images, a term used both for paintings and sculptured figures. Of these we have St. Christopher, which was probably a painting in the nave where it would be easily seen, for according to the legend,



ST. PETER'S CHURCH, BEFORE THE ALTERATIONS OF 1803, FROM THE EAST.



ST. PETER'S CHURCH FROM THE SOUTH, BEFORE THE ALTERATIONS OF 1803.

From Sketches in Baskerfield's Collection at the British Museum.

whoever set eyes on St. Christopher need fear no ill for the remainder of the day, and Mr. Keyser tells us there was hardly a church in England that had not a painting of this saint. There were also images of St. Thomas of Canterbury, a painting of whom was most popular in this country, St. Nicholas the bishop, St. James, St. Clement the pope, St. Mary Magdalene, St. Osyth the Virgin, St. Ursula the Virgin, the Blessed Mary of Pity, St. John the Baptist, St. Erasmus the bishop, St. Giles the Abbot, the Blessed Henry, king and martyr, (*i.e.* Henry VI.), and St. Catherine.* There are still the remains of some fifteenth century mural decorations of single oak leaves in red, on the vaulting shafts in the south aisle.

The windows of the North aisle contain what remains of the ancient coloured glass, with which formerly the Church seems to have been well endowed. The only figure, however, still intact, is the head and half the body of an Ecclesiastic of probably the 15th century. This will now be found in the 3rd window from the West. The glass in the remaining windows, has, during past and recent restorations been so hopelessly mixed and jumbled, that it is impossible to trace any design whatever in it. Heads, legs, buildings, armorial bearings and helmets are intermingled in hopeless confusion. It is much to be regretted that some attempt was not made, while the Church was recently in the hands of contractors, to preserve and restore these very interesting relics. Possibly even now, a skilled hand might restore the fragments to some sort of order.

In the year 1888, the Rev. H. Fowler read a paper to this Society recording an examination which he had recently made of this ancient glass. The paper was never permanently recorded, and I therefore give the following extracts from it.

Speaking of the most Eastern window, Mr. Fowler says—"in the cusped head of the light, is a small figure of an Ecclesiastic, holding in his left hand a model of a church; his right hand is raised in an attitude of benediction. This no doubt represents the Saxon Abbot Wulsin or Ulsinus, the founder of the Church. This picture has a border checky charged with horseshoes.

* These are taken from the Wills of the Archdeaconry of St. Albans.

This is heraldic. The horseshoe border denotes, I believe, that the glass was given by a person bearing the surname of Ferrers. A family of that name possessed land in the parish at an early period. The Book of Benefactors of the Abbey records that John Ferrers, seneschal to Henry, Earl of Warwick, was admitted to the fraternity, and gave 10s. of annual rent, arising out of four tofts, situate in New-lane, in St. Peter's parish. The entry, however, is undated. His wife, Agatha, was a daughter of Adrian Brekespere, of Langley. In 1487, William Victor, by his will directs that his body be buried in St. Peter's Church before St. Christopher, near the grave of Edward Ferrers, his wife's brother, and a Thomas Ferrers, bailiff of St. Albans, was admitted to the monastic fraternity in 1493. It is highly probable that a member of this family was the doner of the glass. The interesting fact that the shield of Edmund de Langley exists in one window, has been pointed out by Mr. K. Tarte. These interesting relics of ancient glass are well worth examination."

The figure of Abbot Wulsin, I regret to say, I cannot now trace in any of the windows.

In the later years of last century the old glass was examined by Salmon and also by Pridmore. The MS. and sketches of the latter, in the possession of Baroness Dimsdale, show that at that period there was old coloured glass in the windows both North and South aisles.

Pridmore mentions that one window of the North aisle contained the head of Abbot John Wheathampstead, and the MS. contains a sketch of the head which exactly corresponds with the head of the Ecclesiastic, which, as I have already mentioned, is the only complete figure still intact. In a MS. note to the sketch is the following remark—"Painted glass in one of the windows of St. Peter's, by tradition said to be the portrait of John de Wheathampstead, the 33rd Abbot—the initial letter J with a crown over it, repeated upon his garment, gives some probability to the account."

The Pridmore MS. describes some of the old glass in the window of the South aisle as follows:—"The most Eastern window has some figures partly broken, but it seems a distribution of bread. One figure seems



*From a Sketch in Jones' "Illustrations of Hertfordshire," in the
M.S. Department, British Museum.*

coming with a basket of loaves on his shoulder, some of the others have them in their hands. In the next window is what Salmon describes as the murder of the King of the East Angles, but if he had inspected closer he would have found it to be that of Amphibalus. The other window on the South side represents burning a heretick and heretical books, but the particulars of none of the representations but that of Amphibalus is clear."

Since this portion of my paper was read to the Society, it has come to my knowledge that sketches of three of the old glass windows are to be found in the MS. department of the British Museum, in a MS. collection known as Jones' Illustrations of Hertfordshire. The subjects depicted in these sketches are somewhat gruesome, and as they do not contain details of the leading of the original windows, the sketches are perhaps not so valuable to the Archæologist as they would otherwise have been. There can however, be no doubt that as mere sketches they are fairly accurate. I have succeeded in tracing distinctly in the fragmentary glass now remaining in the windows, many portions of the sketches, and I cannot help thinking that with their aid, the glass of two at least of the old windows might be restored to something like its original state.

The church and parish records consist mainly of churchwardens' accounts from the year 1572 to the present time, vestry order books between 1711 and 1802, and between 1852 and the present time, registers of marriages, baptisms and burials, commencing in 1558, and extending almost continuously from that year until the present time.

The churchwardens' accounts and the vestry order books contain a mass of interesting information.

The first item of interest in the accounts is dated in 1573, the 15th year of Queen Elizabeth, and is as follows: "Paid to the ringers at coming of the Queen through the town unto Gorhambury."

In the year 1577 occurs the following entry: "To the ringers when the Queen's Majesty came to the Bull, 9s." "For ringing two days at the Queen's Majesty last being here, 5s. 4d."

Upon the occasions of these visits the Queen was the guest of her trusted Lord Keeper, Sir Nicholas Bacon,

at the house, of which the ruins still exist, in Gorhambury Park.

The next entry consists of an interesting inventory of goods remaining in the church at the same period. The inventory may be valuable to the student of the history of the ornaments of the rubric, and I therefore note the existence of it for his benefit. In the earlier years of the reign of Edward VI., inventories were made by royal command of Church goods throughout the kingdom, and the inventory taken of the goods at St. Peter's church still exists. It is printed at length in Mr. Cussan's book on "Church Goods in Hertfordshire." A comparison of this list with the list in the churchwardens' accounts shows that St. Peter's parish did not, during Edward VI.'s reign, escape what Dr. Jessop calls "the great plunder," of that period.

The accounts contain many interesting items in connection with church literature and furniture.

In 1583 occurs a charge of 35s. 6*d.* for a Bible, and the Injunctions; also 2s. 6*d.* for bosses and a chain and hook and silk for the Bible. The practice of chaining the Bible to the desk was continued well on into the following century, for in 1625 we find a charge of 8*d.* "for mending the clasp of the book and chain."

Through the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries there are many charges for hour glasses for the pulpit.

In 1586 the books in use in the church appear to have consisted of "2 new Bybles bossed and clasped, one a folio the other a quarto, a Communion Book, a new Psalter, the psalmes pricked (that is, set out for music), in four parts, two volumes of Homilies," and last, but by no means least, "The Paraphase of Erasmus upon the Gospels."

In 1628 the sum of 2s. 4*d.* was paid at the time of the visitation of the ordinary for two books, one of prayer for the Queen, and the other an order for the people to put off their hats in time of divine service.

In 1618 the Ten Commandments and the King's Arms were, by order of the vestry, "set up at the east end of the church in a frame of timber covered with canvas." The King's Arms were, as appears from the accounts, carefully painted out in the days of the great rebellion, and as carefully painted in again at the Restoration.

In 1685 a payment was made "for a frame for the King's order (which was posted up in the church) touching the time for his healing the evill." As is well known, from the time of Edward the Confessor down to that of Queen Anne, the English kings and queens claimed the power of curing scrofula by Royal touch. The practice is said to have reached its greatest height in the time of Charles II., and upwards of 90,000 persons are said to have been touched between 1660 and 1682. The strong good sense of William III. stopped the practice in his time, but Queen Anne revived it, and amongst others touched Dr. Samuel Johnson, without, however, effecting any cure in his case at least. The prayer books of her reign contain a special service for regulating the ceremony.

There are a number of entries in the churchwarden's accounts, which carry one in thought to many a memorable event in the history of the last three centuries. These entries mainly record payments for ringing the bells, or for the purchase of books of special prayers. Amongst other events thus recorded is THE EARTHQUAKE OF 1580, when part of St. Paul's and of the Temple Church fell in. The churchwardens have a charge for "four books for the earthquake." These were no doubt special forms published by ecclesiastical authority for a national humiliation in connection with this calamity. The arrest of the notorious ANTHONY BABBINGTON and his associates (who conspired the assassination of Queen Elizabeth and the establishment of Mary Queen of Scots as Queen of England) was the occasion of a joyous peal of bells in 1587. The defeat of the SPANISH ARMADA finds a record in 1589, by payments made to the bellringers, and to "W. Grimsell, the paritor, for a note by him brought to ring for our good success against the Spaniards." "Paid to ringers at that time, 4s. 8d."

Again in 1593 and 1597 occur charges for what appear to have been special forms of prayer "for the navy" and "for the good success of Her Majesty's Navy."

The bells were rung and faggots were lighted at the parish expense in 1658 upon the PROCLAMATION OF THE

LORD PROTECTOR. This was the unambitious Richard Cromwell (son of Oliver) who resigned a few months after his proclamation.

A peal was rung in 1659 when General Monk came into the town immediately before the RESTORATION of Charles II., and in 1660 the ringers were again rewarded on the day the "King's Majesty was crowned."

In 1666 there was a peal for "two victories against the Dutch."

In 1683 there is an item of money paid for "a book of thanksgiving for deliverance from the late plot." This refers to the RYE HOUSE PLOT for the assassination of Charles II. on his way to Newmarket.

In 1685 the ringers were pealing the bells for "victory in the West against the Rebels." This refers to Monmouth's rebellion and King James II.'s victory at SEDGEMOOR.

In 1690 the bells were celebrating the victory of THE BOYNE, and again in 1706 Marlborough's victory at RAMILLIES. His earlier and more famous victory at Blenheim is, however, unrecorded in the church annals.

In 1739 the nation went mad over the SPANISH WAR. The declaration of war was wildly greeted from a thousand steeples, including St. Peter's—a war, it will be remembered, to which the great minister Sir Robert Walpole was forced by popular pressure to consent against his better judgment. "They may ring their bells now" the great minister said bitterly, "but they will soon be ringing their hands,"—a prophecy which was fulfilled.

The descent upon the country from Scotland by the Young Pretender in 1745, apparently found no favour in the parish, for the church bells rang in joy for his defeat at CULLODEN, and again on the day appointed for a public thanksgiving for "the defeat of the rebels."

In 1695 a payment was made for "a book of thanksgiving for the King's safe delivery from assassination." This refers to SIR JOHN FENWICK'S JACOBITE PLOT for assassinating King William III. at Richmond.

On the 3rd October, 1798, we find THE BATTLE OF THE NILE recognised thus: "Paid ringers for Lord Nelson's victory over the French." The date is worth noting—3rd October—the date of the battle was 1st

August. It took upwards of two months for the news to travel home from a locality from which in these days, even without the aid of the telegraph, news would reach us in a few days only.

The bells rang for the proclamation of PEACE IN 1814, when the allied armies were in Paris, and Napoleon was in banishment at Elba, but it is noticeable that the two greatest victories of all, 'Trafalgar and Waterloo, find no reflection in the churchwardens' accounts. 'This may be accounted for in the case of Trafalgar by the sorrow of the country for the death of its hero outweighing the joy in his victory. In the case of Waterloo may we not believe that the ringers scorned to take fees from their churchwardens for the crowning mercy of this victory ?

The Church records are again very interesting during the period of the conflict between Charles I. and the Parliament, and reveal the dominant Puritan spirit of the parish at that period. On this part of my subject, I have taken the liberty of making very free use of Mr. A. E. Gibbs' notes.

In 1634 a payment is recorded "for a book of liberty that was read in the church." I have been a good deal puzzled what this "Book of Liberty" could have been, and have come to the conclusion that it was the "Book of Sports," which was issued by King James I., in 1617, for the regulation of Sunday amusements. While prohibiting bull and bear-baiting and bowls, it expressly gave liberty (hence the name "Book of Liberty") for dancing, archery, leaping, maypoles, and other recreations. James ordered this book to be read in church by the clergy, but there was an outcry, and the order was withdrawn. His son, Charles, in 1633, not only directed the re-publication of his father's declaration, but, with the help of Laud, *insisted* on its being read by the clergy. As the entry in question occurs in the following year, 1634, it can hardly, I think, be doubted that the "Book of Liberty" which the churchwardens paid for, to be read in the church was the same book as that which has come down to us under the title of the "Book of Sports."

In 1628, Anthony Smith was appointed Vicar of St. Peter's, and he held the living for some years. He was a pluralist, and one of the "scandalous ministers" who were ejected by the committee appointed by the Long Parliament. He seems to have been the cause of unpleasantness in the parish in 1635, for the accounts show that there was some trouble about the Communion Table, which entailed an outlay of 2*l* 16*s*.

There is also an item of expenditure for a "book which had been issued by Royal authority about the plague, which Mr. Smith *would have*"—an expression which indicates that that Churchwarden was making up his accounts in a decidedly irritable frame of mind.

Mr. Smith ate his visitation dinner regularly at the expense of the parish, and the feeling against him grew stronger as time went on. One of the first entries in a book of accounts, commencing 1640, is a copy of a petition which the parishioners sent to both Houses of Parliament. They state that the Vicar is a pluralist, a non-resident, and stands charged with divers crimes, and that the Bill against pluralists having been passed, he is compelled to resign one of his benefices. They learn that he is about to give up the living of St. Peter's, of which Matthew Wren, Bishop of Ely, a supporter of Archbishop Laud, was the patron. They are afraid that the Bishop will put in another unpopular Vicar, and they therefore met on Sunday afternoon, on the 1st May, 1642, and signed these petitions, asking the protection of the two Houses. Fifty-seven of the parishioners, including the three churchwardens, attached their names, and they appointed Colonel Alban Coxe, of Beaumonts (who was afterwards a friend and strong supporter of Oliver Cromwell), and Philip Oxton, of Nast Hyde, to represent them. The Parliament was at this time beginning to feel its power and was setting the king and his advisers at defiance. They at once granted the request of the parishioners.

A copy of an order is entered, in which the Lords in Parliament direct the Bishop of Ely not to "put in any minister into the vicarage of St. Peter's aforesaid, but such as this House shall approve and like of." There is also entered a resolution directing that the cost of the petition should be borne by the parish. We find that

counsel was paid 11s. for drawing the petition against Mr. Smith to the committee for Scandalous Ministers, and 3s. for the petition to the two Houses, and "Master Cox" received 15s. 6*d.* for the order of Parliament above referred to. So Mr. Anthony Smith was ejected, and at a vestry held on the 25th of February, 1643, "Mr. Rathborne, who hath sometimes taught in this parish" was desired to officiate as Vicar, it being stipulated that he should reside amongst his flock. The Covenant was at this time engrossed on a parchment roll, at a cost of 2s. 6*d.* The extremes to which men rushed in this time of excitement are shown by the wanton destruction of works of art which were supposed to contain Papistical allusions. This is illustrated by the payment of 5s. "to the man that came to take off the Popish sentiments from the graves and windows." A man was sent throughout the country to cut off such words as "Pray for the soul of" from tombstones, and any allusions to the Blessed Virgin, or indeed anything else that displeased his sour Puritanism. This wretch is responsible for a great deal of terrible iconoclasm. Coloured windows were smashed, brasses were mutilated, grave stones were defaced, and all manner of irreparable mischief was done.

Anthony Smith, referred to above, was not the only Vicar of the parish whom the parishoners endeavoured to remove. There was an earlier Vicar in 1592-3—one William Moore—who incurred their resentment, as the following entries show:—

"For churchwardens' exps. to London to remove the Vicar, 12s. 10*d.*

"For 2 horses to Hertford, to learn the truth of the Vicar's decease of Gaviston, his surgeon, 2s.

"For charges unpaid in the suit in the Consistory Court, against Vicar Moore, 38s."

To return, however, to the Commonwealth period, the accounts further show that the ringers were paid a special fee for pealing the bells "when the Bishops were put beside their votes in the House of Lords." It will be remembered that the Long Parliament, in the early period of its existence, deprived the Bishops of their votes in temporal matters. The rejoicings on that occasion did not, however, prevent the parish authorities

from ringing for the King when he subsequently visited the town in the same year, from which it is to be feared that circumstances forced upon the parishioners at that period, a system of judicious trimming.

The acute stage of the dispute between king and Parliament (which in 1643 had broken out into open hostilities) is reflected in the following entry: "Given to a soldier that came from Edge Hill, 5s."

On the 14th of June, 1645, the first period of the Great Civil War was ended by the decisive victory of Fairfax, Cromwell, and Ireton against the king and Prince Rupert, at Naseby. Five hundred officers and 5,000 men fell prisoners to the victorious generals. The prisoners were brought straight up to London, and in the following week were paraded (3,000 of them) through the streets of London, thronged with a triumphant multitude. St. Albans lies in the direct line between Naseby and London, and that some of these prisoners on their miserable march passed one or more days and nights in safe custody within St. Peter's Church, is shown by an entry in the accounts for that year, of a payment "for making clean the church when the Cavaliers lay there."

But the fight at Naseby, decisive for a time as it was, did not end the Civil War. The Royal party, though staggered by that blow, at length found themselves—or thought themselves—again strong enough to try conclusions with the victorious Parliament, and it was not until Colchester had been besieged and taken by Fairfax, after an obstinate and prolonged defence, that Charles' cause was hopelessly crushed. Then for the second time a multitude of prisoners fell into the hands of Fairfax. The minds of the victorious commanders were inflamed—to an extent which history condemns—against their prisoners, and numbers of them, after having been plundered even to their shirts, were marched westward to Bristol, and there the survivors of the march were sold as slaves for the West Indies, or for service in Continental armies. The direct line from Colchester to Bristol runs through St. Albans, and there is no doubt that a considerable number of these wretched prisoners were, in the course of their weary journey,



INTERIOR OF ST. PETER'S CHURCH, BEFORE THE ALTERATIONS OF 1893.
SHOWING THE WESTERN GALLERY AND ORGAN.

confined within St. Peter's Church. The fact is recorded by the churchwardens in hard, matter-of-fact words:—

“Paid for taking down the windows and removing the things out of the church when the Colchester prisoners lay there, 4s.”

“Paid to a man for making clean the church after the prisoners were gone, 7s. 6d.”

“Paid for nailing up the church door when the prisoners were there, 6d.”

“Paid a tax for bread and cheese for the prisoners, 9d.”

The ORGAN which now stands under the tower, and which, until the recent restoration stood in a gallery at the west end, was presented to the church by Dr. Packe, in the year 1723. It had formerly belonged to the Chapel Royal, at Windsor, and the crown which still rests upon the instrument attests its royal origin. The parish determined to build a gallery to receive their costly gift, and we find that on the 7th November, 1723, a general vestry assembled and ordered that “a gallery now erecting in ye said church, by voluntary subscriptions, be compleated and finish'd; to stand at ye west end of ye church, upon eight pillars, with a pair of stairs at each end. And also that an organ, giv'n to ye said church by Christopher Packe, M.D, with the new case now in making to it, to render ye said organ more usefull and ornamental, (which when finished will be about twenty feet in height, about ten feet in breadth, and about five feet in depth), be erected, and fix'd upon ye said gallery, built for that purpose, and be dedicated to ye honour of God and ye service of ye church for ever.”

It is evident that the parish were very pleased with themselves and their gallery; probably their satisfaction would not have been diminished even had they known that in less than five generations the taste of their successors would condemn their western gallery as no longer tending either to the honour of God or the service of the Church.

The BELLS of St. Peter's yield as beautiful a peal as exists in the county, and there is every reason to believe that the metal of which they are chiefly composed is the same metal as that of which the bells of the church were composed during the middle ages and previously.

In the year 1573, a payment was made by the churchwardens to one Samuel Taylor for repairing the great bell, and there are items for hanging and mending the clapper of the same bell. In 1605 a new treble bell was cast at a cost of 7*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*, and its arrival was celebrated by the expenditure by the churchwardens of 12*d.* in beer.

In the year 1628 the parish bells which up to that date had been four in number, were re-cast into five bells, at a cost of 26*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* They appear to have been re-cast on the spot, a pit being dug for that purpose. In a similar way one of them was re-cast three years later, and soon afterwards a sixth bell was added.

On the 4th of June, 1728, at a general vestry of the parishioners, it was ordered that "the six bells in their steeple, being all (except one) broken, crack'd, or otherwise maim'd, spoil'd, or useless, shall for the honour and ornament of God's house and the reputation and pleasure of the said parish, be now cast into eight bells, and have a propper quantity of new metal add'd to make them a compleat and musical sett."

Nothing appears to have been done under this order, for on the same day of the following year we find this order made by the vestry:—"That their six bells, being by frequent use and length of time become spoiled, and broke, or untuneable, shall be forthwith taken down and now cast into six new musical bells of the same weight as these are or as near as may be." The order proceeds to levy a rate for meeting this expense and to appoint a committee to make the necessary arrangements and enter into the necessary contracts.

At the same vestry a further order seems to have been submitted, but as (unlike all the other orders) no signatures are appended, I infer that it was not carried. This was the order proposed:—"The inhabitants and land-holders of the parish, out of due regard to the honour and ornament of God's house, and the reputation and pleasure of the said parishioners, being desirous of

having two new bells added to the six now ordered to be re-cast, and many of them being willing to contribute towards defraying that additional charge, we, whose names are hereunder written, do agree and order that two new bells be forthwith added to the six to be hung up in our steeple with them to make a tuncable set of eight bells."

This matter of the bells appears to have lain very near the heart of Dr. Robert Rumney (who for the long period of 28 years was vicar of the parish) for all the three orders are written out in his own neat and scholarly handwriting, and it is evident he took immense interest in the matter. That ultimately he got his way as regards the two new bells appears from "a peal of Bob Major" having been rung in December, 1729, by the Ancient Society of College Youths "on the augmentation of the bells from six to eight."

Of the eight bells thus re-cast or added in 1729, three are in the same state now as they were then, namely, the bells now numbered 3, 6 and 10.

No. 3 carries the following inscription in raised letters round its rim: "Purchased by subscription obtained by the Rev. Robert Rumney, D.D., vicar. R. Phelps made me, 1729."

No. 6 is inscribed, "R. Phelps fecit 1729."

No. 10, which is the big tenor bell, is inscribed: "R. Phelps made me in 1729. The Revd. Robert Rumney, Vicar, Wm. Kentish, Geo. Caufield, Wm. Esam, churchwardens. For casting these six bells Pierce Griffiths, Esq., Wm. Willis, and Samuel Dagnall were trustees and assistants to the said vicar and churchwardens for casting these six bells."

So much for the three old bells of 1729, now No. 3, 6 and 10.

Bell No. 5 was recast by John Warner and Sons, of London, in 1887, but the old legend on the bell of 1729 was repeated as follows:—"Intactum sileo percute dulce cano. R. Phelps Londinii me fecit 1729."

Bell No. 4 bears an inscription showing that it was re-cast by J. Bryant, of Hertford in 1812.

Bell No. 7 bears an inscription commemorative of the rebuilding of the tower in 1805, and gives the names of the Vicar and churchwardens, and the words, "J. Briant, Hertford, Fecit."

Two new bells, now Nos. 1 and 2, bringing the number up to ten, were added in 1787, apparently to celebrate the 24th year of the churchwardenship of Mr. Cornelius Nichols. The inscriptions on the bells state that they were raised by voluntary subscription, and also contain the legend, "J. Briant, Hertford, fecit, 1787." The first peal (of Treble Bob Royal) on the ten bells was rung in December, 1788, by the Ancient Society of College Youths.

Mr. Cornelius Nichols figures largely for a quarter of a century in the vestry books and accounts, and his large firm handwriting and signature attest a man of strong character and individuality.

Two more new bells, bringing up the number to 12, were added in 1868. These last were presented by Mr. John Lewis, whose services were acknowledged by a slab affixed to the belfry wall, and inscribed as follows:—
"John Lewis, of this parish, Nonconformist, added two bells to complete the peal of 12, and rang them on Tuesday, May 19th, 1868. He died on Wednesday, May 27th, 1868. H. N. Dudding, Vicar."

In the year 1833, the two bells last mentioned, and two of the 1729 bells, were removed by Messrs. J. Taylor and Co., of Loughborough, who in exchange for them erected two new bells, which are now in use and numbered 8 and 9, thus reducing the number from 12 to 10, at which number they still remain.

There appears to have been a dispute as to the boundaries between St. Peter's and St. Andrew's parishes in 1467, when the Vicar of St. Andrew seems to have done something akin to BEATING THE BOUNDS. (Wheat-hampstead II., 74).

I do not know when the general practice originated of making an annual perambulation of the parish boundaries, but the first references in the churchwardens' accounts to such perambulations occur towards the end of the 17th century. These perambulations—or processionings as they were called—seem to have been occasions of much rough joviality, as the following entries show:—

"1685.—Beer for those that went in procession on Ascension Day, 5s. 6d."

“For beer when we went in procession to Colney Heath, 6s. 4d.”

“1738. Paid expenses going part of bounds of the parish, 2l. 8s. 9d.”

“1743.—Paid at the Bell, when we went a processioning, 17s. 8d.”

That real business was occasionally done upon these processionings appears from the following entries:—

“1768. — Paid expenses on going a processioning with St. Michael's parish on a dispute, 17s. 5d.”

“Paid on settling the dispute with St. Michael's parish about Gombard's, *at the Angel*, 10s. 6d.” A very genial way of settling the dispute!

In the fly-sheet of the Vestry Order Book, commencing in 1762, I find a formal agreement between St. Peter's Parish and the Abbey parish regarding their common boundaries. The document is dated in 1764. Less than 150 years have elapsed since the bounds of the parishes were ascertained—as the document recites—“for ever,” but who would now undertake with certainty to trace the line laid down in it? The agreement is as follows:—“Whereas the meets and bounds of the parish of St. Alban and the parish of St. Peter, have by length of time, neglect of processioning, and other causes, of late not been sufficiently ascertained, from whence strife and discord may arise, now to settle and compose all dissensions, it is this day, being Monday in Whitsun week, agreed that the meets and bounds be henceforth and for ever deemed to be as follows:—viz., from the third post in Matthew Iremonger, Esq's. garden fence to a post at the corner of the Quaker's Burying Ground, then to a hawthorn bush in the hedge of a field called Jones Field, frome thence along the middle of the said hedge, to the place where an old pollard ash tree *stood*, and where a post is *to be* erected and from thence at an angle to the corner of lower Gombard.”

The document I have just read recites that the disputes about the bounds had been caused in part by “neglect of processioning,” but this neglect is certainly not reflected in the accounts. At London Colney, at least, the work seems to have been done thoroughly, if possibly after a somewhat roustering fashion. In that part of the parish the river Colne is the boundary, and

it seems to have been the practice to send a man into the stream to walk the boundary with the utmost exactness “in medio filo fluminis.” Such services as these were extremely arduous, and accordingly we find the following entry in May, 1773. “Paid at the Swan at Colney, on going a processioning, 10s. ; paid for a bottle of gin and a man going into the water, 3s. 6d. ; paid for the dinner at the White Horse, 3l. 4s. 10d.”

With the eighteenth century the good old phrase “processioning” passes out of use, and a new and less picturesque term, “perambulating” takes its place, and the practice itself soon afterwards disappears.

The vestry orders relating to the poor throw interesting light upon the almost savage character of much of the POOR LAW administration of former days. An order dated 8th February, 1775, appointing one Brown to be governor of the poor of this parish, after enumerating other emoluments, runs as follows: “That he (i.e. Brown) be further allowed for his trouble all the profits of the labour of all and every poor person within the said workhouse, and that a building be erected within the yard of the workhouse in order for the poor to work in—and be fenced—in order that the poor should not go or get out of the said yard.” So the wretched creatures were not only to be slaves, but prisoners!

An order, dated 2nd December, 1795, directs that the poor of this parish be immediately advertised *to be let* for one year; that Mr. Hill, the late contractor, do maintain and look after the poor on behalf of the parish till they are let; that he be allowed one guinea per week and the labour of those poor in the workhouse who spin yarn, for his trouble. So the poor were not only prisoners and slaves, but as such were practically bought and sold!

At an earlier period of the same century—in 1712—the vestry made an order that “all such boys as shall be taken breaking hedges and are under the parish care (kindly fostering care!) be forthwith sent to sea.”

The vestry entries for 1712 and 1713 contain evidence of the terms upon which the parish provided medical aid for the poor. Here are specimens—“Whereas

William Brace's wife being very ill, Mr. Page hath undertaken to cure her, and if he does make a cure to have one guinea, if not, nothing." "That Dr. Ruth be paid for a cure on John Nickols and Anthony Findall's daughter, two pounds." Some may regret that this excellent method of medical remuneration has in these days fallen into disuse.

For many years past, it has been felt in the parish that the condition of the CHURCHYARD of St. Peter's has been far from creditable and strenuous efforts are now being made—and with considerable success—to alter this state of things, and to make the churchyard orderly and beautiful.

I fear that during last century, too, the care of God's acre left much to be desired, for I find that in 1787 the vestry passed this order:—"That the present churchwardens are desired to inform the Rev. Mr. Doyley (the vicar) that the parishoners are dissatisfied with his cows running over the part of the churchyard where the graves are." Fifty years previously the churchwardens had made this entry in their accounts: "Paid for minding ye churchyard hog, 1s." There would, therefore, seem to be some evidence that the churchyard was in those days put to uses which would not now be tolerated.

Earlier still, in the middle of the 17th century, the churchwardens paid 8*d.* "for a bar to keep the horses out of the church porch." Horses may have been allowed to graze in the churchyard, but it is perhaps more probable that these were horses which had brought worshippers from distant parts of this very extensive parish, and which during divine service were grouped about the entrance to the church.

At a general vestry, held on the 20th April, 1802, John Emmett and others were elected churchwardens, but in the minutes of the succeeding vestry, held a week afterwards, we find the following entry: "A letter was received from John Emmett, Esq., desiring to decline the office of churchwarden, which he has a right to do,

having PROSECUTED A FELON TO CONVICTION within the parish," and another churchwarden was accordingly elected in his place. The entry is interesting as illustrating one of the methods adopted last century for promoting criminal justice. The connection between the office of churchwarden and the prosecution of a felon to conviction seems at first sight to be remote, but an explanation is afforded by an Act passed in the reign of William III. (10 and 11 William III., c 23). The Act recited that housebreaking was on the increase, and after enacting that all housebreakers should be deprived of benefit of clergy, proceeds further to enact "for the encouragement of those who vigorously endeavour the apprehending of such malefactors" that any person actually apprehending a housebreaker and prosecuting him to conviction shall receive from the judge a certificate exempting him from service in parish offices, and also enabling him to make an assignment to a third person of such right of exemption.

Some time ago, in searching old family papers, I found such an assignment to my great grandfather. I do not know what the office was the burden of which he desired to escape, but in his need he discovered someone who had captured a felon and who was willing to part with his immunities for the modest sum of 10*l*. I have brought to this meeting the certificate granted by the judge, and the assignment thereof to my great grandfather, for the inspection of those who are interested in such matters.

It seems clear, judging from our parish records and from the assignment referred to, that the good old practical act of William III. was no dead letter.

In the year 1756, the vestry determined that the then existing belfry should be taken down, and that a new and higher belfry should be erected. It appears that the floor of the original belfry was so low as to obstruct the perspective view of the church, and it was thought that if a new belfry was constructed with a higher floor, a full view would be obtained. Now, the original belfry floor rested against the four great piers which supported THE TOWER, and which were of solid masonry, but the

original builders had not carried the solid work so high as the place upon which it was now determined that the new floor should be fixed, but had built the upper portions with outside casings only, filling in the centre with rubble. The alteration was effected, with the result that the whole tower, by the violation of the principles upon which it had originally been constructed, was weakened.

In May, 1785, the liberties which had been taken thirty years previously with the tower and belfry produced their natural fruit. The main piers of the tower were seen to be getting into a dangerous state. The vestry accordingly directed "that the same be forthwith substantially repaired and amended, with a wall of underpinning, so far as the same are bad, and that estimates be given in by any of the bricklayers of St. Albans for doing the same."

From this period there commenced a struggle of some years' duration between the Vicar, the Archdeacon, and the better classes in the parish, who desired progress and safety, and those stubborn elements of passive obstruction within the parish which are common to all such communities.

The struggle is so typical and so human that I am tempted even at the risk of being tedious to tell the story at some length, as gathered from the vestry orders of the time.

In June, 1785, the vestry directed that the estimate for the underpinning of the tower was to include 16 pairs of "bond timber," $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet by 4 feet, and a cross side to every other pair."

The estimate of one William Agglinton was accepted, being the lowest. He seems to have been a working carpenter or bricklayer, and with him was associated a friend of his, one Daily, as an expert.

These fit associates having undermined the piers of the tower, prepared to set it on wooden legs. They dragged from London some huge baulks of memel pine (being the "bond timber" referred to in the Vestry order) and placed 9 upright timbers in each pier, and then surrounded them with brickwork separately, and afterwards walled round and covered with plaster these four piers, so as to make them look strong, massive

columns. No less a sum than 2,790*l* was wasted by these men, which the churchwardens raised by the sale of annuities charged upon the rates.

It goes without saying that a masonry tower supported on wooden legs could not have a long life. Accordingly we are not surprised to find that at a vestry meeting, held in 1790, the Vicar, the Rev. Thomas Doyley, called attention to the matter. On his motion it was ordered that a great London expert, Mr. Norris, surveyor to Christ's Hospital, be asked to inspect the four pillars of the tower and report thereon.

On the 3rd May, 1790, the great man delivered himself of the following oracular opinion, which rather reminds one of the opinion of Dr. Owl, recorded in the rhymes of our childhood, touching the death of Jenny Wren—"Dr. Owl then declared that the cause of her death, he really believed was the want of more breath"—Mr. Norris said: "I am of opinion that so long as the timbers used in the body of the piers remain sound and good, the tower may be safe, but should they decay, I doubt the tower's standing; am sorry to say from the appearance of some of the timbers that were exposed to view should fear they are proceeding to that state."

The vestry had just spent nearly 3,000*l*, and were as yet quite satisfied with their own performances, and those of Messrs. Daily and Agglington, their expert and contractor. Accordingly it is not surprising that when Mr. Norris's opinion was read (great man, as he undoubtedly was), the vestry found it "not sufficiently explicit or decisive," and they accordingly propounded questions to the great London expert. These are the questions and the replies—still oracular—which they elicited.

(1) How long may the timbers which support the tower continue sound enough to prevent it falling?—It is impossible to say for a certainty, but from the appearance of some parts that were visible in my survey, they appeared in a state of decay.

(2) Is the fall likely to be sudden?—I am of opinion not, as the timbers cannot decay with that equal exactness as to lose all their effect at one particular time.

(3) Is it safe for the parishoners to continue attending divine service?—I am of opinion that settlements will

continue to appear as the timbers decay, and when (they) continue to spread (it) may then not be safe for the parishoners to attend divine service.

The views expressed by Mr. Norris were quite enough for the vicar. He waited a week, and then recorded the following vigorous protest—based upon Mr. Norris's replies to the third question—

“The Vicar is sorry to be under the disagreeable necessity of informing the parishoners that the settlement in Saint Peter's tower piers, etc., are much spread and are spreading since Mr. Norris's last report, that a gradual decay is apparent, that several parishoners will not in future attend divine service in the said church till it is deem'd in a state of safety. Under these circumstances he thinks himself obliged, though most reluctantly, to discontinue the performance of divine service in the church, till he receives notice from the churchwardens it is in a proper state for the same. He recommends it to the vestry immediately to take into consideration the securing the body of the church, the aisles, and chancel, by taking down the bells, the top of the tower, etc., before it is too late; he likewise sincerely recommends *unanimity*.”

The vestry—after the inevitable adjournment from the church to the White Horse, an ancient hostelry still to be seen in St. Peter's Street near the Town Hall—passed, under the genial influence perhaps of the fare provided there, the following useful orders.

“That the defective parts of the piers in the church be immediately *plaistered*. That proper levels be taken of the tower, and in case from that it should appear that the same is actually in a state of danger, proper steps will be taken at a future vestry. This vestry are likewise of opinion that the towers and piers of the church are not in a worse state now than when Mr. Norris first surveyed it. And Mr. Daily, the surveyor under whose directions the church was repaired, is of opinion that it is now in as safe a state as when finished by him. That the bells be not rang till the tower is judged to be in a safe state, but the ringers be paid for the regular ringing days as though they had actually rung.”

The spirit of the vestry comes out clearly in the above

order—resistance to authority—an obstinate clinging to foregone conclusions:—setting up the opinions of Mr. Daily, who, with Agglington, had produced a great part of the mischief—and the determination that though the bells were stopped the ringers should be paid. All is characteristic of a popular body presenting passive resistance to improvement.

During the week which followed, an effort seems to have been made to induce the parishioners to follow their vicar's lead; the orders passed at the next meeting—held this time at the Bell and Crown, instead of the White Horse—were practically a repetition of those passed at the previous meeting.

It is recorded that on the 14th June, 1790, “the officers and parishioners did attend and inspect the taking down of the defective part of the plastering of the piers of the tower, and that they were of opinion and fully persuaded that the same is in a safe state, and it was ordered that the churchwardens do deliver the Rev. Mr. Doyley a copy of this order.”

It is further recorded that on the 5th July, 1790, “the levels of the tower showed no change, and that the piers showed no change, and it was ordered that the Rev. Mr. Doyley be informed accordingly.”

The Vicar, however, returned to the charge with a formal letter, which the vestry took into consideration, and determined to ask the London expert, Mr. Norris, and one Mr. Hopcraft, to make a further inspection, and also ordered Mr. Daily and the workmen on the former repairs to attend to be examined on oath.

At a vestry meeting held on the 4th August, 1790, Messrs. Norris and Hopcraft's report was read, condemning the tower.

The report was pretty definite, but the vestry would not yield. They could not, or would not, believe that their church could be otherwise than safe, and all that could be wrung from them was an order “that the churchwardens do write immediately to Messrs. Norris and Hopcraft to know if it will be safe to attend divine service, and whether *chiming* the bells for that purpose will be any detriment to the tower.”

I have not found the reply to these enquiries, but apparently they did not encourage the parishioners in

their opposition, for on the 12th August, 1790, the vestry ordered "that application should be made for an Act to borrow money to pay for taking down, rebuilding, or repairing the parish church, or any part thereof."

This looked very like submission, but two months later the parish was back again in its old form, utterly refusing to believe that there was danger of any kind. In this frame of mind, on 6th October, 1790, they ordered "that the ringers be not paid for the usual ringing days unless the bells be rung by them, and that they ring the same as has heretofore been customary."

The Vicar's answer to his incredulous parishioners seems to have been a discontinuance of divine service, for on the 27th October, 1790, at his visitation, Archdeacon Pott recommended the churchwardens "to put the church into decent repair, that divine service might be performed therein," and the vestry thereupon requested the churchwardens, "with any of the parishioners who choose to attend, to put the church into decent repair, agreeable to Mr. Archdeacon's recommendation, which when done to inform Mr. Doyley, our vicar, of the same, and that they do request him to perform divine service therein."

The vestry shrink from meeting the recommendation of so high a dignitary as the Archdeacon with a blank refusal, but the sullen and obstinate tone of the order clearly reveals the spirit that possessed them; accordingly when shortly afterwards Mr. Pembroke, the attorney who had charge of the bill, wrote to the vestry suggesting that he should be paid £200 on account of the expenses of the Act, the vestry ordered their clerk to write Mr. Pembroke "that they have considered of the same, and do desire him to stop all proceedings in obtaining the said Act until further directions."

Some months now passed, and the Archdeacon appears again to have pressed his views, but the parish remained defiant and unconvinced, for on 2nd February, 1791, it is recorded "that according to a letter laid before the vestry from the Rev. Mr. Pott, Archdeacon of St. Albans, to the Rev. Mr. Doyley, our vicar, on the state of our parish church, it is ordered that a letter be immediately wrote to Mr. Archdeacon acquainting him

that we *have put* the said church into safe and substantial repair, fit for divine service to be performed therein, and are willing to attend our vicar, whenever he pleases to perform divine service therein."

Mr. Archdeacon, however, nothing daunted, still tried persuasive measures, for on the 21st February, 1791, in consequence of a further letter from him, the vestry directed "the churchwardens to apply to an able architect to immediately inspect and report."

This time, however, the crafty parishioners seem to have secured an able architect after their own hearts. This was the report, signed by Messrs. Carr and Fisher, two London experts, which the vestry was able to submit to the Archdeacon:—

"We have carefully examined the four piers which support the tower of the church, and having laid before us the plan of the shores and manner of the oak ties and bases, fixed in the piers at the time of re-building them, and enquired of the workmen that fixed the same, the manner of their executing the said work, and have at the parts near the ground had holes cut in the piers, and holes bored into several of the shores, and find them perfectly sound. And we have no doubt but they will be capable of supporting the said tower, for at least seven years to come. We are also of opinion that at the period when the tower may fail that it will not be a hasty failure, but that many cracks and large caverns will first appear, and that for a considerable time before there will be any danger. We recommend holes to be cut near the ground and a hole bored through the shores with an inch augur, and that the wainscot be pierced full of holes with a small bitt to admit air to the said shores."

It must be confessed that the parishioners scored by this report. Mr. Archdeacon seems to have felt this, as he now practically retired from the battle, firing as his last shot the following diplomatic and sensible letter:—
 "Having received the surveyors' report concerning the state of St. Peter's Church, it appears to me that no immediate danger is to be apprehended. I am willing therefore to wait, more particularly as the late repair has been very expensive. . . . I am desirous that the Church should be opened for Divine Service, and have

given directions to the Vicar to order the bells to be chimed for that purpose, the prudent and commendable concern which the Rev. Mr. D'Oyly has shown for the safety of his parishioners deserves their most grateful acknowledgments, the very alarming appearances which took place fully justified his apprehensions. The most strict regard must still be paid to the levels on the tower, to prepare for the period of decay, which from the nature of fir timber cannot be very distant."

Mr. Carr's forecast of the life of the tower—seven years—was justified by events. In February, 1799, Mr. Carr was again asked to report on the tower, in company with Mr. James Lewis, surveyor to Christ's Hospital. They reported that the piers that supported the tower were in a dangerous state, and the timbers inserted therein greatly decayed, and that the tower ought to be taken down.

Upon the above report being laid before the vestry, they, on the 14th March, 1799, resolved "that this vestry agree with the surveyors' report on the dangerous state of the church tower, and that the same be taken down. Further, that the vestry taking into their consideration the heavy weight of the bells in the tower, resolved that the same *be sold*, except the two least, with the consent of the ordinary."

This resolution brought the vigilant Archdeacon promptly back into the battle, and good service he did for future generations in preserving for the parish its beautiful peal of bells. He wrote:—"It gives me much concern to find the sale of the bells proposed. I am aware that the goods of the church may be alienated, but I think very strong necessity should be shown for it. The motive alleged in the present case is not such as to incline me to signify my approbation, though my wish is to concur in anything which may promote the interests of the parishioners of Saint Peters."

On July 24th, 1799, the vestry resolved that the tower of the church be taken down to the top of the arches as soon as possible. The vestry further appointed a committee to carry this out, and afterwards directed that one of the bells be erected on the south turret of the west end of the church.

On October 21st, 1799, the committee reported that the purpose for which they were appointed was nearly executed, and the vestry resolved "that the opening caused by taking down the tower be covered over with feather-edged boards, and hip'd on the sides with flashes of lead, and that a screen be erected from the north-west to the south-west pillar, with a door in the centre to form an avenue to the chancel."

On December 4th, 1799, it was resolved that in consequence of the last-mentioned resolutions having been carried into effect, "it is the opinion of this vestry that the church is fit for the performance of divine service, and that the churchwardens are directed to inform the Archdeacon of the same."

Notwithstanding this expression of the views of the vestry, the vicar was still unsatisfied as to the safety of the remains of the tower, and refused to open the church for divine service, and so matters continued for seven long months, when yet another survey was held by an Essendon carpenter and a Berkhamstead bricklayer, who reported "that divine service might at all times be performed with the most perfect safety, without the smallest apprehension of danger, and that they had no doubt but it would continue in the same state for several years to come."

There is nothing in the books to show what took place upon this report; apparently the church *was* re-opened for divine service, but nothing was done towards further dismantling the tower or re-building it. It has been stated that on the 21st of November, 1801, the whole floor of the belfry fell down into the church, but what I suppose really fell was the upper portion of the remains of the tower, bringing down in its fall the temporary feather-edge board roof and screen which had been put up by the vestry. This final catastrophe at length aroused the parishioners to move seriously in the matter, and they again instructed a solicitor to apply for an Act of Parliament to enable them to raise the necessary funds for the work.

From this point, it is difficult, in consequence of the loss of the vestry order book of the period, to follow the narrative of the restoration of 1801 to 1803.



South View, prior to Lord Grimthorpe's alterations of 1893.

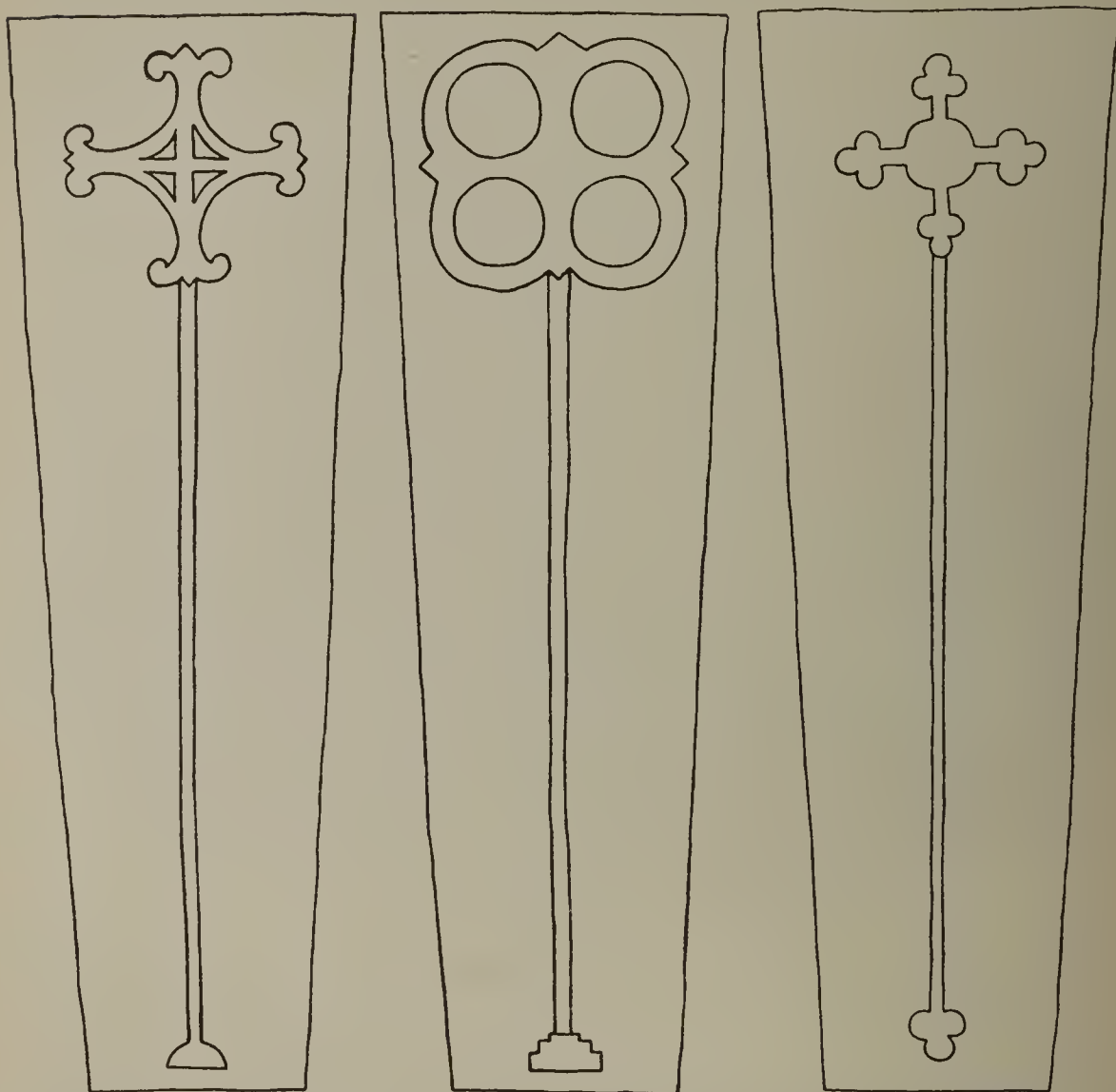


South View, after Lord Grimthorpe's alterations of 1893.



ST. PETER'S CHURCH BEFORE THE ALTERATION OF 1893 (FROM THE SOUTH-EAST).

We know that during these years an Act was passed, that the raising and expenditure of the necessary funds were, by the Act, put into the hands of special trustees, appointed for the purpose, that serious quarrels ensued between the parish and the trustees, that many thousands of pounds were expended, that the new tower, substantially of the height and appearance which it now presents, was erected, and that the transepts were removed and the chancel shortened, almost out of existence, but that in other respects the earlier work was left practically untouched. It was during this period that Pridmore visited the church. He mentions that many fragments of old gravestones, stone coffins, and pieces of carved mouldings, the relics of a former church, were found worked into the solid walls. He gives some sketches (which I have reproduced) of old stones thus found. They appear to be the lids of stone coffins.



STONE COFFIN LIDS found in the fabric of the Tower on the Restoration of 1802-4.
From a sketch in the Pridmore Collection in the possession of
Baroness Dimsdale, of Essendon.

In 1893, the church being in a dilapidated condition, Lord Grimthorpe generously undertook its restoration. He made considerable alterations in the fabric, as is well known, probably, to the members of this society. He lengthened the church by one bay westward, and carried the north aisle out four feet, inserting a rose—in place of a perpendicular—window at the west end, and putting in the present decorated—in place of the perpendicular—windows on the north side. He also lengthened the chancel, and did away with the old vestry on the north side, building new vestries against the tower and chancel on the south side, and he re-built the porch. Of the internal fittings he took down the



West Front, prior to Lord Grimthorpe's alterations in 1893-94.



West Front, after Lord Grimthorpe's alterations of 1893.

western gallery and removed the organ to the east end of the church. He strengthened the tower at the angles, and erected the present stone work in place of battlements.

A helmet* and some shackles are now hanging in the vestry of the church. These were dug up some years ago, on the north side of the church. The helmet belongs to the middle of the 16th century, and although originally intended for defensive use, has evidently been made up for mortuary purposes. There is every probability that it hung over the tomb of Sir Richard Lee, of Sopwell, who was a famous soldier in Henry VIII.'s reign, and received a large share of the spoils of the monasteries, especially those in this neighbourhood. He died in 1580, and was buried in the church. As to the shackles, nothing is known.

The length to which this paper has already extended precludes my dealing as fully as the subject deserves with the mural tablets, brasses, and gravestones, belonging or which have belonged, to the church. These must form the subject of a future paper. It is painful to think of the havoc wrought in the fine old gravestones formerly within the chancel and two transepts, which, when these portions of the old church were destroyed in 1803, were either broken up and used as building material, or ruthlessly thrown into the churchyard, and left exposed to the ravages of the weather and rough treatment. Amongst them is a fine old stone, inscribed in 1672, to Robert Robotham (one of the benefactors of the church), and bearing his arms, a stone inscribed in 1709 to William Dobyne, and bearing his arms, a stone of 1743, in memory of Dr. Robert Runney, vicar of the parish, and a stone inscribed in 1656 to Anne Jenyns, the daughter of Sir John Jenyns, of Holywell, and kinswoman of Sarah, the great Duchess of Marlborough. There is a monument in the churchyard to Richard Hale (another benefactor of the church), who died in 1716. The monument bears his arms, and he is described as Clerk of the Cheyke to William and Mary.

* See Sketch at the beginning of this paper.

Of the old brasses, three only (known as the Pemberton Brasses) now remain, and these have long been severed from their gravestones. They represent the figures of Roger and Elizabeth Pemberton, their three sons and three daughters. Roger Pemberton was the founder of the almshouses bearing his name in St. Peter's. He died in 1627. These three brasses were formerly accompanied by another brass bearing an inscription to the memory of Roger Pemberton.

By the munificence of Mr. Busick Pemberton, of Lincoln's Inn Fields, the Pemberton Brasses have recently been restored, and a new brass, bearing the old inscription, has been added, and all four brasses may now be seen upon the south wall of the church.

The monument and bust of Edward Strong, on the east wall of the north aisle, is worth special attention. Edward Strong was the master mason to whom next to Sir Christopher Wren, belongs the honour of erecting St. Paul's Cathedral. He resided at New Barns, and the monument is a beautiful specimen of the mason's art.

Every self-respecting church should boast at least one good epitaph, and such may be deciphered on the gravestone of Colonel Thomson, of the First Dragoon Guards, who died at New Barns in 1768 :—

“ Here Thomson lies, and in the silent tomb,
With humble hope awaits his final doom ;
And sure, *if* honesty *be* heaven's care,
Well may he hope to find admittance there.”

In the porch of the church is a stone, which was formerly in the north transept of the church, inscribed as follows :—

“ Under this stone where now your eye you fix, Ann Arris lies, who died in 66, æt 9 ;
John Arris, after her his exit made
In 82, and here is with her laid. Aged 8 years.

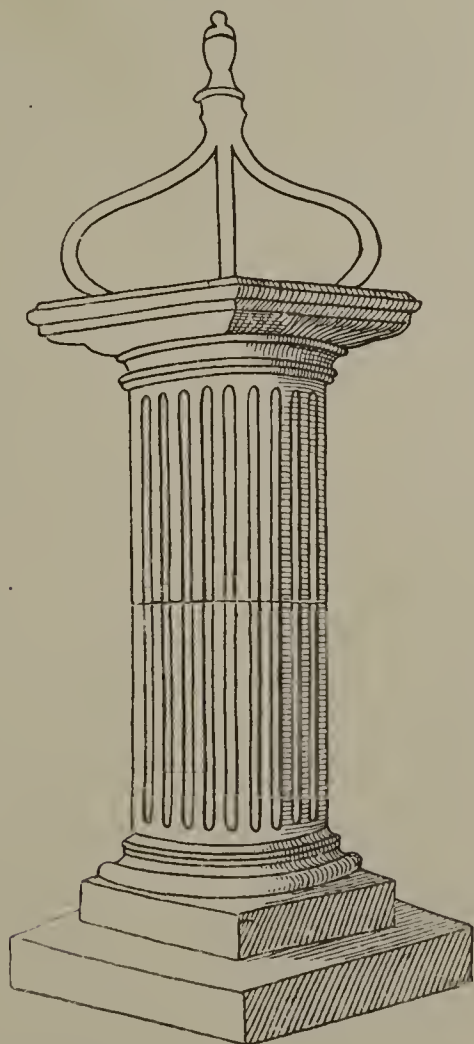
The subject of the brasses, gravestones, and monuments of the church has been very fully dealt with in both Chauncy's and Clutterbuck's works, and also in the MS. collections of Baskerfield and Jones, now in the British Museum, and of Pridmore, now in the possession of Baroness Dimsdale. These MS. collections contain a large number of original drawings and sketches of brasses and monuments.



Bust on the Monument of Edward Strong.

In concluding my long - I fear too long - paper,—I desire to express the obligations which I am under to Mr. Wm. Page for his unfailing help and encouragement, and also to Mr. A. E. Gibbs and Mr. Kinneir Tarte, for the use of their valuable notes, and to Mr. F. G. Kitton for the use of several blocks prepared by him for illustrating the article referred to above in the *Hertfordshire Illustrated Review*.

The photographs of the church, and of Edward Strong's monument, from which my illustrations are taken, were supplied by Mr. H. W. Lane, of St. Peter's Street, and I am indebted to him for kind permission to make this use of them. I am also indebted to Messrs. Orford Smith, Ltd., of Campfield Works, for their beautiful reproduction of these and other photographs.



FONT in use at St. Peter's Church during last Century. From a sketch in the Pridmore Collection in the possession of Baroness Dimsdale, of Essendon.

Obituary Notice.

By the death of Dr. J. T. N. Lipscomb our society has lost one of its oldest and most revered members. Although unable, from failing health, during the latter years of his life, to attend the meetings of this society, he continued to take the keenest interest in all that related to the history of the City of St. Alban and especially to the archæology of the Abbey Church which he loved so well. As a nephew and pupil of the Rev. Dr. Nicholson, whose care of our great Abbey Church has preserved to us so much of its past glory, Dr. Lipscomb stood as a connecting link between the archæologists of the past and present generations. Those who knew him may recall the pleasure he took in discussing the discoveries made in his uncle's time and the many changes which have occurred in the Abbey since, with all of which he was so well acquainted, having acted for forty-three years as rector's warden. For very many years Dr. Lipscomb was a member of the committee of this society and in 1847 he contributed a paper upon Heraldry.

Dr. John Thomas Nicholson Lipscomb was born at Holywell Hill, St. Albans, on 26th July, 1819, and was the eldest son of Mr. John Thomas Lipscomb, who settled in St. Albans as a medical man in 1815. His mother was the daughter of Rev. John Payler Nicholson, rector of St. Alban's Abbey, and sister of Rev. Dr. Nicholson, the well-known rector of the Abbey before alluded to. He received his medical training at King's College and Guy's Hospital and took the degree of M.D. at St. Andrew's University in 1844. He commenced practice in St. Albans with his father in 1841 and since that date has filled the offices of mayor, alderman, and many other civic appointments. His kindly sympathy to all with whom he came in contact endeared him to everyone who knew him. The respect in which he was held was very markedly shown by the large and representative congregation of all classes and all denominations who met together at his funeral in September last. — W. P.

S. Albans and Herts Architectural and Archæological Society.

BALANCE SHEET, 1897.

Receipts.

	£	s.	d.
Balance in Bank from 1896	19	10	6
Subscriptions	38	3	0
Cheque not presented (W. Page)	5	0	0
	£62 13 6		

Expenditure.

	£	s.	d.
Balance due to Hon. Sec., Jan. 1st	1	12	8½
Meetings	2	3	0
Printer's Bills	5	12	5
Archæological Congress	2	3	6
Excursion	0	2	6
Stationery and Binding	0	14	5½
Research Fund to W. Page, Esq.	5	0	0
Postages and Parcels	1	14	7
Custodian of Library	1	0	0
	£20 3 2		

Total

	£	s.	d.
Balance in Bank, Dec. 31st	41	15	7
In hands of Hon. Sec.	0	14	9
	Total Balance.... 42 10 4		
	£62 13 6		

G. N. MARTEN.

Examined and found correct,

HENRY J. TOULMIN, Hon. Treasurer.

12th Feb., 1898.

Feb. 5th, 1898.

St. Albans and Hertfordshire
Architectural
AND
Archæological Society.

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1899 & 1900.



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- *Toulmin, H. J., J.P., The Pré, St.
Albans.
- Turle, Mrs., Hatfield Road.
- Verulam, The Earl of, St. Albans.
- Waddington, Mrs., Hilbré, St. Albans.
- Wallen, F., 96, Gower Street, London,
W.C.
- White, Miss, Marlborough Road, St.
Albans.
- White, Mrs. S. M., Elmsleigh, St. Albans.
- Wigram, Rev. Canon, Watling House,
St. Stephens.
- Willcox, Rev. F. W., M.A., The
Grammar School, St. Albans.
- Wilton, Charles, The Cloisters, St. Albans.
- Wingrave, V. H. W., M.D., Lemsford
Road, St. Albans.
- Wix, E. N., M.A., Holywell Hill, St.
Albans.
- Wolfe, H. J., Braintrees, Harpenden.
- Woodman, T. Foster, St. Peter's Street,
St. Albans.
- Woollam, Chas., J.P., The Abbey Mills,
St. Albans.
- Worssam, Henry J., Marlborough House,
St. Albans.

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PROCEEDINGS.

General Meeting held at the Town Hall, St. Albans,
on Thursday, 3 November, 1898.

Present—The Lord Bishop of St. Albans in the chair; The Ven. Archdeacon Lawrance; Revs. R. Squires, G. H. P. Glossop, C. V. Bicknell; Messrs. Rokeby Price, G. N. Marten, S. Flint Clarkson, W. Page (hon. sec.), and many others.

The minutes of the previous meeting were read and confirmed.

The following gentlemen were proposed as members, and duly elected:—Rev. A. R. T. Eales, of Elstree, and Rev. G. L. B. Powles.

Mr. W. Page read an account of the recent discovery of a Romano-British Potter's Kiln at Radlett.

The Chairman called upon Mr. W. Carey Morgan to read the concluding portion of his paper on St. Peter's Church, St. Albans,* at the completion of which the chairman invited discussion.

Mr. Clarkson called attention to the interest which there was in anything relating to Edward Strong whose monument was in St. Peter's Church, and mentioned one or two incidents in his life. He also referred to the communion plate presented to the Church by Lady Alice Dudley, and stated that she had given other church plate to Ladbrook, in Warwickshire. He mentioned the monument of Sir Bernard Entwistle at Rochdale, and the size of Anchoress' Cells.

Mr. W. Page called attention to the condition of the first volume of the churchwardens' accounts of St. Peter's, and suggested that a subscription should be raised for its repair. He thought the Society was much indebted to Miss Morgan for her copies of the sketches of the St. Peter's glass at the British Museum.

Mr. Hardy concurred in Mr. Page's suggestion regarding the churchwardens' accounts. Mr. Squires said he would be glad to see the volume repaired, and thought that something might be contributed from the general funds of St. Peter's Church. The Ven. Archdeacon Lawrance proposed that it be recommended to the Committee to contribute 2*l.* towards the work from the funds of the Society, which was seconded by Mr. Rider.

The Chairman said that the preservation of ancient records was most important, as it must be remembered that we acted as custodians for future generations, he therefore proposed that this meeting request the Committee of the Society to make a grant or raise a subscription for the purpose of repairing the volume, which proposal being substituted for that of Archdeacon Lawrance, was passed. A vote of thanks to the Chairman was proposed by Mr. Marten and seconded by Mr. Morgan, to which the Bishop made a suitable reply.

WALTER J. LAWRANCE.

Dec. 18th, 1898.

* This paper has been printed in the Transactions for 1897-8.

A Romano-British Kiln Discovered at Radlett.*

BY WILLIAM PAGE, F.S.A.

Early in October, 1898, Sir John Evans sent me a letter he had received from Father Morris regarding a Romano-British kiln which had been found on the property of Sir Walter Phillimore at Radlett. I shortly afterwards visited the spot with Mr. R. C. Phillimore, who very kindly showed me what was left of the kiln, which lay in a sand-pit on the east side and about a quarter of a mile up Loom Lane, which leads from Radlett Church in Watling Street to Aldenham. Unfortunately the kiln had been mistaken for a disused land drain, and under such misapprehension had been almost entirely destroyed. From what remained, however, I was able to ascertain that its form was circular in plan, 3 feet in diameter.

The walls were 5 inches in thickness and of baked clay with pieces of brick irregularly inserted. The floor of the flue was about 2 feet from the Romano-British ground level, and was composed of the natural sand, which for about an inch or more had been burnt to a brilliant red colour.

There could be seen the remains of a projection from the wall of the kiln† which came out to the middle of the flue, where it formed a pedestal. This pedestal, which was only 9 inches in height, supported the kiln or oven floor. Of what that floor was composed there was nothing to show; it may have been of wedge-shaped perforated bricks resting at the broad end upon the top of a thickening in the wall (indications of which existed) and at the point upon the pedestal above referred to, or it may have been roughly arched over in a similar manner to that described hereafter.

Thinking, from the quantity of potsherds lying about, that the pottery works probably consisted of more than

* This paper was read before the Society of Antiquaries of London, and we are indebted to that Society for the use of the blocks illustrating it.

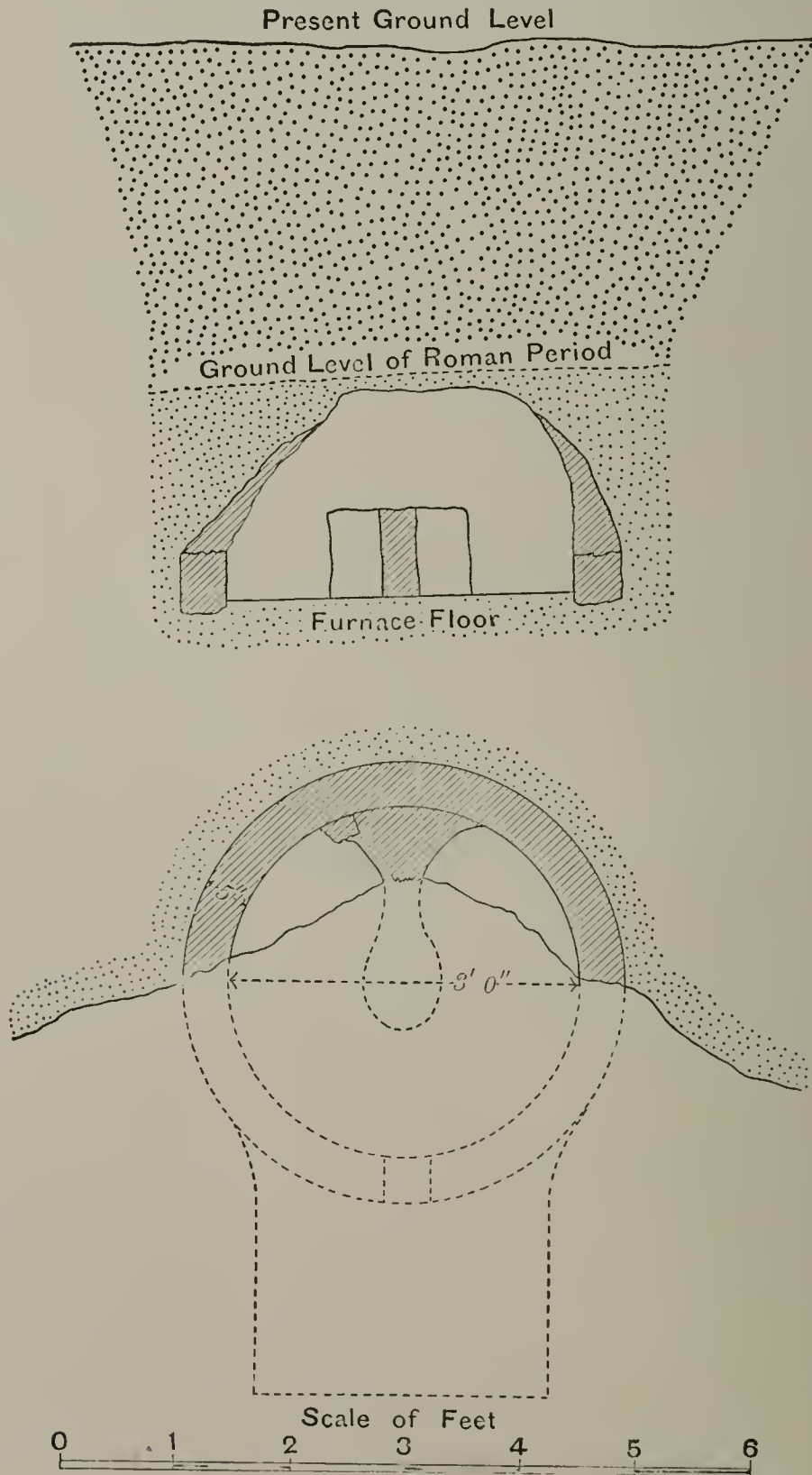
† This pedestal was apparently similar to that shown on plate xxxvii. fig. 3, in Mr. Charles Roach Smith's *Collectanea Antiqua*, vol. vi., representing a kiln found at Gibson, near Wansford, in Northamptonshire.

one kiln, a trench was cut a little to the south-east, and at a distance of about 10 feet we came upon a second kiln, which was considerably larger than that first discovered. The ground, however, being so exceedingly dry and hard, making it impossible to get out any pottery without breaking it, we determined to wait for rain.

In December following, with the assistance of Mr. Mill Stephenson and Mr. St. John Hope, the second kiln was cleared out, and found to be somewhat in the shape of a horseshoe, 6 feet at its greatest length inside and 5 feet 1 inch at its greatest width. It has a batter on the inside varying from 6 to 10 inches. The uppermost part existing is 3 feet 6 inches from the present ground level and about 1 foot 6 inches from the ground level of the Romano-British period. The kiln had evidently been constructed by cutting a hole in the sand about 4 feet in depth, of the shape which it was to take, and against the sand there was built the wall of the kiln, consisting of small pieces of Roman bricks, varying in size, and set in clay, which was afterwards baked, making one solid piece of wall about 6 inches in thickness.

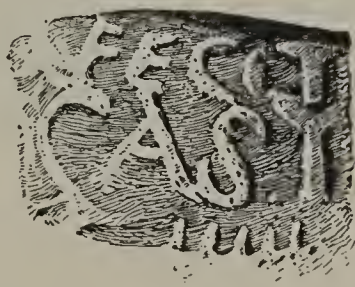
The kiln was heated by means of a furnace 3 feet 9 inches in length and 1 foot 7 inches in width. The roof of the furnace is formed by a very flat arch 1 foot 9 inches above the level of the hearth. We found that the furnace had been damped down by covering the mouth with puddled clay, and within it was a quantity of charcoal. The flames passed from the furnace into a flue formed by a block or pedestal composed of brick and burnt clay, 2 feet 6 inches by 1 foot 5 inches. This flue varied in width, being 1 foot 8 inches at the entrance, 1 foot at the sides, and 1 foot 4 inches at the end. It was covered by a flat arch about 1 foot 9 inches from the floor, and was apparently roughly built with pieces of brick, some of which seem to have been placed lengthwise of the kiln and others crosswise, so as to leave apertures to allow the draught and heat to pass upwards. The heat in the kiln must have been very considerable, as we found that many of the pieces of bricks which formed the voussoirs of the arch were quite vitrified, and the sand around the outside of the walls for nearly a foot was burnt red. The floor of the kiln, which was 2 feet 4 inches from the floor of the flue, was composed of clinkers and burnt clay laid loosely, over which was

placed a thin layer of sand, one or two openings being probably left in the floor at the end distant from the furnace in order to maintain a draught. Upon the sand the pots to be baked were placed. Above the kiln floor the sides of the walls are plastered with clay, which still bears the impress of the potter's fingers.



PLAN AND SECTION OF A ROMAN POTTER'S KILN FOUND AT RADLETT, HERTS.

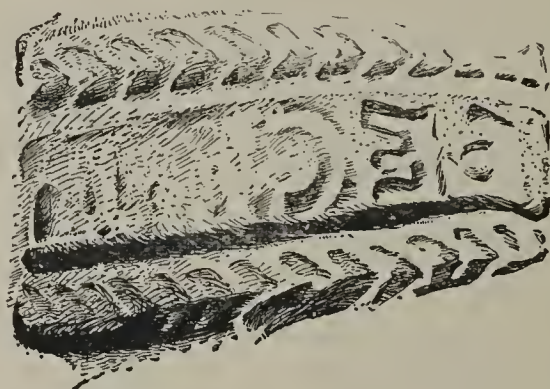
The mode of covering the kiln seems to have been the same as that described by Mr. Artis in his *Durobrivæ of Antoninus Identified and Illustrated*. According to this description the pots were loosely packed in the kiln, the



POTTER'S STAMPS OF CASTUS FOUND IN A KILN AT RADLETT.

packer being followed by an attendant who covered each layer of pots with coarse hay or grass, and when the layers of pots had arrived at a level above the wall of the kiln, a coating of clay was plastered round each layer, the layers diminishing in diameter so as to form a dome, while the grass or hay overlapped the coating of clay, so that the roof could be easily removed and the pots got at when baked. Against the coating of clay some sand or earth was thrown, a small aperture being

left at the top of the dome to maintain a draught. It appears evident that much the same system was adopted at the kilns at Radlett, for we found that the larger kiln was almost full of pieces of burnt clay, which had in all probability formed the dome above alluded to. This had apparently fallen in and broken the pots beneath it. Considering that we found so large a quantity of potsherds inside the kiln, and, as before stated, that we

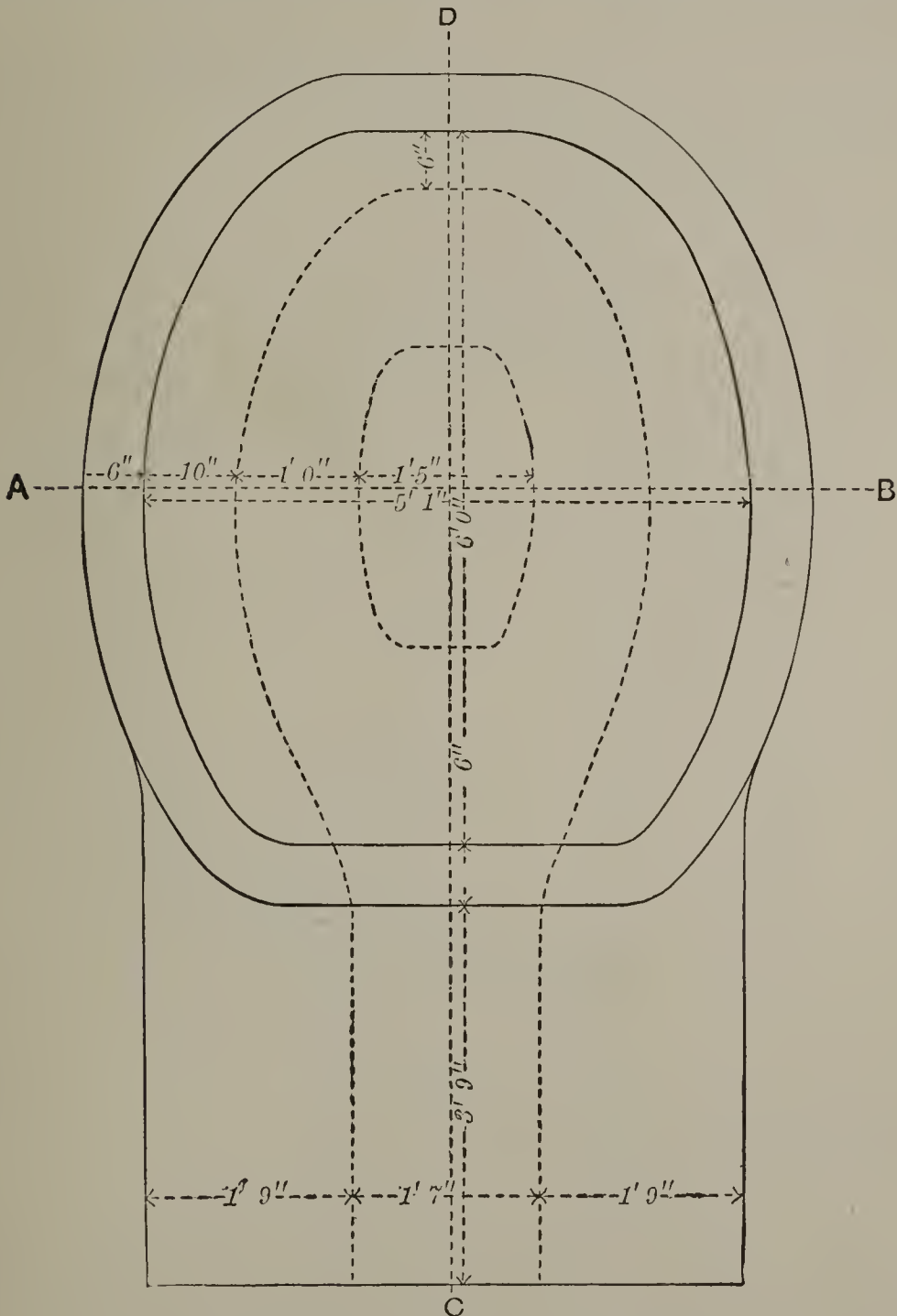


POTTER'S MARKS FOUND IN A KILN AT RADLETT.

found the kiln damped down and the charcoal remaining in the furnace, I think we may assume that the kiln had been hurriedly deserted before it was cool enough to be emptied.

Perhaps the most interesting point with regard to these kilns is the fact that we are able to identify the name of the potter who worked there. This we can do from the large quantity of the impressions of his stamps bearing the name *CASTUS* which we found upon pieces of the rims of *mortaria*. I have myself seen twenty-two of these, and I understand that others were found and

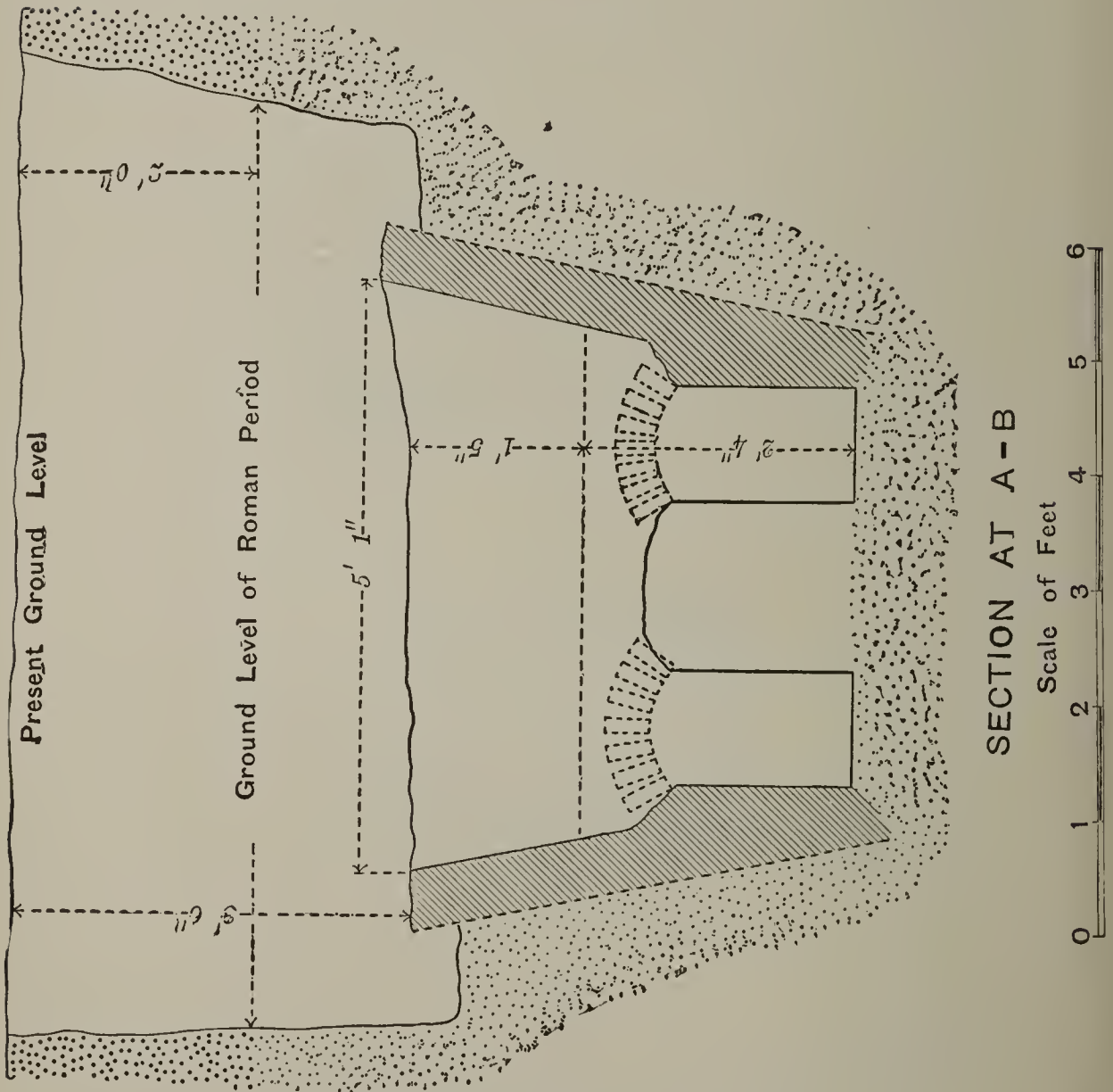
carried away before I visited the kiln first discovered. Three pieces bearing this stamp were taken out of the larger of the two kilns. We have the impressions from three stamps bearing the name *CASTUS*, one having



PLAN OF A ROMAN POTTER'S KILN FOUND AT RADLETT, HERTS.

simply the name in an elaborate border, another with the words *CASTUS FECIT*, and the third with the words *FECIT CASTUS*, reproductions of which will be seen in the accompanying illustrations. This is, I believe, the

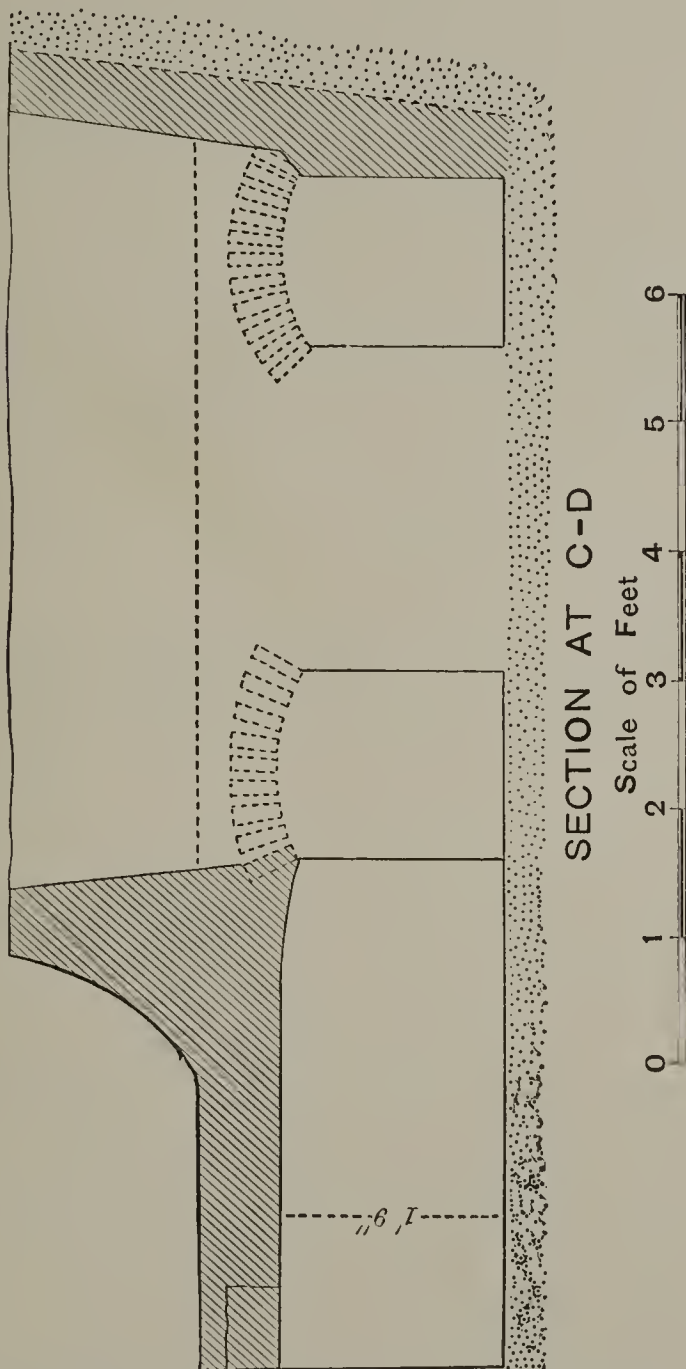
first kiln discovered in England to which the name of the potter can be assigned. Besides the name *CASTUS*, we found one piece of a *mortarium* bearing the name *ALBINUS*, two with the word *FECIT* spelt backwards, and four which are undecipherable, and are probably not intended for words.



ROMAN POTTER'S KILN FOUND AT RADLETT, HERTS.

With regard to the pottery made in these kilns, it would seem that the largest proportion was *mortaria*, judging from the fragments which we found in the rubbish heaps and in the kilns. Of these, the clay is somewhat coarse and the bits of flint which are always to be found at the bottom of them are fewer than is customary. An interesting point with regard to the

baking of *mortaria* at this pottery was noticed by Mr. Hope. It appears that these vessels were placed on the kiln floor with their rims downwards, one over another, the rim of each one being separated from the rim above



ROMAN POTTER'S KILN FOUND AT RADLETT, HERTS.

it by a lump of clay considerably mixed with sand to prevent its adhering to the pots while being baked. We found in the rubbish heap beside the kiln portions of large *mortaria* packed five deep in this manner and at other places in less numbers.

Of the more brittle kind of pottery we have the jug-shaped *amphora*, the urn-shaped pots, with what may be covers to them, and various forms of *pateræ*. In this class of pottery there is a considerable admixture of sand with the clay, giving a smooth and sometimes a sparkling appearance to its surface, otherwise it is of the usual whitish-red colour of the commoner Romano-British pottery. Specimens of the different kinds of pottery found at the kiln may now be seen at the Hertfordshire County Museum, St. Albans.

In conclusion I should like to express my sincere thanks to Mr. and Mrs. R. C. Phillimore, whose keen interest and hearty assistance in the excavations facilitated our researches in every possible way.

General Meeting held at the Abbey Institute, Spicer Street,
St. Albans, on Friday, 16 December, 1898.

Present—The Ven. Archdeacon Lawrance in the chair; Messrs. Howard, Mowat, Flint Clarkson, Marten, and Rev. H. Fowler, with Mr. W. Page, hon. sec.

The minutes of the previous meeting were read and confirmed.

The following gentlemen were proposed and duly elected members of the Society: Mr. A. C. Bickley, of St. Peter's Street, St. Albans, and Mr. E. W. Cousins, of Avenue Road, St. Albans.

Mr. W. Page said he should be very glad to show any members the kiln recently discovered at Radlett, on the following afternoon.

Rev. H. Fowler read a communication from Rev. G. A. L. Browne, of Redbourn, stating that he had obtained permission to excavate at Auburys camp and invited subscriptions towards the cost.

Dr. V. H. W. Wingrave read a paper on Cups, circles and other marks on the walls of Hertfordshire Churches, which evoked some discussion.

Mr. Charles Wilton then read a paper on a MS. Map of St. Albans,* by Benjamin Hare, dated 1634.

Mr. Fowler stated that he had seen a record showing that Benjamin Hare had been employed by the Corporation of Hertford to compile a similar map.

A vote of thanks to the Chairman was proposed by Dr. Wingrave, and seconded by Mr. Morgan.

February 28th, 1899.

WALTER J. LAWRANCE.

* This paper has been issued as a separate pamphlet.

Cups, Circles and other Marks on Hertfordshire Churches.

I have selected for your consideration to-night the subject of church wall markings, believing it to be one which has not yet received the formal attention of this Society. It is a subject in which I have been interested for many years, but with one exception I am not aware of any systematic analysis having been attempted.

Although specially referring to Hertfordshire, the subject is of more than local value, and feeling that its interest might be lessened if limited to this county, I have drawn upon my notes of other districts to render it more complete and easier of appreciation. It is a subject of more than local interest, since these marks occur not only on churches in all parts of Great Britain, but also in many districts on the Continent. I must express too my indebtedness for much valuable information to my old friend Mr. W. Andrews, F.R.G.S., of Coventry, whose investigations I have often shared.

Hertfordshire unfortunately, is not so rich in these marks as many other counties, especially the Midland. This is, perhaps, due to four causes: 1. The extensive and energetic restoration from which so many of its churches have suffered. 2. The existence of so much flint-work. 3. The softness of the prevailing Totternhoe stone. 4. The lavish employment of bricks and cement in patching up the crumbling structure.

An illustration of the last cause is well afforded by Flamstead Church, and to a less degree by Sandridge. Bearing these facts in mind, it is scarcely surprising that the City of St. Albans at the present moment cannot supply us with a single example of an unequivocal cup or circle-mark.

As the title Cups, Circles and Other Marks may be thought to embrace all kinds of incisions and scratchings to be found on church walls, it will be expedient to at once define its limits. The fortuitous scratching of the loafer, and of the initial cutting excursionist are excluded, as also are all obvious mason's marks. Attention will only be given to those marks found on the exterior of church walls, and on ancient monuments;

which by reason of their frequent occurrence, the regularity of their disposition and their wide distribution, will, I venture to feel, afford us material worthy of our attention and discussion.

CLASSIFICATION.

- | | | | |
|-----------------------------------|--------------------------------|---|-----------------------------------|
| 1. CIRCLES.
Figs. 1-13. | { Plain.
Radiated.
Spot. | } | Complete
and
Semi-circular. |
| 2. SQUARES.
Fig. 14. | | | |
| 3. CUPS.
Figs. 15 & 16. | { Smooth.
Rough. | | |
| 4. GROOVES.
Fig. 17. | { Vertical.
Horizontal. | | |
| 5. VARIOUS MARKS.
Figs. 18-21. | | | |

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS.

CIRCLES.

- No. 1. Plain incised single Annulus with central dot (Flamstead, Tatchbrook, (Warwickshire). Irish Caves and Rocks in North Britain).
- No. 2. Incised double Annulus with central dot (Flamstead, Hampton in Arden).
- No. 3. Single Annulus with one ray (Tatchbrook).
- No. 4. Triple Annulus and two rays (Tatchbrook).
- No. 5. Single annulus and 24 rays (Sandridge, Ledbury, Ancaster, Eveden, Willoughby).
- No. 6. Thirteen long and short radii alternating, arranged as a semi-circle (Hale (Lincolnshire), Radcliffe Cluley).
- No. 7. Twenty-four radii, arranged as a circle (Heckington, Lincolnshire).
- No. 8. Double Annulus with 24 rays, dotted at the periphery; cart wheel mark (Kenilworth Abbey, Warwickshire).
- No. 9. Triple Annulus with 24 incised rays confined to the inner circle (Tatchbrook, Warwickshire).
- No. 10. Half-circle with 12 rays, the interradian spaces of the external double ring being regularly segmented into four (Redbourn, Ryton, Warwickshire).
- No. 11. Twenty-four dotted rays alternately long and short, arranged as a circle (Stoke Golding, Nuneaton, Kenilworth Abbey).
- No. 12. Twelve deeply-cut large dots arranged in a circle around a central dot (Nuneaton, Warwickshire).
- No. 13. Plain circle with elliptical incision, pendent from central dot (Hampton in Arden and Knowle, Warwickshire).

SQUARES.

- No. 14. Squares with single and double outlines; radial dot and 12 (more or less) radii in lower half (Redbourn, Flamstead and North Mimms).

CUPS.

- No. 15. Rough and irregular in outline and concavity (most city walls).
 No. 16. Smooth in outline and concavity (Kenilworth, Stoke, All Saints, Derby, Thorstone, Solihull, Hinckley, Stoke Golding).

ARROW-MARKS.

- No. 17. *Vertical*. Deep scorings (Flamstead, Coventry City Walls, Thorstone Cheshire, Solihull, &c.)
Horizontal (Warwick and Coventry City Walls, &c.).

VARIOUS.

- No. 18. Small cup or dot with dependent ellipse (Hampton in Arden, Warwickshire).
 No. 19. Small cup or dot with two or more rays (Nuneaton, Warwickshire).
 No. 20. Twelve or twenty-four dots arranged as a square ("dog biscuit") (Redbourn, Flamstead, Penzance Cross).
 No. 21. Peculiar figures in relief on Mancetter Church, Warwickshire.

SIZE.

The diameter of the circles varies considerably from three inches in the case of the simple forms, to as large as 20 inches in the more elaborate examples.

The cups are generally about two to two-and-a-half inches in diameter, and from one-half to one inch in depth.

The arrow grooves vary considerably in width, depth and length. From one-half to two inches in width, the same in depth, and from three inches to 20 inches in length.

The dotted squares generally cover an area, two by three inches.

AGE.

With regard to the probable age of all these marks, I think we may place them unhesitatingly before the 18th century, how much earlier it is very difficult to determine. That in one instance they cannot be more than 350 years old is well proved in case of All Saints' Tower at Derby, which, according to Mr. Andrews, is peppered with cup marks, and was built during the Eighth Henry's reign. Still I am inclined to agree with him that many of the marks, and especially the simpler circle forms, as figures 1, 2, 3, 4 and 13, belong to a much earlier period.

At Stoke Church (Warwick), there are arrow grooves on the base mouldings of the tower so placed in relation to a 14th century buttress, that they could not possibly have been cut since the date of that addition to the structure.

I have seen arrow grooves on masonry from the city walls of Coventry, which had been buried since 1662, when they were destroyed by Charles II., and also cup marks on the 12th century masonry which I saw uncovered five years ago, having been covered up since the Dissolution 360 years before. (Kenilworth Abbey).

There are initials scratched on Flamstead Church and dated 1709, which, although originally shallow, are still sharp, in comparison with the circles which were originally more deeply incised, and obviously of a much earlier period.

With regard to the arrow grooves—if our interpretation of those marks be correct—they are not likely to belong to a time when those arms ceased to be employed. I have already shown that they were made before or during the 14th century, and reference to the History of the Honourable Artillery Company, shows that long bows were replaced by culverins and muskets, by an order issued on October 26th, 1595. But they were evidently used to a slight extent as late as 1644, as the accounts show an item of 300 long bows at 4s. 8d. each.

On the whole judging from what I have seen of the relative state of these marks, compared with those of known dates, their various degrees of sharpness in relation to the different matrices in which they are cut, and their architectural surroundings, I feel sure that many of them belong to a very early period of church history, especially those which have been rightly or wrongly associated with early symbols and superstitions.

A well marked square dial on North Mimms Church has a date which, although obscure, appears to belong to the 17th century. On the whole I should attribute dial markings to a much later period than the cups and spot circles.

INTERPRETATION.

On a subject of so highly speculative a character it would be inexpedient for me to offer any remarks other than suggestive and stimulative to more thorough re-

search. Perhaps the most significant feature connected with these mural marks,—which you have doubtless already noticed—is their striking conformity to certain patterns, for, disregarding the minute analytical differences which I have drawn, there are less than half-a-dozen types; and examples of these are to be found widely distributed not only in Great Britain but also on the continent of Europe, and I believe also India and Africa. That this fact alone is strong evidence of these marks being serious products and not mere fanciful scratchings I think you will allow, but before indulging in speculation it will be better to discuss each group separately.

The circles are clearly of two distinct classes, the *radiated* and the *non-radiated*. An interpretation of the radiated group, which is most likely the first to suggest itself to you, is that they are Dials, or in some way connected with time marking. The evidence in favour of this view is as follows:—

- 1 The presence of radii.
- 2 Their position on the S., S.E. and S.W. aspects of churches and never on the N.
- 3 Preponderance of examples with Rays in the lower half only.
- 4 Sub-division into inter-radial segments, *e.g.* Redbourn.
- 5 Presence of deep socket and often metal at the radial point, or centre of circle for the insertion of an indicator (N. Mimms), or gnomon.

Against this view may be given—

- 1 That their sunny situation may have a superstitious significance relating to sun worship.
- 2 That the rays are often irregular as to their number and arrangement, and do not always conform to those of a proper sun dial.
- 3 That figures or letters have been rarely demonstrated.

Now it is quite possible that some of these, especially the Redbourn Circles and North Mimms, may have been used as sundials or as fanciful imitations, but the majority certainly could not have been so used.

It has been suggested that the sunny side of a church is more likely to be frequented by loiterers than the cold northern side, and consequently would be the more likely

spot for any mural defacings. Again, too, there is the superstition as to a Satanic proprietorship in the northern portion of a churchyard, and hence the fewness of burials there and the scarcity of these marks. But these influences can have but little if any bearing upon the special marks under discussion, and that they are serious productions is proved by the great care, accuracy, and attention that must have been spent in their cutting, and that they are in many instances situated above the reach of anyone standing on the ground level.

One significant feature of these rays is the frequency in which the number 12 occurs, particularly exemplified in Figs. 10, 12, and 14, and repeated albeit in different form in Fig. 20. This number suggests many interpretations which are so obvious that enumeration is scarcely necessary.

That these radiated circles may be associated with some ancient superstitious relic of sun worship is, I venture to suggest not improbable; they may even have some reference to the signs of the Zodiac, to the symbol of St. Catherine, the casting of horoscopes, or perhaps to the orientation of the church.

With regard to the non-radiated or plainer circles we have to deal with something which may be much older, more remote in origin, and even more difficult in interpretation.

They are generally found occupying at much lower positions on the walls, quite within reach, and according to Mr. Andrews one example is even to be found on the N. side of a church, viz., on the N.W. Buttress of the Abbey Church at Bath, this situation, however, is exceptional. You will see that they vary considerably in their design, from a simple annulus about 6in. in diam., with a large and deep central dot, to more complicated forms as in Figs. 2, 3, 4, 12, and 13.

A slight knowledge of the history of religious symbols enables us to fully appreciate the ease by which the signs used in early and extinct worship have persisted and become blended with the forms used in the New Religion. The circle has at all times been a symbol of importance, whether associated with Moon, Phallic, and Serpent Worship, or in connection with the mysteries of Rosicrucians and Astrologers, Alchemists and Witches,



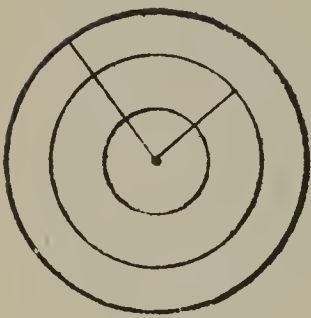
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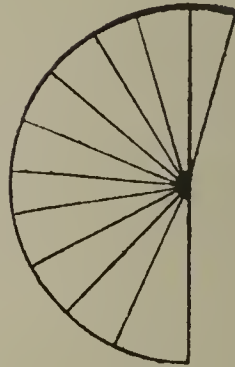
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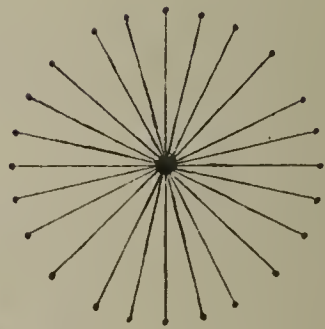
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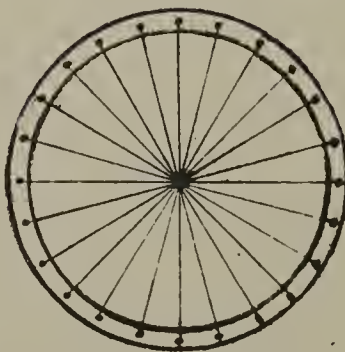
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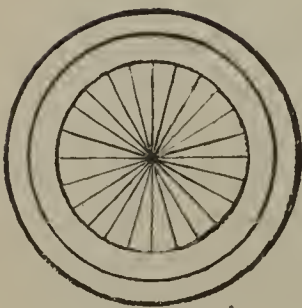
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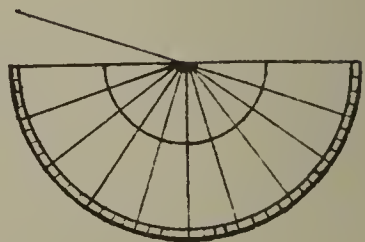
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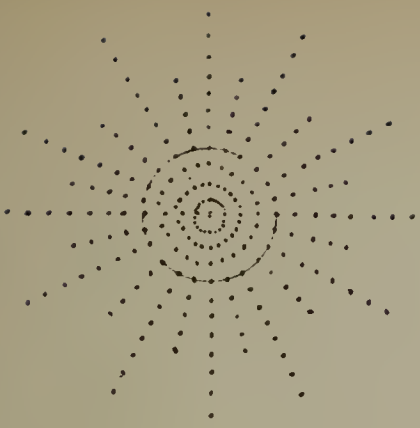
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9.



10.



11.



12.



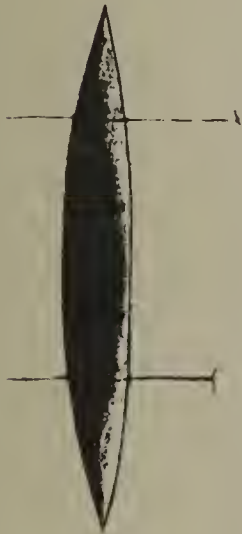
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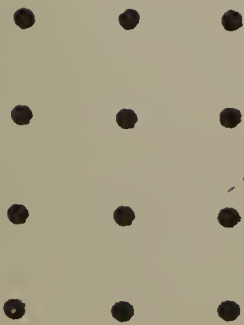
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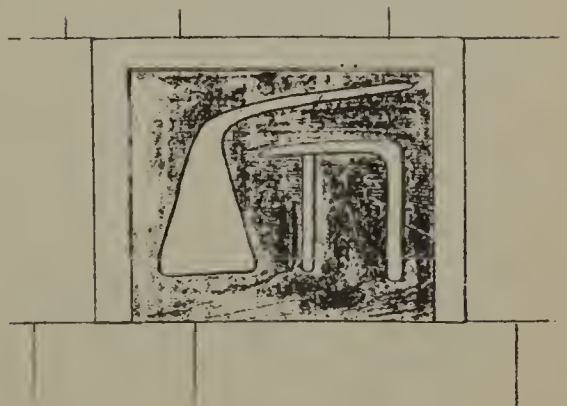
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19.



20.



21.

consequently we need not be surprised to find this ancient mark and its numerous modifications occurring so frequently upon our churches particularly too, when we consider the probable dates of their incisions and the standard of education then prevailing.

It has also been suggested that they may be *Consecration Marks*. I do not think that they admit of this interpretation, for such marks are generally cruciform enclosed in circles and are more usually found *inside* churches. At Sleaford Church, Lincolnshire, are upwards of half-a-dozen such patterns, but from their characters I feel that they belong to a much later period than any of the circles which we are now discussing. Still we must not overlook the important fact that annulated crosses occur on early monuments of Pictish origin and still further that the cross is a symbol which was probably used long before the Christian Era, Fig. 41, p. 157, Fergusson.

A striking object lesson which should teach us to exercise care in our explanations is to be seen on the outer wall of St. Pancras Station, close to the eastern side of the large entrance gates. Here may be found several incised spots in the brickwork, surrounded by roughly scratched and chalked circles not altogether unlike fig. 1. Their origin, however, is easily explained. In the early part of this year someone was shot close by and the bullet striking the wall left a well-marked indentation. This impression was enlarged with pocket knives and emphasized with a circle about 3 inches in diameter. During the course of a week this evidence of the crime had been faithfully repeated in several places and these remain as modern examples of our ancient spot circles.

Finally, spot and concentric circles are common enough on rocks in the north of England and Scotland, they occur on Dolmens and Pictish sepulchres in England, Ireland and Scotland; even in Circassia and India. Iceland is in fact the home of circles, of which many beautiful and interesting examples are illustrated in Fergusson's "Rude Stone Monuments." With regard to what for want of a better term we call Cup Marks, as already indicated there are two distinct kinds, rough and smooth.

The rough are found at all altitudes, sometimes as high as 30ft. from the ground, often near to doors and

windows. Although about the same size as the smooth variety they are so irregular in depth and outline that I am inclined to suggest their being the result of impact from some hard substance, such as a bolt, bullet or arrow. In the early period of firearms, iron and even stone bullets were employed, these would at short range make considerable indentations, especially in the case of soft sandstone and Totternhoe stone, which would be subsequently enlarged by "weathering." This view that these marks are probably due to some form of missile is supported by the fact that they are mostly found associated with arrow grooves, not only on churches but also on city walls, castles and even on Thor Stone, a relic remote from cities in the Cheshire Wirrall. On the boundary wall of the old Archery Grounds at Warwick are many examples.

The smooth form of hollow hemispheres will not admit of such an interpretation. They are uniformly sharp in outline, regular and smooth in concavity, and present every indication of having been drilled or made by rotating some hard instrument. They are generally found within a few feet of the ground level, and often but not always in association with arrow grooves. Unlike circles they occur quite as often on the north aspect of churches as on the south-east and north. I am unacquainted with any instrument used in Architecture which might reasonably have caused them; but the smoothing of bolt heads, primitive forms of round shot and other weapons would be very likely to produce such marks.

Whether or not they were made in these or under more peaceful circumstances we, at all events, have strong evidence that they were connected with superstition. Personal enquiry in several instances proved the existence of local tradition that they were Witch-marks; one old man in Warwickshire informed me that "they cured Warts and Wens," a superstition whose existence is strengthened by clay and pieces of paper being found in their hollows. One such I noticed at Redbourn.

Attention has been called to the existence of these cup marks at Brandenburg and more than 20 different localities in Prussia, Germany, Switzerland and Sweden;

where according to the proceedings of the Berlin Anthropological Society for June, 1875, it is reported—“they are generally found on the S. side of Churches near an entrance, and not above the reach of a man. These cups are believed to possess healing virtues, chiefly for charming away fevers, and in some modern instances they have been anointed with grease as an offering for that purpose. In Posen a tradition refers to the cups as the work of condemned souls, who ground them out during the night time.”*

The irregularity of their disposition is sufficient to exclude any architectural significance, such as sockets for reception of supports or plugs.

The richest example of cups or pit marks is referred to by Fergusson on a rude Temple at Malta, the stones being so closely covered by them as to give the appearance of small-pox pitting.

The next group of marks, viz., the Arrow Scorings, gives us no trouble whatever. These elliptical grooves are of two kinds, vertical and horizontal. The vertical have doubtless been produced by pointing arrow-heads, pikes, etc., while the horizontal were most likely caused by sharpening swords, halberds, axes, and other cutting weapons. I have seen them on churches, churchyard walls, city walls, and castles, with and without cup marks, and in places where fighting would be expected, or where preparations for fighting might be made. Good examples, but filled with cement, are to be seen at Flamstead on the S. Porch.

Numerous shallow grooves are to be seen in the vicinity of all schools; these are caused by slate pencil sharpening and need give no trouble in differentiation.

Of the “various” marks perhaps the most interesting are the 12 dots arranged as oblong, appropriately but familiarly described by our friend Mr. Clarkson as “dog biscuits.” They are common in Hertfordshire, Redbourn and Flamstead supplying many examples, but their interpretation I leave in your hands. It is a significant fact that we should again find the number 12 as in the case of dot circles fig. 12 and radii fig. 10.

* Trans. Warwickshire Archæologists and Naturalists' Field Club, 1888. W Andrews.

The model of Penzance Cross bears a striking example of the 12 dot mark, and may suggest an interpretation.

Figs. 3, 13, 18 and 19 are I feel sure for the most part very early marks, and are suggestive of an association with some early forms of superstition which are of interest chiefly to those who make a special study of that subject.

Fig. 21 I shew you with the hope of exciting expressions of opinion and possibly of finding an interpretation which I have vainly sought for 20 years or more. It is a large incised stone with the figures in slight relief, cut in the masonry of Mancetter Church on the S. aspect of the tower about 50 feet from the ground, just below the belfry window.

The radiated squares fig. 14 are obviously related to circles similarly divided and are even more suggestive of sundials.

It is perhaps almost superfluous to remark that neither on the Abbey nor on any of the St. Albans churches are any of these marks to be seen. Before the recent restoration a circle on the S. aspect, and a few cup marks were to be seen on St. Michael's.

There are two or three doubtful cups on the Grammar School, but I am very sceptical as to their genuineness, since all isolated marks must be viewed with suspicion.*

CONCLUSION.

It would indeed be difficult to conceive that marks possessing such striking uniformity in character, although unconnected with any scheme of decoration, could be incised on churches in all parts of Great Britain without possessing some common primary cause or influence. Yet many may, perhaps, be somewhat sceptical of the justification for so comprehensive a statement, and may not unreasonably consider that enthusiasm may have led one to magnify their value or to exaggerate their significance. Should this be so I only ask you to look for the marks yourselves, photograph or sketch them and place them on record. By so doing I feel sure that any doubt will soon disappear, interest in this subject will soon be developed, and you will at all events admit ultimately

* Since reading this paper, similar circles to Fig. 2 have been observed on a coin of Boduon (Boadicea) in the British Museum.

that it has afforded an additional interest to your archæological excursion.

Personally, I may say that I know of no amusement more fascinating than the hunt for cups, circles and other marks.

TOPOGRAPHICAL LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS.

CIRCLES.

- Fig. 1. Plain incised single annulus with central dot. 2in. to 12in. diameter.
 Flamstead Church, Hertfordshire.
 Tachbrook Church, Warwickshire.
 Ansty Church, Warwickshire.
 Shilton Church and Walsgrave Church, Warwickshire.
 Lough Crew, Ireland (Cairn).
 Bath Abbey Church.
 Daddington Church, Leicestershire.
 Floore Church, Northamptonshire.
 St. Sepulchre's Church, Northampton.
- Fig. 2. Incised double annulus with central dot. 3in. to 8in. diameter.
 Flamstead Church, Hertfordshire.
 Hampton in Arden, Warwickshire.
 Tachbrook, Warwickshire.
- Fig. 3. Single annulus with one ray. Diameter, 5in. to 8in.
 Tachbrook Church, Warwickshire.
- Fig. 4. Triple annulus and 2 rays.
 Tachbrook Church, Warwickshire.
- Fig. 5. Single annulus and 24 rays. Diameter 8in. to 16in.
 Anstey Church, Warwickshire.
 Sandridge Church, Hertfordshire.
 Ledbury Church.
 Ancaster Church, Lincolnshire.
 Eveden Church, Lincolnshire.
 Silk Willoughby Church, Lincolnshire.
 Norton Church, Northamptonshire.
- Fig. 6. Semi-circle of 13 alternated long and short radii.
 Radcliffe Cluley Church.
 Hale (Great) Church, Lincolnshire.
 Kenilworth Abbey, Warwick.
- Fig. 7. Circle of 24 radii and central dot. 4in. to 12in. diameter.
 Heckington Church, Lincolnshire.
- Fig. 8. Double annulus, 24 rays, each dotted at its periphery.
 Diameter 10in. to 18in.
 Kenilworth Abbey.
 Anstey Church.
 Stoke Golding Church.
- Fig. 9. Triple annulus, with 24 rays, limited to inner circle.
 Tachbrook Church, Warwickshire.

- Fig. 10. Semi-circle with 12 rays, the interradsial spaces in the double annulus being regularly segmented into 4.
Redbourn, Hertfordshire.
Ryton, Warwickshire.
- Fig. 11. 24 dotted rays, alternately long and short, arranged in a circle.
Stoke Golding, Leicestershire.
Nuneaton Priory, Warwickshire.
Kenilworth Abbey, Warwickshire.
- Fig. 12. Twelve deeply cut $\frac{1}{4}$ in. to $\frac{3}{4}$ in. dots, arranged in a circle around a central dot. Diameter $1\frac{3}{4}$ in. to 5in.
Nuneaton, Warwickshire.
- Fig. 13. Plain annulus with an elliptical incision pendant from a central dot. Diameter 5in.
Hampton in Arden Church, Warwickshire.
- Fig. 14. Square, with single and double outlines, radial dot in centre with 12 radii in lower half.
Redbourn Church, Hertfordshire.
Flamstead Church, Hertfordshire.
North Mimms Church, Hertfordshire.
- Fig. 15. Cups, rough and irregular in outline and concavity. Diameter $1\frac{1}{2}$ in. to $2\frac{1}{2}$ in.
Kenilworth Abbey, Warwickshire.
Stoke, Warwickshire.
Solihull, Warwickshire.
Thor Stone, Cheshire.
Arehery Wall, Warwick.
- Fig. 16. Cups, smooth, regular in outline and concavity. Diameter 2in., depth about $\frac{3}{4}$ in.
Kenilworth Abbey, Warwickshire.
Solihull, Warwickshire.
Stoke, Warwickshire.
Walsgrave on Sowe, Warwickshire.
Yardley, Warwickshire.
Allesley, Warwickshire.
Chilvers Coton, Warwickshire.
Loughborough, Leicestershire.
Humberstone, Leicestershire.
Stoke Golding, Leicestershire.
Hinckley, Leicestershire.
Derby (All Saints Church).
Also Cottbus in Brandenburg,
Many localities in Prussia, Germany, Switzerland, Sweden and Malta
Upon cairns in Ireland, Scotland, and rocks in the North of England and Scotland, and Thorstone in Cheshire, &c.
- Fig. 17. Arrowmarks. Vertical and horizontal deep scorings. 3in. to 15in. long.
Flamstead Church, Hertfordshire.
City Walls of Coventry, Warwickshire.
Solihull Church, Warwickshire.

Tachbrook Church, Warwickshire.
 Ryton Church, Warwickshire.
 Thor Stone, Cheshire.
 Archery Wall, Warwickshire, &c., &c.

Fig. 18. Small cup or dot with dependant ellipses.
 Hampden in Arden, Warwickshire.

Fig. 19. Small cup or dot with 12 or more rays.
 Nuneaton Church, Warwickshire.
 Tachbrook, Warwickshire.
 Kenilworth Abbey, Warwickshire.

Fig. 20. 12 (sometimes 24) dots arranged regularly as an oblong,
 from 2in. by $1\frac{1}{2}$ in. to $3\frac{1}{2}$ in. by $1\frac{3}{4}$ in.
 Flamstead Church, Hertfordshire.
 Redbourn Church, Hertfordshire.
 Penzance Cross, Cornwall.

Fig. 21. Peculiar figures in high relief, about 2ft. by $1\frac{1}{2}$ ft.
 Situated on South aspect of Mancetter Church Tower.
 Probably a guild mark.

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 "History of the Hon. Artillery Company." Raikes. Lond. Bentley, 1878.
 "The White Horses of the West of England, p. 16." Plenderleath London: Alf. R. Smith, 1886 (*circa*).
 W. S. Calverley, "Early Sculptured Crosses, &c., in the Diocese of Carlisle." Kendal, 1900.

General Meeting held at the Town Hall, St. Albans,
 on Tuesday Evening, 28 February, 1899.

Present—The Ven. Archdeacon Lawrance, in the chair; Mr. G. N. Marten, who subsequently took the chair on account of the Archdeacon having to leave before the completion of the meeting, Messrs. Howard, Mowat, Askwith, and many others.

The minutes of the previous meeting were read and confirmed.

Mr. Edward Stanley Kent, of Holywell Hill, St. Albans, was proposed by Mr. Kitton, and duly elected a member.

The Chairman called upon Mr. Kitton to read his paper on "St. Albans from an Artist's point of view," which was followed by an interesting discussion, in which Mr. Wilton Hall, Mr. Flint Clarkson, Mr. Bickley, and others joined.

VERULAM.

21st March, 1899.

General Meeting held at the Town Hall, St. Albans,
on Tuesday Evening, 21 March, 1899.

Present—The Earl of Verulam, in the chair; the Lord Bishop of St. Albans, Messrs. Toulmin, Hardy, Kitton, Wilton Hall, Clarkson, and many others.

The minutes of the previous meeting were read and confirmed.

Mr. Foster Woodman, Mr. J. T. Knight, Mrs. Knight, and Mr. James Dickson, were duly elected members of the Society.

The chairman called upon Mr. Andrew Oliver, A.R.I.B.A., to read his paper on "Notes on some Mediæval MSS. of St. Albans Abbey in the British Museum," in which the author pointed out some of the peculiarities of the St. Albans books. Some discussion followed by Mr. Johnson and Mr. Wilton Hall.

Mr. Page then delivered his paper on "Some recent excavations on the site of Verulam."

The Lord Bishop of St Alban's, in proposing a vote of thanks to Mr. Page, pointed out the extreme interest of the subject of the paper, especially to those who like himself had from time to time visited the work.

Mr. Toulmin seconded a vote of thanks, and expressed the hope that the excavations might be continued.

Lord Verulam expressed his appreciation of the paper, and pointed out the intense interest there was in all that related to the Roman occupation of this country.

Mr. Page, in reply, said how sorry he was that Mr. Bicknell was unavoidably absent. He pointed out various plans of the Roman remains at Silchester, of which he had procured the loan and compared them with the work at Verulam.

The Chairman proposed a special vote of thanks to the Rev. C. V. Bicknell for permitting his glebe to be broken up, and for the generous and cordial assistance he had given to the work. This was seconded by the Lord Bishop and carried unanimously.

JOHN EVANS.

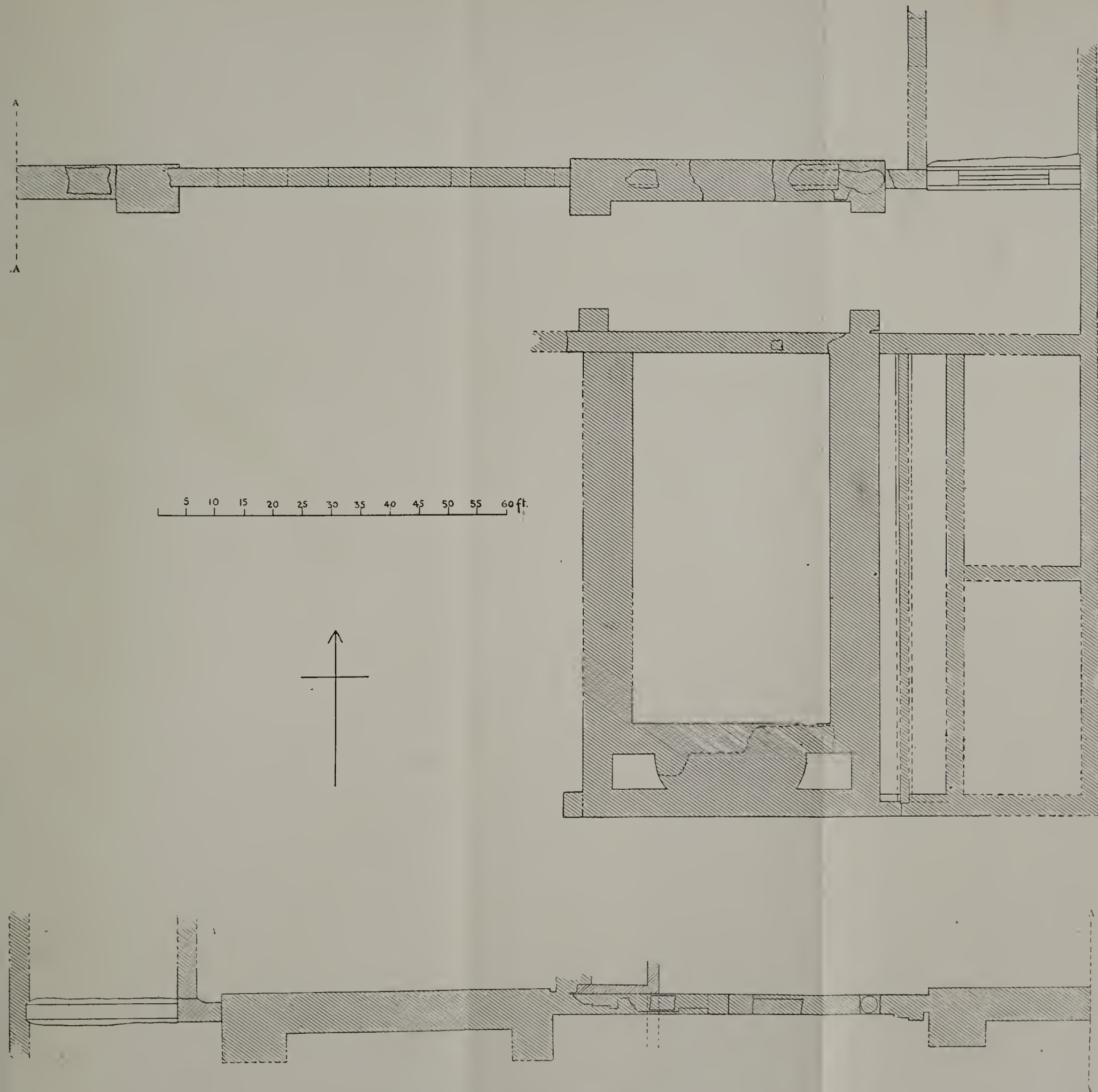
28th April, 1899.

Excavations on the Site of Verulam.

REPORT FOR 1898-9.

BY WILLIAM PAGE, F.S.A.

It is difficult for those who have made no study of the Roman occupation of this country to understand what that occupation really meant. We are generally told in our school histories that Julius Cæsar made this country tributary to the Roman empire about fifty years before the birth of Christ, that Claudius sent an army into Britain in A.D. 43, or about ten years after the death of Christ when he annexed it to the empire, and that the



Verulamium. *Plan of Excavations, 1898-1900.*

Roman legions were finally withdrawn in A.D. 410. The period of over 400 years of Roman influence is treated as a dream of the night leaving to the waker nothing more lasting than some coins, potsherds, and bricks, by which to remind him of the foot-prints of the most wonderful nation which the world has ever known. The influence from the Roman occupation which we received was not distinctive, it was in common with that bestowed on all western Europe, and is therefore not so easy to appreciate as the aptitude for naval affairs which was imparted to us by the Danes or the forms of government which have survived from the Saxon period. As a result of the excavations on the Romano-British site at Silchester it can be definitely stated that Christian Churches existed here during the Roman occupation, and I think it is now quite acknowledged that Roman influence survived in many of the manufactures of this country, certainly till the Norman conquest and probably in some instances down to the present day.

I have digressed thus far in order to refute the idea which I have heard expressed that the history of the Roman occupation has nothing to do with our history and therefore the remains of Roman Britain have little interest for us. This ought not to be the opinion of us whose dwellings adjoin the site of what was probably the largest Roman city in Britain, containing the largest Romano-British building yet discovered. The portions of this building opened during the past winter by the Rev. C. V. Bicknell and myself, I now propose to describe. In digging up the roots of a dead cherry tree in the glebe at St. Michael's, behind the vicarage garden, some foundations were discovered. Mr. Bicknell followed these for some way himself and then asked me to help him in carrying out the work. The extraordinary depth of the foundations, being in some places 8ft. and 9ft. below the surface made the work very slow and consequently expensive, and prevented us from carrying our researches as far as we wished.

Along the line of the wall we found buildings of certainly three different periods, and there were indications of work of perhaps a fourth period. The earliest piece of wall which we excavated was a cross wall 110ft. from the west end, and it is especially interesting as it

retains on the eastern side of it the painted plaster, which, though merely of a plain red colour with a black band and a dado below, is of value as showing the decorative work of an early period of the Roman occupation. Mr. G. E. Fox, F.S.A., was the first to discover that this piece of wall had originally continued to the south and had been cut away to permit the long wall of the second period to pass through it. It had evidently formed one side of a room, but we were unable to find any trace of a corresponding wall on the opposite side. The remains of the building of the second period are very much the most complete. The wall which we uncovered has a total length of 373 feet, and is without any cross wall on its south side, while there are only the foundations of two supposed ambulatory walls, one at each end, on the north side. The masonry of the wall of this period is characterized by its substantialness being largely composed of massive blocks of Barnack stone measuring from four to six feet in length, and a foot in thickness, and the excellent quality of its workmanship. It is evident that this wall was considerably quarried in the Norman period for building St. Alban's Abbey Church, for it may be noticed that the large blocks of Barnack stone at the bases of the early Norman piers of the tower arch on the south side of St. Alban's Abbey Church correspond in dimensions with the blocks which we found in position in this wall. I may perhaps here remark that I have carefully compared the stone of the Saxon balluster shafts in the triforium of the transepts in St. Alban's Abbey Church with a piece of the Barnack stone so largely used in the building we have been excavating at Verulam, and of which the fragment of a column found here, and the five drums of a Roman column recently discovered in St. Michael's churchyard, are composed, and I find them to be identical. The portion we excavated of the building of the second period shows at each end what is apparently an ambulatory, 26ft. wide, and bounded by walls, east and west, 3ft. 4in. in width. We were able to uncover some length of the walls of the eastern ambulatory and found the outer wall both here and at the western end had a perfectly smooth and level surface and looked as though it had formed a bed for a continuous course of large blocks of stone, the outside of which, certainly at the west end and probably

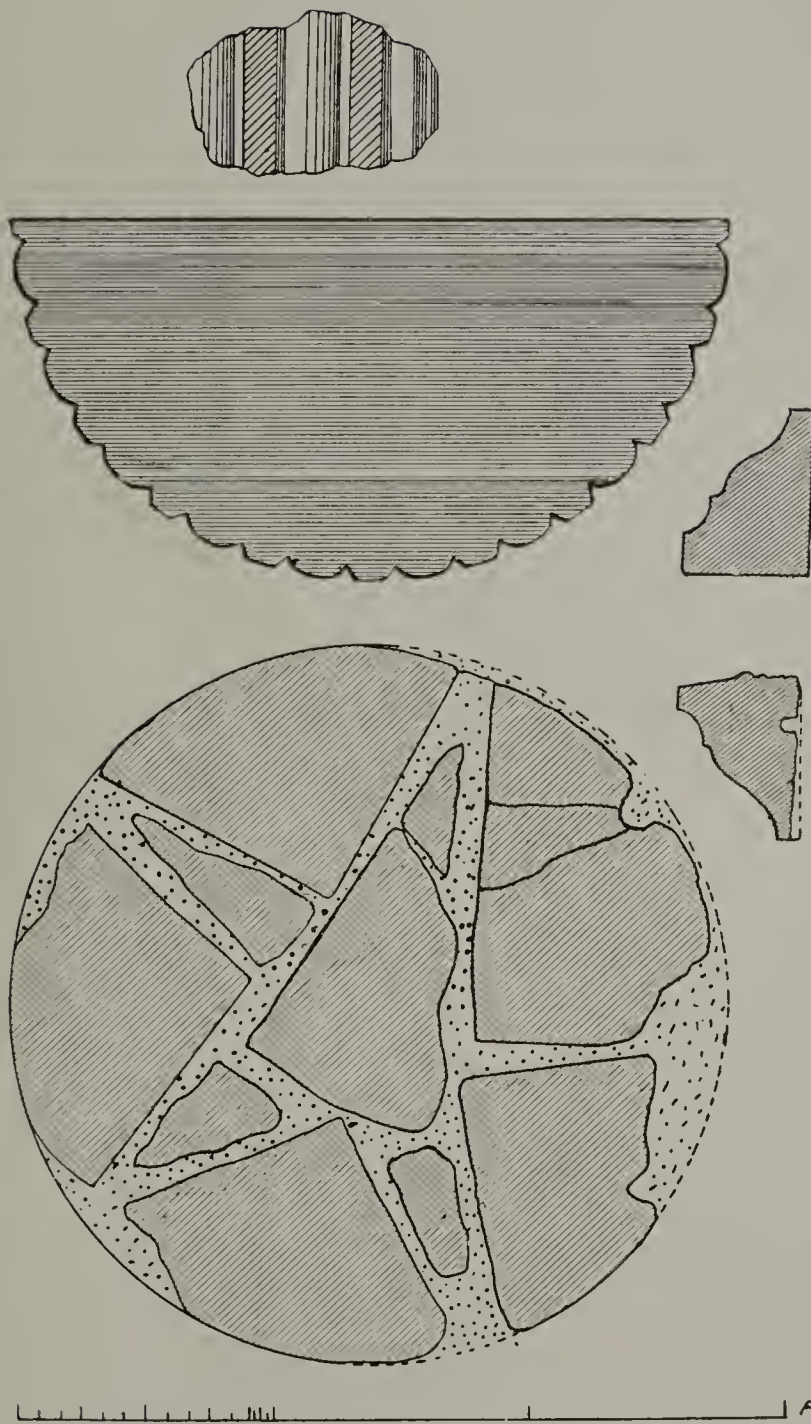
at the east end, faced on to the street. The inner of these walls at the east end had at intervals, beds for stones, 3ft. 2in. to 5ft. in length, evidently for carrying the columns of a colonnade and giving an inter-columniation or distance between the columns of 13ft. 6in. centre to centre. The pieces of wall between the foundations of the columns remain, and rise 1ft. 6in. above the beds before referred to. They are hollow and are very roughly put together, being only intended to carry the *opus signinum* floor of the ambulatory which passes over the top of them. The western face of these pieces of wall was apparently plastered. In excavating at this part we came upon numerous coarse *tesseræ*, but the depth of soil was too great to permit of any attempt to ascertain if there was a tessellated pavement here. It was close to the outer of these walls that we found the fragments of an inscription in Purbeck marble, and some mouldings of the same material, and near the inner wall was a quantity of wall plaster of a yellow colour, some pieces of which were apparently painted in imitation of marble. It is impossible to say what there was in the main wall of this period at the southern ends of these supposed ambulatories, as this part of the wall is entirely covered up by the building of the next period. Connecting the ends of the ambulatories was a massive wall broken by two openings which were filled by a colonnade of five columns of peculiar construction. At the east end of these foundations a little to the west of the supposed ambulatories there still remains a portion of the superstructure of this period which was entirely built over by the work of the third period. These remains consist of the lower part of a doorway or small gateway, the opening in which was about 4ft. 6in. The jambs and adjoining wall of this doorway are extremely solid, and of carefully laid brickwork, about 4ft. 4in. thick, the bricks being set in the pink Roman mortar, of the use of which mortar this was the only example found. On the south side of the jambs of this doorway is a very deep chamfer.

In the openings in the solid wall before referred to, we have the sleeper walls, 65ft. and 67ft. respectively in length, upon which rested colonnades, each consisting of five columns. The sleeper wall on the east side shows

the beds for the stones forming the bases of the columns as previously described, from which we get the same inter-columniation of 13ft. 6in. from centre to centre, as we found in the supposed eastern ambulatory wall. The inter-columniation on the western sleeper wall cannot be so easily made out, but it appears to have been the same as that in the eastern colonnade. There is in this wall, however, what is of considerable interest, and that is the circular base of a column in position. It had been entirely built over with the work of a later period, which was with some difficulty removed. The base is 2ft. 10in. in diameter, and composed of Roman bricks, triangular in shape, with one side curved to form the outside of the circular base. A similar base was found loose and not in its position, which has been taken out from the excavations, and will be preserved in the Hertfordshire County Museum. A fragment of a fluted column was also found close to the first base, the diameter of which has been worked out by Mr. Fox, who finds it to be 2ft. 9in., and it may be assumed that it formed a part of one of the columns of the colonnade here.* The height of the columns we cannot calculate, as we do not know whether they belonged to the Corinthian or Doric order. The whole way down the south side of the wall is an *opus signinum* or red cement floor of a very substantial character, being in places 8in. in thickness. Many pieces of coarse *tesserae* were found lying about, but there was no appearance on the floor itself of a tessellated pavement. Along the north side of the wall there seemed to have been rammed gravel.

It was quite evident that the building to which this wall belonged was destroyed by fire, as we found that the whole way round, on both sides and at each end, there was a stratum of charcoal; and numerous flints and bricks were discovered which had been subject to the action of fire. At a spot a little to the west of the middle of the wall we came upon a large quantity of metal, a piece of which I sent to Mr. W. Gowland, F.S.A., of South Kensington, who was kind enough to analyze it, and tells me that it is lead which must have melted at a very high temperature, most probably during a conflagration, and that it must have fallen in a molten state

* See plan of column, for which we are indebted to Mr. G. E. Fox, F.S.A.



Verulamium.

*Fragment of column and diagram of same, showing arrangement of flutes,
Plan of base of column of shaped bricks $1\frac{3}{4}$ in. thick, and Sections of mouldings
of Purbeck marble.*

from some considerable height, being largely intermixed with sand and earthy matter. This is further confirmatory evidence that the building was destroyed by fire.

There was probably an interval between the time of the destruction of the building of the second period and the erection of that of the third, for the accumulation of charcoal and debris upon the floor of the earlier building was apparently left undisturbed, and the floor of the new building raised about a foot over it. The colonnades of the supposed ambulatories on the east and west sides were, it would seem, repaired, for, although we get the evidence of fire here, there is nothing to indicate a rebuilding. At the southern ends of each of these ambulatories there were erected in this third period blocks of masonry, the block on the east side consisting of a piece of solid masonry at each end, 5ft. 6in. in length and 1ft. 2in. in height, between which are two channels, the bottoms being paved with bricks. These channels, on comparison with similar work at Silchester, appear to have contained beams which supported the timber framework of double doors. The block at the west end is similar, except that the channels do not exist, and the wall sags in the middle five inches.

The foundations received a new superstructure of rubble, instead of brick, some blocks of which remain. Of the eastern of the two colonnades there are only the remains of the second period, the upper and later part having probably been destroyed by the Saxon and Norman builders of St. Alban's Abbey, in order to obtain the stones forming the bases of the columns, all of which have been removed. The western colonnade, however, seems to have been taken down, and a solid wall of rubble built over it. The walls at this spot are so complicated that it is impossible without further excavations to ascertain of what they formed a part. The floor on the south side was, so far as could be discovered, composed of coarse *tesseræ* about an inch square.

The question naturally arises what was the building of which this wall was part? It is quite clear that the wall of the second period was planned and carried out as a whole at one time, which is shown by the completeness of the design and as the wall was at all events partially open with colonnades and has no cross

wall throughout its entire length, it must, I think, have formed the outer wall of an ambulatory. The two buildings which are most likely to have been so large as this are the forum and the baths. The evidence at present is perhaps in favour of the forum, but I hope this point may be decided by further excavations later on.

At the beginning of last year the Rev. C. V. Bicknell and I made some excavations in the churchyard of St. Michael's Church, when it was being put in order after the rebuilding of the tower. Here we found portions of three Roman walls running parallel to the wall now excavated, but on account of the burials our excavations were necessarily very fragmentary. As it will be impossible to excavate further in the churchyard, I have plotted the walls then found for what they are worth. If these walls formed the opposite side of the forum it would give a width inside of about 330ft. In any case I believe we have the satisfaction of knowing that this is probably the largest Romano-British building yet discovered.

Of objects found there were very few, some bone pins, hones, numerous fragments of pottery, but only one small amphora, which was complete. We also found the usual number of coins. A list of which follows:—

Trajan, dupondius	<i>circa</i>	98-117	
Ælius Cæsar, denarius	„	130	
Septimus Severus,	„	(silver)	„	200
Postumus	„	(copper)	„	260 Struck in Gaul.
4 Tetricus, denarii	„	„	„	270 „ „
3 Carausius,	„	„	„	292 1 struck in London.
Licinius II., denarius	„	„	„	315
Constantine	330	&c., 1 struck perhaps at Alexandria.

A Penny of Burgred, King of Mercia (853-874).

A French Counter of 14th Century.

A Counter of the time of Charles II., struck at Nuremberg.

Several Roman Coins of the 3rd and 4th Centuries, not otherwise to be identified.

There are very many to whom I should like to acknowledge my thanks for kindly assistance during these excavations, but the list would I fear be too long to read. I must, however, express my sincere thanks to the Rev. C. V. Bicknell, for permitting the pasture of his glebe to be dug up, and for his kindness and interest during the excavations, to Mr. Herbert Jones, F.S.A., for kindly

taking charge of the excavations for some days, to Mr. Percy Manning and Mr. Hugh Baker for their excellent practice as navvies, and to Mr. G. E. Fox, Mr. F. Davis, Mr. Chambers, Mr. A. S. Flower, and many others for kind help, and not the least to all those who have so generously assisted by contributing to the Research Fund of this Society.

Excavations on the Site of Verulam.*

REPORT FOR 1899-1900.

BY WILLIAM PAGE, F.S.A.

Assisted by a grant from the Research Fund of the Society of Antiquaries, a donation from this Society, and by other subscriptions, I recommenced excavations in October, 1899, being obliged to carry on the work during the winter months, the land being required for pasture and hay at other times of the year. The result of the excavation during the past winter shows a portion of the inner or southern wall of the main ambulatory, the outer wall of which, was, as will be remembered, uncovered last year. The clear width of the south alley is 26 feet, the floor of which, as mentioned in my last report, was raised about a foot, when the outer wall was re-built. The lower or older pavement is of *opus signinum*, and the upper of white cement, upon neither of which so far as could be seen was there any appearance of a tessellated floor.

At the east end of the ambulatory we traced the eastern boundary wall running southwards for a distance of about 70 feet, when we were compelled to desist from continuing our trench on account of the nearness of some large trees. On the west side of this wall was a pavement of coarse red *tesserae* in a good state of preservation, 21ft. in width and extending the whole length of our building from north to south which is 83 feet. Running under the middle of the pavement is a short sleeper wall 2ft. 6in. in width. The pavement is bounded on its western side by a wall (which was apparently a sleeper wall)

* This paper was prepared for the Excursion of this Society to the site of the Excavations on 27 June, 1900, but is printed for convenience after the previous report.

2ft. 8in. in width and running north and south the full length of the building. For the reason above stated we were unable to trace this wall its full length, but we uncovered a considerable portion of it and both its ends. I noticed that its upper surface was quite smooth and level, looking as though it had formed a bed for a layer of stones. Westward of this last wall was another coarse red tessellated pavement about 8in. lower in level than the pavement just referred to, and 6ft. 6in. in width being bounded on its western side by a roughly built wall, 2ft. 6in. in thickness at the footing and 1ft. 6in. above, and which ran the whole length of the building. On the western side of this wall was what appeared to be a narrow passage 3ft. 2in. in width, at the bottom of which, about 6ft. or 7ft. down, was a deposit of black mud, but as each end of the passage was blocked by a very solid wall it is difficult to understand how it can have been a drain or water way. Beyond this passage is a large rectangular chamber 63ft. 9in. in length, and 34ft. 6in. in width, internal measurements. At the southern end of this chamber was an apse 17ft. across externally and 26ft. in width, which formed a sort of platform about 4ft. 8in. above the floor level of the room, and to which there was apparently no approach from the chamber by steps or otherwise. There are now no remains of the superstructure of the apse, and the upper surface of the platform, which is broken away, may have been slightly higher than it now is. The side walls of the chamber are of excellent construction, being as much as 8ft. 6in. in thickness and terminate with pilasters, the foundations of which are 5ft. by 4ft., and are opposite to the similar foundations in the wall uncovered in the previous winter. These walls and that at the south end, all of which remain to a height of 2ft. and more above the floor level, were covered with plaster with the usual roll at the junction of the wall and floor. So far as the plaster remained in position it was coloured a dark olive green, but detached pieces of it were found of various colours and with fragments of designs upon them. Mr. G. E. Fox, F.S.A., suggests that having regard to the thickness of the walls, the chamber was vaulted and probably with a barrel vault. Of this there was every appearance, for firstly, I found three pieces of coloured

wall plaster, the surfaces of which were very slightly concave, and which had possibly formed portions of the internal decoration of the vault; secondly, while on the floor of the ambulatory, and at the sides of the apse there was a layer of charcoal indicating the remains of a burnt wooden roof, in the chamber itself we found scarcely any charcoal, and thirdly, the floor of the middle part of the chamber was mostly destroyed by bricks and flints which had evidently fallen from some height and had become embedded in the pavement in their fall.

There can have been no entrance to the chamber from the east, south, or west side, as there is apparently no opening in the walls, which, as before stated, remain some height above the floor level. On the north side, however, the wall has been destroyed down to a foot below this level, and from the smoothness of its upper surface I am inclined to think it formed a bed for a continuous course of blocks of stone, and was merely a sleeper wall to carry columns. This is corroborated to a certain extent by the fact that the eastern side wall passes quite over it, and by the finding of a considerable number of the triangular tiles with one side curved, used as we found in last year's excavations, in building columns. On the other hand, however, there was a slight projection of four inches on the west side at the end of the east wall, eight feet westward of which there was a small block of masonry, with a slight indication of a face on its eastern side, the space between these points may have formed a doorway, but the remains were so slight that it is impossible to make any definite statement, beyond pointing out that for the reasons before stated the entrance to the chamber must have been at the northern end.

The chamber had a tessellated floor, so far as we could ascertain, of an elaborate design. The pavement has an outer border of coarse drab *tesserae*, each *tessera* being about 1in. by $1\frac{1}{4}$ in., which extends from the side walls about 5ft. 6in., and rather more from the end walls. Within this was a border of a scale pattern in black and white, within which again was a very pretty wide braid-work design in black, red, drab, and white, then lines in black and white. The great depth of soil above the floor level about 5ft. to 6ft., prevented us from uncovering very much of the pavement, but

from our excavations it appeared that it was very fragmentary, by reason of the upper part of the building having fallen and become imbedded in its surface. From what we found, however, the design appeared to be geometric, made up of a series of bands of a scroll pattern in red, white, yellow, and black. The foundations for the tessellated pavements were composed, firstly of about a foot of rammed gravel, upon which were about two inches of rough concrete or rammed gravel mixed with lime, then came about an inch of *opus signinum*, upon which again was a thin layer of white cement forming a bed for the *tesserae*.

We had the same difficulties to contend with regarding the great depth of the foundation as we had in the previous winter, which caused the work to be costly and prevented the progress we should like to have made. It is hoped that next winter an advance may be made as there is an appearance of an open space westward of the large chamber just described, the southern wall ends in the foundation of a pilaster, and the ground, so far as could be seen, was of black earth with no stratum of Roman brick rubbish such as we found elsewhere.

Until further excavations have been made it seems futile to speculate as to what the building was. That it was one of the most important in the city there can be no doubt from its size, but whether the forum, baths, or other building, it is impossible at present to say. The whole of the masonry uncovered this winter corresponded with the work of the second, or the best of the three periods which were distinguishable in the wall uncovered in the previous winter, and there are no signs of any re-building.

Nothing of any particular interest was found during the excavations beyond the usual fragments of Samian and other pottery. We found, however, a good deal more Purbeck marble having similar mouldings to that found in our previous excavations. We found also a fragment of white marble, the first piece discovered in these excavations. There was a considerable quantity of charcoal which was evidently from the burnt rafters of the roof of the ambulatory. I am told that some of the wood from which this charcoal came was Scotch fir. Mr. Clement Reid, F.R.S., of the Geological Survey, has been good enough to examine a few of the pieces, and writes to say some are undoubtedly oak, while others, he thinks, are apple.

To Mr. H. A. Grueber, F.S.A., of the British Museum, I am indebted for a description of the coins found, which is as follows:—

1 Cladius II. (A.D. 268-270), Denarius commemorating his death. CONSECRATIO and eagle.

1 Uncertain 3rd Century (A.D. 265-270).

1 Carausius (circa A.D. 290) Denarius of London.

1 Helene, mother of Constantine (A.D. 330 circa), Denarius.

6 Constantine II. as Cæsar (A.D. 330 circa) Denarii.

3 Constantine the Great (circa 330) Denarii, struck at Treves.

6 Constantine the Great (circa 330) Denarii.

1 Constantine II. as Cæsar (circa 336) Denarius.

2 Constantine II. as Augustus (after 337) Denarii.

1 Valens (A.D. 364-378) Denarius, struck at Treves.

1 " " " " Constantinople.

6 Uncertain.

8 British imitations of Roman Denarii, probably early 4th Century

3 " " " " probably 5th Century.

2 " " " " probably 5th Century or even later.

There is a particular interest in these late imitations of Roman coins, as their discovery on the site of the Roman city indicates an occupation of the town for a considerable period after the Roman legions had been withdrawn from Britain. The evidence of the visit of St. Germain to Verulamium in 429 to refute the Pelagian heresy seems strong, for we have almost contemporary notice of it by Constantius in his *Vita Sancti Germani* and by Prosper in his chronicle. From this it would seem that the town continued to be of considerable importance, and being selected as a place for the discussion of religious doctrines, one would imagine it must have contained a colony of Christians. The later information about the city is obtained from that most unreliable of English chroniclers, Geoffrey of Monmouth, whose chronicle is copied by all the later chroniclers. From this it would appear that at the beginning of the sixth century Verulamium was in the hands of the Saxons who were defeated by Uther Pendragon, the father of the celebrated King Arthur, in A.D. 512. Uther Pendragon seems to have taken up his residence at Verulamium and died there in A.D. 516. Every scrap of authentic information which can be obtained to throw light upon the period covering about two hundred years after the Roman occupation—an age of myths and romances fabricated by later mediæval writers—is most valuable, and it would be gratifying if these excavations were to throw any light upon this obscure period.

The Annual Meeting of the Society was held at the
Town Hall, St. Albans, on Friday, 28 April, 1899,
at 6 p.m.

Present—Sir John Evans, in the chair; Rev. Canon Davys, Miss Lee, Messrs. Lowe, Tarte, Hardy, Hillier; Mr. H. J. Toulmin (hon. treasurer), Rev. H. Fowler, and Mr. William Page (hon. secretaries), and others.

The minutes of the previous meeting were read and confirmed.

The following candidates were duly elected members:—Mr. P. Blow, A.R.I.B.A., proposed by Mr. A. E. Gibbs, Mr. Edwin Skete and Mr. A. Dean proposed by Mr. W. Page.

The Hon. Treasurer presented the balance sheet of the Society and of the Research Fund, which were duly passed.

The following gentlemen were elected as officers and committee of the Society for the ensuing year.

President: Lord Aldenham.

Vice-Presidents: Viscount Cranborne, M.A., M.P., Ven. Archdeacon Lawrance, M.A., Rev. Canon Gee, D.D., Sir John Evans, K.C.B., Rev. Canon Davys, M.A.

Hon. Treasurer: Mr. H. J. Toulmin, J.P.

Hon. Secretaries: Rev. H. Fowler, M.A., Mr. W. Page, F.S.A., Mr. R. J. Hillier, M.R.C.S.

Hon. Auditor: Mr. G. N. Marten, J.P.

Committee: Messrs. W. R. L. Lowe, S. Flint Clarkson, F.R.I.B.A., George Mowat, J.P., W. Carey Morgan, B.A., Lewis Evans, J.P., F.S.A., F. G. Kitton, E. N. Wix, M.A., and Rev. G. H. P. Glossop, M.A.

Mr. Lowe made a statement as to the progress of the subscriptions for the protection of the St. Germain's Block, and the repair of the St. Peter's Churchwardens' accounts.

WALTER J. LAWRENCE.

Nov. 3rd, 1899.

General Meeting held at the Herts County Museum,
St. Albans, on Friday, 3 November, 1899.

Present—The Ven. Archdeacon Lawrance, in the chair; Messrs. Knight, Lowe, Johnson, Bickley, and Flint Clarkson; Messrs. Page and Hillier (hon. secs.), and others.

The minutes of the previous meeting were read and confirmed.

The following were duly elected members of the Society: Mr. F. R. Sheehan, proposed by Mr. W. Page. Mr. E. Platt, proposed by Mr. Kitton. Mr. T. Prichard Roberts, proposed by Mr. R. J. Hillier. Miss Hodgson, proposed by Mr. R. J. Hillier. Mr. A. F. Smith, proposed by Mr. Kitton. Mr. J. Denison Jordon, proposed by Mr. W. Page. Mr. Victor T. Hodgson, proposed by Mr. Hillier. Miss Richings, proposed by Rev. H. Fowler.

Mr. Kitton proposed a vote of condolence with the widow and family of the late Mr. Cussans, which was seconded by the Ven. Archdeacon Lawrance and carried.

Mr. Kitton also proposed a vote of thanks to those who had assisted in helping to get the petition for the preservation of the old house in

the Market Place, St. Albans, signed, which was seconded by Mr. Charles Johnson and carried.

Mr. Page read a paper on a Twelfth Century Psalter from St. Albans Abbey, found at Hildesheim, which was illustrated by numerous lantern slides, kindly provided by Mr. R. J. Hillier, after which a vote of thanks was accorded to Mr. Page for his paper.

Mr. S. Flint Clarkson then read a paper on *The Father of Inland Navigation*, also illustrated by lantern slides.

After votes of thanks to Mr. Clarkson for his paper, to Mr. Hillier for preparing the slides, and to the Archdeacon for presiding, the meeting became conversational.

WALTER J. LAWRENCE.

Feb. 1st, 1900.

The Father of Inland Navigation.

BY S. FLINT CLARKSON.

The granite column on Moneybury Hill, standing within a few yards of the boundary between Herts and Bucks, is well known to all travellers on the L. and N.W. Railway. Seen by them from the west, the column seems to overtop the trees. The hill, at times called Aldbury Hill, slopes sharply down to Aldbury village. It may be approached from the east along the top of the Ash-Ridge—under magnificent trees. There is an avenue on the top, with a length of nearly two miles, and about as majestic as such things are made. The column is about $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles to the north-west of the principal entrance of Ashridge House, the residence of Earl Brownlow.

On the base of the column, may be read, "In honour of Francis, third Duke of Bridgewater, 'Father of Inland Navigation,' 1832." He owned Ashridge, and the memorial was placed in the most prominent position that the estate affords. He was born in 1736, and as he died in 1803, the Grand Junction Canal, in the valley, is in effect another memorial of Francis Egerton. It was commenced in 1793, and opened in 1805, only two years after his death. It was a crowning work in English canalisation, as, by its means, inland inter-communication was obtained between London and Liverpool, Hull and Bristol. The great modern house at Ashridge, begun in 1808, inhabited in 1814, and completed about 1817, is also looked upon as a memorial of the Duke. There is also a neat memorial in the chancel aisle of Little Gaddesden Church, where the

Duke was buried, put there by John William, the seventh Earl of Bridgewater. Two lines at the foot of the inscription at Little Gaddesden, state that Francis Egerton made it possible for vessels to ride where ploughmen previously walked ("Men once walked where ships at anchor ride"). The paper prepared by our Honorary Secretary, the Rev. Henry Fowler, in order that it might be read before us in Little Gaddesden Church, amid the memorials of the Egertons, will deal fully with the interesting family history, and much besides.* It is not my duty to give, even briefly, what he must promise to give fully. I have only been asked to repeat before you the few words prepared for our Ashridge excursion. When the column came into sight, I was to explain the Duke's connection with inland navigation.

Mr. Clarkson then described the different kinds of canals now found in Britain, comparing them with foreign canals; (1) canalised rivers (the Ouse, etc.); (2) canals joining lakes (the Caledonian Canal, Suez); (3) canals formed at the sides of streams and fed from them (the Exeter Canal, the Sankey Canal, parts of the Thames and Severn Canal, Languedoc Canal); (4), canals which are purely artificial, being formed without regard to the course of natural streams. The Duke's Canal, having a total length of 28 miles between Longford Bridge near Manchester and Runcorn, was an early example on a good scale of these new rivers. The Sankey Canal, connecting St. Helen's with the Mersey, had led the way in 1755, and the Duke's Canal from Worsley to Manchester was in use in 1761. Necessarily a canal which pierces a watershed belongs to the same class, being a purely artificial river in the most remarkable portion of its course. It was a sense of conquest which stirred the nation in 1789, when boats which had gone up the Thames to Lechlade, found their way through Sapperton Tunnel and the Golden Valley into the Severn. Bristol could then be reached by water from London without passing through the English, and up the Bristol Channel. This Thames and Severn Canal was opened in 1789, not quite thirty years after

* Owing to the death of Rev. H. Fowler, who did not live to complete this paper, it has been impossible to print it. Mr. Fowler's notes, however, on this subject, will be found among his MSS. at the Society's Library.

the Duke's Canal to Runcorn. It has been stated that in 1826, less than forty years after Sapperton had seemed so strange a wonder, there were over 3,000 miles of navigable watercourses in England alone. The Duke had set a most useful example to his country and the world at the opportune moment; but, if interpreted literally, the inscription on the base of the column exaggerates. In strictness, he ought not to be called "The Father of Inland Navigation" and looked upon as the first inventor who practised canal making, which is an ordinary interpretation of the phrase. Vessels went up navigable rivers, and there were improved rivers in very old days; and a canal of the artificial kind, on a very large scale—the Canal du Midi (Canal des deux Mers, Languedoc Canal)—had shown before 1670 that distance and difference of level were difficulties over which capable engineers were resolved to triumph. Louis XIV. sought and found glory in that ambitious enterprise for connecting by water the Atlantic and the Mediterranean. But the Languedoc Canal, although world-renowned, was possibly unknown both to the Duke and to James Brindley, his engineer, for Brindley did not travel far, and rarely read anything. He had, however, great natural powers, and knew how to use them. He often did at the right moment what might otherwise have long remained undone, and often rediscovered what others had found out before. Brindley and the Duke will always be remembered as having brought homes of trade nearer to each other. They promoted material welfare; and, as if accidentally, also promoted, in preparation for railways, the thorough fusion of people often separated by the nature of the country; but brought closer by skill and labour spent upon great highways—roadways, railways, canals, and seas. Perhaps the Duke's example was all the more telling in England because he and his helpers professed no lofty views. The inscription on the memorial at Little Gaddesden: "He will be ever memorable among those who were honoured in their generations, and were the glory of their times," would have surprised him, and Brindley also. They understood each other; and knew that neither was well fitted for being an idol of the populace. Cowper might well have intended this when he wrote in "Table Talk":—

“Not Brindley nor Bridgewater would essay
To turn the course of Helicon that way”;

Cowper really meant something very different; the poem, by the way, was first published in 1782, when Brindley had been dead ten years, and the Duke was 46.

Scroop Egerton, Earl of Bridgewater, became first Duke, and died in 1741. His son, John, was the second Duke, and died in 1748, aged 20. Francis, the fifth and youngest son of Scroop Egerton, who was born in 1736, and succeeded his brother John at the age of 12, was the third and last Duke of Bridgewater. In 1753, he started on the grand tour with Robert Wood (“Balbec and Palmyra” Wood, born 1716, died 1771). At the age of 23 (1759), the Duke was engaged to be married to Elizabeth, Duchess of Hamilton, who had been the youngest Miss Gunning, and had been a widow for a year (born 1734, died 1790). The marriage did not take place. He retired to his estate at Worsley, near Manchester. Being a coal owner, he realised the difficulty of transporting coals by road. He met James Brindley in 1759, the seven miles of canal between Worsley and Manchester were opened for traffic in 1761—one of the first navigable canals in England which was wholly the work of man. The canal from Worsley to Runcorn was opened for traffic in 1767—about five years from the passing of the Enabling Act. Thereafter, canals were often in progress. In 1777, the Grand Trunk (Trent and Mersey) Canal; in 1789, the Thames and Severn Canal, marked important stages in the work of covering England with a network of canals. The Grand Junction Canal, almost at our doors, at Boxmoor, Watford, and Rickmansworth, made others complete. The Duke is said to have expended £220,000 on the Duke’s Canal (Manchester to Runcorn). When death came in 1803, he was buried at Little Gaddesden, with the simplicity befitting his character and way of life, by his own special request.

Stated thus in outline, it seems a meagre record, but told at the fullest, there is in the Duke’s life not the story of a hero, either Carlylese or romantic, but that of a sane, strong, ordinary man, who made good use of his powers, and of those of others, for adding to his wealth, and thus served also his country and his time.

General Meeting held at the Herts County Museum on Thursday, 1st February, 1900.

Present—The Ven. Archdeacon Lawrance, in the chair; Messrs. Howard, Tarte, Wilton Hall, Askwith, Carey Morgan, and many others.

The minutes of the previous meeting were read and confirmed.

The Rev. C. V. Bicknell, proposed by the Committee, was duly elected an honorary member of the Society. Mr. W. P. W. Phillimore, M.A., B.C.L., of Berkhamsted, proposed by Mr. W. Page; and Mr. Councillor A. F. Faulkner, proposed by Mr. W. Carey Morgan, were duly elected members.

Mr. Page announced that a series of questions had been received by the Society from the Local Records Committee, and he hoped if anyone had any information as to collections of documents in the County not generally known, it would be sent to the secretaries. In reply to a question from Mr. Kitton, Mr. Page said that he understood from Mr. Lowe, that work had been commenced for the preservation of St. Germain's Block.

Mr. A. C. Bickley then read a paper on St. Albans, as a Village Community, which elicited considerable discussion.

HENRY J. TOULMIN,
Chairman.

March 13th, 1900.

St. Albans as a Village Community.

BY MR. A. C. BICKLEY.

Proceeding by the inductive method, I have to ask why St. Albans should have been chosen as a great centre in England by the Romans? The answer that is generally given that it was at the confluence of certain roads, will, I think, on reflection be deemed to be quite inadequate. I cannot deny that the roads being made, it was quite natural that a great camp and city should have arisen at their juncture. But this is surely only escaping one difficulty by embracing another, and the other is why the roads were at all; why they took the particular direction they did. It is well known that the Romans were in the habit of making roads wherever they conquered, and this is true with the limitation that they only made roads in countries sufficiently populated, or from one centre to another. There is no reason to suppose that any different policy was adopted in England to that obtaining elsewhere. That it is highly probable that the Romans did not lay out most of these roads, but only repaired and adapted them, I venture to submit

has little to do with the question. Our object is to find out primarily why these roads or tracks were made in the first instance. To this the obvious answer is that they were made or laid out for the convenience of carriage between one centre of population and another, and this being the case, it is only in the nature of things that lesser centres of population should have gathered along these roads or tracks, and especially at those places where they crossed. Whether there is any truth in Cæsar's story that Verulam was the chief station of Cassevellaunus at the time of his invasion or not, and there is no reason to disbelieve its truth, is of no moment to my argument. Cæsar describes it as being a place of great military strength, well defended by woods and marshes, as consisting of rude dwellings built of wood, and as being defended by a rampant and a ditch. Such a description would apply to most British towns at this time, but this would not in itself be sufficient to show why the Romans should have chosen the place as one of their few great strongholds. Indeed, it would somewhat militate against it, inasmuch as there is a good deal of evidence that the Romans did not invariably choose British sites for their towns, and indeed in some cases seem to have positively avoided them in order to select some site more suited to their needs or ideas. Though I do not for one moment deny that St. Albans was a British stronghold, yet I cannot help thinking that the camp of Cassevellaunus did not occupy the site of Verulamium, but, taking Cæsar's description as correct, was rather towards the site now occupied by Lord Verulam's house at New Barnes. Be this as it may, neither the British nor the Romans would have chosen St. Albans for a centre if it had not presented certain advantages which lie outside mere means of defence, and most certainly it would not have been selected as the site of the largest permanent camp in Britain. Owing partly to the conditions of the country, and still more to the difficulties of transit, the choice of positions some eighteen or nineteen hundred years ago was far more limited than it is to-day. It is only by appreciating this fact that we can understand the reason for the selection of numbers of Roman camps, many of which were at places which the course of ages has shown to have small advantages from the geographical point of view. I need

mention only a few instances in England, as Richborough, Chichester, and Dorchester, but with regard to the two first they were served by tidal rivers, and if the stream that runs through Dorchester was not navigable then-a-days, the town was within easy reach of the sea coast.

Now, St. Albans presented none of these advantages. It had no navigable stream, and was most certainly at a very inconvenient distance from the sea coast. To reach it a difficult and hostile country must be traversed, and however eligible it might otherwise be, one can but see that there were many other places offering equal advantages with greater facilities of outside supply. Yet it goes without saying that the Romans would never have selected, and most certainly never have continued their camp here, if they had not been satisfied that their garrison would not be liable to starvation. This brings me to the real point of my paper—the consideration of St. Albans as the site of a village community, or rather as the centre of a horde of communities. It is only of recent years that we have learned to appreciate the importance of the part an understanding of the village community system may be able to play in solving many of the problems of our pre-written history. Sir Henry Maine had for years pointed out that the one unchangeable feature of Indian life lies in its communities, that dynasties came and went, while they remained the same, before it occurred to anyone to look for evidences of a similiar primitive culture in our own country. The work of Kowalewsky and other scholars made us acquainted with the fact of a system, similar in its main points, in the Mir district of Russia (a system in the imitation of which some modern socialists profess to see the only salvation of England), in absolute unconsciousness that once something analogous to it obtained in immediate pre-Roman times in this country, and it was not until within the last few years, when the researches of Mr. Seebohm opened the eyes of archæologists to this untried field, that the existence of village communities became an element of our prehistoric knowledge. Although the remains of the village community system were spread around them with a lavishness which our modern civilization has destroyed, the historians of the last century and the earlier part of this, indeed, I may almost say, the latter part of this, have ignored them

altogether, or only referred to them as remains or evidences of British or Saxon methods of cultivation. The old stories which represent our British forefathers as savages, dressed in their own innocence and a little blue paint, have to go to the board. Canon Greenwell and other authors have proved that the Romans had not to meet a chance conglomeration of half-naked savages, gathered from many alien and hostile tribes, merely to resist a common foe, but an army capable of appreciating the seriousness of the struggle and united by a common culture. This culture, so far as present investigation shows, could only have arisen from one source; namely, the village community system. This system presented to a people, emerging from the pastoral cult into the agricultural cult, certain great advantages; it enabled the family or tribe to so isolate itself that risk of warfare with neighbouring tribes was reduced to a minimum; it secured to it its customs, whether totemistic or exogamic or endogamic, and it gave it its requisite means of self-government. Further, it gave to each tribe or family a local habitation, nor did it prevent, but rather assisted in that bonding together which might be necessary to resist a common enemy. The Village Community was a tribe or section of a tribe that for the purposes of sustenance had isolated itself. So far as the evidence afforded by place names and folk custom will allow us to predicate, when it became too big for its land to support, a part split off and found pastures new, and these found, it settled down, preserving the old conditions. Preferably, by the Aryan tribes, a site was chosen by a running stream, but as in the instance of Maidun an adequate well of water may have been deemed sufficient. But four things were invariable. One, the site of the village, where huts might be built and an open-air place of tribal meeting secured (preferably on raised ground); secondly, the garden ground, or kailyard, which was attached to the house, which is so well seen in the garden or court, so often disused in the Mir districts of Russia, and evidences of which still continue in the outer courts of old-fashioned Wessex manors; third, the common field which was devoted to agriculture; fourth, the grazing land, which was open and undivided, and which for choice surrounded the common field; and lastly, the wild or forest land which isolated one village community

from another, and which at once formed neutral and hunting grounds. I need not dwell on the common feast, the hearth fire, or the folk meetings. Of the non-Aryan tribes I will speak presently. It must be evident that by means of such a system England might become a highly productive country, such a country as is the plains at the foot of the Neilgherries or the black soil district of Russia.

In dealing with the village community at St. Albans, we have not, as we should have to do in so many other places, to consider the conquest or supersession of the primitive non-Aryan race by an Aryan one. I quite agree with Messrs. Seebohm and Gomme that the earliest inhabitants of these islands of whom we have any definite knowledge were of non-Aryan stock, and, of course, it is quite possible that they were to some extent mixed up by the time of the Roman invasion with the Aryan conquerors. But, in truth the two races subsisted side by side, and from their different methods of life did not tend to fuse. No doubt they killed one another whenever they could, and most certainly the non-Aryans bitterly hated the intruding race, who despised them, as races of hunters and warriors do those who are content to gain a subsistence by agricultural labour, desiring no improvement. Yet we know from the evidences remaining at Hitchin and the field terraces still to be seen near Luton, and at Clothall, that the non-Aryan stock had settlements in the neighbourhood. Still, I think we need not take them into consideration at St. Albans, for topographical reasons. The country did not suit them. They preferred sudden if not necessarily high hills, on the top of which they could build their strongly-defended villages, just as do the non-Aryan hill tribes of Northern India to-day. They abhorred low-lying lands, and especially marshes and forests, which contained great snakes and savage beasts, with which these people, practically unarmed, felt unable to cope. The valleys intervening between one settlement and another preserved these tribes from their enemies, and so forced them to develop some amount of culture. So far as we can observe from the scanty remains we have, or deduce from parallel examples, they were totemists and endogamous. Professor Boyd Dawkins thinks they formed a considerable population and were

neolithic, he also points out that to them we owe the rudiments of the culture we now enjoy. "Their cereals are still cultivated by our farmers, their domestic animals still minister to us, and the arts of which they possessed only the rudiments, have developed into the industries; spinning, weaving, pottery making, mining, without which we can scarcely realise what our lives would be."

The great distinction between the Aryan and the non-Aryan village community which will at once strike you is that the Aryan commenced his cultivation from the lowest level, the non-Aryan from the hill-top. Surrounding the fortress village was the land where the soil was too thin and poor to be capable of cultivation, and here the cattle grazed. Lower down, where the soil got thicker, agriculture commenced, and to this, together with the increase of population, which required the utmost development of the land at disposal, we owe that system of terrace cultivation that for so many years was one of the problems which puzzled the most acute archæologist. The method of the Aryan community, when circumstances forced it to take to agriculture, was just the reverse. The village was placed by preference near the stream, though not necessarily on the most low-lying land, then came the arable ground, which although belonging to the community was apportioned to each family according to its needs; beyond this was the common field wherein the cattle of all might graze without let or hindrance and over which no one might claim any exclusive right, and further on the waste or forest which was neutral ground, and served the Aryan communist as a hunting ground and a means of defence from hostile tribes. There can be no doubt that morally and intellectually the Aryan tribes were superior to those of the hill men. It is probably to these gentry Cæsar refers as being polyandrous. Polyandry was not uncommon among early non-Aryan tribes, although it is just to say that it is not unknown among Aryans, but it is possible that, as he was hardly likely to be an enquirer at first-hand, Cæsar was misled by his informants, and refers to a system of Clan Marriage which we know prevailed in many parts of early Britain. Many remains of these systems are recorded, and one can but regret that they have never been gathered up, for as Kowalewsky, Letourneu, Reclus,

and others, have shown us, that from nothing can we learn so much of primitive usage or notions of property as from marriage customs. To one custom at St. Albans I shall refer later, but first I wish to call your attention to the subject of folk moots. In the accounts of the rebellions against Abbey rule, given by one of the Abbey chroniclers, it is noted that the people met in the open air. Now, as these people were plotters, and as there is no reason that the leaders might not have arranged the matter in secrecy, which I may remind you was the usual manner in the Middle Ages just as it is now-a-days, I can but agree with some eminent students of custom, that this open-air gathering is indicative of the ancient community folk meeting. We know that it was essential to the validity of a decision at a folk-mote that it should be arrived at in the open air, and if possible on an elevated spot. The Dane John at Canterbury will occur to us all as being an instance of an elevation expressly made for this purpose, and I may remind you that even now no law has any validity in the Isle of Man unless proclaimed on Tynwald Hill and in the open air. Mr. Fairman Ordish called attention some time ago to a curious remnant of this custom in Hampshire, where it is held essential to the proper rehearsal of the village St. George play that it should take place on a particular piece of ground and not under cover. A still more striking instance is to be found in an existing Purbeck custom, which provides that certain of the inhabitants of one village shall, on a special day, march to another where a feast is provided for them, and as they proceed to a third they shall of right kiss any girl they happen to meet. The journey ends in an open air meeting. Although Purbeck is full of traces of endogamy and exogamy, of polyandry and matriarcalism, this is, I think, the most peculiar and distinctive remnant. Have we anything analogous in St. Albans? A few weeks ago my answer would have been in the negative, or at least doubtful. But to-night, I must in honesty affirm that we have. Among the labourers that inhabit our back lanes I have found, by practical experience, two remnants. The one is that in some cases the wife on marriage, for social purposes, retains her own name and is known as Jane Smith, the wife of Tom Jones, although it is clearly understood that her legal name is that of

the husband. This is a curious reminiscence of tribal marriage. The other instance, which subsists among a distinctly lower class, is for the husband to take, for social purposes, the family name of the wife. This is one of the most distinct remains of matriarchalism I have found in England, with one exception, and I would ask you to consider how strong must be the force of primitive custom when it can withstand the Roman and Saxon invasions, the Norman Conquest and mediæval usage, plus our destructive modern civilisation. It seems to me that just as the Purbeck customs I have detailed point to a village community under semi-advanced, that is, patriarchal conditions, so the assumption of the wife's name by the husband points to one that still remained matriarchal. It is unnecessary to remind you that we still find parallels among the hill tribes of India and the Caucasian settlements and in the wilder parts of China. I may here mention another instance of primitive culture, or want of it, which I have found to prevail among the lower class of cottagers. It is the eating from one dish, each member of the family dipping his or her spoon or fingers into the mass and conveying in to the mouth, without going through the needless formality of having a plate. As illustrative of this I may quote Sinclair's account of the manners and customs of the Scottish peasant farmer: "At their meal they ate and supped together out of one dish. Each person in the family had a short-hafted spoon made of horn, which they called a munn, with which they supped, and carried it in their pocket, or hung it by their side. They had no knives or forks, but used their fingers." Mr. Laurence Gomme, in quoting this, justly points out that it does not represent a going back to, but a non-advance from, barbarism, and considers it a strong piece of evidence of the village community. So far as St. Albans is concerned, let me draw your attention to the fact that the usage I have mentioned is to be found, so far as I can discover, only among those whose ancestors have been of the agricultural labourer class, and not among those whom the exigencies of commerce have imported from other districts, or who have been town employees or artisans, or, in other words, those whose primitive culture has been severely modified by mediæval influences. I would, if time permitted, call your attention to many instances

of this primitive form of civilisation still to be found in England, and the moral, it seems to me, is that the Roman invasion, although it lasted for hundreds of years, never vitally affected the life of the people. I am quite willing to allow that in St. Albans, as at York, or London, or Colchester, we find a peculiar difficulty in tracing early institutions on account of stirring mediæval influences. Places with continuous civilisations must be content to lose evidences of primitive culture. In cultural history as in other sciences, all gain amounts to an equivalent loss.

In asking you to accompany me in spirit to St. Michael's I need hardly describe the peculiarities of that village. It is, as we all here know, approached by a bridge over the Ver, and by a rising street, which is terminated by the churchyard. But I would call your attention to the fact that not only is there a bridge, a purely modern convenience, but also a ford. Now a ford is an important matter. People do not make fords, as they do bridges. They depend on natural characteristics. Although the Ver has been enclosed, I am unable to see a place within reasonable distance where in ancient times there would have been another ford, unless it were at the foot of Holywell-hill. The mere fact that there is a natural ford is surely of importance. To me it seems an obvious connection between the water meadows and the upland, for, on the south side of the Ver, the upland must have been at an inconvenient distance, especially as the copses now existent seem to indicate the boundaries of the agrarian lands of the community. The continuance of this ford is one of the most interesting of the remaining evidences of the village community of St. Albans. As I have pointed out previously, we must not expect in a place so long settled, which was a great Roman, then a Saxon, and during mediæval times, a town of considerable size and great importance, to find such direct evidence of the community as we may at Aston or Chippenham, at Norton or Rothwell, but careful examination may discover some colateral testimony. Am I over-bold in suggesting that we find one item in the camp said to have belonged to Ostorius, which, I think, was originally merely the strong enclosure to which the communists might retreat in case of danger. You will all have noticed that the Hempstead-road from the ford to St.

Michael's Church is straight enough, till it winds round the schools and garden, and then goes on past the Vicarage in the original direction. Can we not gather something from this? The school-house and garden are indisputably modern, and their position not being a convenient one, they were probably stuck down where they are because it happened to be a piece of vacant land. Whether it had an owner or not is beside the question, but that it was vacant, and had once been common land gains colour from the way the church road widens at this point. You will remember, too, that east of the church there is a considerable rise in the level of the churchyard. To get from the village gate to the field track means climbing up and down quite a little hill. I do not say that this is not natural, probably it is, but certainly it points to St. Michael's Church occupying the site of the village folk-place, and the curve in the road is just what one would look for at such a spot. The communists seem to have held folk-places as sacred, if we may consider that in England they had the same prejudices as in other countries, and specially in those in which village communities still hold their own, and that therefore though there would be tracks to the meeting-place they would not be allowed to pass through it. Over and over again we find that the church occupies the site of the village meeting-place. It was a sacred and well-known spot; where, then, could there be a better site for the church? We must remember, too, that in early days the church was largely used for secular purposes, and in the provision that the vestry, or parish parliament, which was until comparatively recently very largely secular in its functions, should meet in the church, we may surely see a continuance of the village folk-moot. Students of church customs are constantly reminding us that often our old churches were used as marts, and we know that the churchyard was frequently the scene of village fairs or festive gatherings, and that, so to speak, nothing in the way of trade was barred.

I confess I do not lay much stress in the case of places so long settled as St. Albans, on field names. I have found them most misleading, and this must be the case when we remember the number of owners of various nationalities, each introducing different customs, whose property the lands have been. But in places where

village life has been allowed to pursue the even tenour of its way, the case is different. For instance, in the parish of Woking, Surrey, there is a gigantic field bearing the significant name of Broad Meadow; and one at Norton, in Somerset, called Broadmead. There are many fields which retain such suggestive names as Broad Shard, Long Furlong, and so forth. I could, but it is surely unnecessary, go on multiplying instances. There being, on account of its Roman, Saxon, mediæval, and modern importance, and the stress there has always been towards a high condition of cultivation, so little visible evidence remaining of the community system at St. Albans, that I trust you will allow me to describe a place almost parallel as regards geographical and geological conditions, whereat historical reasons have favoured exceptionally the continuance of custom and tradition. The place I wish to refer to is the ancient parish of Woking; I say ancient parish, because since the Conquest it has been split up, but for our purposes to-night it must be taken as a whole. The ancient parish was of enormous size, and contained several village communities. The most noticeable is the one that had for its centre the village of Woking. Woking lies on one side of the river Wey. The river cuts it off abruptly, although, as at St. Michael's, there is a ford. Though this ford is now replaced by a bridge, I must insist upon it, because while the river was a means of defence, yet it was of the highest importance that the village should be placed where for purposes of cultivation it might be crossed with ease by daylight. Of course, there are no remains of either the communal house or of the family dwellings, but probably the road occupies its original position, for, after going in a fairly straight line through the village, it turns abruptly at practically a right angle and surrounds an enormous field, sub-divided among many occupiers, and which probably once represented the common arable land. The evidence of a field across the ford is still stronger. The length of this field is extreme, being considerably over a mile. Its width is not commensurate with its length, and at frequent intervals it is dotted with stones, the lines drawn between which form the boundaries of holdings. Exactly the same was to be seen at Corfe.

One thing has struck me in all the many cases I have

seen, and that is the small size of the stones. This was, no doubt, on account of the frequency with which, under the village community system, boundaries had to be changed, when large stones would be mere encumbrances; but their small size has certainly led to thousands upon thousands being rooted up and applied to other purposes. This field on the side bounded by the ford has a road which winds round it. So does one round the other across the river. Beyond these fields are belts of meadow lands, which certainly represent the common grazing ground of the primitive community, and around this was a wide belt of common waste or forest land. It is now largely enclosed, and where it is not, is merely covered with scrub, but if tradition is to be trusted it was woodland once upon a time. For obvious reasons, Woking, till some fifty years ago, was little disturbed. There are no certain traces of any Roman occupation within its boundaries. It was a royal manor at the time of Domesday, and was repeatedly granted out to favourites, who generally got their heads chopped off, or came to other untimely ends before they could take up residence. Being surrounded by wide heaths, it lay outside the beaten track, and was so much neglected that in mediæval times it had its own parochial court of justice, which I can remember sitting, and which I have described in the "Antiquary" and in a book. This is surely a reminiscence of the village folk-moot, the more as it deals with those questions of morality which usually come before the village councils elsewhere. By morality I mean those things that appeal to the conscience of the village folk, such as altering the neighbour's landmark, or taking an undue advantage of the common lands, and also with those questions which are naturally objectionable to a district which still retains a feeling in favour of endogamy. Thirty years ago the tribal feeling was very strong, and the life of a "foreigner"—that is a man not born or bred on the heath lands—was made miserable to him. He was an outcast, and the commonest courtesies were refused him. The most significant custom remains to be mentioned. It obtained in a subsidiary hamlet, and is certainly a survival of the folk-moot. On one evening in the week, the commoners of the district used to meet and exchange wives for the ensuing period. It was not looked on as

at all improper, and it is perhaps one of the latest instances of the survival of tribal marriage that I know of in England. It was in full force up to forty years ago, but unluckily for the survival of folk custom, an energetic vicar and other authorities set themselves to break up the practice, and to the best of my belief it has now gone the way of things departed. If we are to believe old chroniclers, such customs were not uncommon not so many hundreds of years ago in out-of-the-way places in England and till much later in Scotland and Ireland. Even within the last century something similar was known in parts of Wales, as you may remember Kowalewsky showed in his Ilchester lectures.

But Bisley, near Woking, is so significant an instance of a village community that I must dwell on it for one moment. It is a good way from the modern village, and also from the high road. It is on a slight elevation, but what is most noticeable is that two or three lanes leading from nowhere in particular converge at the churchyard, though for centuries past they have not been used for the villagers to go to church, and, indeed, two are so overgrown that they cannot have been used for any purpose and have ceased to be marked on any map. I need hardly say that there is at this village the usual legend of the Devil having shifted the stones, just as there is at Over and so many other places where the church is out of the way, and this, I also think, tends to show that the church now occupies the ground that early priests once taught was consecrated to the Devil. The moral of these legends is, to use the words of Denys of Burgundy, that the Devil is dead. The other case I have to mention is that of Norton-sub-Hamdon, in the county of Somerset. I have chosen this place for two reasons, firstly, because there are Roman remains in the village, and secondly, because between stone quarrying and wool weaving, there has been some continuous occupation besides that of agriculture. Nor, to give a third reason, was it ever so out of the world as Woking. The river Parrett runs through the parish, but the common fields do not run down to it, nor is the village on it, but upon a small streamlet. I would suggest for a reason that the river is not fordable at all times. One side of the parish embraces a great part of Ham-hill, on which there is an ancient British

earthwork, which is upwards of three miles in circuit, and encloses about 210 acres. Within this are a number of hut circles, which are so small and deep as to suggest that their ancient occupants were of a lower condition of culture than those which made the larger ones we find so plentifully in, for instance, Berwickshire. Mr. Trask, the author of a monograph on Norton, follows Mr. Gomme in thinking that they were occupied by neolithic or non-Aryan people, and he agrees with Canon Greenwell that they possessed considerable civilisation. Here, then, we have the hill folk living side by side with the Aryan community, and between them a narrow track of neutral ground. The Romans had a camp on Ham-hill, large enough and settled enough to have a small amphitheatre, but there is no reason to suppose that they interfered with the life of the district so long as the inhabitants duly paid tribute and probably acted as servants. It is noticeable that the Roman remains are practically confined to one place, and are not scattered over the common fields.

The church is somewhat out of the way, lying behind the village on very slightly elevated ground, and approached by two lanes, one from the village street and one from a lane dividing a field called the Long Furlong from another which bears the suggestive name of Broadmead. Mr. Trask does not doubt, nor do I, that the church marks the site of the village meeting-place. "Here was held," says he, "the tun moot, where justice was administered, and where parochial business of all kinds was transacted." The most important thing in the place is that there are four common fields, in one of which the scattered yards or acres, or "rugges," as they are sometimes called, are only less clearly marked than at Malmesbury. "The large fields," says Mr. Trask, "were certainly held by several occupiers, in acres or strips, and not in large portions." As late as a vestry held in 1812, it was decided that "no person to stock more than 25 sheep to the living in the Common Fields, or on Ham Hill; any person not having sheep, to stock two horses in lieu of 25 sheep; and not to stock bullocks or pigs within the said parish of Norton, but sheep and horses only." I would call your attention to two points in this: one, the fact that the land was all meadow, having ceased to be

arable, the other that the grazing ground on Ham Hill slopes is included in the village land.* The exclusion of cows is odd, but that of pigs can be easily explained on totemistic grounds, if not on the more prosaic one that they destroy turf in feeding. I would also ask you to notice that in Norton we find reference to the Common Bakehouse, which points to the communal hearth fire.

Of course, in this city we are intensely Roman. I hope all duly appreciate our privilege in living close to the site of the largest Roman camp in Britain, possibly one of the largest in the world. I sometimes wonder if we realise quite how important it was in its influence on the natural history and topographical features of the district. At one time there were six legions said to be located here. Even allowing that they were like our own regiments, on a peace footing greatly below their professed strength, yet there must have been an army of from fifteen to twenty thousand men, and that for a considerable time. Think of all the camp followers there would be and of the servants and slaves required. Think too, of the multitude that would be engaged in supplying all their various needs, and then we shall be able to realise that the St. Albans of to-day is but a village to what it was in the first and second centuries. Not only the borough but, for a mile or two round, the country must have been covered with huts and villas, and all our wonder should be that the face should be so little changed. Doubtless most of the Roman dwellings were of wood, and that it was only in the camp and near thereto that they employed brick or stone, except perhaps the great among them, but even allowing for this, surely the destruction of Roman works is a thing to marvel at. The truth we have to grasp is that the Roman occupation was a mere settlement, and that it had small effect on the life of the people. Conquered, they went on living much as before, only being in subjection and paying tribute. The British peasant still farmed his common fields, still pursued his accustomed methods of cultivation, still built his communal house and his private hut, still divided and re-apportioned his communal lands. He might be friendly or unfriendly with the conquering Roman, but he kept his life apart; his sons did not wed

* For further information the reader is referred to Mr. Trask's "Norton-sub-Hamdon" (Taunton: Barnicott and Pearce).

with Roman maidens, nor did the haughty soldiers, as a common thing, take to wife the girls of Britain. Doubtless such customs as communal marriage, or others even more objectionable, would be repressed; doubtless, too, the cruel rites of the Druids would be discouraged, but little beyond this took place. The heathen British still made, as inferences lead us to believe, priests of the lowest of the people, according to pleasant non-Aryan custom—you will remember an instance in the Old Testament. Cæsar describes the functions of the Druids, which, if true, as there is no reason to suppose it not to be, clearly leads us to think that the Druids were non-Aryans, and that they performed the functions which, for instance, the Kolarian tribal priests perform for the village community in that part of India to-day. The truth is that the Roman occupation was a mere outside influence, and affected the British little as communities, though perhaps much individually in many cases. I can do no better than quote the pregnant words of Mr. Laurance Gomme: "The economical system of Rome . . . does not find a place in the primitive economies of Teutonic England. . . . On every side in England we see Rome and its civilisation destroyed or pushed on one side. Not only are cities and villas and roads trampled under foot or under the plough, but commerce and its economical system are pushed out of the way by village communities and their self-contained, self-supporting exclusiveness. Stone and brick lie in heaps at Cærlæon, Wroxeter, Silchester, and Verulam, to be replaced by wattle and daub and uncarpentered oak. Manufactures, luxuries of all kinds ceased to exist, and the villager was clothed in the products of his own village, woven by the females of his own family." To us living where we do such words must come home with great force. As one author has pointed out, though the Briton had doubtless worked at making bricks for his Roman masters, yet once relieved of the servitude, he ceased to know how to fashion bricks at all, preferring houses of wood or mud. Nor were the Saxons better. As Roger of Wendover tells us, Ella and his three sons, when they had taken a Roman city and destroyed its inhabitants, wrecked the place and sat down under its walls, when they proceeded to cultivate after their own fashion and to build their accustomed

huts, in utter disregard of the palaces and temples which stood full in their sight. At St. Albans it was the same. There was brick and stone in huge quantities, but none used them. The churches of Ulsinus were of wood or wattle, though possibly erected on stone foundations, and it was not till the days of the Norman builders that even churchmen recognized the valuable quarry that lay ready to hand. It is to the churchmen and their iron rule, far more than to Roman or Saxon occupation, that we must trace the lack of evidence of the village community system in St. Albans. Of all feudal lords, they were the hardest, dividing to every man as they would. They ruled and terrified by ecclesiastical as well as temporal power, and, for their own purposes, divided and united holdings, often to economical advantage, but greatly to the loss of historical continuity. In another way, their rule was destructive. The temporal baron was often absent; the ecclesiastical lord constantly on the spot, in person or deputy; on church lands, therefore, no time was given for the recuperation of custom. Again, so long as he had his dues in money, men, or labour, the temporal lord cared little what the people did or believed. The churchman perpetually interfered; if it was not a matter of this world it was of the next.

At the commencement of my paper I mentioned the question of natural history. I think each great Roman centre, each colony, was only planted where it was beyond dispute that the inhabitants would be, humanly speaking, certain not to be starved, or in other words, they were only set down at places where there were communities of such size and degree of civilisation as to promise adequate subsistence. This must have meant excessive cultivation, such cultivation as we see in some of the Swiss Cantons. On this point I am most unqualified to speak, even more than on the others I have touched on in this paper, but judging from my own partial observation, I must say that I have been struck by the narrow range of flora and insect life around many of our great Roman towns. The same thing has struck me forcibly at Chichester, at York, at Dorchester, at Rochester, and at other places. At Wareham, where there was a small Roman camp, following on a great British one, where a busy Saxon town succeeded the

Roman, and a mediæval port the Saxon town, the same thing is apparent, while within a very short distance is a veritable paradise of ferns and floral life. But this subject is one I prefer to leave to experts. I would suggest that the denudation of wood at these centres is answerable for much, and that the subject is one worthy of investigation, and likely to lead to important results.

I trust you have noticed how carefully I have kept clear of the title of my paper. My object has been to present to you some general picture of our British village community system, to mention its salient points, and to emphasise the enormous part it has played in building up our national life, and body of common law. It has been frequently said that the time between the withdrawal of the Romans and the settlement of the Saxon kingdoms, is the interregnum of British history. In this paper I have dared to be so bold as to suggest that there is no interregnum; that the Roman occupation did not touch, but only gave pause to, the development of life in our island, and a pause that in the endless centuries of Aryan and non-Aryan cults can scarcely be deemed of importance as measured by time. Further, I venture to think that those who desire to bridge over this alleged dark gulf, must disregard the Roman occupation, and endeavour to reproduce those few hundred years by careful examination of custom and tradition, and by comparison with the conditions of other countries, and they be many, wherein the village community is still more or less flourishing.

General Meeting held at the Herts County Museum on Tuesday, 13th March, 1900.

Present—Mr. H. J. Toulmin, the Mayor of St. Albans, in the chair, Lady Scott, Mrs. Toulmin, Messrs. Lowe, Wilton Hall, and many others.

The minutes of the previous meeting were read and confirmed.

Mr. Tarte proposed that the question of the protection of St. Germain's Block be referred to the Committee, with a request that a further attempt be made to carry out the work.

After notices from Mr. Toulmin as to subscriptions to the Herts County Museum, and from Mr. Page as to the newly-formed Photographic Society, the Chairman called upon Mr. Kitton to read his paper on "The Old Inns of St. Albans."

At the conclusion of the paper Mr. Toulmin proposed, as the time was late, that the discussion be adjourned to the next meeting.

A vote of thanks was proposed to Mr. Kitton by Mr. Tarte and seconded by Mr. Lowe.

F. WILLCOX.

The Old Inns of St. Albans.

BY F. G. KITTON.

I think many will agree with the assertion that there is something fascinating about old country Inns, and particularly so in the case of those which were favourite "houses of call" in the coaching days. Their usually picturesque appearance and their interesting associations compel the attention of all who are attracted by the history of social life in England, for, prior to the introduction of railways, the Inn or Hostel played a very important part in every-day affairs. The dictionary definition of an Inn is "a house of lodging and entertainment for travellers"; a Hostel or Hostelry (from which we have Hospital and its French form, Hotel) is also an Inn, in the proper sense of the term. An Inn, therefore, must not be confounded with a Public-house, although the two terms are often considered synonymous—for a Public-house is licensed only for the retail of intoxicating liquors, while the Ale-house merely supplies malt liquor.

Although I purpose to deal with the Inns (especially the Coaching Inns) of St. Albans, past and present, I may find it necessary now and then to make passing allusion to a veritable Public-house or two, either for the reason that certain of these minor establishments possess unusual interest, archæologically or pictorially, or were more or less associated with their big brethren, the Coaching Inns, in constituting themselves what I may call (for want of a more expressive term) "chapels of ease" in their relation to the Inns, which, when overflowing with guests, gladly availed themselves of the inferior accommodation afforded by the smaller houses in their neighbourhood.

Travelling by coach is well within living memory, and the older citizens of St. Albans can vividly recall the scene of bustle and activity which the principal thoroughfares of the town continually presented. About seventy coaches passed daily through St. Albans, which was the first important stopping-place out of London on the road to Holyhead, and of course the starting-point of the last stage on the return journey. These facts explain the abundance of Inns which existed here when travelling by coach was in its prime; but there is also another

reason why these Inns flourished exceedingly, viz., the fact that the Shrine of St. Alban attracted crowds of pious worshippers, chiefly equestrians and pilgrims, who naturally needed hospitality during their stay.

A great transformation in the social life of St. Albans was inaugurated when, on the 5th of May, 1858, the first railway was opened here, viz., the branch line of the London and North-Western from Watford—an event that occasioned much public rejoicing; in 1865 the St. Albans and Hatfield line was completed; and three years later the extension of the Midland Railway main line from Bedford to London placed this old-world town within easy reach of the Metropolis. However, as regards the Old Inns, the ante-railway period is the more attractive and romantic, those “good old times” (as we usually speak of them) when the quaint streets of St. Albans resounded with the lively notes of the horn, as coach after coach was skilfully “tooled” through the town. At the Hostelrys all was life and activity, while the numerous farriers and harness-makers found constant employment in shoeing horses and repairing broken traces.

It is interesting to know that amongst the mail-coaches which passed through St. Albans, the first was that despatched from Liverpool on July 25th, 1785—the very first, in fact, of Palmer’s mails to run over the Great North-West Road. Of course, long before this, other conveyances, and especially post-coaches, had passed through the town. The turnpike from London entered St. Albans at a point near the Great Northern Railway Station, the road here being called the “Old” London-road, in contradistinction to the new road, constructed in 1794, which runs in a nearly direct line to High-street and the heart of the town. From a coaching point of view the new road was a considerable improvement, as the cumbrous vehicles would thus avoid the necessity of mounting the steep ascent of Holywell-hill; in some instances, however, this difficulty of hill-climbing was partly overcome by means of access to the Inn-yards at the rear, a drive being made right through, this remark applying chiefly to the Inns on Holywell-hill and in Chequer Street.* The old road continued (at any rate,

*See Plan of St. Albans by Andrews and Wren, 1766, the earliest map indicating this arrangement.

during part of the coaching period) through the narrow Sopwell-lane, thence up Holywell-hill, along High-street, George-street, Fishpool-street, over St. Michael's Bridge and, branching off to the right by Blacksmith's-lane, so continued across the present fields between Gorhambury drive and the Pré, joining the Redbourn-road just beyond Bow Bridge. Mr. John Harris, C.E., writing in 1896,* gives a somewhat different line of route, but he evidently refers to a period much earlier than that to which my description applies.

In these notes upon the Old Inns of St. Albans, I have decided to take the Inns (as far as possible) in the order in which they stood on the line of route followed by the coaches. As we have seen, outward-bound travellers entered the town *via* Sopwell-lane, and therefore emerged upon Holywell-hill by the "Old Crown" Inn, which stood at the corner of the lane and the hill. The number of Inns which flourished on Holywell-hill (all of them on the eastern side) was astounding for so small a town. Nearly every other house was a hostelry—indeed, they stood side by side, in an almost unbroken line—The "Crown," the "Angel,"† the "Bull," the "White Hart," the "Saracen's Head," the "Horsehead,"‡ the "Dolphin," the "Mermaid," the "Seven Stars," the "Woolpack," the "Peahen," and the "Key" (or "Peter Keys.") Of these, only two survive, viz, the "White Hart" and the "Peahen"; nearly opposite the former are two quaint houses, the "Postboy" and the "Trumpet," whose signs are reminiscent of the coaching days—houses which may be classed among the "chapels-of-ease" to which I have just alluded. With the exception of the "Horsehead," the "Angel," and the "Mermaid,"

**Herts Advertiser*, 1896.

† *Court held December 7th*, 1612: . . . "The Viewers of Holywell Ward presented Symon Cowper, inn-holder, for setting forward the lower part of the forefront of his house on Holywell Hill, in the occupation of John Kinder, and between the Bull Inn and the Angel Inn."—"The Corporation Records of St. Albans," by A. E. Gibbs, F.L.S., 1890.

‡ Wills, Archdeaconry of St. Albans, Wallingford, fol. 167: Will of Thomas Cooke of St. Albans, 1518, mentions a house called "Horsehede," "and my tenantry next it lying on Halywell Streete." Mention is also made in the Marian Survey of St. Albans, 1556, of a tenement called "The Horsehead," in St. Peter's Street.

I have succeeded (I hope) in locating the exact positions of these Inns. The sign of the "Horsehead" is a most unusual one, and Larwood makes no mention of it; he gives, however, that of the "Horse's Head," of which he speaks as a variation of the more familiar "Nag's Head," although it seems that only one example of the sign of the "Horse's Head" is known, this being at Brampton, in Cumberland.* That an Inn bearing the sign of the "Horse's Head" actually existed here is evidenced by the fact that it is mentioned in documents dated 1518 and 1583 respectively, as standing in Halliwell-street, † the old name for Holywell-hill; the "Mermaide" is referred to in the will of Richard Purs, 1497, as a tenement in the same street.‡ (I venture, at this point, to observe, parenthetically, that in 1586 Holywell-hill is referred to as "Halloway Streate," and it is thus curious to find history repeating itself, inasmuch as to-day we often hear this thoroughfare called, by the uneducated class, "Holloway-hill"—a designation which therefore cannot be considered as a modern "cockneyism," it being actually a reversion to the old name.)

THE "CROWN" INN was the first which greeted travellers by coach as they turned the corner of Sopwell-lane and Holywell-hill. In Mr. C. H. Ashdown's History of St. Albans we read that this was a house of much repute in its day, the commodious stables being continually in demand; we are also informed that it was "a favourite resort of the huntsmen of the neighbourhood, a well-known sporting character named Ward being the landlord for many years." § This Inn (within recent times) stood between Sopwell-lane and the modern thoroughfare called Albert-street, upon the site of the present High School for Girls. When at the height of its fame, it must often have presented a brilliant spectacle, as "the scarlet-coated huntsmen and town-gallants, all booted and spurred for the chase," foregathered there before going

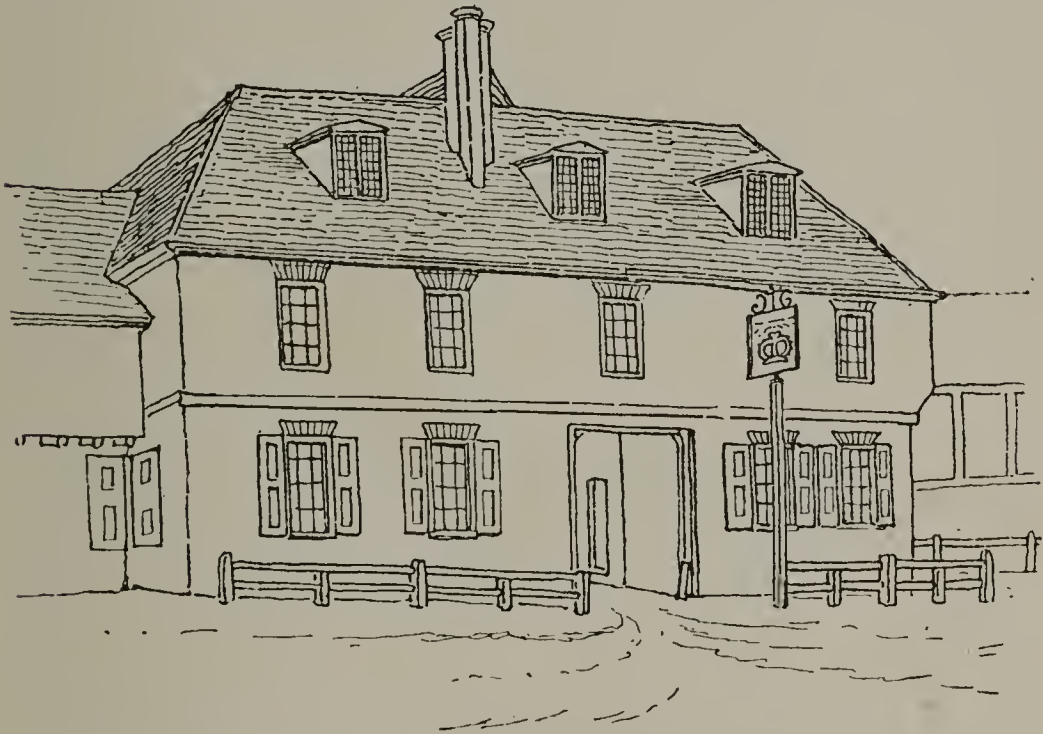
* Larwood and Hotten's "History of Signboards."

† *Herts Genealogist and Antiquary*, Vol. II., 207-8.

‡ Wills, Archdeaconry of St. Albans, Wallingford, fol. 90:—Will of Richd. Purs, 1497, mentions his tenement in Holywell Street, in St. Albans, between the tenement called "le Mermaide" and a tenement of Abb. and Conv. of St. Albans.

§ "St. Albans, Historical and Picturesque," by Charles H. Ashdown, F.R.G.S., 1893.

to the covert. The Right Hon. the Baron Dimsdale has very kindly accorded me the privilege of examining the collection of drawings of Hertfordshire topography (bound in nine quarto volumes) executed about the year 1797 by a schoolmaster of Tewin, named Pridmore, in which I found some valuable information relative to my subject. Among the St. Albans views is a drawing in



THE "CROWN" INN, *circa* 1797.
From a Drawing by Pridmore.

colour of the "Crown" Inn as it then appeared, just over a century ago, and of this I am enabled to show an outline tracing which I made, together with a few others, during a brief visit to Essendon Place. In this drawing we see that the "Crown" had an important exterior; a manuscript Note in the volume states that "some ancient remains of building are to be seen at the 'Crown' Inn, which are said to be brought from the ground adjoining the Abbey,"* and careful drawings of these are given, which include mouldings of a Saxon arch, sculptured heads, and a carving of the martyrdom of St. Amphibalus. The room containing the latter was called the "Amphibalus," and we are further informed that there is "a tradition that Queen Elizabeth once slept in the room

* The Notes in the volumes are apparently not entirely in Pridmore's handwriting.

above"! The tavern at the corner of Sopwell-lane, called the "Crown" (demolished a few years since), was a portion of the original Inn. It would be interesting to know what has become of the carvings which it formerly contained.

THE "BULL" INN, which still exists as a private residence, although altered and adapted to new requirements, stood a few yards north of the "Crown." The exterior of this comfortable-looking house, called "The Priory," has been re-fronted since the early days of its career as a coaching-inn, probably at the time of George I.; in the rear we may still find evidence of its former character, as, for example, in the remains of what was once extensive stabling, while the ample cellarage in the basement is sure proof of antiquity. The "Bull," one of the most noted hostelries in St. Albans, is mentioned in a deed dated 1548,* and in the Parish Records of St. Peter's we read that the sum of nine shillings was paid to the ringers, in celebration of Queen Elizabeth's visit to the town in 1577, when we are further told, "the Queen's Majesty came to the 'Bull.'"† The Mayor's accounts for 1625 include the following entry: "Paid the 19th of July for a gallon of wine, which was sent unto Mr. [afterwards Sir] Thomas Meautys [a cousin of, and secretary to, Francis Bacon, Lord Verulam], and his company unto the 'Bull' at that time when he lay there, 4s. 2d." Thomas Baskerville, when describing his travels in Herts and Essex more than two centuries ago, observed: "St. Albans is a great town with many inns in it, but the 'Bull Inn' is the greatest that I have seen in England."‡ On June 10th, 1717, there seems to have been much festivity at the "Bull," for on that day the sum of £3 was expended by the City Fathers in drinking the health of the King (George I.), "upon his return from Hanover."§ This famous hostelry is frequently mentioned in the Corporation minutes at subsequent dates, and late in the eighteenth century was still a flourishing house.

* See *Herts Genealogist and Antiquary*, Vol. II., 260.

† St. Peter's Parish Books and Records—1575, vii. Eliz.

‡ MSS. of the Duke of Portland, Vol. II. (Historical Manuscripts Commission).

§ Mayor's Accounts.

THE "WHITE HART," adjoining the "Bull," (now "The Priory"), yet retains externally much of its original aspect. A portion of this hostel continues as a tavern, the remainder being used as grocery stores. With its plaster front and over-hanging upper storey, and its red-tiled roof with dormer windows, the old "White Hart" constitutes the most picturesque feature of Holywell-hill. Passing through the gateway into what was formerly the yard of the Inn, and looking towards the Hill, we may behold a typical remnant of old St. Albans. A writer in the *Hertfordshire Illustrated Review*, Vol. I. (1893), in a note upon the



THE "WHITE HART" INN, circa 1797.

From a Drawing by Pridmore.

"White Hart," says: "At the present time there are the remains of timbers which carried a gallery over the gateway at the back, and, I think, also a plastered up doorway on the second floor of the tavern, leading into the room over the gateway, which room, some ten years ago, was partly stripped of its paper and canvas, and exhibited on the plastered wall some vestiges of old wall-decoration, considered by the late Mr. John Chapple (who acted as Clerk of the Works at the Abbey) as particularly interesting examples. The room adjoining is large and low, and panelled with oak, the other rooms

of the grocery stores have been much modernised, but the attics are rude, and were, until lately, almost ruinous." In the Pridmore Collection, there is a drawing of the "White Hart" as it then appeared, and we find that the external aspect of the principal front has changed but little during the last hundred years. On the right-hand side of the gateway hung the signboard (a white hart on a green ground) suspended from a heavy wooden bracket. The "White Hart" was formerly called the "Hartshorn," and is referred to in the Corporation Records of 1571, but probably dates back to a much earlier period. It is doubtless the veritable hostelry at which the Scotch rebel lord, Simon Lovat, rested in 1746, during a sudden illness, while on his way to London for committal to the Tower, where he was executed shortly afterwards. It was at the "White Hart," too, that Hogarth painted the famous portrait of his lordship, at the express invitation of Dr. Webster, a notable St. Albans man, and a friend of Samuel Ireland, the biographer of Hogarth. This portrait, which is now in the National Portrait Gallery, was painted in great haste—probably at one sitting—for Dr. Webster, who attended Lord Lovat as medical adviser; it is said to have been discovered eighty years afterwards in the house of a poor person residing in the neighbourhood of St. Albans, a singular fact regarding it being that until then this valuable picture was not known to exist. The engraved reproduction by Hogarth was, of course, familiar, and concerning it it is said that at the time of publication it became so popular that the artist refused an offer made for the copper-plate by a printseller which amounted to its weight in gold; here he showed much discrimination, for the sale of the prints alone realised as much as £12 a day for many weeks.* The "White Hart" was a posting-house (of which there were only two or three in the town), that is, a house where post-horses were kept for the convenience of couriers and others who desired to travel quickly by relays of horses, and in the foreground of Pridmore's drawing of this Inn is represented a diminutive post-boy with a large dog at his heels. A much-respected citizen of St. Albans, Mr. Thomas Weedon Kent, who has

* *Hertfordshire Illustrated Review*, Vol. I., 1893.

attained his 95th year, and is therefore probably the "oldest inhabitant," clearly remembers the days when coaching was in full swing and post-boys in active employment.* He says that when they were posting up to Parliament it was an exceedingly lively time at the "White Hart." The post-boys were all at the corner of the High-street in their white smocks, on the look-out for a job, and, as soon as their services were required, they would pull off their smocks and be ready to start at once.

THE "SARACEN'S HEAD" stood next to the "White Hart," the site of which is marked by the still-existing yard bearing that name. The earliest allusion to this ancient hostelry that I have been able to discover is that in the Marian Survey of 1556. Mr. W. Page, F.S.A., has directed my attention to a still earlier reference to an Inn in St. Albans, "commonly called the Ston Hall, or the signe of the Sarsyns Hede"; it is to be found in the will of Robert Depyng, dated 19th January, 1496-7;† but it does not appear quite certain whether this Inn is identical with that on Holywell-hill. Stone Hall was also the name of the house in the Market Place where Mr. W. Marks now lives. The building over and contiguous to the archway leading to Saracen's Head Yard is probably a remnant of the Inn, for, like its neighbour the "White Hart," it has a plaster front and a high-pitched roof covered with red tiles. Of the "Saracen's Head" practically nothing is recorded, and it was doubtless demolished before the beginning of the 19th century.

THE "DOLPHIN" was one of the many Inns which stood between the "Saracen's Head" and the top of Holywell Hill, only a single example of which remains to us. This Inn is believed (with good reason) to have occupied the site of the two houses now in the occupation of Mr. Mitchell and Mr. Payne respectively—the yard immediately south of Mr. Payne's is still known as the "Dolphin Yard," whence can be seen a picturesque

* I regret to state that, since this paper was written, Mr. Kent and the Rev. H. Fowler, M.A. (both quoted in my Notes) have passed away.

† Wills, Archdeaconry of St. Albans, Wallingford, fol. 87d.

gable or two, which evidently formed part of the vanished Inn.

THE "SEVEN STARS" was on the site of Dr. Lipscomb's house, as is proved by the old deeds. The residence of Mr. T. W. Kent also stands upon the site of an ancient hostelry, but, strange to relate, its identity cannot be established, as no mention is made of it in the deeds. I venture, therefore, to suggest that it was perhaps the Inn to which I have already referred as being situated on Holywell-hill, viz., the "Horsehead," which must have been swept away in the 18th century, or even earlier. In Mr. Kent's house may be found considerable evidence of its former importance, in the form of large panelled rooms, one of them containing a carved overmantel of an early date, and I may mention that on the right-hand side of the archway leading to the yard of what is now the Holywell Brewery, there are still extant the remains of a carved pilaster, hidden from view by modern woodwork.

THE "WOOLPACK," or "Woolsack," as it was sometimes called, adjoined Mr. Kent's house on the north side; a vestige of it may still be seen in the "Woolpack Tap,"



THE "WOOLPACK" INN, *circa* 1797.
From a Drawing by Pridmore.

a short distance up the London-road, and on the verge of the old borough line, thus indicating the original extent of the premises. Pridmore's drawing of this Inn shows a red-brick building having a low-pitched roof covered with red tiles; on the right is visible a portion of Mr. Kent's house, with one of the interesting brick pilasters ornamenting the front, and a portion of the iron railing (since removed); on the left is shown the end of the old "Peahen." The most striking external feature of the "Woolpack" was the elaborately-designed bracket supporting the signboard, the latter depicting a sack upon which was inscribed the word "Wool." It is, I think, much to be regretted that these splendid wrought-iron brackets and their accompanying signs, which impart a dignified appearance to the plainest *façade*, are becoming obsolete; a few striking specimens still exist in various parts of the country, as, for example, the "Sir John Falstaff," at Canterbury, and (coming nearer home), the "Bull" at Redbourn. With respect to the date of the "Woolpack," the Rev. H. Fowler, M.A., was of opinion that it was a very spacious Inn, and certainly existed in the mediæval period, and that the sign was probably as old as any in St. Albans, though he was unable to quote any document in proof. The "Woolpack" was subsequently merged into the "Peahen," notwithstanding the fact that the latter was, until then, a much inferior establishment, and the gateway on Holywell-hill, over which was placed the sign of the "Peahen" (quite lately removed), was the veritable archway leading to the "Woolpack" yard.*

THE "PEAHEN":—I have said that, with one exception, the Inns on Holywell-hill, between the "Saracen's Head" and the summit of the hill, have disappeared, leaving nothing but their names to remind us of their former presence. The notable exception is, of course, the "Peahen"; but even this hostelry has been so transformed (if rebuilding can be called transformation) as to become unrecognisable to those who can remember the comparatively unobtrusive structure over which Mr.

* In a document at the Public Record Office, Rent of St. Albans in 1446 (Rentals and Surveys, Herts, 294) mention is made of a tenement called "le Wolsak," situated in St. Peter's Street (*Vicus Sici Petri*.)

William Marks formerly presided. The sign of the "Peahen" may claim to be unique; Larwood, in his "History of Signboards," makes no mention of it, nor does a sign of this name appear in the list of Inns and public-houses which figures in the London Directory.* With regard to the date of foundation of the original house, we have no evidence; but Mr. W. Page, F.S.A., has kindly directed my attention to the fact that it is mentioned in a document,† bearing date 1480, as "a messuage called 'le Pehenne,'" which is believed to be an earlier reference than has yet been found. It is, therefore, not improbable that the Inn was in existence at the time of the First Battle at St. Albans, 1455, when the Yorkist army broke into the town at this point. At that time, however, and until a much later period, the "Peahen" was overshadowed by its more important neighbour, the "Woolpack," which, after the making of the New London-road in 1794, gradually lost prestige; in or about 1852 it was put up for sale, when the property was purchased by the then proprietor of the "Peahen," Mr. William Marks, who thereupon converted the two houses into one establishment. Thus the "Peahen" acquired an important, if not a leading, position amongst the surviving Inns of St. Albans—a position which its situation at the junction of two main thoroughfares in the heart of the town enables it to retain. The old "Peahen," according to the earliest representation of it extant, had a decidedly unpretentious exterior, the upper portion being constructed of timber and plaster, and the lower of brick. It had a red-tiled roof of high pitch, with massive chimneys, small square windows (those on the ground floor having outside shutters), the principal entrance being through a hooded doorway from the London-road, as now. In subsequent times the ancient wooden framework was obscured by a layer of plaster (a common practice, unfortunately), and the whole exterior of the building coated with a light coloured paint, thus disguising its

* A house bearing this sign existed in Chipping Barnet, Herts, in the sixteenth century, as, according to a document (*vide* Patent Roll, 29th Elizabeth, Part 6), a grant was made to Thomas Taylor and others of a tenement in Chipping Barnet called "Le Pehen and le Swan," A.D. 1587.

† Feet of Fines, Herts, Edward IV., No. 58.

quaint characteristics. About the year 1880, Mr. Marks (finding that the annual coat of paint proved a rather heavy expense) covered the upper storey with red brick, raised the parapet about three feet, and scraped the paint off the lower storey, thus imparting to the building quite a modern appearance. In this guise, the "Peahen" had been familiar for nearly twenty years, until its demolition a year or two ago. At the time these changes were being affected, Mr. Marks intended to carry out certain internal structural alterations, which seemed to threaten the spoliation of one of the most interesting features of that portion of the building which was formerly the "Woolpack." A report to this effect came to the knowledge of Sir Gilbert Scott, R.A., the eminent architect, who, writing to Mr. Marks, said: "I was much pained to hear, when at St. Albans last week, that you contemplated the destruction of the *fine* 15th-century ceiling in the room in which we dined. All you desire can be more cheaply obtained by lowering the floor of the room. Do not, I beg you, commit an act of vandalism which would compel all of us antiquaries to cease to frequent the 'Peahen.'" In reply to this urgent appeal, Mr. Marks intimated that it was not his intention to destroy, but to restore, and he saw that the ancient moulded beams in the ceiling, with their upright supports, were protected from injury; they may still be seen in the dining-room of the new building. The "Peahen" has just entered upon a fresh phase of its existence, for about four years ago the entire freehold was purchased by the present proprietor, Mr. Walter Price, who demolished the older building and erected in its stead an imposing half-timbered edifice, which reflects great credit upon those responsible for its conception, and which imparts quite an old-world appearance to this part of St. Albans.

In recounting the early traditions of the "Peahen," I ought to mention that this hostelry is said to have been the scene of the private marriage of Henry VIII. to Anne Boleyn—at least, so it is asserted in Stanford's "Tourists' Guide to Hertfordshire," 1896, by the Rev. A. J. Foster, M.A., who informs me that the statement is quoted from Brayley's "Beauties of England and Wales." As Mr. Foster observes, the subject of this royal marriage is an interesting one, but obscure; even Froude

has not been able to clear it up. History says that the private marriage took place on January 25th, 1533, and it is recorded that the scene of the ceremony was the private chapel of Sopwell Nunnery; it seems, however, more probable that the nuptials were celebrated at Whitehall, although the evidence is by no means sufficing.

In concluding my remarks upon the "Peahen," I should like to say a word concerning the Visitors' Book. Among the many valuable autographs is a group of signatures, to which a pathetic interest attaches. In 1886, the late Madame de Falbe entertained as guests at Luton Hoo a Royal party consisting of Princess May of Teck (now the Duchess of Cornwall) and her two brothers, Francis Joseph and Alexander George of Teck. On July 30th of that year they visited the Abbey, and afterwards lunched at the "Peahen," signing their names in the Visitors' Book. It was on the occasion of this visit to Luton Hoo that the late Duke of Clarence offered his hand in marriage to Princess May, and we all remember the sad event which so speedily prevented the realisation of what would undoubtedly have proved a happy union. Among the many guests of whom Mr. Marks has pleasing recollections was the late John Ruskin, who, with his servant, stayed two days at the Hotel, and was "wonderfully chatty" and agreeable. The "Peahen" has been honoured nearly every year by a party of Royal Academicians, who there foregather, dine together, and spend a convivial evening.

THE "KEY."—Contiguous to the "Peahen," on the north side, stood an Inn called the "Key," which was also known as the "Cross Keys," and "Peter Keys," the emblem of St. Peter and his successors—this sign being frequently adopted by inn-keepers and other tenants of religious houses, even after the Reformation. The earlier building must not, however, be confounded with the present "Cross Keys," which is a comparatively modern structure. The exact position of the "Key" was where the present London-road separates the "Peahen" from the "Cross Keys." Behind the "Key" was the famous Keyfield, where, in 1455, the First Battle of St. Albans was begun, and that the Inn itself existed at this early period is proved by a document dated that same year; the reference has been kindly copied for me by Mr. Page,

and here we find the Inn described as “le ‘Key’ in le Hyghstrete opposite the Market where Wool is sold,” while mention is also made of “a message called le ‘Saryzynhede’ in the said street.”* Presumably, the Inns here alluded to as being in the High-street are identical with those which I have already referred to as existing on Holywell-hill; if so, it is difficult to explain why their situation is given as in the High-street. In 1634 (that is, nearly two centuries later), the present High-street was called Middle Row, as shown in Benjamin Hare’s map of that date; in monastic times it was called “The Vintry,” probably by reason of its proximity to the vineyard of the Monastery. So that High-street may be a comparatively modern appellation. Besides the “Key” contiguous to the “Peahen,” there must have been another hostelry of that name in the town, as in a document, dated 1477, mention is made of “la Key,” opposite “le Rome Lande.”† Perhaps the earliest reference to the Inn with the sign of the “Cross Keys” is to be met with in a deed relating to a lawsuit which came before the Court of Exchequer in 1485, where it is described as a tenement called “Le Cross Keys.”‡ In 1556, this hostel was associated with an incident which finds a place in the history of St. Albans and in the records of the religious conflicts of bygone days. During that year George Tankerfield suffered death at the stake on account of his Puritan principles, and the heroic man was conveyed from Newgate to the “Cross Keys” at St. Albans, there to await the dread hour when he would die a Martyr’s death, the scene of which was a vacant piece of land (now a burial-ground) on the north side of the Grammar School. There is a tradition that during his brief confinement at the “Cross Keys,” Tankerfield asked for a fire, and, having obtained it, pulled up his hose and brought his leg as near as possible to the flames, in order to ascertain how he could endure the painful death to which he was doomed. At the time of the Civil War, nearly a century later, the Parliamentary troopers, with Cromwell at their head, drew up in front

* Wills, Archdeaconry of St. Albans, Stoneham, fol. 80.—Administration, Simon Bernewell of St. Albans, 1455.

† Feet of Fines, Herts. Edward IV., No. 58.

‡ Exchequer of Pleas, Plea Roll, 1 Henry VII. m. 27-28.

of the old "Cross Keys" Inn before advancing to the attack upon the High Sheriff of Hertfordshire and his supporters.* The Inn was demolished in 1794, when the modern London-road was made.

THE "CHEQUERS":—Holywell-hill originally comprised that portion of the ascent now familiar to us as Chequer-street. The latter name was derived from the "Chequer" Inn, which was also known as the "Chequers," or "Exchequers"; it was one of the most ancient hostels in the County, and its sign ("perhaps the most patriarchal of all signs," Larwood observes) is said to have originally indicated that draughts and backgammon were played within. Dr. Lardner has given a full description of the game, which was commonly termed "Chequers," from the fact that the board upon which it was played was called an "Exchequer," from its resemblance to a chess-board. What may be considered as the earliest reference to the "Chequers" is to be found in the Marian Survey, 1556; another early allusion to this tenement appears in a document bearing date 1583, where we read of a tenement "now called the 'Chequer,' and formerly the 'Crane.'"† In the same document it is mentioned as the "'Exchequer,' in Malt Markett"—Chequer-street, be it said, was formerly called "Malt Markett," or "Malt Cheaping." Mr. T. W. Kent, who remembers the old "Chequers" Inn, describes it as "a nice little low-house," and about 1825 the then landlord, named Coleman, of sporting proclivities, induced the brewer who owned it (Thomas Kinder) to pull down the "Chequers" and build a new house. This was called the "Turf" Hotel.

THE "TURF HOTEL" was a noted house for sporting characters, as well as the headquarters of the Conservative party in St. Albans. In a series of coloured prints illustrating incidents in the St. Albans Grand Steeplechase will be found (in Plate I.) an interesting representation of the "'Turf.'" Here the competitors foregathered, and, as we see in the picture, attracted a large crowd of onlookers. The memorable contest took place on March 8th, 1832, and under this particular engraving appears

* "Hertfordshire during the Great Civil War and the Long Parliament," by Alfred Kingston, F.R.H.S., 1894.

† See *Herts Genealogist and Antiquary*, Vol. II., 207-8.

the following inscription: "The 'Turf Hotel,' with the Horses and their Riders going to the field, preceded by G. Osbaldeston, Esq., Umpire, and Mr. Coleman, Clerk to the Chase." The series of six plates (with key) were "dedicated to the Gentlemen of the St. Albans Steeplechase by their obliged servant, Y. Moore," who was apparently a picture-frame maker in London. In course of time, presumably when Coleman retired from the business, the greater portion of the premises was utilised as a straw factory, and the small shop on the left side of the gateway was converted into an ale-house. In (or about) 1852 the Inn business was reinstated, and the house re-christened the "Queen's Hotel," one of its earliest patrons being Charles Dickens. In all probability it was thought that the bestowal of such a dignified (though less characteristic) designation upon the house (which still exists in the "Queen's Hotel"), it would secure a superior class of custom. It is believed that in the present building may be found a few remains of its ancient predecessor. Hollinshed states that the Yorkists, at the First Battle of St. Albans, broke into the town between the sign of the "Key" and the "Exchequer"—"by the garden side"—that is, where "Battlefield House" now stands.*

THE "HALF MOON":—The Half-Moon Yard, in Chequer-street, marks the site of another extinct hostelry. In a document, dated 1586, appears the following entry: "The messuage called the Halfe Moon [in the Malt Market] is held of the King [James I.] in chief by service of the 20th part of a knight's fee, and is worth per annum, clear, 10s."† In a lawsuit of 1605, it is referred to as "a tenement or Inn called 'The Halfe Moone.'" It adjoined the "Chequers" on the north side, and Mr. Kent recalls the fact that the corner of the yard (where the "Temperance Hotel" now is) was occupied by the armoury of the Herts Militia, who assembled annually in St. Peter's-street.

THE "RED HOUSE":—During the early part of the 19th century there stood in Chequer-street a public-house called "The Red House,"‡ which almost blocked

* See the Rev. H. Fowler's Plan of St. Albans, showing Monastic sites, etc.

† See *Herts Genealogist and Antiquary*, Vol. II., 207-8.

‡ So called probably because it was built of red brick.

the roadway. Its exact position was at a point a little below the Town Hall, and its principal front faced south, looking down the hill. On the east side of "The Red House" there was just sufficient space for waggons to pass singly, while on the west there was a narrow alley for foot-passengers. "The Red House," projecting, as it did, across the road, proved a terrible obstruction, and was demolished about 1832.

THE "BELL":—Just beyond where "The Red House" stood is the "Bell Hotel," which we find mentioned in the Records of St. Peter's Parish for 1682; in another early document it is referred to as the "Blue Bell" Inn.* The present building has been much modernised, and bears but little evidence of its early origin.

THE "CASTLE":—Concerning another ancient hostel that flourished in close proximity to the "Bell," and which bore the sign of the "Castle," there is but little recorded. I think there can be no doubt that it stood either at the north or south corner of the west end of Victoria Street (then called "Shropshire Lane")—that is, either on the spot where the business premises of Mr. Odell and Mr. Kingham stand, or at the opposite corner—Mr. Hodding's offices. In Benjamin Hare's map, 1634, we find the name of the Inn written *across* the west end of what is now Victoria Street, so that this map (the only one, I believe, in which the name appears) does not solve the difficulty. Expert opinion, however, seems to favour the first-mentioned site as that of the "Castle," and Mr. Kingham tells me that many American visitors to St. Albans have patronised his shop because they believe it to be thus associated with the "Castle" which Shakespeare has immortalised in describing the incident of the death of the Duke of Somerset (during the first Battle of St. Albans), who fell early in the fight, in the doorway of the "Castle." In "The First Part of King Henry VI.," act v., scene ii., Richard thus addresses his dying foe :

"So, lie thou there;—
For underneath an alehouse' paltry sign,
The Castle in Saint Alban's, Somerset
Hath made the wizard famous in his death."

* St. Peter's Parish Books and Records, 1699.—Thomas Heyne owned a tenement called "Le Belle" in Haliwell strete" before 1452.—Reg. I., 99, 100.

In St. Peter's Parish Books and Records, under date 1618 (that is, about two years after Shakespeare's death), is the following entry: "Ordered that . . . the churchwardens remove people from certain seats [in the Church], to make room for Roger Pemberton and Robert Wolley, and those seats were in future to belong to their two houses, viz., 'The Castell' in St. Albans and to Harpsfield Hall."

THE "CHRISTOPHER":—A century or so ago, French-row was also known as Cordwainers'-row or Cobblers'-row, and in comparatively recent times as the Women's Market, for here the countrywomen congregated with their butter, poultry, etc., for sale. In this narrow thoroughfare there were once several Inns, and the remains of one of these ancient structures, viz., the "Christopher," imparts quite a picturesque aspect to the Row, the plaster-fronted gables and overhanging upper storey enabling us to realise how the streets of St. Albans must have looked in mediæval times. The sign of the "Christopher" (or "St. Christopher," to give its full title) is derived, of course, from the saint, who, like St. Julian and St. Martin, was a powerful patron of travellers. The Inn, doubtless, originally occupied the entire space between the "Fleur-de-Lys" and the "Wheatsheaf"; what now remains of the ancient structure is divided into three tenements, the interiors of which contain but few vestiges of their former character, having been altered from time to time to suit varied requirements. The Inn, during its prime, was one of the best-known as well as one of the most notorious hostels in St. Albans. It is referred to in the Marian Survey of 1556, and in 1591 we find it mentioned as a *rendezvous* of the City Fathers, who, until the Town Hall was built in 1830, frequently met at the "Christopher" and at other leading Inns in the town for the purpose of transacting municipal business, or to convivially commemorate a great national event.* In 1765, the "Christopher" entertained two distinguished actors, David Garrick and Quin, who visited the Abbey and inspected the bones of Duke Humphrey, preserved in spirits. While enjoying their wine after dinner,

* "The Corporation Records of St. Albans," by A. E. Gibbs, F.L.S., 1890.

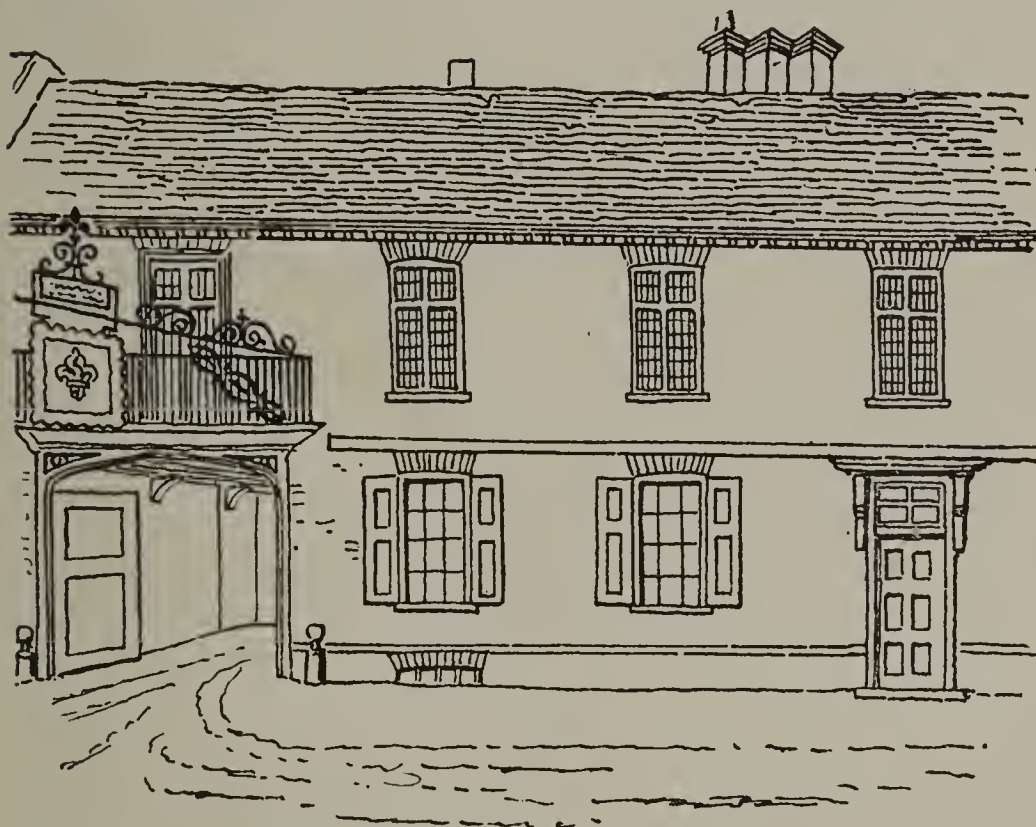
Garrick composed verses which he entitled "Quin's Soliloquy," the moral of which indicated that it is preferable to embalm oneself with "turtle fat and Bordeaux wine" while living, than to suffer such "precious pickle" to be wasted upon "senseless clay."

About a century ago the old "Christopher" began to decline in popularity as regards a superior class of clients, and this was the beginning of the end of its career as an Inn; for it opened its portals to all kinds of vagabonds and disreputable persons, and, eventually losing caste altogether, was compelled to suffer extinction. On one side of the archway facing the yard may still be seen an interesting memento of the ancient hostel in the shape of a carved bracket of grotesque design, representing a nondescript figure, half woman and half beast, of which similar examples may be seen at Messrs. Thorpe and Collings', in High-street. The lower portion of another example of a like quaint character remains on the right-hand gate post at the entrance to the yard of Holywell Brewery, together with a 16th-century fluted pilaster of wood.

THE "FLEUR-DE-LYS":—Adjacent to the "Christopher" is the "Fleur-de-Lys," now but an ordinary tavern, but formerly an Inn of considerable importance. A writer in the *Herts Advertiser* * asserts that the Sub-cellarer of the Convent, Adam Thoby, superintended its erection between 1420 and 1440, under Abbot John Wheat-hampstead, and further suggests the probability that the tenement described in the monastic documents as "facing eastwards towards the Great Cross" (that is, the Eleanor Cross, destroyed in the 17th century) is identical with this hostelry. From a fragment of carving discovered on the south side of the "Fleur-de-Lys" at the time of the demolition of the neighbouring inn, the "Great Red Lion," about four years ago, the building would seem to date back to a still earlier period, viz., the 14th century. This carving is the cusping from a window, and was presented to the Hertfordshire County Museum by the Kingsbury Brewery Company. In ancient records the Inn is usually referred to as the "Fleur-de-Luce" or "Flower-de-Luse," and is even now so called by the "oldest inhabitant." The sign of the "Flower-de-Luce"

* *Herts Advertiser*, Dec. 6th, 1896.

was common in England in old times, and in this particular instance it was acquired (according to tradition) through the fact that the captive King John of France was temporarily detained within the walls of the ancient building which formerly occupied the site of the present tavern, when first entrusted to the care of Abbot de la Mare by Edward III. after the battle of Poitiers.* At



THE "FLEUR-DE-LYS" INN, *circa* 1797.
From a Drawing by Pridmore.

the Reformation the "Fleur-de-Lys" underwent repairs, and since then has been almost rebuilt. In Schnebillie's view of the Clock Tower, 1787, we have a representation of its principal front, with a distinctive signboard projecting from the balcony over the archway, and in the Pridmore Collection there is a drawing of this Inn as seen about twenty years later, showing little, if any, alteration. In the same Collection are drawings of coats-of-arms and of two quarries of stained glass once existing in the windows of the "Fleur-de-Lys"; the latter represent triple turrets, with the following manuscript note appended, of which Mr. Wilton Hall has kindly sent me a transcript: "Castles, which leads me

* "St. Albans, Historical and Picturesque," by Charles H. Ashdown, F.R.G.S., 1893.

to imagine that the sign of this house was once the Castle." It is more probable, however, that this glass was removed from the Inn of that name which stood at the corner of Victoria-street. I have also seen in the British Museum a water-colour drawing of the old kitchen formerly existing at the "Fleur-de-Lys," which had a wide ingle-nook and double mantleshef. During the last century, and until fifty or sixty years ago, a coach ran from the "Fleur-de-Lys" and the "Woolpack" to London, daily.

THE "GREAT RED LION":—On the south side of the "Fleur-de-Lys" stood the "Old Red Lion," known in the 16th century as "The Lyon," and subsequently as "The Red Lion." In 1792 the house was refronted in a crude and inartistic manner, and it was then probably, that the sign was changed to the "Great Red Lion," to distinguish it from two other "Red Lions" in the town. During the reign of Henry VIII. there were at least three Inns in close proximity to "The Lyon," viz., the "Pecoke," "Le Horne" (also called "Le Sterre") and "Le Beare,"* all of which are mentioned in the Marian Survey. The "Great Red Lion" was once a famous posting-house, and in the Mayor's Accounts for 1585 we find the following entries:—

"Paid for the Commissioners' dinner at the Lyon when they sat for assessing the Subsidy, xvi^s."

"Paid for a pottle of wine at the same time at the Lyon, xii^d."

In 1714, the Mayor and Corporation indulged in a little conviviality at the "Red Lion," when Peace was proclaimed between Great Britain and Spain, and shortly afterwards we find entered in the Mayor's Accounts the following expensive item:—

"Spent by consent of the Company at the 'Redd Lyon' and at Mr. Alderman Ramridge's on the day of proclaiming King George, given to the ringers, musicians, and drummers then and for all the meaner sort, and for faggots to make a bonfire. £13 4s."

A writer in the *Middlesex and Hertfordshire Notes and Queries*, Jan., 1897, points out one singular feature which appertained to the "Great Red Lion," viz., an underground stable with stalls for ten or twelve horses, fitted

* Pat. 26 Hen. VIII., p. 26, m. 27.



THE "GEORGE" INN, from the Rear.

Drawn by F. G. Kitton.

(From C. H. Ashdown's "St. Albans: Historical and Picturesque)."

with mangers and hayracks; this stable existed until quite recently, and was used within living memory for horses that drew the stage-waggons and teams of the coach that ran to Watford. The east end of the stable is traditionally said to have communicated with an underground passage leading to the Abbey. The refronted "Red Lion" was pulled down in 1896, and replaced by an aggressively modern structure; it was during its demolition that the interesting window cusping of the "Fleur-de-Lys," came to light, and this would seem to suggest the probability that in very early times there existed no building at this point to obscure the handsome external decoration of the "Fleur-de-Lys."

THE "CORNER HALLE."—The exact position of this vanished hospice seems doubtful. Dr. Ridgway Lloyd, however, believed that it occupied the angle formed by George (formerly Church) street and French-row, on the site now occupied by the "Great Red Lion," or the opposite angle formed by the Market-place and High-street, where there is now a tobacconist's shop. In the Accounts of St. Albans Grammar School, under date 1606-7, there is the first mention of the third licence for retailing wine, paid by Robert Wolley "to the use of the schoole-master" in the Corner Tavern. That the house was in existence so early as 1446 is proved by a reference to it in a document of that date, now in the Public Record Office.

THE "GEORGE."—One of the most noted of St. Albans Inns was the "George," which gives its name to the street where it stands. (In the 15th century George-street was known as "Chirche-stret," and in Hare's map, 1634, it is called Cook-row.) Mr. Page has discovered an entry in a document at the Public Record Office, dated 1446, from which it appears that the rent for the Inn called "le George," in "Churche-stret," was received from John, Duke of Exeter, then Lord High Admiral of England.* The sign of the Inn is, of course, "St. George and the Dragon," usually abbreviated to the "George." In 1448, the name of the hostelry is given

* Rental of St. Albans in 1446. (Public Record Office, Rentals and Surveys, Herts, 294). Mention is also made in the document of an Inn called "le Bere" or "le Belle," in "Churche Stret."

as “The George upon the Hupe,”* and the curious affix, “upon the Hupe” (or “Hoop”), is thus explained by Larwood: “Anciently, instead of being a painted board, the object of the sign was carved and hung within a hoop; these hoops seem to have originated in



THE “GEORGE” INN, *circa* 1797.
From a Drawing by Pridmore.

the highly ornamental bush or crown, which latterly was made of hoops, covered with evergreens.”† The sign of the “George on the Hoop” has been traced back as early as the reign of Edward III., *i.e.*, the 14th century. Mr. Andrew Oliver, A.R.I.B.A., states that amongst the “odd Charters” in the British Museum are six deeds relating to the “George on the Hoop,” Church-street. The earliest is dated “Feast of St. James, 1401,” and the latest is described in the catalogue as follows:—“Indenture of lease from Thomas the

* *St. Albans Architectural and Archæological Society.—Transactions*, 1893 and 1894, p. 22.

† Taverns in Pompeii were almost universally placed at the street corners, many of them bearing the sign of an ivy-bush. For as the ivy was the plant sacred to Bacchus, the ivy-bush became the favourite sign of the Roman wine-shops. Hence the trite proverb of the Latins, ‘Good wine needs no bush.’ In Naples to-day there is scarcely a tavern which has not the orthodox bush against the doorway. In 1726, the Court at St. Albans ordered Mr. Swinston “to take down the bush which is upon his sign, that denotes his selling wine.” — *Corp. Rec.*

Abbot and the Convent of St. Albans to William Potter and Alice his wife of a tenement called the George on the Hope in Chirche-street, St. Albans." The date of this is 4th February, 1509. Pertaining to the Inn was an oratory or chapel, where, in 1484, by licence from the Abbot, the proprietor was permitted to have Low Mass celebrated for the benefit of "such great men and nobles, and others, as should be lodged" at the Inn.* The earliest known representation of the "George" is that in the Pridmore Collection. With three bay windows projecting from its plaster front and an imposing sign-board jutting half across the street, this Inn certainly possessed a pictorial appearance which cannot be said to characterise it now. In the rear, however, the aspect is decidedly picturesque, the house, as thus viewed, retaining for the most part its original exterior outline. The general effect is much enhanced by the rich piece of carving in the form of a pediment, visible over the gateway; this carving (which is of stone, and not wood, as hitherto supposed) represents "Agriculture," and was placed in its present position about forty years ago by the late Mr. Henry Barrance. It has been asserted that this piece of sculpture once formed part of the exterior decoration of Holywell House (demolished in 1837), but Mr. William Dunham informs me that he remembers it as coming from Childwickbury House (now the residence of Sir J. Blundell Maple, M.P.), after considerable alterations had been made in the building. According to a drawing, by Pridmore, of Holywell House, a similar pediment existed there, but the design was a military trophy. On the right-hand side of the gateway as we enter the yard from George-street is the old Market Room, where the country women met to dispose of their straw-plait; here remained some fragments of Jacobean panelling, which the present landlord, Mr. Stanley Alcock, has transferred to the walls of a landing upstairs, utilising the material at his disposal in a most artistic manner. The cellars of the "George" are of great antiquity, and leading therefrom is a large arched passage, which is said to run across the street lower down, in the direction of the Abbey. The "George" possessed a coach of its own

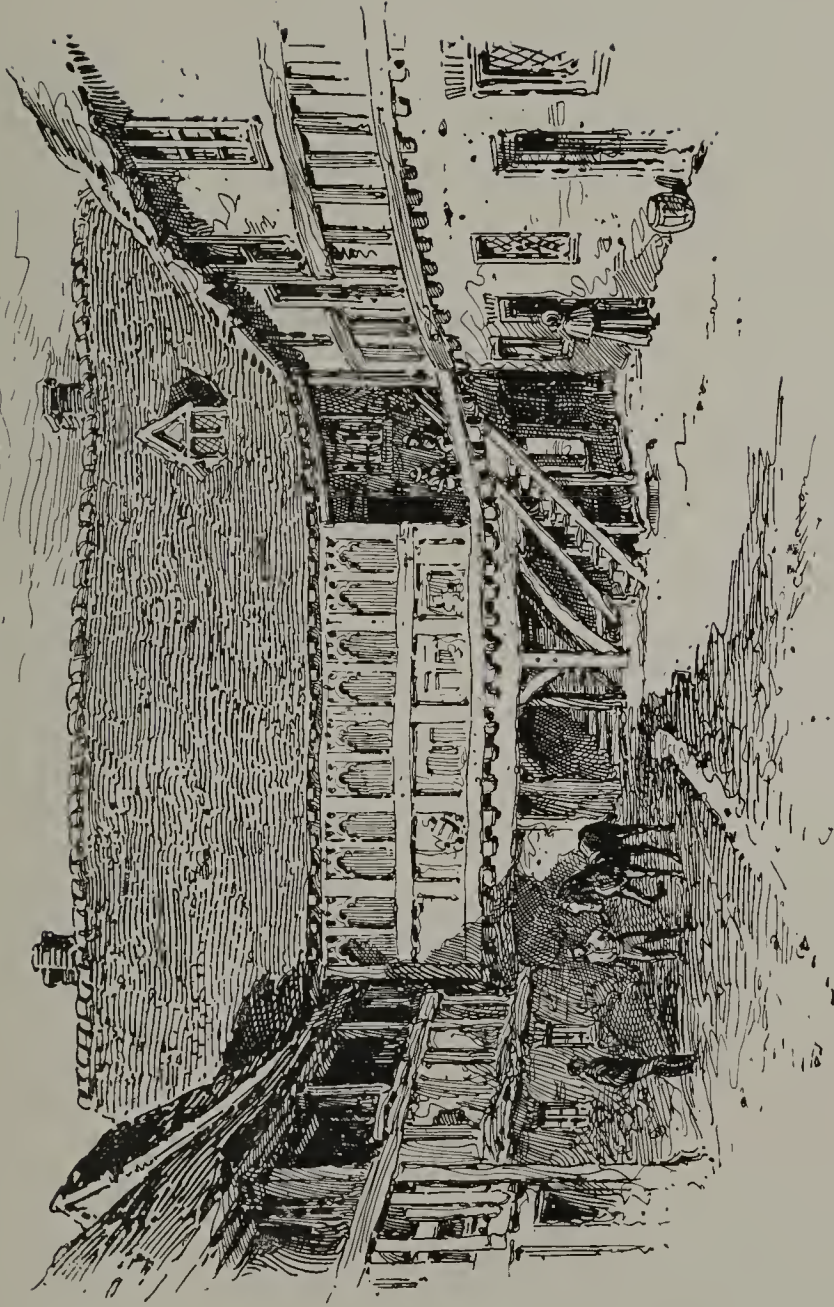
* "Thos. Hethnes, 'Innholder,' received licence to have masses celebrated in the oratory or chapel of 'le George.'"—Reg., II. 269.

in the early part of the 19th century, which daily performed the double journey between St. Albans and London.

THE "ANTELOPE":—At the corner of George-street and Spicer-street was situated the old "Antelope" Inn, the site of which, in monastic times, was occupied by the Hostry or Guest House of the Abbey. In 1545 the Inn that stood here had the sign of the "Tabard," and in 1610 the hostel was described as formerly "le Tabbard" and now called the "Antelope."* This house, which probably dated from Henry VI.'s reign, extended some distance down Spicer-street, its front facing George-street. A large gateway led into a courtyard surrounded by galleries ornamented with tracery of pointed architecture, whence the dormitories were reached. When the coaching days declined this Inn declined also, and was converted into tenements for a number of the poorest people in the town, who lived in the various rooms round the galleries. They were sometimes contemptuously spoken of as the "barrack-yard lot," a designation bestowed upon them for the reason that, prior to their occupation, the premises were used as a kind of barracks for foot soldiers. The "Antelope" was pulled down about sixty years ago; there is an engraving of it published in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1845, which is from a drawing made by Buckler in 1824, during its palmy days as an Inn. On a portion of the site stands a public-house bearing the same sign.

THE "QUEEN":—On the left-hand side of Fishpool-street, near the bend, is an Inn, or rather tavern, called the "Queen," which is remarkable for containing, on the first floor, a room having a fine ribbed ceiling of the Tudor period, with the Tudor rose and fleur-de-lis moulded in alternate compartments; the room is panelled throughout (but whitewashed), and there is an arched fireplace also of the Tudor period. Another striking feature of great archæological interest is the cellar, in which are a cusped niche containing a mutilated figure of stone, and other recesses. Several years ago, during certain reparations here, a number of carved stone

* Common Pleas, Deeds Enrolled, Easter, 1 James I., rot. 17.



COURTYARD OF THE "ANTELOPE" INN.

From a Drawing by Buckler, 1824.

(By kind permission of the *Herts Standard Printing Company*).

figures (more or less intact) and other fragments of sculpture were removed from the walls of the cellar and taken away by the workmen; the origin of these figures, etc., as well as their present destination, is unknown. It is conjectured that the cellar was used as a private chapel during the early days of the Reformation.

THE "ANGEL":—Towards the western extremity of Fishpool-street, just beyond St. Michael's Manor House, there stood (and still stands in part) one of the leading posting-houses in St. Albans. This was the "Angel," Pridmore's drawing of which represented a substantial looking house, with three peaks in the roof, and a plaster front, while over the porch of the principal entrance appeared a life-sized figure of an angel, which was gilt. The portion of the original Inn which has vanished is that which stood on the left-hand side of the principal entrance. The pediment over the doorway has been



THE "ANGEL" INN, *circa* 1797.

From a Drawing by Pridmore.

removed, and there may still be seen in the plaster an indication of its exact dimensions—a remark which applies to the doorway formerly on the extreme right of the building. On the still-existing building is visible some decoration in moulded plaster, in the form of panel-borders—a kind of decoration peculiar to St. Albans. When Verulam-road was made in 1825, the coaching traffic was diverted from George-street and Fishpool-street, so that the Inns along that route were left

stranded. The "Angel" suffered with the rest, and the landlord removed his "belongings," stable retinue, horses, etc., to a house on the new Verulam-road, at the corner of Branch-road. This was also called the "Angel," but, owing to bad management, it did not long survive.

THE "VERULAM ARMS":—The building on the east side of Christ Church, which has been for several years a private residence, was formerly the "Verulam Arms." There is extant a small lithographic print (only two impressions of which are known to me), where is seen, on the left of the picture, an out-building—the "Verulam Tap"—on the site of which Christ Church now stands. The arms here depicted over the porch are those of the Earl of Verulam, to whom the Inn partly belonged; they were carved in stone, and presented to the late Earl when the business, as an Inn, and the property changed hands; this relic of a departed hostelry is now preserved at Gorhambury.*

THE "FIGHTING COCKS":—I ought not to conclude this paper without a brief reference to what has been described as the "oldest Inn in England." I allude, of course, to that quaint little ale-house near the river, called "The Fighting Cocks," which is also known locally as "The Round House," by reason of its octagonal form. A former landlord, thinking to call particular attention to the place, erected a signboard, with the following curious inscription: "Ye Olde Rounde House, repaired after ye Flood." In 1649 a survey was made of this curious structure, particulars of which Mr. Page has reprinted in the Society's Transactions. It reads as follows:—"The Round House: A messuage now divided into two, situate in the Abbey parish, consisting of a cellar, three rooms below stairs, and three above stairs, with a garden and backside adjoining, in the occupation of Mr. William Marston, and compassed about with the common way leading from the town of St. Albans

* It has transpired that Her late Majesty the Queen, when Princess Victoria, stopped at the "Verulam Arms" for lunch. The fact is recorded in a recent issue of the *Bucks Standard*, on the authority of a Mrs. Moore, who, in her capacity as parlour-maid at the Inn, had the privilege of waiting upon the Princess and her mother, the Duchess of Kent, on that occasion, when the Royal pair were travelling by road from Scotland to London, in 1835.

through the Abbey Court to St. Germain's, and contains one rood."*

The basement is undoubtedly very ancient, possibly of monastic origin, but the upper portion, with its timber framework, plaster exterior, and conical red-tiled roof, is probably not earlier than the 15th or 16th century. It has been conjectured that the house was built on the foundations of St. Germain's Gate of the Monastery, in which Gate it was traditionally said that the monks kept their fishing appliances. The present sign would seem to indicate that the brutal (and now happily obsolete) "sport" of cock-fighting was once carried on there. The elevated ground at the south-west corner of the Abbey Orchard, upon which this quaint tavern stands, is a portion of the embankment which, in Saxon times, bordered the King's Fishpool.

The Annual Meeting of the Society was held at the
Herts County Museum, on Friday, 6th April, 1900,
at 8 p.m.

Present—Rev. F. Willcox in the chair, Messrs. Howard, Bickley, Canon Wigram, and others.

The minutes of the previous meeting were read and confirmed.

Mr. F. A. Campion, of Netria, Bricket-road, proposed by Mr. R. J. Hillier, Mrs. Puddicombe, proposed by Mr. W. Page, and Mr. George Gaffe, proposed by Rev. F. Willcox, were duly elected members.

Mr. R. J. Hillier, on behalf of the treasurer, presented the balance sheet, which was duly passed.

The following gentlemen were elected as the officers and committee of the Society for the ensuing year, and, on the proposal of the committee, the name of Lord Aldenham was added to the list of patrons.

President—The Very Rev. the Dean of St. Albans, M.A., etc.

Vice-Presidents—The Earl of Verulam, Viscount Cranborne, Sir John Evans, K.C.B., Rev. Canon Gee, and Rev. Canon Davys.

Committee—S. Flint Clarkson, F.R.I.B.A., Lewis Evans, J.P., F.S.A., W. Carey Morgan, B.A., F. G. Kitton, E. N. Wix, M.A., Rev. G. H. P. Glossop, M.A., F. W. Kinneir Tarte, M.S.A., and Charles Johnson, M.A.

Hon. Treasurer—H. J. Toulmin, J.P.

Hon. Secretaries—Rev. H. Fowler, M.A., W. Page, F.S.A., and R. J. Hillier, M.R.C.S.

Hon. Auditor—G. N. Marten, J.P.

* See "St. Albans Architectural and Archæological Society—Transactions," 1893 and 1894, p. 21.

Upon the recommendation of the Committee, and upon the proposal of Mr. R. L. Howard, seconded by Canon Wigram, it was ordered that the local Secretaries of the Society should be *ex-officio* members of the Committee, and that Rule 8 should in future read:—The Committee may appoint local secretaries at such places in the country as they shall deem expedient, *who shall be ex-officio members of the Committee.*

Mr. Page then read a report from the Committee upon the work done by the Society during the past session, which was duly passed.

Upon the recommendation of the Committee, and upon the proposal of Mr. S. Flint Clarkson, seconded by Mr. F. G. Kitton, the following resolution was unanimously passed:—That the members of the St. Albans and Hertfordshire Architectural and Archæological Society desire to express their satisfaction at the way in which the house on the south side of the Market Place, St. Albans, has been treated, and beg to thank Messrs. Boot very heartily for their consideration of the wishes of the Society.

Mr. Page reported that excursions were being arranged for May, June, and July, and that the pamphlet on Benjamin Hare's map of St. Albans was ready to be delivered to the members.

The Chairman then called upon Mrs. Knight to read her paper on "The Black Death and its effects, with special reference to St. Albans," at the conclusion of which the Chairman proposed a vote of thanks to Mrs. Knight, and expressed the hope that other ladies would follow her example by reading papers before the Society. This was seconded by Mr. Clarkson, and passed. A discussion followed, in which Canon Wigram and Mr. Page took part.

The discussion on Mr. F. G. Kitton's paper on "The Old Inns of St. Albans" was opened by a few remarks from Mr. Kitton, followed by some observations from Mr. Clarkson and Mr. Page.

25th Oct., 1900.

WALTER J. LAWRENCE.

"The Black Death" and its Effects.

WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO ST. ALBANS.

BY MRS. J. T. KNIGHT.

As it is not proposed to consider the subject matter of this paper from the medical point of view, a very brief description of the origin and nature of the Black Death must suffice.

Although not brought into Europe till 1347, it started so far East as China a few years previously, and after devastating Asia, it worked its way in a westerly direction till it reached Ireland ^a.

Throughout the Continent of Europe (to which it was brought along the trade-routes from the East), its ravages were fearful ^b. In most countries, writers use almost

^a "Gt. Pest." (Gasquet) p. 1. ^b *Ib.* p. 16.

identical terms in describing its horrors, while many are afraid lest their bare recital of facts shall rouse incredulity in the minds of posterity. Boccaccio is an authority for the woes of Florence in 1348^c; and Petrarch relates those at Parma—he indeed could write feelingly on the subject, as his beloved Laura died of the Pestilence at Avignon the same year^d.

The plague reached England in the late summer of 1348^e, and beginning with Melcombe Regis in Dorset, gradually swept over the whole country, finally arriving in Scotland, where it did not die out till 1350.

The Black Death itself was a “bubo-plague^f,” such as is known to have existed in Egypt since the days of Ptolemies, though it had never before invaded Europe—now, however it took root there, and cropped up, intermittently, for more than three centuries to come. It was an eminently contagious disease, it was characterised by “plague marks^g,” and caused great sufferings—these fortunately lasted but a short time, the patient often dying within twelve hours.

The persons attacked during this, its first outbreak, consisted chiefly of those in the prime of life^h; the poor people and the clergy being the classes to suffer most. Very often whole households would be exterminated; and from 20 to 60 corpses were sometimes buried in a common trench or “plague-pit” in a single day. The depopulation which the Black Death brought about in England was so great, that the best authorities reckon it carried off fully one-half of the peopleⁱ.

There are several means by which an estimate is arrived at on this point^k. Among the most important are the institutions to livings in the Diocesan Registers^l; also the presentations to livings, by the sovereign, recorded on the Patent Rolls. The large number of vacant benefices filled up during the time the Black Death was raging shows how great was the mortality among the secular clergy, fifty of whom are calculated to have died of it in Hertfordshire alone^m.

The mortality in the monasteries was not less remark-

c *Ib.* p. 29. *d* *Ib.* p. 20., *Ib.* p. 29. *e* *Ib.* p. 73.

f “Hist. of Epidemics,” p. 119. *Ib.* p. 120. *g* *Ib.* p. 121. *h* *Ib.* 122.

i “Gt. Pest.” p. 195. *k* *Ib.* p. 75. *l* *Ib.* p. 76. *m.* *Ib.* p. 177.

able ; at St. Albans Abbey, Michael de Mentmore, then Abbot, and 47 monks were carried off". Such a contagious disease would naturally work havoc where many persons were congregated together, within a limited space, as in a monastic community—while the custom of burying generations of dead monks in chapel and cloister^o, prepared the site for the reception of the poison, and gave the living but little chance of escaping from it.

Similarly, the mortality among the country parochial clergy may partly be attributed to the vicinity of their homes to church and churchyard ; but it is only fair to say it was often caused by their devotion in ministering spiritually to the sick^p.

It is from the rolls of the Manor-Courts that many statistics are obtained concerning the mortality among what we should now call the farming and labouring classes^q ; and at this period these rolls show a very great increase in the number of heriots, or fines due on the death of a tenant^r.

Other similar evidence is obtained from the "Inquisitiones post Mortem," or inquiries made at the royal command upon the oath of a jury, after the death of a tenant holding immediately of the crown, into the value and extent of his lands.

In Hertfordshire, for thirty years after the Black Death^s, the accounts of certain manors began with a list of tenancies rendered vacant by that plague. The rolls of the manor of Winslow (in Buckinghamshire), which belonged to St. Albans Abbey, show that, during 1348-9, one hundred and fifty-three holdings had changed hands ; and from other evidence gained from the same rolls, three out of every five adult males in that manor must have perished.

At the manor of Sladen, in Buckinghamshire, but not far from Berkhamstead, by August, 1349, no tenants were left at all, and the land lay uncultivated^t.

It may be mentioned at this point that a rough Latin inscription on a stone, placed on the N. wall, inside the

ⁿ "Hist. of Epid." p. 131. ^o *Ib.* p. 175.

^p *Ib.* p. 133. ^q *Ib.* p. 135. ^r "Gt. Pest." p. 166, *Ib.* p. 99.

^s "Epid," p. 139, *Ib.* p. 136. ^t "Gt. Pest." p. 100.

tower of Ashwell Church, near Royston, in Hertfordshire, commemorates both the pestilence of 1349, and a great tempest in 1362 “.

Although the upper classes and townsfolk fared best during the plague, they certainly did not all manage to escape it, since in 1349 the wills enrolled in the Husting-Court of the City of London are 10 or 15 times more numerous than in any preceding year^v. Also at Colchester, which enrolled its own wills, one hundred and eleven were proved at this time—the number of burgesses in the town being but four hundred “.

Having thus shortly passed in review some of the immediate and temporary effects of the Black Death, and before proceeding to consider those which are more distant and permanent, it may be well to glance at the social condition of the people, especially in the country districts, where, unlike the habitual custom of most pestilences, this particular one wrought most destruction.

At this period the Manorial System of servile tenure was still in full force ; though somewhat modified, it is true, in practice, if not theoretically, from the days more immediately succeeding the Conquest. In theory, the Lord of the Manor now, as then, was absolute master over the estate. His own demesne, comprising generally a quarter of the estate, was cultivated under the eye of his reeve by the villeins, who were bound to give their lord so many days’ work in the year, but otherwise were free to cultivate their own holdings, which often consisted of 12 or 15 acres, scattered about over the common fields. Below these were the cottars, who cultivated less land, and sometimes owned only a house and croft ; while above them were the “ free-tenants ” or “ soke-men,” who paid rent variously in money, kind or labour, who could be called upon for military service, but who were not bound to the soil as were the villeins, though like them, bound to appear at the lord’s court^x.

By the period of the Black Death, the condition of the lower class of tenants had much improved. In many cases, labour-services having been commuted for money-rents, the villeins had risen into copyholders ; while, for

^u “ Epid,” p. 139 & “ Guide to Herts ” (Foster), p. 78.

^v “ Epid,” p. 118. ^w *Ib.* p. 186. & “ Gt. Pest.” p. 176.

^x “ Industrial Hist. of England,” (Gibbins), p. 15.

the cultivation of their demesne, the landlords looked to the cottars, who not possessing enough land to take up all their time, hired out their services for money-payments", not only to the lords, but also to the richer villeins and freeholders. It must be remembered as well, that to the dwellers on a manor generally, belonged many rights, as of feeding their cattle on the common pasture (as at Port Meadow, near Oxford)^z, and on the waste; of lopping certain trees in the woodland, and of turning their swine into the woods, to forage for themselves—a right called "pannage". Very often too the chief villeins had acquired "closes," or inclosed plots of their own, for which they paid higher rent, apart from their strips in the common fields.

The conditions of life, therefore, in the rural districts, when the Black Death fell on the country, were approaching, though still at a great distance, to those of our own day; the free-tenants and richer villeins resembling our farming class; and out of the ranks of the cottars was already being evolved the class of modern labourers.

On this hopeful state of affairs, the ravages of the Black Death exercised, for the time at least, an almost revolutionary influence. Where so many had been swept away of that particular class on whom depended the cultivation of the soil, (and England, in spite of the rise of towns, and the growth of manufacturing industries, was an agricultural country at this period), it was impossible for the rate of wages, the prices of provisions, the whole condition of villenage to remain unaltered.

The first, and most immediately felt hardships ensuing on the pestilence, fell on the landed proprietors, who saw their estates going out of cultivation for want of labourers, and were obliged to give the survivors a large increase in wages, to keep them from seeking more profitable employment on other manors, or in the towns; besides having to pay a much heavier price for agricultural implements.

Although it would have been unjust to expect the labourers to take the same wages as before the pestilence, seeing that the price of many kinds of provisions, such

y *Ib.* p. 14 & p. 41. *z* *Ib.* p. 20. *a* *Ib.* p. 22.

as fish, had gone up; it is to be feared that the labourers often refused to work, and took to tramping the country as “ sturdy beggars,” or even as robbers^b.

The violent measures, however, which the landowners took to remedy matters were not calculated to calm the shattered nerves of the peasants, or to improve the relations between what we now call “ Capital and Labour.”

In 1350, but a year after the Black Death, Parliament enacted the “ Statute of Labourers^c,” which aimed at bringing back villenage to its original and oppressive condition. Labourers were now forbidden to wander from the place of their birth; they might neither ask higher wages than were customary in their neighbourhood before the pestilence, nor were landlords permitted to give increased wages.

Worst of all, the stewards of the manors, generally lawyers, exerted their ingenuity in ransacking the old manor-rolls^d, to prove the rights of the lords to the labour-service of the villeins, and to bring these back to the state of bondage from which, in all but name, time had done so much to free them.

In spite of heavy punishments, imprisonments, fines, and even branding, meted out to breakers of this statute, and its frequent re-enactment, it was impossible to carry it out in its entirety^e. It long remained as a fretting sore in the side of the labouring class, and to it is partially attributable the general rising which took place among them early in the next reign.

There were of course many other reasons for the Peasants’ Revolt of 1381; the immediate cause being the poll-tax levied in aid of the French war, on all males above 14; but the general state of discontent throughout the country which led to it, can, roughly speaking, be dated “ sith the pestilence-time,” as it is put by William Langland, the contemporaneous author of “ Piers Plowman^f”; and all authorities concur in describing an extraordinary upheaval of social and moral conditions.

The teachings of Wyclif’s wandering Lollard-preachers,

^b “ Sht. His.” (J. R. Green), p. 242. ^c *Ib.* p. 243.

^d “ Const. Hist.” (Stubbs), p. 476. ^e “ Sht. Hist.” p. 242.

^f “ Epid.” p. 188.

who aimed at social, as well as religious reforms, must have greatly influenced men's minds; but, as is usual in such cases, the zeal of his disciples often went beyond the meaning of the Reformer^g, and the inflammatory doctrines of John Ball and his fellows must not be attributed to Wyclif, and were indeed, abjured by him.

For more than a short reference to the general history of the Peasants' Revolt there is not space here. The insurrection once having started in Kent, spread with startling rapidity over the kingdom, extending from Scarborough to Devonshire, and through the Eastern and Midland counties. In the immediate neighbourhood of London it gathered most strength, and was there only quelled by the death of Wat Tyler^h, the Kentish leader, and by the wholesale promises of Richard II to grant the social reforms demanded. What these were may be told in the words of J. R. Green,—“ We will that you free us for ever,” shouted the peasants, “ us and our lands, and that we be never named nor held for serfs ”—“ I grant it,” said the boy king; and accordingly numerous charters of emancipation were hurriedly made out—only alas! to be repealed when parliament met the same year; the landowners with one consent refusing to confirm what they were right in considering to have been an illegal action on the King's partⁱ.

* * * * *

And now to turn to that part of our subject which more immediately concerns the City and Abbey of St. Albans. The social conditions which prevailed over England, generally, previous to the Black Death, may be taken as existing also in this neighbourhood; the Abbey authorities and their tenants bearing the same relation to each other, as elsewhere lay proprietors bore to theirs.

Signs, however, are not wanting of smouldering discontent among the burgesses at the existing state of things. The necessity the burgesses were under of grinding their corn, and fulling their cloth at the Abbey mill, which wasted their time, but (by the tolls they paid), increased the revenue of the Abbot, who strictly

^g “ Sht. Hist.” p. 233. ^h “ Sht. His.” p. 246. ⁱ “ Sht. Hist.” p. 247.

enforced the obligation, was for many years one of the bitterest points of contest^k.

As early as 1274, a dispute occurred on this subject between the townsmen and Abbot Roger de Norton, when the fullers of cloth tried to make use of the Abbot's mills for the particular purposes of their calling; and at the same time to grind their corn in small handmills at home^l. After much tumult, Queen Eleanor, widow of Henry III, was induced to mediate, and peace was restored; but prolonged litigation decided the matter in favour of the Abbey.

Later on, in 1326, during the Abbacy of Hugh de Eversden, the burghers rose and demanded “Charters of emancipation, the right of electing members of parliament, common of land, wood and fishery; and of handmills^m.” They actually besieged the Abbey, and finally obtained all they wanted in a deed confirmed in 1327, by Edward III, and unwillingly sealed by the Abbot and monksⁿ.

However, under the next Abbot, Richard of Wallingford, all that the burghers had gained was lost again; they were obliged to renounce all their privileges, and the millstones were brought to the Abbey, where they were let into the pavement of a “parlour” near the cloister, to be a perpetual witness to the triumph of the monks^o.

The memory of these events must have been fresh in men's minds when the Black Death came to St. Albans. Its ravages in the Abbey were as terrible as elsewhere in monastic communities. Walsingham in the “Gesta Abbatum^p,” recounts touching details of the death of Abbot Michael de Mentmore, already alluded to. On the Maundy Thursday of 1349, though already the disease had laid its clutches on him, he had conscientiously performed all his devotional exercises, including the customary one, on that day, of washing the feet of the poor—but by Easter Day, it is recorded that “Dom Michael of pious memory” had passed away. Besides the Abbot, 47 monks, including the prior and sub-prior, died of the pestilence at this time. When the next Abbot, Thomas de la Mare, was elected^q, he proceeded

^k “Hist. of St. Albans Abbey” (P. Newcome) p. 226.

^l Gesta. Abb. Introd. III. xxxvii. and P. Newcome, 183.

^m “Cons. Hist.” II. 477. ⁿ P. Newcome p. 210.

^o “Sht. Hist.” p. 246. ^p “Gt. Pest.” p. 97-8. ^q *Ib.* p. 103.

to the Papal Court at Avignon to receive full investiture of his office ; on the way however, one of his companions, a monk called William de Dersingham, fell ill, and died of the plague at Canterbury.

Abbot de la Mare spent a whole year^r, after his election, in visiting the cells (or priories dependent on the Abbey) in different parts of the country, hoping too to find more wholesome air in fresh places, owing to the continued prevalence of the plague near London. There being also, from the consequent scarcity of labourers much dearth of provisions in the Abbey, he arranged for 16 monks to be sent to dwell at Redbourne, thus relieving the necessities of those left at St. Albans^s.

From the fearful mortality among the brethren, the Abbey never seems to have recovered ; so that, whereas in 1335, it numbered probably sixty to seventy monks, in 1396 there were only fifty-one, in 1452 but forty-eight, and at the dissolution no more than thirty-nine^t.

As has been already shown, the more immediate effect of the Black Death was a widely spread disorganization of social conditions throughout the country

At St. Albans, where, for a century at least, social grievances had been much "en evidence," it was only to be expected that the rebellion would assume alarming proportions, and so indeed it proved.

While the Kentishmen under Wat Tyler^u were marching northwards upon London, the villeins of St. Albans Abbey had joined with the other Hertfordshire rebels, under Jack Straw, and were making a descent upon it from the north. Their chief demands included : "The abolition of the servile tenure, the emancipation of the native bondmen, and the commutation of villein service for a rent of 4d. the acre."

In connection with the allusion just made to Wat Tyler, of Maidstone^v, it may be mentioned, that there were at least four other Tylers whose names appear among the insurgents. This seems to prove that the Tylers were a somewhat turbulent set of craftsmen ; and it is an interesting fact, that in 1362^w, Abbot de la Mare made a special proclamation that no more than the

^r P. Newcome, p. 246. ^s *Ib.* p. 247. ^t "Gt. Pest." p. 215.

^u "Const. Hist." p. 479. ^v *Ib.* p. 478. ^w "Gesta. Abb." III. 47.

former rates for roofing should be charged by the tilers, who evidently wanted to make profit out of the great storm of wind in January of that year, which is commemorated, together with the Black Death, on the stone at Ashwell Church already referred to.

To return to our rioters, while some were marching on London, others, in the town of St. Albans itself ^x, had risen under the leadership of a certain William Gryndcobbe, and made their way to the Abbey to demand their liberties. It was agreed with the Abbot that Gryndcobbe should be sent as a deputation to London; and there he had an interview both with Wat Tyler and with the young King, who, in terror of the insurgents, was just then recklessly conceding charters of emancipation.

From him Gryndcobbe obtained a letter to the Abbot, and riding back to St. Albans, again led his men to the gates of the Abbey. He himself, with some “sturdy followers,” burst in on the Abbot in the monastery, and standing over him with drawn swords, they obtained his unwilling consent to carry out the King’s letter, which commanded the surrender to the townsfolk of the charter wrested from them in the days of Richard of Wallingford. Henceforth they were permitted to pasture their cattle, to fish and to hunt, in certain specified places; and at last was the long-sought-for boon granted, that of “keeping handmills in their houses or elsewhere, as shall seem best to them ^y.”

Other books and rolls which they obtained, chiefly the court rolls, containing an account of the villenage, were burnt in the market-place near the Cross.

The mob, however, had not waited for the signing of the deed, to take matters into their own hands ^z. Already they had levelled the fences which kept them out of wood and meadow, and impaled the head of a rabbit, on a spear-head, in the market-place, as a sign of free warren. The Abbey jail they had emptied of its prisoners, most of whom they liberated, but one at least, for unknown reasons, they “lynched” (as we should say) and decapi-

^x “Annals of an Eng. Abbey” (Froude).

^y P. Newcome, p. 258, “Const. Hist,” p. 477, and Gesta. III. 308.

^z “Annals of an Eng. Abbey.”

tated, probably in Romeland^a. Specially did they triumph over the monks in that old matter of the millstones, for, "entering a room called the 'Parlour'^b," very near the cloister, they there broke to pieces certain stones of handmills, which had been put and brought there by persons of the same town by agreement, upon certain disputes which had existed beforehand between the Abbot of the same place, that then was, and the same persons as to such handmills, in example of their wrong and injury which they had done to the same Abbey, and they tore up the pavement in the same room." The fragments were then distributed in the town, being evidently looked on as interesting mementoes of the event^c.

Having committed many excesses, threatened to destroy the Great Gate of the Abbey^d, and almost terrified the monks into taking refuge by flight, the rioters had their triumph soon cut short by the news of Wat Tyler's death. Though for a time they did not fully understand the import of this, and even continued to wrest charters of emancipation from the Abbot, they were disallusioned at last when Sir Walter atte Lee, the King's Commissioner, with a band of armed men, rode into the town to enquire into the late disturbances.

Headed in their resistance by Gryndcobbe, the burghers refused, at Lee's demand, to render the charters so hardly won. Their leader was, however, surprised and captured by Sir Walter, together with a certain John Barber^e, and they were both conveyed to Hertford jail. Fearing the worst might happen to Gryndcobbe, the populace of St. Albans rose^f, and by threats of vengeance persuaded the Abbot to obtain the release of the prisoners on bail.

This was done, but when Gryndcobbe^g addressed a gathering of the insurgents at St. Albans, far from seeking to save his own life at the expense of their liberties, he bade them disregard the danger he was in, and abide by their just demands for freedom. His release having availed nothing, from the Abbot's point of view, Gryndcobbe was shortly after taken back to prison^h.

The news of the near approach of the King, who had

a Gesta. III., 288 & 292. *b* *Ib.* p. 293. *c* "Annals of an Eng. Abbey."

d Gesta. III., 312 & 314. *e* Gesta III., 339. *f* *Ib.* p. 340.

g *Ib.* p. 341. *h* *Ib.* p. 342.

been traversing the country, dealing out everywhere high-handed justice to the rioters, drove those in St. Albans to their knees, and they offered instant restitution of the chartersⁱ if the Abbot would intercede for them with the King. The charters having been returned, and 6 millstones placed in the “parlour^k” near where the others had lately been plucked up and destroyed, the Abbot promised to use his good offices in their favour with the King. These do not appear to have been of much service, for Richard was determined on dealing sternly with the offenders. His Chief Justice, Sir Robert Trysilian, sat in judgment on the offenders at the Moot Hall^l, and by cunning and terrorism contrived to obtain from three sworn juries (“packed ones,” in modern phrase) an indictment against those implicated in the late disturbances.

Upon this, Gryndcobbe, Barber, and thirteen other burgesses were executed by hanging, and many more were imprisoned^m. John Ball, also who had been captured at Coventryⁿ about this time was brought to St. Albans, tried and condemned to death by Trysilian, and hung on July 15th.

It is impossible not to feel sympathy with Gryndcobbe, although Walsingham, writing, of course, from the monkish point of view, calls him one “whose heart was hardened in evil.” He seems to have come of a patriotic family, for a Gryndcobbe appears as one of the burgesses who witnessed the charter granted to them by Abbot Hugh; and a short time after William’s death, Henry^o, his brother, a London dyer, is supposed to have fomented disturbances in St. Albans, in revenge for his kinsman’s execution. The very name, if, as appears, it denotes one who grinds ears of corn, is interesting, in connection with those disputes, so often alluded to, on the subject of the handmills. Certainly his patriotic address to his fellow-townsmen exonerates him from the charge of selfish intriguing on his own behalf, which is so often levelled at mob-leaders.

I should like to mention at this point that Mr. Page has kindly supplied me with the following interesting and curious fact in connection with the Gryndcobbe

i *Ib.* p. 343. *k* *Ib.* p. 347. *l* *Ib.* p. 349. *m* *Ib.* p. 350.
n “Const. Hist.” p. 473. *o* “Annals of an Eng. Abbey.” Gesta. 364.

family. In 1384, an "Inquisitio post Mortem" was made, as to the value of two messuages in the town, held by Joan, widow of William Grenecob, for her life, "and which after her death ought to revert to the King as an escheat, by reason of the forfeiture of the said William." The jury report, in answer to the writ, that—"the said two messuages are worth by the year in all issues beyond reprises 13s. 4dⁿ," showing that Gryndcobbe, according to the value of money at that time, was a man of some substance.

William Gryndcobbe's followers succeeding in rescuing his body, with those of his fellow sufferers, from the ignominy of the gibbet, were afterwards compelled, by order of the King, to replace them with their own hands^{pp}.

The final depths of humiliation came when the Statute was promulgated, which formally annulled all the charters^q granted during the insurrection. What this meant at the time may be gathered from the words in which the King, shortly before, had commissioned certain persons to proclaim throughout Hertfordshire and Buckinghamshire "that all and every person and persons^r that ought to do any manner of service or duty to the abbot or convent, whether bond or free should do and perform the same in such manner as they had been used to do before the late troubles"—imprisonment being the consequence of non-compliance.

The millers of St. Albans^t do not seem to have taken their defeat quite tamely—sooner than grind their corn at the Abbey they carried it off to distant mills; but afterwards they had to pay a fine for their misdeeds. And still later, farms at Sandridge and Walden, and a mill at Codicote were burnt down by rioters.

As these outrages appear to be only the last dying embers of the Peasants' Revolt in this neighbourhood, it must be imagined that things soon after quieted down in St. Albans, as throughout the country generally.

Most Authorities, however, agree that though apparently so futile at the time, the ultimate results of the Revolt more than fulfilled the expectations of the

^p Inq. P.M. 7. Rich. II., No. 93. Gesta. III 354, *Ib.* 355.

^{pp} Gesta. III., 354, 355. ^q *Ib.* 356.

^r Gesta. III. p. 353. ^s P. Newcome p. 265. ^t Gesta III., 360.

insurgents. As it had been impracticable to enforce the Statute of Labourers, so was it morally impossible for the retrogressive policy of Richard II.'s government, with regard to villenage, to be carried out. The position of the tenants gradually improved, and to quote from Stubbs, in words that sum up a situation, which it would take too much time to enter into here in detail"—“ Although the villeins had failed to obtain their charters, and had paid a heavy penalty for their temerity in revolting, they had struck a vital blow at villenage. The landlords gave up the practice of demanding base services; they let their land to leasehold tenants, and accepted money payments in lieu of labour; they ceased to recall the emancipated labourers into serfdom, or to oppose his assertion of right in the courts of the manor and of the county. Rising out of villenage the new freemen enlarged the class of yeomanry, and strengthened the cause of the commons in the country and in Parliament, and from 1381 onwards rural society in England began to work into its later forms.”

It may be given as a proof of the practical extinction of villenage, only seventy years later, that in the “ Complaint ” issued by the insurgents, under Jack Cade in 1451, no mention whatever is made of those claims for emancipation so forcibly urged in 1381.

Very possibly it may occur to some who listen to this paper that, in spite of its title, more attention is devoted in it to the Peasants' Revolt, than to the Black Death itself. If this be so, the excuse must be found in the sub-title, which provides for the “ effects ” of the pestilence being taken into consideration, and I hope it has been made clear that the Revolt was one, and a most important outcome of the Black Death. The whole subject is one on which historians do not altogether agree. Some are inclined to lay much stress on the effects of the plague on the social conditions of the country; others to minimise those effects. To quote Stubbs once more: “ Such different conclusions can only be accounted for by supposing the writers who hold them to take opposite views, not only of the action of the plague itself, but of the periods that precede and follow it ”.

u “ Const. Hist.” p. 485.

v “ Sht. Hist.” p. 275.

w “ Const. Hist.” p. 479.

It is obviously impossible to state, on the one hand; how long the process might have taken of undisturbed natural evolution (already commenced) of England towards free institutions. On the other, it is probable, that, had not the Black Death occurred, the peasants would never have risen to assert their rights, and by so doing undoubtedly precipitated matters in the direction of freedom. It seems, therefore, neither right to consider all progress as dating from the commencement of the Black Death, nor to look upon that event as more than temporarily checking the progress already begun. From my own study of different writers, I am inclined to the opinion that the Black Death acted merely as a cog on the wheel of progress. Later on, as has been shown, the march of England towards freedom was accelerated.

In concluding this paper, I would like to say that, in its compilation, I cannot lay claim to having consulted original authorities, but the various historians from whom I have gained information generally quote the documents whence their statements of facts are derived. And for access to the works of those historians I am chiefly indebted to Mr. Page, without whose valuable counsel and assistance my task could never have been carried through, and to whom I therefore tender my most grateful thanks.

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Note on the Inscription in Ashwell Church.

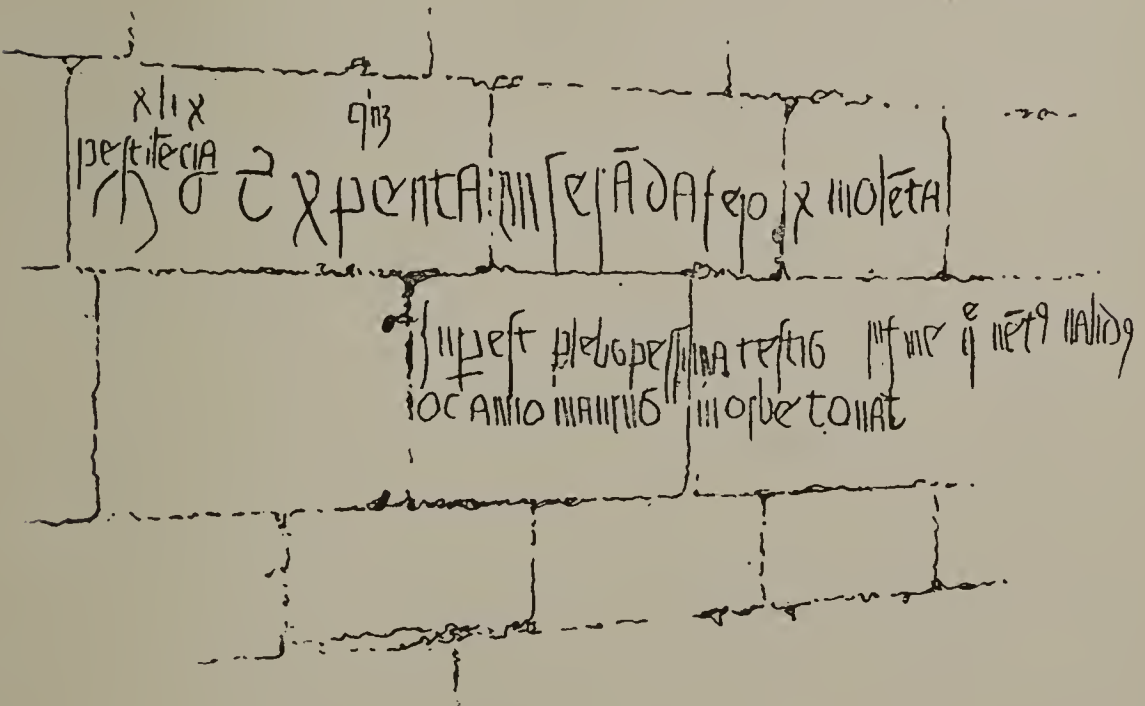
COMMUNICATED BY CHARLES JOHNSON.

This celebrated inscription which is on the north wall inside the tower, apart from its historical value, demands attention as having been misread by the late Mr. Cussans. The principal inscription in large letters, should read:—

M. C. ter. X. penta miseranda ferox violenta.
 [Atrocis pestis] superest plebs pessima testis.
 [h]oc anno Maurus in orbe tonat.

The subordinate inscriptions are to be regarded as glosses. Over the first line is “xlix.” over “pestilencia,” explaining the allusion of the line below. So also “penta” is glossed as “quinque.” The first two lines will then translate—

1000, three times 100, five times 10, pitiable, savage, and violent.
 A wicked populace survives to witness [to the shocking plague]:



the allusion being to the scarcity of labour in 1350 produced by the “Black Death”: and for the form of the lines compare the verse quoted in “Eulogium Historiarum” (Rolls Series) vol. iii. p. 228.

M. simplex. C. ter. X. triplex V. semel I. ter.
 Belligerans Ed. ter. trans mare cepit iter.

The gloss at the end of the second line appears to read "in fine Quadragesime (?) ventus validus," *i.e.*, "a great wind at the end of Lent" and may refer to the year 1350 (if it refers to 1361 Q^e cannot be "Quadragesime.")

The third line, as appears from the gloss at the end, relates to 1361, and to the great storm on St. Maur's Day (Jan. 15), alluded to by the author of "Eulogium Historiarum" (vol. iii. p. 229).

There are numerous other mediæval inscriptions here and on other parts of the Church, and an interesting sketch of what appears to be old St. Paul's Cathedral.



Obituary Notice.

BY THE PRESIDENT.

The late Hon. Secretary of the Society, the Rev. Henry Fowler, will always be held in affectionate remembrance by the members; for there are few who do not bear in mind the deep interest which he consistently showed in regard to all matters of which this Society takes cognizance, and his always ready assistance in imparting the information which he possessed to all who asked it. To work with him in antiquarian research was a real pleasure. It was with these feelings that the committee have resolved to create a precedent by giving a portrait of him¹ with this notice.

The Rev. Henry Fowler was the son of Mr. Charles Fowler, a well-known architect, who was engaged in many important buildings in London, was one of the founders of the Institute of British Architects, and served with Professor Donaldson as one of the honorary secretaries of that institution. He was born on 16th April, 1827, and received his education at University College School and Exeter College, Oxford, where he graduated B.A. in 1850 and M.A. in 1852. He was ordained deacon by the Bishop of Worcester in the latter year, and in the following he received priest's orders from the Bishop of Salisbury. His first curacy was at Milston, Wilts, where he remained till 1856, when he took a curacy at Scudamore in the same county until 1860. From that time till 1862 he was curate at Ditton, also in Wiltshire, in which latter year he married Julia Frances, daughter of Mr. Thomas Tutton, bandmaster of the 2nd Life Guards Band. In the year after his marriage he was appointed second master at St. Albans Grammar School, and in 1865 became chaplain to the St. Albans Union, from which office he retired in 1895. He was also chaplain of H.M. Prison at St. Albans from 1882 till his death. In both these capacities he laboured most diligently to promote the welfare of those placed

¹ This portrait is taken by kind permission from a photograph by Mr. Lane, of St. Albans.

under his charge, and as Secretary of the Prisoners' Aid Society, he was most earnest and persevering in his efforts to save the frailer members of society from falling back into their former evil course of life.

It was not till Mr. Fowler had been living some years in the town that he joined this Society. On 11th December, 1874, he was proposed as a member by Mr. Ridgway Lloyd and Rev. B. Hutchinson, and elected fifteen months later on 7th March, 1876. Immediately on joining the Society, he made his mark as a most painstaking and able archæologist by his first, and perhaps his principal paper for the Society on the Boundary Wall of St. Albans Monastery, which was read before the Society on 22nd February, 1876. Fired with enthusiasm from reading Professor Willis' work on the monastic arrangement at Canterbury, Mr. Fowler determined to compile a similar work for St. Albans, and as a result produced his well known plan of the monastic buildings which is a monument of careful research and study, and considering the information at his disposal and the knowledge of the subject then existing, is a wonderfully accurate work.

After this there followed numerous papers which will be found in the Transactions of the Society, all showing the same careful research. The more important of them are on Royston Church, Ashwell, Mackerye End, Redbourn Church and Priory, and Tyttenhanger.

Mr. Fowler succeeded the late Mr. Ridgway Lloyd as honorary secretary in 1884, and for many years showed in that capacity his devotion to the best interests of the Society, which will long mourn his loss.

S. Albans and Herts Architectural and Archæological Society.

BALANCE SHEET, 1899.

RECEIPTS.

	£	s.	d.
Balance from last account	42	13	1
Subscriptions	35	13	0
Life Composition withdrawn from Deposit.....	8	8	0
Ditto paid in 1899	8	8	0
Sale of Transactions	16	16	0
	1	15	1

£96 17 2

EXPENDITURE.

Donation to St. Michael's Excavation Fund	5	0	0
Meetings	1	14	6
Postage	3	13	5
Stationery	1	5	1
Printing and Illustrations	42	10	0
Custodian of Library	1	0	0
Cheque Book	0	2	0
Purchase of £19 5s. 0d. Consols	20	0	0
Payment in error by F. Wallen, Esq.	1	1	0
Book added to Library	0	1	6
Subscription to Congress of Archæological Societies	2	0	0
Balance due to Mr. Page (Hon. Sec.) 1898	0	15	11
	£79	3	5

Balance in Treasurer's Hands

14 19 4

Petty cash in Hon. Sec.'s hands

2 14 5

17 13 9

£96 17 2

Examined and found correct,

HENRY J. TOULMIN,

Hon. Treasurer.

G. C. BARNES,

April 6th, 1900.

S. Albans and Herts Architectural and Archæological Society.

BALANCE SHEET FOR 1900.

RECEIPTS.

	£	s.	d.
Balance at Bank, Jan. 1st, 1900	14	19	4
Petty Cash in Hon. Sec. hands Jan. 1st, 1900	2	14	5
By Sales of Publications	42	17	0
By Subscriptions	10	0	4
By Dividends on £19 5s. 0d. on Consols	10	0	4

EXPENDITURE.

Custodian of Library, Town Hall	£	s.	d.
Printing and Stationery—			
Lithograph Plans of St. Albans	2	12	6
Typewriting Mr. A. Oliver's Paper	5	0	0
Copy of Portrait of Late Rev. H. Fowler	5	0	0
Electrotype Blocks for Illustrations	1	2	8
Blocks for Mr. Kitton's Papers	1	13	6
Gibbs and Bamforth, General Printing and Stationery	3	8	6
Meeting and Excursions—			9
Hire of Room at Town Hall		6	0
Excursion to Royston		13	0
" " Aldenham		4	0
Visit of East Herts Archæological Society			1
Expenses of Soirée at Museum		16	0
Oxygen Gas for Lantern Lectures		2	17
Books purchased		17	9
Books Bound and Repaired		15	1
Subscription to National Trust		19	9
Postage and Parcels		1	1
Cheque Book		3	2
Balance at Bank, Dec. 31st, 1900			37
Balance in Hon. Secs. hands Dec. 31st, 1900 ..		20	10
Balance in Hon. Secs. hands Dec. 31st, 1900 ..		3	15
Balance at Bank, Dec. 31st, 1900			24
Balance in Hon. Secs. hands Dec. 31st, 1900 ..		5	11
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Balance in Hon. Secs. hands Dec. 31st, 1900			

S. Albans and Herts Architectural and Archæological Society.

VERULAM RESEARCH FUND.

BALANCE SHEET, 1898-9.

RECEIPTS.

	£	s.	d.
Donation from this Society	5	0	0
A. H. Lyell, M.A., F.S.A.....	2	2	0
The Society of Antiquaries, 1st grant	5	0	0
" " 2nd grant	5	0	0
R. L. Howard	0	10	0
W. J. Hardy, F.S.A.	1	1	0
Anonymous	2	0	0
C. T. Part, J.P.....	2	0	0
H. J. Toulmin, J.P.	1	1	0
Rev. G. H. P. Glossop, M.A.....	2	0	0
General Calusac	1	0	0
The Earl of Verulam.....	5	0	0
W. Page	19	3	2½
	£50	17	2½

EXPENDITURE.

Wages to men excavating, Mar., 1898, to Feb., 1899	£	s.	d.
	50	17	2½

£50 17 2½

HENRY J. TOULMIN,
Hon. Treasurer.

April 28th, 1899.

S. Albans and Herts Architectural and Archæological Society.

VERULAM RESEARCH FUND.

BALANCE SHEET, 1899-1900.

RECEIPTS.		EXPENDITURE.	
	£ s. d.		£ s. d.
W. J. Hardy, F.S.A.	1 1 0	Wages to men excavating, Oct., 1899, to May, 1900.....	48 8 2
Lewis Evans, F.S.A.	2 2 6	Compensation to tenants of land	3 10 0
G. Mowat, J.P.	1 1 0	Hurdles purchased.....	0 18 0
Sir John Evans, K.C.B.	5 0 0	Hire of boards and wheelbarrows	0 19 4
P. Manning, M.A., F.S.A.....	4 0 0		
Donation from this Society	5 0 0		
W. Page, F.S.A.	8 0 0		
F. G. Hilton Price, Dr. S.A.	5 0 0		
W. Minet, F.S.A.....	5 0 0		
E. N. Wix, M.A.	5 0 0		
Grant from the Society of Antiquaries	15 0 0		
The Lord Bishop of St. Albans	2 0 0		
R. L. Howard	1 0 0	Balance in hand	5 9 0
	<hr/>		<hr/>
	£59 4 6		£59 4 6

WM. PAGE,
Hon. Secretary.

St. Albans and Hertfordshire
Architectural
AND
Archæological Society.

TRANSACTIONS.

VOL. I. PART IV. NEW SERIES.

1901 & 1902.



St. Albans:

PRINTED BY GIBBS AND BAMFORTH, MARKET PLACE.

1903.

The St. Albans and Hertfordshire
Architectural and Archæological Society.

FOUNDED A.D. 1845.*

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- Millard, Walter, Benslow Lane, Hitchin.
- Morgan, W. Carey, B.A., Avenue Road, St. Albans.
- Morison, J., M.D., Thirstane, St. Albans.
- Mowat, G., J.P., The Cottage, Belmont Hill, St. Albans.
- Nelson, Mrs., Wilfords, Bricket Road, St. Albans.
- Nicholson, A. J., Asphodel, Clarence Road, St. Albans.
- Norman, F. H., Moor Place, Hadham.
- Oliver, Andrew, F.R.I.B.A., 5, Queen's Gardens, Bayswater, W.
- Page, Wm., F.S.A., 21, Old Buildings, Lincoln's Inn, London.
- Palmer, F., Beaconsfield Road, St. Albans.
- Palmer, George, Annaberg, Upper Lattimore Road, St. Albans.
- Palmer, Miss E. M., Annaberg, Upper Lattimore Road, St. Albans.
- Phillimore, W. P. W., 124, Chancery Lane, W.C.
- Phillips, Rev. E. S., Rosedale, St. Albans.
- Phillips, A. F., J.P., Torrington House, St. Albans.
- Pollard, Mrs., Belle Vue, Bengoe, Hertford.
- Price, W. Rokeby, Clementhorpe, St. Albans.
- Puddicombe, Mrs., 19, London Road, St. Albans.
- Rhodes, A. J., Marlborough Road, St. Albans.
- Richings, Miss Alice, 13, High Street, Hemel Hempstead.
- Rider, John, Clarence Lodge, St. Albans.
- Roberts, T. P., L.R.C.P., etc., 95, St. Peter's Street, St. Albans.
- *Ross, Captain G. E., 8, Collingham Gardens, London, W.
- St. Albans, The Lord Bishop of, 21, Endsleigh Street, Tavistock Square, London, W.C.
- *St. Albans, The Very Rev. the Dean of, The Deanery, St. Albans.
- *Salisbury, The Marquess of, Hatfield House.
- Savage, J., 61, Verulam Road, St. Albans.
- Scott, Lady, Malabar House, St. Albans.

MEMBERS—(continued).

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|---|--|
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The Clock House and Conduit, St. Albans.
From the Etching by B. Green, 1783.
(*Lewis Evans Collection, Herts County Museum*).

PROCEEDINGS.

General Meeting held at the Herts County Museum, on Thursday, 25th October, 1900.

Present—The Very Rev. the Dean of St. Albans, President, in the chair; Canon Wigram, Messrs. Hopkinson and Gibbs, Miss Lee, the Hon. Secretaries, and many others.

The minutes of the previous meeting were read and confirmed.

The Dean referred in feeling terms to the great loss which the Society had sustained since its last meeting, by the death of the Rev. H. Fowler, for so many years Hon. Secretary of the Society, and proposed the following resolution: "The St. Albans and Hertfordshire Architectural and Archæological Society desires to put on record its sense of the severe loss it has sustained by the death of the Rev. Henry Fowler, for sixteen years one of its honorary secretaries, and at the same time to express its sympathy with his family in their bereavement. The Society wishes also to convey its most sincere thanks to Miss Fowler, Mr. Ralph Fowler, and the rest of the family, for their generous gift of their late father's very valuable collections of MS notes and papers, and for numerous plans and printed books."

Mr. Clarkson seconded the resolution, which was carried.

Upon the proposal of Mr. Page, seconded by Mr Gibbs, Miss Fowler was elected an honorary member of the Society.

Mr. Hugh Blakiston, B.A., Secretary to the "National Trust for Places of Historic Interest," then gave his lecture on "Our National Heritage."

S. FLINT CLARKSON.

General Meeting held at the Herts County Museum, on Friday, 15th February, 1901.

Present—Mr. S. Flint Clarkson, in the chair; Messrs. Tarte, Mowat, Gaffe, Bickley, Hardy, the Hon. Secretaries, and many others.

The minutes of the previous meeting were read and confirmed.

Mr. F. Palmer, of Beaconsfield Road, proposed by Mr. Tarte, and seconded by Mr. Hillier, was duly elected.

Mr. Kitton called attention to the project for acquiring the Lewis Evans Collection of Hertfordshire Prints, etc., and upon the proposal of Mr. Mowat, seconded by Mr. Gaffe, it was ordered that £5 from the Society's funds be subscribed towards the fund now being raised.

Mr. Johnson brought before the meeting a proposal which had been discussed by the Committee, to index the Ordnance Maps of the County. After some debate the matter was referred back to the Committee.

Mr. Wilton Hall read the following papers:—(1) "Some notes on Dr. Richard Lee, of Hatfield, during the Commonwealth period." (2) "Sandridge Parish Accounts 1687-1780."

Some discussion followed, in which Mr. Page pointed out the very careful manner in which the Sandridge accounts had been repaired and guarded by Mr. Hall; and stated that they were now about to be returned to the Church.

G. H. P. GLOSSOP.

Dr. Richard Lee, of Hatfield, and his son, Richard Lee,
of Essendon.

BY H. R. WILTON-HALL.

Among the Puritan Clergy of this neighbourhood who lived through the troubled times of Charles I., the Commonwealth and the Restoration, one of the most prominent was Richard Lee. He was born some time in the year 1611, and entered St. John's College, Cambridge, where he graduated B.A. in 1632, and took holy orders. When at St. John's College he is said to have shown a taste for music. The early part of his ministerial life appears to have been spent in the county of Essex, where he became famous as a Puritan preacher, and was very energetic in inducing those who came within the sphere of his influence to take the Solemn League and Covenant. So prominent was he that the committee at Romford presented him with a piece of plate in recognition of his services. By order of Parliament he became Rector of St. Mary, Orgar. In the following year, September, 1644, he was appointed by the House of Commons one of the twenty-three ordainers of ministers (Journal of the House of Commons, iii., 630), and preferments were liberally bestowed upon him.

In 1613 Henry Rainsford was appointed Rector of Hatfield, and for many years he held this living with that of Stanmore in Middlesex. Although he accepted the Covenant and Directory he was not allowed to hold both livings, and finally it was decided that the rectory of Hatfield should stand sequestered from him to the use of some godly and orthodox divine.* The "godly and orthodox divine" was Richard Lee. Though Henry Rainsford might not hold two benefices, the "godly and orthodox divine" within the next few years obtained and held twice as many livings. In 1650 he was appointed to the Mastership of Royston Hospital, Leicester. In the same year, the Parliamentary Commissioners appointed to inquire into the state of Church Livings in the county, reported that the living of Hatfield

* Add. MSS. 15670, fols. 268, 345.

was worth £460 per annum, but that it was leased to the Earl of Salisbury for a term of years, of which there were still ten to run; that out of this £36 2s. a year was secured to the incumbent, who was Mr. Richard Lee, but that the Earl of Salisbury voluntarily made up the yearly income for the rector to £200. A third living fell to him in 1655, viz., that of Little Gaddesden, and Cromwell added a fourth, when he presented him to Great Berkhamstead in 1656. He became Chaplain to Monke, Duke of Albemarle, not long afterwards.

In 1652 he joined with others in signing a Petition to the House of Commons, that persons of gifts and godliness, though not ordained, should preach and receive the public maintenance, and that a Committee of Ministers and others might sit in each county to examine and approve such as are called to preach. (Journals of the House of Commons, viii. 259).

Mr. Richard Lee took a very prominent part in the religious exercises of General Monke's army when it was passing through St. Alban's in January, 1659-60; but when the Restoration came, a few months later, he changed with the changing times, and by so doing retained the living of Hatfield, and alienated his old Puritan friends. He was one of the fifty-seven ministers in this county—all of whom had satisfied the Triers, and were severally acceptable to their parishioners—who quietly conformed. On the 19th of December, 1660, the King formally presented him to the Rectory of Hatfield.

For twenty years before this time a Mr. Richard Wilkinson had been reader at Hatfield, and in 1653 he had been appointed the Cromwellian Registrar of Births, Deaths and Marriages. Apparently a little friction arose between him and Mr. Lee concerning the custody of the registers. Mr. Wilkinson apparently would not give up his charge, and under date 28th August, 1660, below the last entry made * by him, he writes:—

By Rich: Wilkinson sworne Register according to an Ordinance of y^e little thing cald Parliamt.

And he did not give up the book until after Mr. Lee's appointment by the Crown, and the first entry made by the Rector, when he did gain possession of the document,

* Hatfield Church Registers. Vol. I.

is his reply to Mr. Wilkinson's exaltation of "y^e little thing cald Parliam^t." It is as follows:

Memorandū y^t y^e 12th of Februa: 1660 and not before Mr. Wilkinson would deliur ye Register book though oft demanded by Tho: Hair and George Basil churchwardens. Then Mr. Lee ye Rector receiued it, and layd it up according to an Injunction in y^e case prouided, and since hath mayde entryes.

RICH LEE RECTOR.

The cause of this pretty little squabble appears to have been a personal or official rather than a theological one, since Mr. Wilkinson still held his office of Schoolmaster at Hatfield as late as 1680; he outlived the rector, dying in 1697.

On the 29th of November, 1663, Dr. Lee preached in St. Paul's Cathedral to an "auditory" greater than had been known in the memory of man. It was a discourse he had previously delivered at Cambridge. The sermon was printed, and dedicated to Archbishop Sheldon. (Lee, Richard, D.D., *Cor humilitatum et contritum*—a Sermon. 1663. B.M. 4475, g. 7). Its title page reads:—

"A Sermon preached in St. Paul's Church, London, November 29th, 1663, by Richard Lee, D.D., Chaplain to the Most Renowned George, Duke of Albemarle his Grace, and Rector of King's Hatfield in Hertfordshire, wherein was delivered the Profession of his Judgement against the Solemn League and Covenant, the late King's death, etc."

His text was from Psalm li. v. 7, "A Broken and Contrite Heart."

This gave still greater offence to his quondam friends, the Puritans, who regarded it as an act of abject self-humiliation (*Annals of Evangelical Nonconformity*, by T. W. Davids, p. 206). Dr. Robert Wilde wrote a satirical poem upon Richard Lee, entitled, "The Recantation of a Penitent Proteus; or, The Changeling in the Pulpit." The following specimens will suffice to show the drift of the whole.

Three times already I have changed my coat,
Three times already I have changed my note,
I'll make it four, and four-and-twenty more,
And turn the compass round, ere I give o'er.

From Hatfield to St. Albans I did ride,
The army called for me to be their guide;
There I so spurred her, that I made her fling
Not only dirt, but blood upon my king.

My Cambridge sins, my Bugden sins are vile,
My Essex sins, my sins in Ely's isle.
My Leicester sins, my Hatfield sins are many,
But my St. Alban's sins more red than any.

Take from my neck this robe — a rope's more fit,
 And turn this surplice to a penance sheet;
 This pulpit is too good to act my part,—
 More fit to preach at Tyburn in a cart.

He had a large family of children, eight of whom were baptised in Hatfield Church, viz. :—

Daniel, baptised March 11th, 1652 ;
 Richard, baptised September 12th, 1655 ;
 Ann, baptised July 3rd, 1658 ;
 Mary, baptised July 19th, 1660 ; *
 Elizabeth, buried September 19th, 1661 ;
 John “ was born February 2nd, 1662, was baptised
 (being y^e 10th child).” †
 Elizabeth, baptised October 23rd, 1665 ;
 buried November 25th, 1665 ;
 Emmanuel, baptised June 14th, 1667,
 “ his sixt : son.”

John, born in 1662-3, was, according to the Register, the 10th child, and two born subsequently are recorded in the same Register, Elizabeth and Emmanuel, so that he had at least a family of twelve children, four of whom—the elder ones—were born before he settled at Hatfield.

Nathaniel Lee, the dramatist, is said to have been a son of Dr. Richard Lee, of Hatfield, and was born about the year 1653 (Dict. of Nat. Biog., Vol. xxxii., p. 364). He was educated at Westminster School, where he was “ well lasht ” by the renowned Dr. Busby. He was admitted to Trinity College, Cambridge, in 1665, and took his B.A. degree in 1667-8. He was in the Duke of Buckingham's “ set,” and became an actor in 1672, when he attained to some reputation by his tragedy the “ Rival Queens.” He died drunk, and was buried at St. Clement Danes, May 6th, 1692.

I can find no record of his baptism at Hatfield. Of Richard Lee, the second son, whose birth is recorded at Hatfield, I am able to give some little account. He was not a great preacher and eminent man like his father, nor was he a “ wild blade ” like Nathaniel. He was just a quiet country parson. On October 27th, 1691, he was instituted Vicar of Abbots Langley, and was then about 36 years of age. On the 22nd September, 1699, he was instituted Rector of Essendon by Bishop

* Twice entered, first by Rich : Wilkinson, and then by Mr. Lee, who, however, gives the date July 11th, 1660.

† Another entry by a different hand gives the date February 2nd, 1663.

Gardiner, on the presentation of Robert Wright. He succeeded one Robert Whichcoat, who had died in the previous April, and the first note the new Rector made in the Essendon Register reads:—

Robert Whichcot Rector buried April 26, 99. The pulpit and desk hung in mourning. Sacrilegiously taken away.

At the Easter Vestry, held April 5th, 1708, an attempt was made to prevent parish officers from spending money in “free drinks” at vestry meetings, and it was ordered “at this Vestury and agreed upon that there shall not bee any money spent upon the parish charge at any vestury time at any vestury Insuing. For the obtaing of this order Mr. Lee hath promised gratesly to give five shillings to the Churchwardens every Easter soe long as this order shall be kept by the inhabitants of the parish the same money to be spent at the same time as Easter.”*

The Parsonage House in which Mr. Lee lived is thus described in the copy of an old terrier in the church chest, which seems to have been made in 1710.

“The Parsonage House is a Timber House covered with Tyles, containing a Hall, Pantry, Cellar, Milk House, Washouse, one Closset, all Brick Floors, one Water House Paved with Stone, two Parlours, Meale House, and a Closett below staires, and also a Kitchen, all Boarded Floors. Above Stairs Six Chambers, a Study, two Closetts, and three Garretts. One Large Barne for Corne containing Five Bayes, the Threshing Floor Planked, all the Walls thereof new boarded, and covered with Thatch; a New Granary and Cowhouse (adjoining to the said Barne), the sides thereof being New Boarded, and covered with Thatch. One Timber Hayebarne, and Stable, containing together three Bayes covered with Thatch, one other Stable, a Coachhouse, one Hoggs Sty all Timber and covered with Thatch, Coalhouse, and Privy House. Two little Gardens and a Court yard on the East Side of the Dwelling-house, one Large Orchard on the West and North of the Said Dwelling House with a Mote in itt, one Large Yard for Catell Fenced with Pales, the Homestall containeth togetther One Acre and upwards.”†

The Church Furniture, set out in the same terrier, was:

“A Communion Table with two Basses, two Carpetts (one Turkey worke and the other a Blew Cloth), a Surplice, and a Communion Cloth; a Blew Cloth Cushion in the Pulpitt, one large Bible, two Common prayer Books, the poores Box. In the Vestrey, Chest with three locks to itt, One Table and two Formes. In the steeple Five Bells. One silver salver for the Communion, with the following inscription upon it in a circular way, viz. the Gift of Elizabeth Reynes

* Vestry Orders, Essendon.

†In Vol. II. of the Herts Genealogist, p. 297, there is a copy of this same terrier, which differs slightly from the copy at Essendon.

. . . one Silver Communion Cupp with a Cover to it, with the date of the year 1570 and Essendine upon the said Cover. All the Plate weighs Thirty Ounces: One Pewter Flaggon with a Lidd to it containing about two Quarts."

There is a little bit of the old Rectory-house still standing, now forming an outbuilding. The moat was filled in between 50 and 60 years ago. The Communion Plate noted above is still in use, except that the Pewter Flagon has gone.

In January, 1711-12, there was considerable friction between Mr. Lee and the Vestry concerning the payment of Extraordinary Tithe. The protest or minute is not in the Vestry Order Book, but on a sheet of paper now falling to pieces with age, which I found in the old Church Chest in August, 1882, among some old forgotten parish papers. It is very long, but the following extracts show its drift:—

"Wee the Churchwardens Overseers of the Poore and Severall of the Chiefe Inhabitants present to the said Vestry whose names are hereunto subscribed takeing into our Serious Consideration the Vast Expences and Charges that doe dayly increase upon the parish, by reason of poore familys that fall to decay and not able to support themselves; and to prevent abuses and Exhorbitant Practices that have of late been carryed on in our Said parish which tend to impoverishing of Severall of the Inhabitants, and consequently become Chargeable to the parish if not timely prevented. Wee, etc. . . . have resolved unanimously, and doe hereby resolve to maintaine and defend the Rights and Revenues of the Church, and that our Minister or Incumbent for the time being shall have his Tythes, Surplice Fees, and other dues, duely and truely payed him according to the Antient and Standing Custome of the parish time out of mind, and according as the same is sett downe in the Terrier kept in the Vestry for that purpose (relation being thereunto had) and not otherwise. It is therefore ordered at this present vestry that if the Minister or Incumbent for the time being shall demand, threaten, or force any poore Cottager, or any other inhabitant to pay Tythes of Bees, Gardens, or any other Fees or dues that have not been Customarily payd according to the antient and Standing Custome of the parish"

The Vestry undertakes to support the complainant against the imposition, and undertakes that the parish shall pay the costs incurred in the defence. It was not so much the paying of tithe that was objected to, but the bringing in of any changes "or innovations."

"And lastly, to show the Reasonableness of making this order, and what induced us thereto att this Vestry is to prevent the bringing in innovations and New Customs within our parish, which if tollerated and allowed by us now, may in process of time become a Standing Custome, to the great detriment and Prejudice to our posterity and succeeding Inhabitants of this Parish."

In 1720 Mr. Lee preached an Assize Sermon at Hertford on Peace and Unity, from Col. iii. v. 15 (B.M. Lee, Richard, Rector of Essendon and Bayford, Herts. London, 1720, 226 f. 11 (6)).

Mr. Richard Lee died in 1725, and was buried July 15th at Essendon.

To return now to the elder Richard.

Dr. Richard Lee died in 1684, aged 73, and was buried in the chancel of Hatfield Church. There was an inscription to his memory on his gravestone, but it is now lost. Clutterbuck, who wrote about the year 1827, says it read as follows:—

Depositum Richardi Lee, S.T.P., nuper Hatfeildi Episcopatis, alias Regalis, cum Capella de Totteridge, Rectoris, qui obiit anno Dom. 1684, et ætatis suæ 73, requiescit in spe læte resurrectionis.

The entry in the register reads under the date 1684—

Jan. 30 Richard Lee, D.D., late Rector of Hatfield cert. pr. Sir Francis Boteler.

On his death his library, numbering 1,621 volumes, was sold. The catalogue is an interesting document.

(B.M. Lee—Richard, of King's Hatfield. A catalogue of the library of 1685. 821, 1, 4 (10),

The title page is as follows:—

A
CATALOGUE
OF THE
LIBRARY OF CHOICE BOOKS,
LATIN AND ENGLISH,
OF THE REVEREND AND LEARNED
DR. RICHARD LEE,

Of King's-Hatfield in Hartfordshire, deceased.

Which will be exposed (to Sale by way of Auction or Out-cry, or who bids most) at the Parsonage-house in Hatfield, on Tuesday the 28th Day of April, 1685.

By the Appointment, and for the Benefit of Mrs. Eliz. Lee.

Catalogues are distributed gratis at the Coffee-houses in St. Albans, Hartford, Ware, Barnet; in Hatfield at the White Lion, to all Clergymen, Gentlemen, &c., that please to send or call for them. 1685.

TO THE READER.

“The Catalogue contains the Library of Dr. Richard Lee of King's-Hatfield in Hartfordshire (lately deceased) consisting of the various editions of the Bible in the Oriental Languages, several of the best Latin and Greek Fathers, Commentators Ancient and Modern, Latin and English, etc., of the most general use and greatest esteem in their time, in all Volumes (will be exposed to Sale by way of Auction, or who bids most) a Method of Sale so long practised, and still continued in great reputation with the Reverend and Learned Clergy of the City

of London, that it hath encouraged and laid the foundation of this attempt in the County of Hartford, not without some probable Prospect that the Worthy and Intelligent Clergy thereof will heartily countenance and readily promote so commendable an Essay apparently tending to the Improvement of Learning in general, and so experimentally serviceable and really benefical to the Relicts, and Executors of Divines and Gentlemen in the disposal of their Libraries.

The Sale will begin on Tuesday the 28th of April, 1685 at the Parsonage-house in Hatfield, at One of the Clock exactly; and so continue daily from 9 to 12 in the Morning, and from 2 to 7 in the Evening, till all the Books are sold. Therefore all Clergymen, Gentlemen, etc. are desired to be present exactly at the hour of Sale, the Books being sold in the Order as printed in the Catalogue, and those usually are, especially in this, the choicest."

Note on *Book Sales* (*Gent. Mag.*, 1788. Part II., pp. 1067-1067). Catalogue of Book Auctions gives that of Dr. Lazarus Seaman, 1676, by Will. Cooper, bookseller of Warwick Lane, and Mr. Kidner, Rector of Hitchin, by the same in Little Britain, as the oldest, so that the Sale of Dr. Lee's Library was one of the early auction book sales—probably the very first in this immediate neighbourhood.

Sandridge Parish Accounts.

BY H. R. WILTON HALL.

As a rule there is very little matter of general interest to be gathered from Overseers' and Churchwardens' Accounts in obscure country Parishes. The accounts of the Parish of Sandridge are no exception to this rule.

Such accounts are frequently very much neglected because of their comparatively late date—the latter half of the 17th century and the 18th century are not very attractive periods in Parochial History—mostly drab and dreary. The Account Books themselves very often are in a dilapidated condition; since, when they ceased to be in actual use, they were frequently deposited where dust, damp, and vermin had ready access! In some instances they seem to have been used by children and young persons when making their early efforts in the art of penmanship, for all sorts of odd scrawls are found in unused pages, on fly leaves, and in the margins.

The Sandridge Books which form the subject of these notes cover about a century of Parochial History; namely, the period from 1686 to 1780. When Mr. Page entrusted them to my care they were in a very dilapidated condition, for the most part a collection of loose leaves, which had, from time to time, been

turned over and hopelessly muddled. Apparently there were three volumes, similar in size, the first extending from 1687 to 1708: the second from 1708 to *about* the year 1754; and the third from 1755 to 1780. The years connecting these two last volumes were so involved that it was quite impossible to say exactly where Vol. II. came to an end and Vol. III. began. Parish Officials did not always work regularly through their books: lists and accounts were entered without much attention to chronological order. I regret that it was quite impossible to put the books together exactly as they were originally—it is well to preserve even the shadows of things that have been—but so many leaves having been lost, the only thing to do was to arrange those that were left as nearly as possible in consecutive order. Vol. I. as bound represents the original Vol. I., while Vols. II. and III. contain the last two originals.

Taking them on the whole, the Accounts seem to be fairly complete as far as they go, and from them it has been possible to compile a list of the Parish Officers serving throughout the period they cover. These have been bound up with the Volumes.

These Accounts contain various classes of entries, which may be set out as follows:—Assessment Lists, Overseers' Accounts, Churchwardens' Accounts, Vestry Orders, Lists of Persons who received doles from the various bequests made to the Poor of the Parish, Briefs, Memoranda.

At first sight we may be inclined to think that there is not much interesting matter in these formal entries. But I would venture to point out, that the Assessment Lists, the Overseers' Accounts, and the Dole Lists may often throw considerable light upon the Births, Bridals, and Burials entered in the Registers. The Church Register in most cases only records the bare fact of Baptism, Marriage, and Sepulture, while the Rate Lists show unmistakably the position a man held amongst his fellow Parishioners, if he was "a Pay-rishioner" at all. His name on the Dole Lists is some indication of his position in the little world in which he lived. The Overseers' Accounts further show in many cases something of the struggles and sorrows that marked his declining days. To a general audience, such as this is,

the details of such homely lives cannot of necessity be of very great interest; to one living actually within the bounds of an old parish, and interested in its history, they form a most valuable aid in tracing out the connection of the people and linking them with the places in the parish.

ASSESSMENT LISTS are some indication of the prosperity or otherwise of the Parish. If the calls on the Parish were few, the rates were low.

There are 151 Assessment Lists in all, covering the period of 93 years. The custom of the Parish seems to have been to make two rates in a year, in the spring and in the autumn. Up to the year 1694 no rate exceeded 9d. in the pound. Out of the first 15 rates recorded, eight were at 9d. and six at 6d. In 1694 a shilling rate was reached. A 1s. 3d. rate was made in 1709; but that unit was not again used till 1746, when it became very frequent. In 1758 the rate reached 1s. 6d., while in 1762 and 1763 no fewer than three 2s. rates were levied. Then there succeeds a drop till 1770, when the 2s. rate appears again; and apparently this time it had come to stay, for between 1770 and 1778, out of 17 rates, ten were at 2s., and one as high as 3s., while none fell below 1s. 6d. in the pound.

Nearly all of these rates were "for the Poor," and for "setting the Poor on Work," though special rates were made for the Churchwardens for the four years from 1727 to 1730; for the Constables during the same period; and for the Stonewardens in 1728 only. The custom of the Parish was to pay the Churchwardens' Accounts, the Constables' and the Stonewardens' Accounts out of the Poores' Rate, as occasion arose.

OVERSEERS' ACCOUNTS.—There are 121 sets of these, though all of them are not perfect, owing to missing leaves, and some, of course, are fuller than others in the details which they give. They are quite of the ordinary character. Some of the poor received regularly a fixed amount per month. Rent was paid for some. I am not quite sure whether this can be taken to be house rent paid on behalf of the poor person, or was an amount paid to the householder to whom the poor person was farmed. In the later accounts it is evident that the poor were largely farmed out. Then there were sums given

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“in time of need,” sums paid for clothing, for “doctering,” for washing and mending, for putting the parish children out as apprentices, and for charges in connection with death and burial. The phraseology in which some of the entries are made strikes us quaintly and even humourously, but the facts are commonplace enough.

Thus, in 1687, the Overseers paid charges for “ye Widow Lyances boye when he went to the King”—presumably to be touched for the “evil.”

In 1688, 8s. was paid “for a cure for Hines Child.”

In 1692, £1 12s went to “the Boon-setter for Setting the Widow Gray’s Legg and fetching.”

In 1710, Paid “Howard famely at three times being Sick of the Small pox, 14s. 00d.”

For “a Vomit for Mary Turnay,” 1s. 6d. was paid in 1708; while Sarah Nash received 2s. for “cleaning Gladman’s Child,” in 1710, and “Hamerton” cost the Parish 1s. 6d. for Shaving; and “for bleeding and purgeing Sarah Lyame” 2s. 6d. was paid; and shortly after, John Hamerton was “trimed” again, at a cost of 1s. 4d. to the parish.

I do not know at what period the custom of burial in “wooden coffin” became general in this part of the country; but it must have been established here by long custom, since we find that those buried at the cost of the Parish were so interred. In 1691 “a coffin for George Gray” cost 7s., and this was apparently the recognised charge for some years. By 1710 the charge had risen to 8s.

Under dates of 1700 and 1703 respectively occur the following entries:—

Paid for a Shroud for Elizabeth Wish and Coffing and the Kings Duty and the Parson and Clarke 00. 19. 06.

Paid for Coffin and Shroud and Beere and the Queens Duty for Martha Wishes funerall 01. 03. 06.

In connection with the payment of the Constables’ Accounts, the term Headborough is frequently used up to the end of the 17th century. Thus: in 1695,

Pd. ye Constables Accompts with ye Headborough 15*l.* 2*s.* 9*d.*

CHURCHWARDENS’ ACCOUNTS. As a rule, I suppose we expect the Churchwardens’ Accounts to be a trifle more interesting, because from them we gather notices of little alterations made in the Parish Church. Though here at Sandridge the Churchwardens’ Accounts were almost

invariably paid out of the Poors' Rates there are only 20 statements of these accounts set out, and these lie between the years 1720 and 1758. The bulk of the money paid through the Churchwardens seems to have been expended, not on matters connected with the Church and its Fabric, but on hurrying undesirable tramps through the parish for fear they should fall ill, or die within its bounds, and so become chargeable to the rates. Other moneys were spent in payment for killing foxes, pole cats, hedgehogs, and such like. In the first quarter of the 18th century, "Turkey Slaves," or folk who professed to have been such, were so constantly turning up in the Parish, and getting relief from the Churchwardens, that at length the Parish got sick and tired of pole cats and Turkey Slaves, and solemnly abolished the custom of relieving them, on the 14th April, 1732.

"It is resolved and agreed that no Churchwarden or other Parish Officers shall after ye date hereof give or allow to any person or persons whatever, any of ye parish money for any foxes polecats or hedgehogs, or any such like Vermin as hath heretofore been done nor for any persons pretending to be Turkey Slaves or for any wandering persons Claiming relief without due authority and also that no Churchwardens or other parish officers shall claim or demand any extravagant fees or payment for executing any parish Orders Notwithstanding any former Custom to the contrary: and also that there shall be allowed two Shills and Sixpence a piece to each Churchwarden at each Visitation and no more, and ten Shillings a year to the Minister and no more."

The expenses connected with Beating the Bounds of the Parish seem to have been paid out of these accounts. The bounds were beaten in 1720 at a cost of £5 14s. 10d.; in 1727, when "for going the Bounds of the Pari-he for Beere att Tomalings and Weathereds" £2 12s. 6d., was paid; and £6 9s. 11d. was the amount of "Chalkley's Bill for Beere for going the Bounds of the Pshe."

The only other reference I have noticed of Beating the Bounds occurs in a note as follows:—

"That the inhabitants of the Parish went the Bounds on ye 21st and 22nd of April, 1778, and that the sum of Six Pounds was allowed by the Rt. Honble. Earl Spencer for Defraying the expenses."

As regards repair of the fabric there is not much to note. Such as the following are pretty frequent:—

"Ralph King for Led and Soder and Glace and Worke, £5 14s. 8d. (in 1720)."

In 1723 there is a charge "for mending the bell clapper" of 1s. 6d.

The sum of 1s. 0d. was paid in 1733 for keeping up the "Barge End of the Church."

A charge for mending the churchyard fence and hedge frequently occurs.

In 1700, according to an entry in an Overseer's Account of that date, £3 1s. 6d. was paid for taking down part of the Church Steple; and in 1706, "a Dyall for the Churchyard" cost 12s.

The Tower of the Church fell, I believe, in 1688, and the taking down of the part of the Steeple may have been a portion of the ruined tower. Salmon, writing in 1728, calls shame upon the Parishioners for having done nothing in the 40 years towards the repair of their Church Tower.

Three bell ropes were purchased in 1723, and again in 1729.

The only references to public events in these accounts are half a crown paid to Robert Nickols "for Droming Proclaiming y^e King" (George II.), and "for Ringing the King's Crowning Day," 3s. was paid; and for "the new Prayers" at the same period, 1s. was paid. In 1733, Jordain was paid 1s. 2d. for "Ringing for y^e Prince of Oringe Marriadge."

For "Mending Seats in the Church, and Nails for the New Ledges for the Church-Warden's Seat," 14s. 4d. was paid in 1729.

In 1727, £11 12s. 11d. was expended upon the making of hangings and a cushion for the pulpit of Scarlet Cloth. The details and price are all set out.* The cushion was

*They are as follows—

	<i>li.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
4 yards $\frac{1}{2}$ of fine Scar. Clo. att 26s.	05	17	00
5 yards of Scar ^t . Sup ^e . f. Rattinall 4s.	01	00	00
15 yards Nat. Scarlett Orriss att 15d.	00	18	09
and for 6 yards Bro. Do. at 2s. 2d.	00	13	00
and for 4 Scarlett Tassells at 4s. 6d.	00	18	00
Nine pound of fine Down feathers for the Cushone at 18d. per pound	00	13	06
for two yards of ticking for the Cusheon	00	05	00
for Rings	00	00	10
for Silk Thread and Tape	00	01	06
for Tenber Hookes	00	00	04
for Making the Pulpit Cloth and Cusheon	01	05	00
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
	11	12	11
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>

stuffed with 9lbs. of "fine Down feathers," at 1s. 6d. a lb.

There are the usual charges for "Bread and Wine for the Sacrament" two or three times in the year. In 1731, the Churchwarden had paid 4s. 1d; and he notes "when I came to pay the had brok one bottle a going."

The Surplice was washed about twice a year.

The usual charge was 5s., but in 1744 they got it done for 1s. 6d.

In 1733 Six Basses cost 4s. 2d., and in the following year 12 cushions for the Communion Table cost £6 12s. 0d.

A "book of holinleys" costing £1 0s. 6d. was bought in 1723, and its binding in 1758 cost 6s. 0d.

Six Common Prayer Books, and carriage cost £2 6s. 8d. in 1729; and in 1731, £5 14s. 0d. was paid "for a Bible and Common prair book."

In 1758, 1s. 8d. was paid "for a Cord to let Corps in Ground," and for a "Heirse cloth and Hood for a master of arts," £3 17s. 0d. was paid.

This last entry is quite out of the common.

References are frequently made to sums received for, or rather paid out, on account of Briefs, and there is a list of Briefs kept for a short period, namely, for the years 1731, 1732, and 1733. Of the most noteworthy places helped by Sandridge in this way may be mentioned:—St. Michael's, Southampton; Kidderminster; Evesham, and Ealing Churches; no sum exceeded 5s., and the last only received 2s.

I may point out that the lists of Briefs collected in various parishes of the country do not differ very much. The fullest I have met with is at Weston in county York. A comparison of several various Brief lists reveals here and there little points of interest, but since I began comparing several lists, from as widely separated parishes as Westow and Bp. Hatfield; All Saints', Hertford, and St. Lawrence, Reading, I believe the whole subject has been taken in hand, and a full list completed of the Briefs issued by Authority. There are 28 only given by name here in the Sandridge list.

There are only 29 Vestry Orders, ranging from 1722-3 to 1778. For the most part, they refer to apprenticing lads chargeable to the parish, farming out the aged and

infirm, and such-like. There are no very interesting points to note.

The meeting place of the Vestry in 1725 was "the Bell."

There are the usual solemn resolves of the Vestry to put an end to drinking at the charge of the parish, by parishioners in vestry assembled, and by the labourers on the highways.

The following note concerning the employment of John Wright and John Dudley may be mentioned.

"For thrashing Oats they are to have 1d. a Bushel, for "Pease" and Barley 1½d. a bushel."

The last vestry order, dated May 21st, 1778, notes that William Lawrance and John Lawford agreed to build the new Parish House for £128.

There is one memorandum which deserves notice.

Among the accounts for 1711 the following note occurs:—

"It Has Been Generally Computed that ye Parish of Saundridge In ye County of Hertford produces from The Manor Tythes and Rents of ye Several farmhouses and Lands yearly £2800 Besides the Vicar's Dues and Itt is Computed That They do amount yearly to about £90 a year for wich The Vicar is not charged either to ye Land Tax or Poor's Rates, and It has allways Been Esteemed that ye Dutchess of Marlborough Has Reced as above half y^e annual Income of y^e Parish.

	£	s.	d.
The Tythes yearly	350	0	0
Fines, Herriots and Quit Rent valued at	100	0	0
70 Acres of Wood Land at 7s. p Acre	24	10	0
Farms Houses and Land Lett Exclusive of Tythes	975	10	0

£1,450 00 0

The Rents of ye Several other farmes Land and houses in y^e Parish have allways Been Esteemed at yearly £1350 00. 0.

Total £2800 00. 0d."

The Vicars of Sandridge during this period were: Edmund Wood to 1714, William Crowley to 1721, Samuel Grice to 1744, William Langford to 1793. These Vicars very rarely sign any of the Parish Accounts, or Vestry Orders, nor do their names appear in any of the Assessment Lists. Some of these Vicars seem to have been non-resident, and I think that Mr. Grice must have been living here, and doing duty in the time of William Crowley for some years before he became Vicar. In 1731 and onwards, in the Churchwardens' Accounts, Madam Grice is frequently mentioned as having been paid various sums for washing and

mending the Surplice, the Communion Cloth, and cleaning the Church Plate. I have not been able to ascertain what light the Church Registers throw upon the point. Mr. Preedy was in charge here in 1751; but I am not sure whether he was Vicar or only curate in charge.

The Place Names in the Parish are worth noting. The early Assessment Lists give the Place Farm, Bridalls, the Street, Robotham's Land, Ward's Land, Wine Mill Close, the Mill, Hamines, Burry, Fairfoulds, Parke Mead, Grunwyns (the name as a surname appears in the early lists up to 1699; after that the land is called by that name), Brick Kilns, Greensis. In the early part of the 18th century the Place Names are dropped out of the lists, but they come in again in 1736, when some new names occur. Wheeler's, Poors land, the Wick, No Man's Land, Porter's Lands, Eaton's Field, Jennins Field, St. Peter's Lands, Chalk Dell Farm, Water End, Hill End, Tower Hill, Halsey's Land, Beech Hide, Cheapside, Cappes, Hookes, Nashes, Woodcock Hill, Evan's, Neal's Land, Marston's Land, Town Farm, Bush Fields, Samwell's, White House Farm, Coleman Green, the Malting. Of Publichouses, the oldest noted is the "Rose in Crown." The "Green Man" Alehouse and the "Queen's Head" Alehouse are mentioned in 1750.

An Edward Smith, of Sandridge, left £2 a year to the Poor of Sandridge, as well as bequests to other places. There are 22 lists of persons receiving this dole between 1687 and 1708. Then, for a long period, no lists are made out. In 1732, a distribution was made of three years' money, and for 1748 and 1749 a list is also given.

I have not ventured to deal with the names of persons which most frequently occur in these lists. The Thrales seem to have taken an active part in the affairs of the Parish all through the period.

As I said at the beginning, there is nothing of general interest in these Accounts; but this Society having been instrumental in preserving them, it seemed desirable to lay before its Members a general statement of what is contained in them.

General Meeting held at the Herts County Museum,
on Friday, 15th March, 1901.

Present—Rev. G. H. P. Glossop, in the chair; numerous members of the Society, and others, and the Hon. Secretaries.

The minutes of the previous meeting were read and confirmed.

Mr. F. G. Kitton read his paper on "The Clock Tower, St. Albans," which was followed by a discussion.

WALTER J. LAWRENCE.

The Clock Tower, St. Albans: its Origin and History.

BY F. G. KITTON.

Remembering that the ancient Clock Tower is, with the exception of the Abbey Church, the most prominent architectural relic of antiquity in St. Albans, it becomes a matter for surprise that no comprehensive history of the structure has ever been written. In attempting to give as consecutive an account as possible under the circumstances, I have availed myself chiefly of the information afforded by the various histories of St. Albans, the Transactions of learned Societies, the Corporation Records, and other likely sources; and I must especially acknowledge my indebtedness to some manuscript notes on the subject by the late Dr. Ridgway Lloyd (kindly placed at my disposal by Mrs. Lloyd), which were prepared by him (but never completed) for a paper to be read before the St. Albans and Hertfordshire Architectural and Archæological Society.

The historians of St. Albans unite in asserting that the origin and exact date of the Clock Tower are unknown, and various conjectures have been made concerning the purpose for which it was erected. There is a tradition which says that two Roman ladies of the City of Verulam, having wandered to where St. Albans now stands, were benighted, and from the site of the present Tower they first descried a light, which enabled them to retrace their steps; in order, therefore, to prevent the recurrence of such an accident, either to themselves or others, they caused a high tower to be built, whence might be more easily ascertained the way

out of the wood, for it must be borne in mind that, according to the old rhyme—

“When Verulam stood
St. Albans was a wood.”

It has also been supposed that the structure was built for the purpose of a watch-tower, to give alarm on the approach of an enemy to the town. Newcome erroneously assumed a connection between what we now call the Clock Tower and the *propugnaculum* on what has been wrongly described as “King Canute’s Tower” of “the Royal Castle of Kingsbury,” mentioned by Matthew Paris as existing in the time of Stephen. We must, however, discard these theories and conjectures, as well as the aforesaid tradition concerning the two Roman dames—which, by the way, I am unable to trace further back than 1815.*

Evidence is forthcoming which enables us to determine approximately the period of the erection of the Clock Tower, and proves its origin to be much more recent than certain chroniclers supposed; for, instead of dating from Saxon, or even Roman, times, we find in our civic records that this quaint structure must have been built early in the fifteenth century. Among the archives of the Corporation are several writings and deeds of the 15th and 16th centuries which refer to “le Clokkehouse,” as it was then called. One of these documents is a deed or release (inscribed in Latin), dated the 29th of June, in the fourth year of King Henry IV (1403), by which Alice, the relict of Ralph att Lee, conveyed to Geoffrey Fylynden and others, all her right in a vacant piece of land in the town of St. Albans, in French Row, otherwise called Cordwainers’ Row (“*in villa de Sancto Albano in vico Francorum alias dicto Cordewaneresrowe,*”) measuring eighteen feet by thirty-two feet (“*in latitudine octodecim pedes et in longitudine triginta et duos pedes.*”)† In the opinion of that careful and industrious archæologist, Dr. Ridgway Lloyd, this was evidently the plot of land, then vacant, where the Clock Tower stands. The second deed (also in Latin) dated the 13th year of Henry IV (1412), contains

* Shaw’s “History of Verulam and St. Albans,” 1815.

† “Herts Genealogist and Antiquary,” Vol. I. p. 88.

the earliest allusion to "le Clokkchouse," so that from the evidence thus afforded, we must conclude that the Tower was built between the 29th of June, 1403, and Easter, 1412. Clutterbuck evidently did not know of the existence of the second document here mentioned, and refers to one dated 1427 (fifteen years later), as containing the earliest reference to the "Cllokkehouse."

Historians and antiquaries have been puzzled not only as to the actual date of the Clock Tower, but also respecting the object of its erection. It has been reasonably assumed that its original purpose was to serve as a Watch Tower, or Beacon Tower, for which, by virtue of its commanding position on elevated ground in the heart of the town, it was eminently suited. Norden, writing in 1723, gives a list of beacons, or "beaukens," then within the County, and here we find that the St. Albans beacon was placed on the steeple of St. Peter's Church, the other beacons in Hertfordshire being at Graveley, Therfield, and Amwell. We must, therefore, suppose that the builders of the Clock Tower had some other motive in erecting it, and it was the opinion of Sir Gilbert Scott that the Tower was originally the old Town Belfry, somewhat equivalent to those in the ancient cities of Belgium, and this opinion most antiquaries will probably endorse. I think there can be no doubt that the structure was primarily designed to serve as a Bell Tower, or Campanile, other examples of which still survive in this country. For instance, in England we have a detached bell tower at Elstow, another at Evesham, and (I believe) a third at Ledbury, in Herefordshire, while abroad, among the most famous campaniles are the Leaning Tower of Pisa, and the remarkably ornate Tower of Florence, usually called "The Campanile of Giotto," which so strongly excited the admiration of Ruskin, who, writing of it, says: "The characteristics of Power and Beauty occur more or less in different buildings, some in one and some in another. But, altogether, and all in their highest possible relative degree, they exist, as far as I know, only in one building in the world, the Campanile of Giotto, at Florence."

Although clocks were invented a considerable time prior to the erection of the St. Albans Clock Tower, they were by no means common at that period. Lord

Grimthorpe informs us, in his work on "Clocks, Watches, and Bells," that the oldest clock mentioned in England is that which was put up in a former clock tower of Westminster, 1288, and it is interesting to learn that the clock, dated 1325, formerly at Glastonbury Abbey, and now at the Victoria and Albert Museum, South Kensington, is still going! The clock made in 1326 by Richard Wallingford, the leper Abbot of St. Albans, is said to have been a unique piece of mechanism, for it showed various astronomical phenomena. Owing to the scarcity of clocks and watches in mediæval times the people were made acquainted with the passing hours by means of bells, usually hung in towers, as, for example, that called the "Clockier," or Campanile, of St. Paul's Cathedral, a detached building which stood near Paul's Cross, and in which the large bell was rung to summon the citizens to the manifold duties of the folk-moot and to the assumption of arms. Stowe, in his "Survey of London," 1598, mentions "the great steeple there situate," and refers to "the common bell, which being there rung, all the inhabitants of the citie might heare and come together."

There is documentary evidence that the Tower at St. Albans was known as the "Clokkehouse" as early as 1412—that is, shortly after its erection; but it is not quite clear whether it then actually contained a clock, or whether the time of day was announced by the ringing of a bell. There is testimony, however, of the fact that a clock existed in the Tower in 1485, for in that year a lease of the Clock House was granted by John Newbury (secretary to Abbot William Alban) and others to one Robert Grane, a smith, by which the tenant covenanted to "kepe, make and rewle the clokke, beyng in seid tenement, and to smyte and kepe his resonable howres, and dayly and nyghtly to rynge or do rynge the bell of the same clok by the space of half anyle wey betwene the houres of viij and ix of the same clok at after noone, and immediatly as he can or may after the houre of iiij of the same clok before noone, at hys owne propre costes, expenses, and labour, or hys assignes duryng the seid terme. And shall make and kepe all reparacons necessarye to the seid tenement and clokke Excepte the reparacons of the bell and the claper perteynyng to the seid bell, and excepte also

the stone werk and lede werk of the seid tenement, etc.” Robert Grane, as stated, was a smith, and it was stipulated in the grant of the lease that it should not be lawful for him or his assigns “to make or to rere in the seid tenement duryng the seid terme any Smythes Foorge upon peyn of forfaitour of his seid terme.” The expression that the bell was to be rung “by the space of half a myle wey” seems to have puzzled Dr. Ridgway Lloyd; but it was made clear by the late Rev. H. Fowler, who, when desiring to obtain (through the medium of *Notes and Queries*) a parallel to the curious phrase, stated that it evidently meant the time occupied in walking half-a-mile—that is, about ten minutes. In a later lease (1546), this meaning is made more obvious by the substitution of the words, “the space of a quarter of one houre.” Thomas North, F.S.A., in his “Church Bells of Hertfordshire,” states that this curious mode of measuring time occurs in the Statutes, under date September 29th, 1339, which Bishop Grandison settled for the Government of his collegiate establishment of Ottery St. Mary. Besides being used for notifying the flight of time, we learn that the bell in the Clock House (according to a document of 1547) was tolled “when any casualtie of Fyer or Fray made wⁱⁿ the said Towne,” if the lessee were required to perform that office. *A propos* of the first Battle of St. Albans, 1455, we, in the Paston Letters, find the following interesting and quaint allusion to the Bell in the Clock House at St. Albans: “The inomy [enemy’s] batayle was in the Market Place, and the Kynge’s standard was pight . . . And Sir Rober Ocle tok VIc. men of the Marchis, and tok the Market Place or ony man was war; than the larum bell was ronge, and every man yed to harneys.” This is evidently an instance of the use of the bell during “a casualtie of Fyer or Fray.”

By reason of its great antiquity, the history of the Clock Tower is bound up with a good deal of the history of the town in which it stands. Since the Battles of St. Albans, perhaps the most exciting and dramatic incident witnessed by the venerable Tower was that which took place in 1643—the arrest by Cromwell and his soldiers of the High Sheriff of Hertfordshire, while in the act of reading to the assembled crowd of market

people and others a Royal Proclamation, advocating the raising of Train-Bands for the preservation of their homes from felonies. In 1427, the ownership of the Clock House was vested in a body of feoffees, from whom, in course of time, it passed to the Mayor and Corporation.* From the Clock House documents and the Corporation Minutes may be gleaned many interesting facts concerning the ancient structure and its various tenants. In the time of Henry VI. (1422-71), the roadway, or "King's Highway," on the east side of the Clock House, was called the "Crosse Chepyng." At a later date (1547) the Clock House is described as being situated "in a Strete called the Clock Howse Rowe," and in the reign of Philip and Mary (1553-58), the annual rent of the Clock House, for a 40 years' lease, was one mark—13s. 4d.† In a lease dated the 10th December, 37th Elizabeth (1595), the Mayor and burgesses of St. Albans demised to Robert Woolley, one of the principal burgesses of the same borough, "All that Tenemente Shopp, Shudds, roomes, and buildings comonly called by the name of the Clockhouse, with th'apprtennces scituat & beinge over ageinste the Crosse in the said Town of St. Albans. . . ."‡ The "Crosse" here mentioned was, of course, that erected near the south-east angle of the Clock House, in memory of Queen Eleanor, the base of which was demolished in 1701-2. The "Tenemente shopp" referred to in this lease was evidently the dwelling-house, with shop, which had been built up against the south front of the Tower, probably during the early part of Elizabeth's reign, and which is represented in engravings of a later period. By the counterpart of a lease, dated March 20th, 1694, it appears that this house was "formerly called or knowne by the name of the Rose and Crowne"§; it was not necessarily a public-house, or tavern, as in those days nearly all places of business were distinguished by signs.

In the Mayor's Accounts for 1610-11 we discover that Lathbury's Charity House stood next the Clock House, and that the rent of the latter was 20s. In 1673-4, the sum of £4 was paid to John Halford "for one whole

* Transactions, 1885, p. 38.

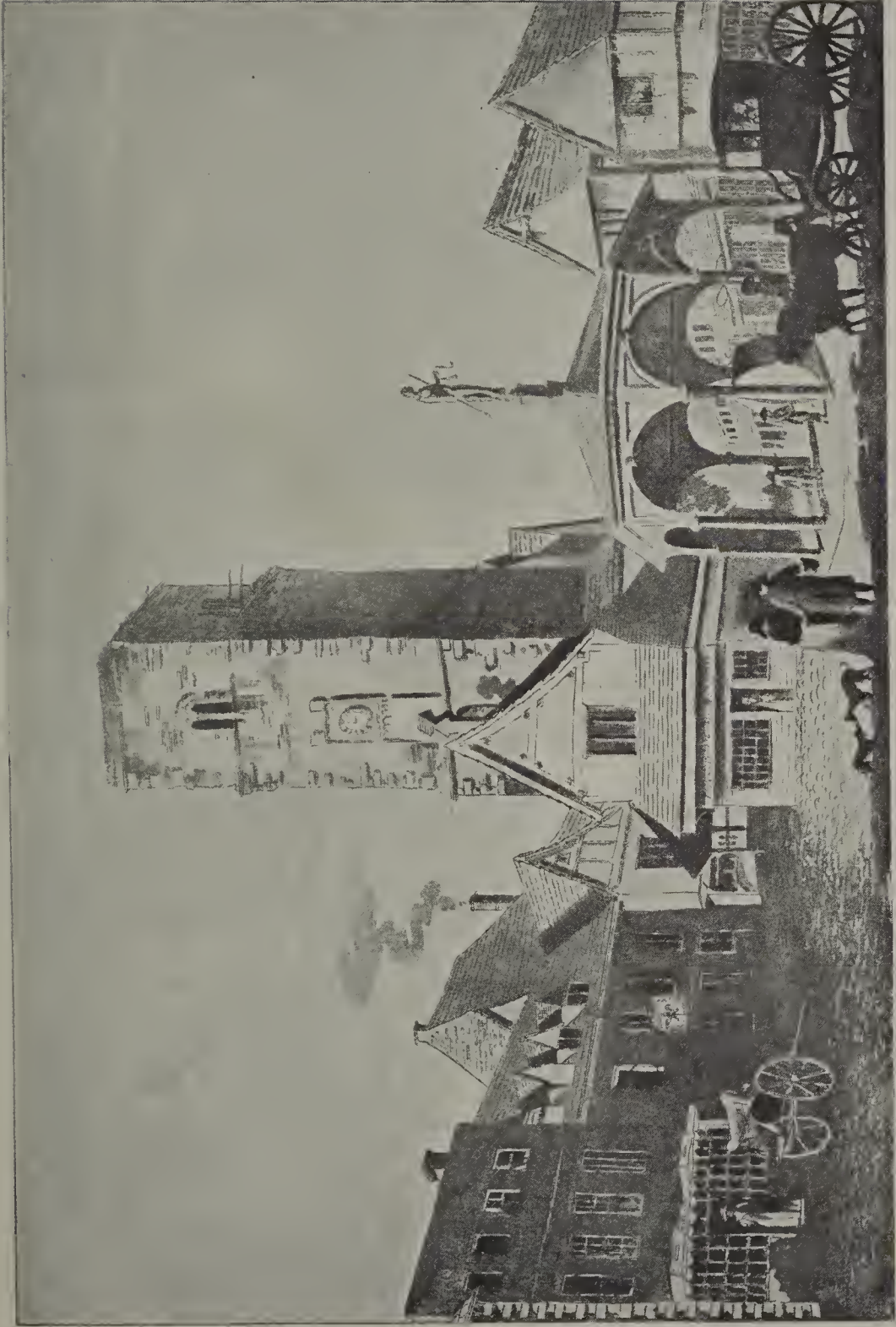
† "Herts Genealogist and Antiquary," Vol. I., 92.

‡ *Ibid.*

§ Dr. Ridgway Lloyd's Notes.

year's wages for keeping the clock and ringing the town bell." There is an interesting deed, dated 14th June, 1676, by which "the Mayor, etc., of St. Albans, demise to John Winstanley, cittizen and Painterstainer of London, all that their Messuage or Tenement with the Shopps, Shudds, Penthouses, roomthis, buildings, etc., called the Clockhouse . . . situate over against the late Crosse [Queen Eleanor's] in the Crosse Markett Place and adjoining to a messuage of the sd Mayor, etc., formerly called the 'Rose and Crowne' . . . on the north part (except and always reserved the Clocke and the Towne Bell now hanging and beinge within the Clocke house aforesaid), and all that part and roomes of the said Clocke house wherein the said Clocke now standeth and the said Towne Bell now hangeth with Libertie for the weights of the said Clocke to goe downe through the roomes of the said messuage soe farr as they have heretofore been accustomed to goe downe, together with the Staires and Staire Case which leadith up to the said Clocke and Bell—for a term of 21 years, at the annual rent of £5."* We here obtain a clue as to the kind of clock then in use here, and it is fair to assume that the lessee, John Winstanley, described as a "cittizen and Painterstainer of London," was a near relative of Henry Winstanley, the designer and builder (twenty years later) of the first Eddystone Lighthouse, 1696, and who, before he retired to amuse himself with curious mechanical inventions, was in business as a mercer in London. An examination of those early documents shows that the leases granted to the mediæval tenants of "le clokke-house" required them to regulate the clock, ring the "Angelus" (or Curfew) Bell morning and evening, and to toll the same in the event of fire or other serious casualty; but did not bind them to repair the fabric. Coming to more recent times, we find in the Court Book that in 1829 the Clock House had been then lately tenanted by Mr. George Washington Gibbs (an uncle of Mr. Alderman Richard Gibbs, J.P., of St. Albans), and that a small fish shop then stood on the east side and butchers' shambles on the west. In September, 1830, the lessee of the Clock House applied to the Court for permission to remove the watch-box at the corner of the

*"Herts Genealogist and Antiquary," Vol. I. 92.



The Market Cross and Conduit at St. Albans, Hertfordshire.
From the Etching by J. Schmebbillie, 1787.

Clock House fronting the "Fleur-de-Lis" Yard, and to enclose the corner. In 1833 a complaint was made through the Sergeant-at-Mace that the Town Clock could not be distinctly heard, as the tenant had closed the windows of the Clock room with boards, whereupon the Court ordered him to remove the obstruction.

The earliest known representation of the Tower, and of the town of St. Albans, is undoubtedly the drawing at the head of one of the folios of the Charter of Charles II., which is preserved among the Corporation muniments. In this somewhat fanciful picture of the place as it then appeared we see the Clock Tower, the Abbey, the Churches of St. Peter and St. Stephen, while on the left is depicted, in its then integrity, the building that succeeded the Nunnery at Sopwell, viz., the mansion of Sir Richard Lec, now in ruins. The first serious attempt to portray the Clock House was made by Benjamin Green (drawing-master at Christ's Hospital, London), who, about 1790, produced some half-dozen etchings of buildings in St. Albans, including a soft-ground etching (in an oval border) of the Clock House and Market Cross; although not quite accurate in its proportions, it is a clever rendering of a very picturesque subject.* The next illustration in point of date was made by Jacob Schnebbilie, draughtsman to the Society of Antiquaries, to which office he was appointed by the then President, the Earl of Leicester, who, in his park near Hertford, accidentally saw him for the first time, while sketching. Schnebbilie, of Swiss parentage, was born in London in 1760, and in 1787-8 he drew and etched three views of the Abbey and one of the Market Cross, which were aquatinted by F. Jukes. After a brief and industrious career, Schnebbilie died in 1792, in the 32nd year of his age, having suffered from an illness occasioned by "too intense an application to professional engagements, which terminated in a total disability of body." In his view of "The Market Cross and Conduit at St. Albans" are represented not only the rugged old Tower, with the old house abutting on the south front, but also the "Fleur-de-Lis" Inn and a part of the old "Christopher" in French Row. Here, the windows of the Clock House certainly suggest the Saxon period, and the stone quoins at the

* A series of etchings was published by the Artist in 1795 as drawing copies.

angles of the Tower are similar to what is called "long and short work" of the same date; but, as we have seen, the building is of a much more recent construction. The Pridmore Collection of Drawings (in the possession of Baron Dimsdale) contains a representation of the Clock Tower as seen about 1803, and a few years subsequently that indefatigable artist, G. Shepherd, included among his illustrations for "The Beauties of England and Wales" (1805, etc.), a picturesque view in St. Albans, incorrectly described as "High Street," but which is really a view of the Market-place, looking south, and showing the Clock House, with the tower of the Abbey beyond. A striking feature of this print is the curious telegraphic apparatus which was erected by the Government in 1808, on the roof of the Clock House, together with a kind of shelter for the operator. The signalling was performed by means of large movable wooden discs, having in the centre a circular aperture, and these were placed in a lofty wooden frame, their positions indicating the nature of the message to be conveyed; it is wonderful with what rapidity this primitive form of telegraphic communication was effected (that is, during clear weather), for it is recorded that intelligence could be sent to Yarmouth, and an answer returned, in the short space of five minutes, the distance from point to point being about a hundred miles. The apparatus, which was maintained by the Admiralty, was removed in 1814, but the small room or shed remained some time longer. A clearer representation of the telegraphic apparatus is given in a large coloured print by W. Sutherland, 1812, showing the Clock House and its immediate surroundings, as viewed from the High Street, looking north-west; here we see the old "Great Red Lion," and the pastrycook's shop at the corner, where the tobacconist's is now. With respect to the telegraph, an interesting letter, signed "An Old Inhabitant," was published in the *St. Albans Times* about forty years ago, in which the writer said: "When George III. was King, and the French war was raging, it was of paramount importance that the Government should receive, and have the means of transmitting, intelligence with the greatest possible despatch. The electric wire was then unknown, so a system was adopted of signs and signals, which were hoisted in high positions

throughout England, known as telegraph stations. The Clock Tower at St. Albans was one of these, on the line from Dover to Liverpool. On the top of the Tower was built a small wooden room, about eight feet high; this was the observatory; still higher, on the roof of this, was an apparatus consisting of signal boards, flags, etc.; and in the wooden walls of this observatory, on all four sides, were sight-holes for telescopes and other instruments to enable the officer in charge to read and hoist communications to and from the next stations, near Hadley one way, and at Dunstable the other. Many an army has started *en route* to the coast, or to be shipped for a foreign country, by signals hoisted at the top of the old Clock Tower!" It seems that the telegraphic clerk (Bunker by name) was a cobbler, and "when rumour was so rife that the French were coming over in shoals in flat-bottomed boats to invade England, this learned cobbler, who could decipher the telegraphic enigmas, had no easy time of it, public excitement and anxiety keeping him constantly on the watch for information; and Bunker probably occasionally imposed on the credulity of the worthy inhabitants by 'tipping' the marvellous as well as their boots and shoes! However, there was at last a time of leisure for him, when the comforting intelligence was telegraphed that Bonaparte was confined at Elba. On his escape thence the telegraph was again used until he was re-captured and safely lodged at St. Helena." In 1816 there was published in a small topographical work a coloured aquatint of the Market Cross, showing the south front of the Clock House as seen from the High-street, looking east. It is, I believe, the only representation of the Tower from this point of view, and is interesting on that account. It was drawn, engraved, and published by J. Hassell, and the artist enables us to realise what High street then looked like, particularly at the north-west corner; in the distance, on the right, there is a glimpse of the old "Peahen." There has been recently added to the Lewis Evans Collection of Prints at the Museum a lithograph of the Clock House, by J. C. Oldmeadow, *circa* 1820, which, as it is the only copy I have seen, must be somewhat rare. The next print in chronological order is dated 1828, and was engraved from a drawing by James Burton, jun. Here we find

that not only had the semaphore been removed and an ugly chimney erected on the summit of the Tower, but the quaint Market Cross (formerly in front of the Clock House) had also been swept away. The Market Cross, sometimes alluded to as the "Market House," was ordered to be built in 1703, "and set upon the waste ground where the old Cross [that is, the Eleanor Cross] lately stood." The Plait Market was held here until 1804, and in 1810 the Market Cross, being considered dangerous to traffic, was ordered to be taken down, and railings put round the Town Pump, as shown in this engraving. The present Fountain, presented to the town by Mrs. Worley in 1874, indicates the site of the pump, as well as of the Market Cross and the Eleanor Cross. In the etching by L. S. Cranstone, of a later period (1849), the Clock House differs but little from Burton's print, and is specially noteworthy because it includes a representation of the old Market House, on the site of which the present Corn Exchange now stands.

In Shaw's "History of Verulam and St. Albans," 1815, the Clock House is described as consisting of "a high square tower, formerly embattled, constructed of flint and pebbles; in the interior is a stone staircase, at present in a very ruinous state. The lower part, with the addition of a lean-to attached to it, has of late years been occupied as a dwelling house." Professor Donaldson, when examining the building in 1861, found that the original construction of the Tower was of a most substantial nature. Owing to neglect, however, it suffered much decay, and has on more than one occasion been threatened with demolition. At a meeting of the St. Albans Town Council, held on January 31st, 1700, "it was resolved by eight votes to five that the Clock House should be pulled down and a new Market House built." This was about the time when the beautiful Eleanor Cross (or what remained of it) was carted away. Happily, the Clock House escaped destruction, and in 1702 it was resolved to repair the building and let it to the highest bidder. About a century later (1804) the Court decided to restore the Clock House at a cost of £38 9s. 6d., and to have a new clock put in, after which nothing seems to have been done in the shape of reparation for years. It was in 1848, by the way, that



The Clock House from High Street.
 From the Print by W. Sutherland, 1812.
 (Block lent by the "Herts Standard" Printing Company).



The Clock Tower with
 Semaphore.
 (Block lent by the "Herts Standard"
 Printing Company).



The Clock Tower from the Market Place.
 From a Drawing by F. G. Kitton.

the Clock House was first called the "Clock Tower," although many of the inhabitants continued to refer to it by the original name, probably owing to force of habit.

In 1852 the Tower was in such a state of dilapidation that a committee was appointed by the Town Council to report as to its condition. The unsightly shed on the summit was removed, and the committee's report was referred to Professor Donaldson, whose suggestions the Court decided to adopt. That they were not carried out, however, is proved by an entry in the Corporation Minutes four years later, stating that the Clock House was in a dangerous state, and in 1858 the dwelling-house at its base was demolished, thus causing the dilapidation of the Tower itself to be more apparent. The pulling down of the dwelling-house (by which an ancient and picturesque landmark disappeared) excited great interest among the inhabitants of the town. For many years this tenement bore the sign of the Elephant and Castle, and it is said that one of its occupiers (surviving in 1885) was employed, when a boy, to travel between Gorhambury House and the St. Albans Post-office with letters, which he usually carried riding on the back of a large dog.* A newspaper account of the demolition of the old house stated that "the base of the Tower, being now exposed to view, shows its original height, and gives quite an altered, and, we may say, improved, appearance to the centre of the town. The space thus thrown open in the front, and at each side, shows it to great advantage." Professor Donaldson was again requested to inspect the Clock House, and he accordingly sent in a second report. The consent of the Treasury having been obtained, a committee was appointed to collect subscriptions for the restoration, the Corporation agreeing to undertake the work. Professor Donaldson's investigations revealed the serious insecurity of the "Gabriel" bell, disintegration of the flint work of the walls, and failure in the foundations. In submitting his plans and drawings to the Council, he observed that he had not shocked their feelings by introducing any new idea in the proposed restoration, but had confined himself strictly to the originality of the ancient architecture of the edifice. He arrived at the conclusion that

* *Hertfordshire Illustrated Review*, Feb. 1893.

formerly the Tower had a turret for access to the lead flat at the top, and he therefore introduced one in his design analagous to those he found at the east end of the Abbey. "If the works are carried out as suggested," he said, "the noble Tower would endure for ages, as a memorial of the taste and skill of past ages, and of the enlightened public spirit of the present times."

Shortly afterwards a new proposal was submitted for consideration by the Council—a scheme for the repair of the Clock House and for the conversion of the lower part thereof into one or more shops. The plans for erecting shops on the vacant ground previously occupied by the Elizabethan tenement were apparently approved by the Council, who ordered them to be exhibited for a week for the information of the public. At the next Council meeting plans were produced by a Luton man, recommending the erection of butchers' shambles round the Clock Tower instead of shops, and this scheme was regarded by some Councillors as likely to prove a good investment; whereupon Councillor Harris pointed out that, if the object of the Corporation was to make money, he should advocate the pulling down of the Clock Tower altogether, but if the building were looked upon as an object of antiquity which should be preserved, then it ought not to be spoiled by shambles. Mr. Thomas Hill, a St. Albans architect, protested against the scheme for erecting shops, which would effectually preclude the chance of the effective restoration of the Tower by subscription. Writing in a non-official capacity as Hon. Sec. of the St. Albans Architectural and Archæological Society and of the 3rd Herts Rifle Volunteers, Mr. Hill proposed, with the conditional sanction of both, that the subscription list for the restoration should be handed to the Society, and that the Volunteers should occupy the ground floor at an annual rent, "by which arrangement the exterior of the Tower would not be disfigured." A member of the Council thought there was no possibility of restoring the building, to which he referred as "our great, unsightly incubus," and as "a disgrace to the Corporation and the town." Even if there were a chance of restoring it, he asked, "what benefit would it be to the town? It would not bring anything to the Borough fund." He therefore

proposed that the shops should be erected; his resolution was adopted, and the contract signed for carrying out the work. The Mayor expressed the opinion that the Tower had become a public nuisance, and humorously suggested that if it were used as an armoury for the Rifle Corps, they should "stick up a rifleman at the top, and thus give it a military appearance!"

When the decision of the Council was made known, both the Press and the public were warmly opposed to it, and at a Council Meeting held on June 5th, 1861, Mr. Thomas Ward Blagg (the Town Clerk) read a memorial, signed by the Earl of Verulam and eighty-seven inhabitants (including the principal gentry and tradespeople) praying the Council to rescind their resolution, and to take proper steps for the restoration of the Tower. At a Committee Meeting of the St. Albans and Hertfordshire Architectural and Archæological Society, it was proposed by the Earl of Verulam, seconded by Mr. Solly, and carried unanimously:—"That should the Restoration, in whole or in part, of the Clock Tower be taken under consideration by the Town Council, the Executive Committee of the Society will contribute £30 towards the actual expenses of restoration, provided the plans shall meet with their approval." This offer was announced at the Council Meeting, whereupon a prominent member of the Council said he thought it very likely the St. Albans Archæological Society would not approve of the plans. After some discussion it was decided to rescind the order to erect shops, and a committee from the Council was appointed to obtain subscriptions for the restoration. At this juncture a letter appeared in the *St. Albans Times* on the subject of the Tower, which, by reason of the fact that it was written by a notable man residing in St. Albans at that time, is well worthy of quotation. The letter bore the signature of Peter Cunningham, son of Allan Cunningham, the eminent poet, novelist, and miscellaneous writer, and who was himself the author and editor of several well-known works, and an antiquary. It reads thus:—

"Sir,—The Clock Tower of your disfranchised Borough is full of historical and architectural associations. England has not elsewhere anything to show of the kind.

The Clock Tower of St. Albans does not belong to St. Albans only—it belongs to a people, it is National; it belongs to those who utter

‘Words which wise Bacon and brave Raleigh spake.’

“Its state at present is not even outwardly clean; inwardly, it is all but useless. The masonry of the Tower is strong enough to outlive many mayoralties, and, if handled with skill and skilled labour, may not only be restored to St. Albans but to all England. Let it not be said of St. Albans that, having destroyed its Queen Eleanor Cross—that, having concurred in the destruction of the house of ‘The Great Lord Chancellor of Human Nature’ (as Bishop Warburton called Lord Bacon), it will now endure a third demolition—and allow the Clock Tower of so far-famed a Borough as St. Albans to share the fate of its Eleanor Cross. The High Court of Parliament (whether properly or not is of no moment) has destroyed some of the many charms of St. Albans. Let not St. Albans lose all its associations; and by so doing drive visitors away. I am ready to find an accomplished architect who will restore your Clock Tower to what it was, without drawing on the corruption of your Borough—but by the aid given to the Corporation through the hands of its active and intelligent mayor.—I am Sir, your obedient servant,
PETER CUNNINGHAM.”

St. Albans, 18th June, 1861.

The Council now decided to confer with Professor Donaldson on the subject of the cost of restoring the Tower, then fortunately saved from the fate which threatened it. In the meantime, a laudable attempt was made to raise a fund locally, but subscriptions did not flow in very rapidly, probably because the inhabitants had just defrayed the cost of a new organ for the Abbey, which was opened about this time.

In 1863, permission was given to the British and Irish Magnetic Telegraph Company to carry their wires over the houses in the town, instead of underground, conditionally that a telegraph-station was still maintained at St. Albans; whereupon the lower part of the Clock Tower was leased to the Company for that purpose. In the same year attention was again directed to the sad condition of the Tower, and it was again seriously

proposed to demolish it altogether. In a letter to the *St. Albans Times* a Town Councillor said: "The majority of the Council were influenced by several members connected with the Archæological Society, who held out hopes that if the valuable part of the property were destroyed, the Society would not take the sacred and venerable Tower under their protection and restore it to its pristine beauty (if it ever had any). For five years it has stood in its present dilapidated state, and during that time several sums of money have been expended upon it to no purpose, but to make it more ugly in its appearance. Surely it is but right to expect that the Archæological Society will carry out the restoration of the building and make it look decent, when it is considered the public have been deprived of an annual income to favour their wishes and views." On June 4th, 1864, at a meeting of the committee appointed by the Council to report on the matter, it was decided "that Mr. Gilbert Scott be requested to make a report on the state of the Clock Tower, the probable expense of its restoration," and its adaptation to some useful purpose," though why Professor Donaldson's advice was not acted upon is not clear. Mr. (afterwards Sir) Gilbert Scott considered that the Tower was "quite within the reach of restoration," and well worthy of careful treatment: he described it as a very curious structure, and believed it to be unique in this country.* If restored as he proposed, the town (said Mr. Scott) would possess a very handsome Tower, recalling a feature in its past history which ought by no means to be lost. He suggested that it should be put to a three-fold use—as a Clock Tower (with chimes added), a belfry, and an armoury for Volunteers. He estimated the expense of restoration at £700 (the actual cost was nearly £1,000), of which £400 had already been subscribed, including the sum of £30 promised by the St. Albans Archæological Society in aid of the scheme.

In his Report, Mr. Scott gave the following interesting particulars concerning the Tower. "The lower storey

* Other examples had existed in the County, for Mr. Thomas North, F.S.A., in "Church Bells of Hertfordshire," speaks of a Clock Tower at Hoddesden, rebuilt about 1730, and of another at Layston, dating from 1749, while Dr. Ridgway Lloyd called attention to the existence of similar structures at Newton Abbot and at Keswick.

has evidently been built for a shop, having two fronts with stone benches, for the display of goods; the one on the south, the other on the east. One storey over the shop seems to have been in the same occupation with it, and was approached by a separate stair, having also a guardrobe or necessary of its own. It is probable also that the use of one or more of the upper storeys may have been allowed to the same person, should he have the charge of the bells, though provision is made by a distinct staircase and guardrobe for their possible occupation by another party. . . . The great object to be aimed at is to avoid over-restoration, and to retain, as much as may be, the character of the ancient structure. This is rendered somewhat difficult by the great extent to which decay and mutilation have gone, which necessitate the renewal of the stone dressings. I believe, however, that the original design of them may in nearly all cases be recovered. It should be the object to strengthen the structure wherever it is cracked or become weakened; to restore its architectural features, retaining all ancient portions which can possibly be retained, and reproducing exactly those which are perished. I would not recommend the use of the lower storey as a shop, as its difference for modern usage would cause constant desires for alterations, which would be most injurious to its antiquated value.—GEO. GILBERT SCOTT.”

This Report proving satisfactory, and a considerable portion of the required sum having been obtained, the restoration was begun, under the personal superintendence of Mr. Hill (the architect previously referred to), and completed during the following year, 1866. The original plan was not wholly adhered to, as, instead of a spire in the centre, a capped turret, or spirelet, carrying a vane, was erected at the north-west corner. Nearly all the external stone dressings were renewed and the flints raked out and made fast with cement; battlements were added to the Tower, it having been formerly embattled; eight new windows, of the style of the 15th century, were inserted, having trefoil heads and square labels; a stone cornice was added, with four gargoyles at the corners, and ornamented with pateræ, as also the battlements and turret; the stone staircases were restored, and the roof

of the Tower entirely renewed. A new clock, with an illuminated dial, was also placed in the Tower. (Mr. John Harris, C.E., asserts that a sundial formerly existed on the front of the Tower, where the clock-face is now). During the process of restoration, the workmen discovered on the northern side a small window, which had been blocked up; this was, of course, reinstated. What Sir Gilbert Scott feared, viz., over-restoration, is certainly apparent in the present aspect of the Clock Tower; its great antiquity seems to have been almost entirely obliterated, externally at least, by the amount of reparation which became absolutely essential in order to preserve the structure. Owing to its sadly mutilated condition, such a thorough restoration was doubtless justified, and the eminent architect passed on all that he found, and introduced what he believed must have been something like the features of the original building. Thus, the natural consequence of so many years of neglect should act as a warning to those who have the custody of our ancient monuments, and I venture to suggest that the Civic authorities (its present custodian) should order a periodical inspection of the structure. At the present time considerable decay is going on in the external stone work, while internally, in the upper storeys, there are large fissures in the walls which seems to threaten the safety of the Tower. A member of the Council has already called attention to this matter, and it has been decided to carry out necessary repairs. A lightning-conductor should also be fixed to the Tower, as a precautionary measure.

I have ascertained from actual measurement that the height of the south front of the Clock Tower to the top of the parapet is 77 feet; that the spirelet at the north-west angle is about 14 feet above the roof; and that the width at the base, externally, is 20ft. 6in. by 18 feet, which proves that the building is not square in section, the eastern and western sides being broader than those facing north and south. The Tower contains five rooms superimposed, viz., the ground floor, now a harness-maker's shop; the first storey, used as a store-room for harness, etc.; the second storey, which is the Clock Room; the third storey, called the Dial Room, from the fact that the clock-dial is placed there; and the upper

compartment, where the Bells are suspended. There are two stone staircases, one in the north-east angle, leading from the harness-maker's to the front storey, and the other in the north-west angle, whence the upper rooms are reached; the latter is in communication with each room except that on the ground floor. There are two stone fireplaces of the Jacobean period, one in the clock-room and the other in the shop. The clock, which cost £200 in 1866, is wound up every fourth day, and is automatically (but not brilliantly) illuminated at night by gas jets.

The history of the Clock Tower would be incomplete without some reference to its two Bells, one of which possesses unusual interest. The smaller, known as the Market Bell, was cast by Richard Phelps (who also cast the eight larger bells of the peal of twelve at St. Peter's Church, close by); an inscription round the waist reads: "Thomas Robins, Mayor of St. Albans, 1729." Its diameter is $14\frac{3}{4}$ inches; weight (without clapper), 2 qrs. $14\frac{1}{2}$ lbs.; note, D3 in alto. It is said that this Bell was intended not only for market purposes, but as an alarm-bell for fires; it formerly hung in the old Market House, until that building was demolished in 1855 (to make room for the present Corn Exchange), and was placed in its present position when the Tower was restored, to be used as a fire-bell should occasion arise; but there seems to be no remembrance of its ever being so utilised. In the Corporation Records, under date 1702, the following mention is made of an earlier bell: "Ordered that the Market Bell should ring at ten o'clock every market day, and that no corn should be sold before that hour." Thomas North, F.S.A., in his work on "English Bells and Bell Lore," 1888, says that the custom of ringing a market-bell is of ancient date, and was formerly rung in many towns to give notice when selling should commence, so providing against forestalling. A market-bell hung in the church steeple at Watford in 1552, and at Sleaford, in Lincolnshire (says Mr. North), a small bell hanging in the church spire is known as the butter-bell, which (according to tradition) was formerly rung to announce to the inhabitants that the sale of butter was about to commence, and so enable them to secure what they required before purchasers from



The Clock Tower, St. Albans.
From a Drawing by F. G. Kitton.

a distance were allowed to buy. It is the larger of the two bells in the Clock Tower, however, which calls for special mention. It is familiarly known as "Gabriel," from the fact that it was appropriately dedicated to the Archangel Gabriel (the Angel of the Annunciation), as the following rhyming inscription testifies :—

Missi De Celis
Habeo Nomen Gabrielis.

("I have the name of Gabriel, sent from Heaven"). Newcome, in his "History of St. Albans Abbey," states that "Roger de Norton (24th Abbot, 1260-1291) caused a very large and deep-sounding bell to be made and hung up, to be struck every night at the time of curfew." This Bell probably hung in the oak lantern which formerly existed on the roof of the Abbey Tower, and Mr. Thomas North and others consider that it was actually the "Gabriel" bell. Mr. John Harris, C.E., in his paper read before the British Archæological Association in 1870, states that the date of the Bell is variously given as 1070, 1077, and 1260, which dates (he says) must be wrong, as is evident from the lettering of the inscription. He is of opinion that the Bell was cast about 1335, and was provided by Michael de Mentmore, the 29th Abbot of the Monastery, who dedicated it and other two bells of the Abbey (called "Amphibal" and "Alban" respectively), which were recast by him, and he caused "Amphibal" and the new bell, "Gabriel," to be rung at curfew. Mr. Harris is not prepared to say how "Gabriel" became the property of the Corporation; but I offer the suggestion that when the oak lantern surmounting the Abbey tower was demolished in the 15th century, the Curfew Bell (assuming that it hung there) was transferred to the town belfry. The diameter of "Gabriel" is 3 ft. 10½ inches, its weight about one ton, and its note F natural. It is described by Mr. North as a most beautiful casting; the lettering of the inscription is very large and handsome, examples of it being rare, and the initial cross rarer still (having at the terminals a conventionalised leaf), the only other instance at present known being on a bell at Gloucester Cathedral; the cross at the end of the inscription has a well-defined fleur-de-lis at each

terminal, and is identical with that at the end of the inscription on the sixth bell in All Saints' Church, Sudbury, Suffolk; Mr. C. H. Ashdown therefore conjectures that, as this church belonged to the Abbots of St. Albans, the All Saints' bell was made in that town.* The oak framing for the Bells in the Clock Tower was renewed during the restoration of 1865-6, and it is almost certain that the bearing-brasses and bolts of "Gabriel" are contemporary with the bell itself.

Not every resident in St. Albans is acquainted with the interesting fact that it is the sonorous voice of "Gabriel" which proclaims the hour from the Clock Tower. That the Bell was used in early days for ringing the Curfew is conclusively proved by a lease (dated 1490) to John Newberry and others, who covenanted to ring the Curfew Bell between eight and nine o'clock in the evening and at four o'clock in the morning, the latter hour being the time when apprentices commenced their daily labours! In a paper on "Campanology," read before the St. Albans Archæological Society by Dr. Ridgway Lloyd in 1870, it is stated that what is called the "Curfew" is in reality the "Evening Angelus," and the Angelus bell was usually dedicated either to the Blessed Virgin Mary or to St. Gabriel. Few of those who hear a bell rung morning and evening in many old churches know that they are listening to the Angelus, the custom having thus prevailed in many instances almost uninterruptedly for upwards of 400 years. The "Evening Angelus," or Curfew Bell is still rung at Hitchin and Baldock, in Herts, and the pleasing custom prevails in Norwich, Exeter, and many other places in England. The Clock Tower Curfew was rung nightly at eight o'clock until May, 1863, when a petition, signed by 26 residents in the vicinity was sent to the Corporation asking that it should be discontinued, as they regarded it as a nuisance, and an order was given to that effect. An attempt was subsequently made to revive the practice of ringing the Curfew Bell every evening, as a summons to the tradesmen of the town to close their shops for the day, but, objections being raised by persons living near the Tower, this desire to renew a picturesque English custom, which dates from Norman times, was not realized.

* "St. Albans, Historical and Picturesque," 1893.

A similar effort recently made in Buckingham proved more successful, where now, as of old,

“The Curfew tolls the knell of parting day.”

Except when the hours are proclaimed, “Gabriel’s” deep, musical note is seldom heard. On two memorable occasions, in January 1901, the old Curfew Bell “gave voice to the sadness of the people,” first, when the death of our late Queen, Victoria, was announced to her sorrow-stricken people, and again as the funeral *cortège* passed through London, when British subjects in every part of the civilised world gave expression to their grief at the loss of a beloved monarch.

* * * * *

In the brief discussion which followed the reading of my paper, Mr. W. Page, F.S.A., said there was some evidence of the existence at St. Albans, in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, of the system of the Commune such as had existed in London, and had been so ably treated of by Dr. Stubbs (late Bishop of Oxford) and Mr. J. Horace Round, and which prevailed also in French towns. The belfry (he observed) was that which the members of the French Commune looked to as the symbol and pledge of their independence, so that it is perhaps fair to assume that the Clock Tower in St. Albans, which he believed to be practically unique, was a relic of the Commune which existed there.

The Annual Meeting of the Society was held at the Herts County Museum, on Wednesday, 22nd April, 1901, at 8.30 p.m.

Present—The Very Rev. the Dean of St. Albans, in the chair; Messrs. Morgan, Toulmin, Clarkson, Tarte, Wilton Hall, Gibbs, the Hon. Secretaries, and others.

The minutes of the previous meeting were read and confirmed.

Mr. Kitton made a statement as to the subscription-list for the Lewis Evans Collection of Topographical Prints, and reported that there was now only £22 needed to complete the required sum of £300.

Mr. Toulmin, as treasurer, presented the balance-sheet, which was duly passed on the proposal of Mr. Ekins, seconded by Mr. Morgan.

The following gentlemen were elected as the officers and committee of the Society for the ensuing year:—President, The Very Rev. the Dean of St. Albans; Vice-Presidents, Lord Cranborne, Sir John Evans, K.C.B., Lord Verulam, Canon Davys, M.A., Mr. E. N. Wix, M.A.; Committee, Mr. W. Carey Morgan, B.A., Mr. F. G. Kitton,

Rev. G. H. P. Glossop, M.A., Mr. F. Kinneir Tarte, M.S.A., Mr. Charles Johnson, M.A., Mr. A. E. Gibbs, F.L.S., Mr. Charles Ashdown, F.R.G.S., and Mr. V. H. W. Wingrave, M.D.; Hon. Treasurer, Mr. H. J. Toulmin, J.P.; Hon. Secretaries, Mr. W. Page, F.S.A., Mr. R. J. Hillier, M.R.C.S., and Mrs. M. C. Knight; Hon. Auditor, Mr. G. N. Marten, J.P.

Mr. Johnson read a paper on "Some account of a Financial House in the 14th Century."

H. R. FOX BOURNE.

An Italian Financial House in the 14th Century.

BY CHARLES JOHNSON, M.A.

It has become a commonplace, not so much of political economy as of popular philosophy, that the creation of a public debt is almost a necessary step in the development of a civilized country; and Adam Smith has observed,* "When national debts have once been accumulated to a certain degree, there is scarce, I believe, a single instance of their being fully and completely paid." We shall not, then, be advancing a paradox if we deduce that it is probable that repudiation is a normal phase of the economic development of a civilized nation.

Repudiation may, and sometimes does, take the form of a debasement of the coinage, as in the example quoted by Adam Smith; but that method, besides its other disadvantages, is perhaps more specially applicable to a state which has its own subjects for its principal creditors. On the other hand, the simpler method is more suitable to a state which has been rapidly developed by foreign capital.

We shall not then be surprised to find that the commercial development of England in the fourteenth century was attended by this phase of national economy. The flagrant instance of the Bardi and Peruzzi is sufficiently familiar, and a distinguished Florentine† has gone so far as to attribute the fall of Florence to the dishonest action of the government of Edward III. But just as the Bardi and Peruzzi were succeeded by the Alberti as the foreign financiers of the English government, they had themselves stepped into the place of a greater firm which received equally undeserved ill-treatment at the hands of Edward II.

* "Wealth of Nations," Book V., Cap. III.

† Peruzzi. *Storia dei banchieri di Firenze.*

The firm to whose inheritance the Bardi succeeded, was that of the Frescobaldi. It may be fanciful to trace some lingering reminiscence of their greatness in Dekker's use of the name 'Orlando Frescobaldi' for one of the characters of his 'Honest Whore,' since they were a great family in Florence, and the playwright might have drawn the name more readily from Italian than from English sources.* Still, we can hardly exaggerate the importance of the part they played in English finance in the later years of the reign of Edward I., and the earlier years of that of his successor.

At that period the finance of Europe was, and had for some time been, almost exclusively in Italian hands; indeed it can scarcely be called an exaggeration to say that the Italian cities occupied much the same position in relation to other European states, as that which England now holds to the South American Republics. Not only finance, but even the greater part of international trade was carried on by Italian firms, which had houses everywhere and formed the channel by which Asia and Europe interchanged their products. The commercial manual of Balducci Pegolotti from which Peruzzi quotes, leaves no doubt as to the extent of Italian trade. It may be worth while to add a few remarks on the nature of these Florentine companies. They resembled a trust or 'combine,' rather than a commercial firm, since the partners fluctuated from year to year, and there were a great many of them with very various interests in the companies to which they belonged. Their trade was very largely in wool which they exported from England to Flanders, and thence to Florence to be made up and dyed. They then shipped the cloth to the east in exchange for spices and other foreign products. Peruzzi's book shews one society of this kind with branches all over the world from London to Trebizond. We can accordingly compare them most suitably with the great English commercial houses of recent times. Since, just as in the last century London was the commercial centre of the world, so in the early fourteenth century was Florence, and just as Florence was superseded by the Flemish towns, so London in turn may be superseded by some other commercial centre.

* One of the family, however, had some financial transactions with Henry VIII.

Even in the reign of Henry III. Italian firms were very busy in England, but both in his reign and in the earlier part of that of Edward I., the bulk of the trade seems to have been in Lucchese hands. At least the business of lending money to the King was theirs, and the fact that they obtained, at any rate, a partial control of the mint about 1280, was probably due to the position they thus occupied. No doubt, however, Florentine firms grew up by the side of those of Lucca, and their opportunity came with the bankruptcy of the Ricciardi of Lucca in 1290.

Into the details of this transaction it is unnecessary to enter. We may, perhaps, surmise that Edward I. ruined the Ricciardi, as his son and grandson ruined their successors. Whether this be so or not, some of the Frescobaldi were amongst the Italian merchants who became sureties for the Ricciardi to the King.* They had already, in 1288, through Guido Donati (at that time apparently their London agent), lent money to Edward I.† and their financial interests in England grew rapidly from this time forward. Their introduction to English finance was probably through the Pope. In 1283 they were already acting together with the Cerchi and other Florentine firms as the Pope's receivers of the 10th of Ecclesiastical benefices levied by him for the relief of the Holy Land, and we find them acting in the same capacity ten years later.‡ As most of the money was paid over to Edward I. it is likely that the Frescobaldi obtained their introduction to the King as the depositaries of it.

In 1295 they were exporting wool free of custom, because the King had granted them the custom on their own wool in part payment of what he owed them; already no doubt, something considerable, owing to the outbreak of war with France in 1294. About 1298 the company seems to have split into two sections, the Black and the White Frescobaldi, of which the White faction is the one which principally concerns us. They paid off their Black partners, and henceforth undertook the financing of England themselves.§

In 1299|| we find them taking a lease of the King's

* Sep. 13, 1290. Pat. Roll.

† 8 Dec., 1288. Pat. Roll.

‡ 1292, July 20. Pat. Roll. § Pipe Roll 3 Ed. II. || April 27th. Pat. Roll.

silver mines in Devon, the English head of the firm being now one Coppo Giuseppi. In the same year† they paid off a debt of 2,000 marks to the Templars, and on the 31st of October they had the revenues of Ireland pledged to them in return for a loan of £11,000, and one of the firm duly went to Ireland to look after their securities. They were, however, only in the position of second mortgagees, since the citizens of Bayonne had the first charge on the customs of England and Ireland alike. They made numerous smaller loans to the King for military purposes, and in 1300-01 got two grants of £1,000 and £2,000 respectively, by way of compensation for losses incurred by them in managing his affairs. In 1301 the lands of Edmund, Earl of Cornwall, were pledged to them; the King's need of money being doubtless greater and greater, owing to the cost of the Scottish War, and the negotiations for peace with France. In 1302 the Frescobaldi secured an inquiry into the state of the silver mines in Devon, in which they asserted they had been deceived. In August of that year they got an assignment on the customs of England and Ireland as security for their debts. Finally in April, 1304, they obtained the complete control of the customs of England and Ireland.

At the close of the reign of Edward I. it is not too much to say that the whole financial administration of the Kingdom was in the hands of a single Italian company. They controlled the customs, and were practically receivers general of Ireland, and of the Duchy of Guienne. There remains to us a petition of theirs which can be assigned to the early part of 1307.* This sets out very clearly the magnitude of the operations in which they were engaged. In this petition they make the following claims: £10,000 for the failure of profits in the ordinary course of trade during the ten years in which they have financed the king; £10,000 for losses in connection with the great loan which they raised for the King at Florence and in Flanders, to pay his Burgundian allies in the war with France (1294-1303). This so shook their credit that their customers withdrew deposits to the extent of over £50,000; £3,000 being the cost of keeping three or four of their agents con-

* 25th May. Pat. Roll.

† Anc. Pet. 2343.

tinually in England to look after their interests, instead of attending to the ordinary course of business.

£10,000 interest paid by them on loans raised for the King since A.D. 1302.

They also claim compensation on the ground that they have paid money for the King in England, France, Flanders, Lombardy, and at the Roman Court where debts are easily recovered, while he has assigned them £11,000 in Ireland, of all places in the world where money is hardest to get. Besides this they have lost money over the silver mines, they having taken a lease and engaged to pay at 13/4 a last for lead, which was not worth 10/-.

A commission was appointed on the first of April to consider their claims and award them compensation out of the customs. We have also their account taken in 1309, as controllers of the customs, in which they set down their receipts since 1298 at £100,367 12s. 5 $\frac{3}{4}$ d., and their payments out and claims for compensation at £115,996 16s. 4d., leaving a balance due to them of £15,629 3s. 10 $\frac{1}{4}$ d. Of this £11,333 6s. 8d. is on account of compensation granted for losses in business.*

It must have been growing clear by this time that Amerigo Frescobaldi, the head of the firm in England, was becoming too great a man to be endured. Yet his importance grew, since after the accession of Edward II. he became warden of the mint, and we have his accounts in that capacity up to 1309. At all events this greatness did not last very long. The troubles of A.D. 1310, when Piers Gaveston fled and the party of Thomas of Lancaster came into power, soon affected the Frescobaldi. However, in June they were acquitted of their account as receivers of Gascony and of their other offices, and in July received an assignment of £21,635 4s. 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ d. on the customs for money due to them. In December they endeavoured to get in their accounts and we find Newgate got so full that the balance of the debtors had to be sent to the Tower.

In June, 1311, the customs were taken from them and by the Ordinances of October 5th, 1311, Amerigo and all his company were expelled from England, presumably

* Two other accounts of the same date exist, one for the mint the other for silver mines in Devon.

as a 'new way to pay old debts.' There is a sonnet by one Giovanni Frescobaldi which Peruzzi is inclined to regard as inspired by this treatment. Whoever, the author says, wishes to trade in England, must be very humble in dress and manners, pay his debts promptly, be charitable, put no trust in the Court, and finally, shut his doors early in the evening.

The English Government seems to have been somewhat embarrassed by the departure of the firm. In 1312* we find various efforts being made to collect the debts due to the firm and it appears from subsequent proceedings that efforts were made to induce the firm to present an account, which they never did after 1309. It seems unlikely, however, that any balance would have been found due to the government had they done so, as the accounts presented in 1309, and the fact of the expulsion distinctly point to repudiation by the government rather than a trade failure.

The history of the firm after its expulsion from England is still very fragmentary. There are two or three casual notices in Rymer, taken mainly from the Patent and Close Rolls. But an accident which those entries help to explain enables us to give a slightly fuller account of the fate of the Frescobaldi.

There is among the ancient miscellanea of the Exchequer (Queen's Remembrancer's Department) a quarto book written on paper with a parchment cover, and marked *Tertius Liber mercatorum de Frescobald*; it formerly contained more than eighty-seven pages, but those between 25 and 80 have been cut out, as have those after 86. It does not appear how much is lost, but there is considerable probability that a good many, though not quite all, of the missing pages were blank.

The cover of the book has straps in the places where the imitation straps on the backs of modern account books are placed, and was fastened with a buckle. It was a portable account book. The accounts in it run from 29th Dec., 1311 to 4th Dec., 1312, and relate to the expenditure of the branch of the firm established at the Roman Court.

It in no way relates to English affairs as the order for the arrest of the Frescobaldi in Gascony is dated 12th

* Close Rolls.

Oct., 1311, and the responsible heads of the firm, Amerigo and Bettino (who appear in the Patent and Close Rolls as Aymericus or Emericus and Bettinus) had probably left the kingdom by that date.

On 3rd Dec., 1312, a letter was written to the Pope from the English Chancery requesting the arrest of Bettino and his company, who were known to be at the Papal Court. And on the 22nd May, 1313, a further request was made for the extradition of two of the firm, Pepe Frescobaldi and Lapo della Bruna, whom the Pope had arrested at the King's instance. The extradition was granted by the Pope on condition that no violence was to be done to the persons extradited.

It seems clear from the contents of the book that it fell into the hands of the English government as a result of this extradition. And we have independent evidence that the extradition took place, since, in 1315, one Geoffrey Nichole was pardoned for having permitted Lapo to escape.*

The accounts in the book are kept in Italian, and by a curious kind of double entry; that is to say, that each transaction appears under a subject heading as well as under a personal heading. Peruzzi's dictum as to the date of the invention of "doppia scrittura," must accordingly be understood to mean the date at which ledger accounts began to be kept in double columns, the debits on one side and the credits on the other. In this book the debit and credit sides of the account are either kept on different pages altogether, or come one above another on the same page, as do the receipts and expenses in English accounts of the same date. When the accounts are on different pages cross references are given, and any account which balances is at once cancelled, and a fresh account started on another page, cross references being usually given. The accounts are sometimes balanced by a transfer to another book called the "libro piloso," or "hairy book," which is, unhappily, lost. It was probably one of the other two books which must have been seized at the same time.

We can put together from these accounts a somewhat bare narrative of the fortunes of Amerigo and Bettino in 1312, but it may be as well first to notice the names

* Close Rolls.

of the partners or agents of the firm which we find in them.

The partners appear to have been Bettino Frescobaldi and Amerigo Frescobaldi, who had previously managed for the firm in England. Bettino's son, Guiseppe, or Pepe as he is always called, both in the Patent and Close rolls and in the accounts, Guillelmino Frescobaldi (probably the same as the "William" who was rector of Alveley and Stanhope, and a canon of Florence), Buonacorso Frescobaldi (afterwards ambassador to Hainault), Lapo della Bruna and possibly Loste Bracci of Pistoia. It is questionable, however, whether the two latter persons were actually partners or only trusted servants. Jacopo Pernioli, or Pinoli, of Castello (I do not feel sure of the reading of his name) seems to have been in a similar position.

The agents of the company at other places whose names are given are Guelfo Frescobaldi, agent at La Réole, Vitale Ughi, apparently agent somewhere in Gascony, Ugolino Ugolini* and Co., agents at Bordeaux, and Guido Donati, agent at Bruges. Cornacchino Cornacchini and Co., who appear in close relations with the firm, may have been agents at Marseilles, but as they seem to have been formerly employed in England in the administration of the Wardrobe it is possible they were merely sharing the exile of the firm.

The names of servants given are Puccerello de Pisa, Simonetto, Gianotto and possibly Mancino Benci, and a person whose name reads like Cienvellere. It is much to be wished that this list could be checked by the examination of the accounts of the Frescobaldi at Florence, but I hear that these are now lost.

The story of the firm as related in the accounts which remain to us is as follows:—Bettino left Bruges on the 29th of December, 1311, and travelled southwards, most probably by way of Basle, arriving at Sangiorgio in Savoy (apparently S. Geoire near Geneva) on the 29th February, 1312, he had with him Mancino Benci, Cienvellere, and Puccerello of Pisa. On his arrival money was sent him from Vienne, and he immediately sent back Mancino Benci to Basle to meet Jacopo Pernioli. Jacopo had left Bruges on the 10th of January, 1312,

* Ugolino Ugolini had been Amerigo's deputy Constable of Bordeaux.

with $8\frac{1}{2}$ sacks of wool which had been bought in Bruges by Guido Donati on behalf of the firm, and were being sent southwards by way of Ghent. Meanwhile preparations were made at Vienne for the reception of Bettino and Guillelmino, but we are not told how the latter travelled. Bettino remained in Savoy during February, and then set out for Bourgoin in the Viennois, meeting Jacopo at Seyssel in Savoy on the 6th of March, and arriving at Bourgoin with him on the 15th. He does not appear to have arrived at Vienne until the middle of April, since the entries for goods sent him stop on April 13th. Jacopo, however, appears to have reached Vienne with the wool on the 21st of March.

During this period the house at Vienne had transacted two interesting pieces of business.

In the first place the order for the arrest of the firm and Ugolino Ugolini, its agent at Bordeaux, seems to have been effectually carried out, and in order to effect the release of the persons and goods detained in Gascony, a certain Messer Gieri, prior of Petroio, Chamberlain of the Bishop of Florence, set out from Florence with the Bishop's nephew and esquire, Michele dei Belfredelli, having been sent for by Guelfo Frescobaldi at la Réole. This Mission left Vienne on the 25th of February, 1311-2, and returned on the 28th of March. It is not clear how far they were successful, but it seems probable that they succeeded in coming to some sort of terms with the government of Gascony, since a second mission was sent to those parts three days later (31st March) consisting of Loste Bracci and Jacopo Pinoli, the latter certainly a servant of the firm. The proceedings of this latter expedition will be related afterwards.

It is possible that the first mission did not venture into English territory, as Gascony was still much disturbed. The joint commission which had met at Perigueux the year before to define English and French rights there, had transferred its sittings to Paris without arriving at definite results, and everything was still in course of discussion. The matter had been referred to the Parliament of Paris, and the commission was consequently ineffective. It does not even appear in whose hands la Réole then was.

The other affair of importance transacted in this

period was a law suit with the rising Florentine firm of the Peruzzi about a debt of 3,000 florins. This lasted from the 4th to the 12th of March, and came before the Marshalsea of the Papal Court. The details of the transaction are preserved for us in the accounts. The total expenses of recovering this sum was 151 florins and 12s. 3d. *petits Tournois*; of this, 64 florins were for legal assistance, 37 for court fees, the rest for fees to various officials and minor expenses, including some trifling presents, particularly a small present of spices made to the Marshal. No substantial bribe is recorded.

The proceedings seem to have involved "discovery," as there are fees paid to the sergeants who went to the house of the Peruzzi and took "the book," from which a bond was afterwards drawn up in the court and sealed with the Marshal's seal. The nature of the transaction which gave rise to this suit does not appear in the accounts, unless there is some error in the dates, in which case it might refer to a bill for the amount which was dishonoured in Florence.

On the 31st March, three days after the return of the first expedition to Gascony, a second expedition set out, consisting of Loste Bracci, Jacopo Pinoli, two horses and one servant. Jacopo's account of the expenses of this mission has been preserved, and is sewed on to the cover of the book.

This account seems to have been brought back by Jacopo, and is probably in his handwriting. It covers the period between the 31st March and the 3rd June, but as it accounts for 69 days, board and lodging, and Jacopo was certainly at work as steward at Avignon on June 4th, it seems probable that the expedition really set out on the 28th of March, the very day of Messer Gieri's return to Vienne, and that the money paid on the 31st by Francesco Sapiti was either paid then, or else that Francesco accompanied the expedition on the first three days.

Assuming this to be the case, Jacopo left Vienne on March 28th, arriving at Périgueux on April 4th, stayed there ten days awaiting the return of his servant Ulichò from Bordeaux. He and Loste then (April 15th), set out for Bordeaux with Ulichò and the other servant who had accompanied them from Vienne. They returned from

Bordeaux on the 27th April, and were joined either then or on the 1st May by Vitale Ughi (who had probably been in prison in Bordeaux, since he is debited with one pair of sheets in the account), with one servant. As his expenses only appear for one day, he must have left them at once, or else have paid his own expenses, but he seems to have left his servant with them until May 5th, when the company is reduced to Loste, Jacopo, one horse and two servants. About this point they got a safe conduct from the Seneschal of Périgueux, and set out for Bordeaux again, hiring horses from Bordeaux to Périgueux and getting out of Guienne on the 11th May.

On May 16th they have only one servant, the other may be the Perotto said to have been paid 4s. on the 13th to go with letters to the Papal Court. On the 24th they are joined by Bartolo, apparently Bartolo Chiari, of the firm of Ugolino Ugolini & Co., the Frescobaldi's agent at Bordeaux, with two horses, and possibly a servant who is sent back to Bordeaux with letters, and they arrive at Avignon on June 4th. The three servants sent on the 18th May to Bordeaux, la Réole and St. Emilion, do not appear in the current expenses, possibly they arrived with letters and were sent back at once.

We cannot fill up the details of this expedition from the accounts; but from the fact that Jacopo had his horse taken from him by the sergeants at La Réole and lost his hat there, we may probably conclude that in spite of the disturbed state of the country no very great difficulties were met with, otherwise the bill for damages would have been heavier. These two expeditions cost altogether about 112 florins, the earlier costing 41 and the later the rest.

The reason why the second expedition returned to Avignon was that the Papal Court had moved back from Vienne, the Council of Vienne being over. Accordingly we have entries for the purchase of boxes to transport the goods of the firm, and of the Cardinal Archbishop of Naples. The wool belonging to the firm left Vienne on the 8th of May, as did the goods of the Cardinal of Naples. Pepe (who had been ill since the 20th of April, and remained ill till the 1st of June), and Lapo della Bruna sailed down the Rhone, and the goods no doubt came by the same route. On the 22nd of May, the firm

took a house at Avignon from Raimondo di Porto, a burgess of that city, in which they remained at all events till the 1st of November, and probably longer. No other movements of the firm are recorded; but we have an account of the arrival on June 23rd of eleven rolls of cloth bought in Bruges by Guido Donati, and brought to Avignon by Guercchio da Pistoia. The wool and cloth were forwarded on the 2nd of August to Marseilles by Cornacchino Cornacchini, where they remained till the 15th of October, when they seem to have been shipped to Italy. Another sack of wool had been sent by sea to Genoa in April: the further history of this wool and cloth is in the missing 'Hairy book.'

Amerigo Frescobaldi appears to have arrived at Avignon on the 16th of September, 1312, on which Guillelmino and Buonaccorso, who had been managing in his absence, set out for Florence. The final misfortune which befell the firm at Avignon took place shortly afterwards. On the 24th October they were arrested at the suit of the Bishop of 'Zestri,' in whom we may probably recognise Walter de Langton, Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield, commonly called Bishop of Chester, and formerly treasurer of England, who was apparently at Avignon about this time to obtain absolution from his excommunication in 1311 or 1312 by Archbishop Winchelsea, and to clear himself of certain charges against him.

The Frescobaldi were apparently committed to prison, since they paid the guards set on the house to let them have certain things out. Cornacchino Cornacchini, the agent at Marseilles, appears to have been sent for and to have given bail for Bettino, but on December 4th, he was himself arrested. The firm lost no time in preparing its defence, since on the 26th October they engaged four advocates, all Italians, at 20 florins each, their proctor, or solicitor was one 'Petrarca.' It does not seem unreasonable to suggest that he was the father of the poet, though the migration of the Petrarca family to Avignon is set down as taking place in 1313. It is not unlikely that the father went there before he moved his wife and son. We do not know the ultimate result of these proceedings, but we may presume that they led to the extradition of Lapo and Pepe, and thus to the deposit

of the book among the records of the King's Remembrancer.

We hear little more of the Frescobaldi as a mercantile firm, but they probably survived their misfortunes since the name is still, I believe, a noble name in Florence, where the aristocracy consists of the representatives of the great mediæval trading houses.

NOTE COMMUNICATED BY MR. R. J. WHITWELL.

A bonus of £10,000 was granted to the Frescobaldi, and charged on the customs, before the date of the petition; when they received the customs "in omnibus portibus et locis Anglie et terre regis regni Hibernie habendam a primio die Aprilis anno xxxij." See Enrolled Customs Accounts Exch. L.T.R., No. 1, m. 2 (Newcastle-on-Tyne).

APPENDIX.

A nostre seignur le Roi, e a soun conseil monstre si li plest le soen marchaunt Emeric de Friscobald pur lui e pur ses compaignons de la dite compaignie que pur le graunt prest d'argent que eux vous ount fait, eux ount perduz le profist de leur marchandises plus de . x . anns dont eux en sont damagez plus de . x . *ml. li.* desterlins.—Item sont damagez que pur la poverte u le mist le grant prest que eux vous firent en Flaundes e en Florence, qaunt eux paierent les Borgonouns que firent guerre pur vous au Roi de France eux furent si escriez que les seignurs clers e lays dont eux aveient en depos plus de l. *ml. li.* desterlins le repriseient touz arere; dont eux ensout damagez plus de x *ml. li.* desterlins—Item sont damagez que pur sevre leur paie devers vous, eux ont tenu touz jours en Engleterre trois ou quatre de leur factours que ne leur ount fet nul profist; fors que sevre la dite paie, e ount fet graunt despens e receu grantz gages, taunke il coste a la dite compaignie plus de iij *ml. li.* desterlins—Item sont damagez en argent que eux vous ount apretez del xv. jour de jul lan de grace mil ccc e deus, en ca; solom les custages que marchaunt fet a autre: e autrement ne se poent chevir, e taunt en avoms nous paieez; plus de x *ml. li.* desterlins—Item sont damagez grossement, en ce que eux vous ount apretez l'argent en les meilleures

parties du mounde, si come est Engleterre, Fraunce, Flaundes, Lombardie, e la Court de Rome, e vous leur assignastes a recevire xj *m. li.* en Irelaunde que est un tiel pays come vous bien savez que a grantz custages, e a grant peril en avoms tret ce que nous en avoms eu, desquex touz damages les diz vos marchantz vous prient humblement que vous les en voillez garder en tieu manere que vous en eiez merci e honneur, e eux ensoient sauvez. Item prient que les custages e divers daumages e missions que eaux ont fait pour la raison de la minere sicome desouz est plus plenement contenu en une parcele cusue a ceste.

[*Endorsed.*]

Assignentur per breve Regis patens de magno sigillo Johannes de Drokenesforde, Willelmus de Carletone, et Johannes de Kyrkby, vel duo eorum cum omnes interesse non poterunt, ad audiendum comptum eorundem mercatorum tam de denariis Regi per ipsos mutuatis quam de exitibus minere argenti in comitatu Devonie nuper in custodia sua existentis et auditis particulis dampnorum, et jacturarum omnium que sustinuerunt racione pecunie per ipsos domino Regi in diversis partibus mutuate, et eciam misarum et expensarum quas fecerunt circa pecuniam eis per ipsum Regem assignatam ad recipiendum in Hibernia necnon expensarum diversorum sociorum suorum solucionem debitorum suorum per plures annos sequencium, ac insuper omnium aliorum dampnorum et jacturarum que sustinuerunt tam racionibus predictis, quam racione dicte minere prout in petitione plenius continetur. Et per Thesaurarium et dictos auditores vocatis aliis de consilio Regis si necesse fuerit, et aliis mercatoribus qui ad hoc fuerint vocandi et dampnis predictorum mercatorum de societate Friscobaldorum diligenter examinatis ordinetur, et fiat dictis mercatoribus de societate Friscobaldorum de dampnis predictis debita allocacio et recompensacio secundum discrecionem thesaurarii et auditorum predictorum in compoto suo de custuma lanarum coriorum et pellium lanutarum et mandetur thesaurario et baronibus de scaccario per breve Regis de cancellaria quod allocent predictis mercatoribus de societate Friscobaldorum summam eisdem pro

dampnis suis predictis per prefatos thesaurarium et auditores ordinatum. Et mandetur breve Regis de cancellaria cuiuslibet dictorum auditorum quod sint ad scaccarium domini Regis apud Westmonasterium in crastino Ascensionis domini proximo future ad audiendum compotum predictum.

IRROTULATUR.

Some Notes on Hatfield.*

BY WILLIAM PAGE, F.S.A.

Neither the time which I have had to prepare this paper, nor that allotted for its delivery, will allow of an exhaustive account of Hatfield and its palace, but the Calendars to the State Papers at the Public Record Office, and more particularly the work of the Historical Manuscripts Commission, in making available the wealth of historical material hitherto almost hidden among the Cecil MSS. will, I hope, enable me to bring forward some fresh facts in the history of this most interesting parish.

I think I may safely say that all western Hertfordshire was forest waste up to a period not very long before the Norman Conquest. That Hatfield was so, is to a certain extent indicated by the enormous area of the parish, now the largest in the county, covering 12,884 acres, or, before Totteridge was separated from it, 13,951 acres, showing how sparsely inhabited it must have been at the time when it was formed. The Domesday Survey of 1086 points to much of the land being forest, by recording that there was woodland sufficient for 2,000 swine, a larger number than for any other parish in the county. It may be interesting, therefore, to consider that the beautiful parks which we now see around us have, for the most part, never been under cultivation, and though probably much altered, may be said to be the remains of the primæval forest, which, as before remarked, covered all the western and southern parts of the county. We find, also, from the early bailiffs' accounts of the thirteenth century, that the land was used mostly for pasture, and considerable attention was paid to dairy farming.†

* Read at an Excursion to Hatfield House, 11th July, 1902.

† Mins. Accts. $\frac{1132}{9}$ - $\frac{1132}{10}$

Of the identification of Bishop's Hatfield with Heathfield where the Council of Bishops was held in 680, I am, for reasons I will not enter upon here, extremely doubtful. I think, therefore, I shall be justified in omitting any reference to the description of the synod which is given by the Venerable Bede in his Ecclesiastical History, referring those who wish for information on the subject to his work.* The earliest authentic associations which Bishop's Hatfield has, are with the Abbey of Ely. This monastery is said to have been founded by Etheldreda, daughter of Anna, King of the East Saxons, about the middle of the seventh century. It was, however, deserted at the time of the Danish Invasion, and restored by King Edgar the Peaceful at the instigation of St. Dunstan, St. Ethelwold, and St. Oswald about 970, at the time of that great wave of religious enthusiasm, a period of reformation as important almost to the English Church as that of the sixteenth century. At the refounding of the monastery, Edgar appears to have endowed it with Hadham, Hatfield, and Kelshall in Hertfordshire.† His grandson, Edward the Confessor, received a part of his education at Ely, and was a great benefactor to the monastery, confirming the grants of his grandfather, including that of Hatfield, and adding considerably thereto.‡ At the time of the Domesday Book, we find that the Abbot of Ely held this manor, and when in 1109, the Abbey Church was converted into the seat of the new Bishopric of Ely, this manor took the name of Bishop's Hatfield, being given as a part of the endowment of the new see. Like most manors which had been granted to the church at a date before the Norman Conquest, Hatfield was a liberty within which, as it was termed, the King's writ did not run, that is to say, the sheriff of the county could not execute the writs of the King's Court or levy distrains except through the officer called the bailiff of the liberty.§ The Bishops of Ely had many other liberties in the manor, such as gallows or the right to hang their own felons, pillory, tumbrel, infangentheof, outfangentheof, free warren, waif, the amendment of the assize of bread and ale, and many other franchises,

* Bede's *Eccles. Hist.* Bk. IV. † Cartæ Antiquæ, B. No. 12.

‡ Ibid. § Land Revenue, Misc. Bks. 216.

the most remunerative of which perhaps was the right to hold a market and fair. The earliest evidence of this last right is a licence to the Bishop in 1234 to hold a fair for four days, viz., on the vigil and feast of St. John the Baptist and the two days following, and a weekly market on Thursdays.* We next find that in 1318 the Bishop had a grant of a fair for four days, viz., on the vigil and feast of St. Etheldreda the virgin, and two days following, that is to say, a day later than the time mentioned in the licence previously referred to, and the day of the market was changed to Tuesday.† Edward IV. confirmed this grant, but curtailed the duration of the fair, by one day, and altered the day of the market to Wednesday.‡ The market and fair remained thus until 9th of May, 1550, when the Earl of Warwick, then Lord of the Manor, obtained a charter granting him licence to hold a market on Thursdays, and fairs on the feasts of St. Luke the Evangelist and St. George the Martyr.§ Besides the benefit of having a market the people of Hatfield claimed to be free from toll throughout England.

At an early date the Bishops of Ely, and possibly the Abbots of Ely before them, had at Hatfield not merely a grange, but a house of sufficient size to accommodate royalty and their retinues, as we find that it was a frequent stopping place of the English sovereigns as early as the thirteenth century.

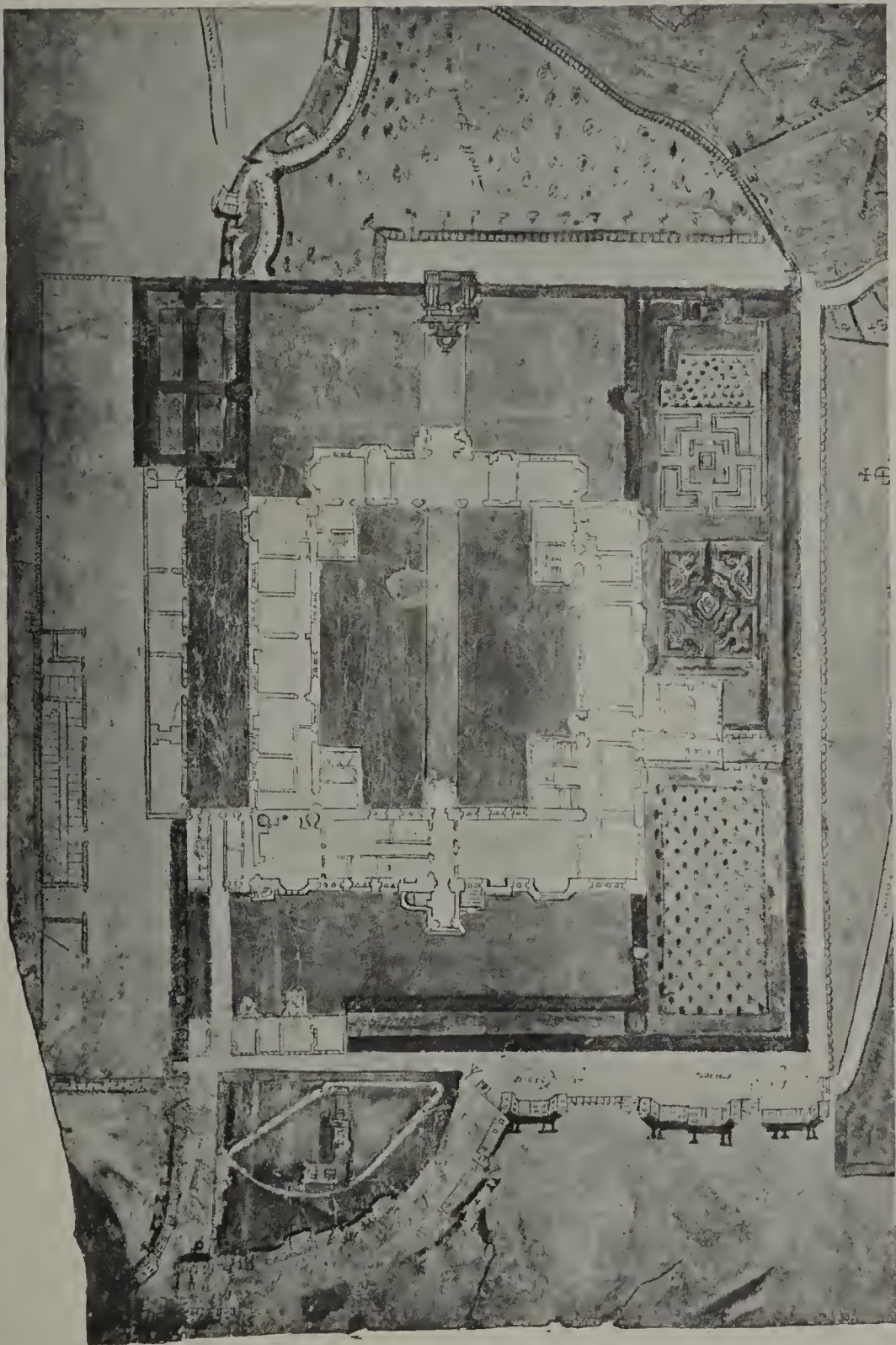
It is difficult to distinguish Bishop's Hatfield from King's Hatfield and Hatfield Chase when, as we find in mediæval documents, the prefix or affix is often omitted, and this difficulty has led to much confusion and many erroneous statements. It would appear that King John visited Bishop's Hatfield|| on 26th May, 1211, in a royal progress from Bristol to London. In 1252, William de Valence, brother of King Henry III., while out hunting; trespassed into the park here, and because the Bishop's servants would not give him anything to drink stronger than beer, it is recorded that he used very bad language and caused a great disturbance. He broke open the door of the buttery, drank and upset a great quantity

* Close Roll, 10 Hen. III., m. 17. † Charter Roll, 12 Edw. II., No. 58.

‡ Ibid., 5, 6, 7 Edw. IV., No. 12.

§ Patent Roll, 4 Edw. VI., p. 8, m. 8.

|| *Patent Roll, John* (Rec. Com.)



Sixteenth-Century Plan of the Old Palace at Hatfield.
From the Original in possession of the Marquis of Salisbury.

of the Bishop's choicest wines and distributed them amongst his grooms.*

We find that Edward I. was here from the 16th to 19th February, 1303.† Edward II. and Edward III. also seem to have visited the palace on several occasions. It has been stated that William, the second son of Edward III., was born at Bishop's Hatfield, but this is an error, the place recorded being Hatfield in Yorkshire.‡

In 1292, the Bishop of Ely was allowed to divert a pathway leading from the churchyard to a field called Osmundescroft, in order to enlarge the courtyard, which indicates that the house then being added to was on the site of the present stables or old palace,§ and it was for the chapel in this house that the Bishop of Ely was commissioned by the Bishop of Lincoln, in whose diocese Hatfield lay, in November, 1342, to consecrate an altar.|| The Bishops of Ely frequently resided at their palace of Hatfield, and it is said that Bishop John Barnet died there on 7th of June, 1397. Bishop Philip Morgan also died there on 25th of October, 1434, as did his successor, the Cardinal of Luxemburg.¶ The palace was rebuilt by Bishop John de Morton, who occupied the see of Ely from 1479 till 1486, when he became Archbishop of Canterbury. He was a man of great taste, as may be seen not only from what remains of his work here in the old palace, but elsewhere, for he rebuilt Wisbech Castle and did a considerable amount of work at Canterbury, Lambeth, Maidstone, and other places. The old palace of Hatfield was built entirely of brick, and from a plan which exists among the Hatfield manuscripts (here reproduced) it appears to have been of considerable size.

We now come to that period of the history of the palace which forms so intimate a part of the history of the Tudor family that it almost becomes a history of

* Matth. Paris, *Chron. Maj.* (Rolls Series), V. 343.

† Patent Roll, 31 Edw. I., m. 35.

‡ In 1336 Edward was in Scotland and spent Christmas at Hatfield, with the Queen, who there gave birth to their son, William (*Gesta Edwardi Tercii*, II., 128). As we find by the *Testes* on the Patent and Close Rolls that the King was at Doncaster on the 24th of December, it is clear the Hatfield referred to is Hatfield in Yorkshire. Mr. Thomas Frost, however, in *Bygone Hertfordshire*, and others, boldly claim that Bishop's Hatfield was referred to.

§ Ing. Post Mortem, 20 Edw. I. No. 69.

|| Lincoln Epis. Register, Bek. f. 7.

¶ *Vitruvius Britannicus*, by P. F. Robinson, p. 3.

England. The palace and manor it would seem were leased by the Bishop of Ely, on 7th August, 1514, to Richard Symond, who afterwards assigned his interest to Hanibal Zenzan.* This Zenzan was Master of the Horse to Henry VIII., and we may with every probability presume he was merely a nominee of the Crown, for Henry VIII. as we shall see, treated the palace more as his own than even he, autocrat as he was, could well have done, had he been dependent upon the good will of the bishop or his tenant.

Here was born on 17th July, 1517, the Lady Frances Brandon, eldest daughter of Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk and Mary, Queen of France, and mother of the amiable and unfortunate Lady Jane Grey. An account is still extant of the grand ceremony of the christening, which took place in Hatfield Church on this occasion. The roads were strewn with rushes, the church porch hung with embroidery, the chancel with silk arras, and the church itself with tapestry depicting the story of Holofernes and Hercules. The Queen and Princess Mary were represented, and the Abbot of St. Albans acted as godfather.

The first evidence I have found of the presence of Henry VIII. at Hatfield is in November, 1522, when he remained there for some days,† and from this date Hatfield appears to have been maintained practically as a royal palace. We find that Henry was again at Hatfield in November, 1524, and in August, 1525.‡ In November, 1525, beds and other furniture were brought for the accommodation of Henry Courtney, Earl of Devon, who had just been created Marquis of Exeter. Possibly we may infer from this that the young Marquis was going to make a lengthy stay; in any case, it would appear that when Henry removed from Hertford to Hatfield, on account of the prevalence of the sweating sickness, in June, 1528, we find that "my lord Marquis," that is the Marquis of Exeter, and his wife, and Mr. Cheyne, the Queen's Almoner, had fallen sick apparently at Hatfield, and that the Master of the Horse, who it will be remembered was Hanibal Zenzan, the lessee of

* Mins. Accts. 32, 33 Hen. VIII., No. 71, m. 3.

† *Letters and Papers, Henry VIII.*, Vol. III.

‡ *Ibid*, Vol. IV,

the manor, complained of his head, "nevertheless, the King is merry and takes no conceit."*

The most pathetic incident in the history of the palace now claims our attention. It will be remembered that Cranmer Archbishop of Canterbury held his court at Dunstable, for the trial of the validity of the marriage of Henry VIII. with Catherine of Aragon, and on 23rd of May, 1533, he pronounced judgment that the marriage was invalid. On the 7th of September following, Anne Boleyn gave birth to a daughter, afterwards Queen Elizabeth, which event further aggravated the unhappiness of the Queen Dowager, as Catherine was called, and her daughter. Up to this time the Princess Mary had been residing at Hatfield, with a household suitable to her position as a royal princess, under the care of Margaret, Countess of Salisbury, grand-daughter of Richard, Earl of Warwick, the King-maker, and mother of the celebrated Cardinal Pole, which lady it will be remembered afterwards suffered the penalty of her devotion to the Queen and Princess Mary and her nearness to the crown, on Tower Hill. Mary's condition at Hatfield was soon to be changed. Three months after the birth of Elizabeth, on 2nd of December, an order was sent down by the council that the household of Princess Mary or Princess Dowager, as they called her, should be diminished, and that the Princess Elizabeth, then of course but a baby, should be conveyed to Hatfield.† By a letter from the Spanish Ambassador to Charles V., dated 16th December, 1533, we learn that Elizabeth had then been sent to Hatfield, and although there was a shorter and better road, yet we are told for the greater solemnity, and to "insinuate to the people that she is a true Princess," Elizabeth was taken through London. A little while after this, there came what must have been the most pathetic of all the scenes enacted at this celebrated house. Not content with sending down the child of her whom Mary considered her father's unlawful wife, Henry determined to humiliate his daughter still further by directing the Duke of Norfolk to go to Hatfield and tell the Princess Mary that she was to go into the household and to serve her infant half-sister. We can only imagine what gall and bitterness

* *Letters and Papers, Henry VIII.*, Vol. III.

† *Ibid.*, Vol. VI., No. 1,486.

this must have been to her who was a daughter of the imperious house of Tudor and a child of the proud house of Aragon. Mary, we are told, sent a remonstrance to the council, saying, that although the proposal was dishonourable she would not disobey the King.* A few days later, we find that the remains of Princess Mary's household had been dissolved, and that the princess was established at Hatfield merely as a lady-in-waiting on the infant Elizabeth.† Mary's cup of bitterness was not yet full, for in March, 1534, she was altogether disinherited from the crown in favour of Elizabeth. The Spanish Ambassador, again writing to Charles V., on 30th of March, 1534, stated that last Thursday the Princess Mary, who refused to accompany Elizabeth on her removal apparently from Hatfield to Hunsdon, was put by force by certain gentlemen into a litter with Anne Boleyn's aunt, and was thus compelled to make court to Elizabeth. Mary made a public protest of the compulsion used, and claimed that her act should not prejudice her right and title. The Ambassador further adds he should not have advised the princess to have gone to that extreme, for fear of irritating her father, and consequently suffering worse treatment, and some bad turn at the desire of Anne, who was continually plotting the worst she could against the Princess.‡ Mary bore her misfortunes with fortitude and resignation, but as concerns the history of Hatfield, she passes from our view to spend two melancholy years at Hunsdon in this county, as a lady-in-waiting on her little half-sister.

Towards the close of the year 1538, the King entered upon negociations with the Bishop of Ely for the exchange of the manor and palace of Hatfield, and, on 24th November, an agreement for the sale and exchange was entered upon§, which was followed, on 19th December, by a grant from the King to Thomas, Bishop of Ely, of the dissolved monastery of Ickleton with the manor of Swaffham Bulbeck and other lands in Cambridge, Essex, and Norfolk, in exchange for the manor of Hatfield.|| On 12th of January, 1539, the Bishop

* *Letters and Papers, Henry VIII.*, Vol. VI., No. 1,528. † *Ibid.*, Vol. VII., No. 38.

‡ *Ibid.*, No. 393.

§ Close Roll, 30 Hen. VIII., p. 1, No. 61,

|| Patent Roll, 30 Hen. VIII., p. 3, m, 30,

granted, and the prior and convent confirmed, the manor of Hatfield to the King.*

There are numerous surveys of the manor at this date, from which we learn that the site was called Milkewell *alias* Hatfieldbury, and was then in lease to Hanibal Zenzan.† In another survey taken in February, 1538, we have some interesting details. The palace is described as “a very goodly and a stately manor place erected and builded upon the side of a hill within the towne of Bysshoppes Hatfield, commonly called the Bysshoppes manor, constructed alle of brykke havinge in the same very stately lodgyngss with romes and offices to the same very necessary and expedient, albeit in some places it ys oute of reparaciones. Which said manor place lyeth adjoynynge the Parish Church of Hatfield aforesaid on the este.” Then follow particulars of the parks and woods which contained a great number of oaks and beeches and a quantity of deer, which are described. The lord of the Manor, it is said, had a free fishery from the water mills of Hatfield to Stanbourne Bridge, and from thence to Stoke Bridge. The bounds of the manor are set out with great precision. The court leet was held at Whitsuntide, and the court baron every three weeks. There was a church house belonging to the town which served for “bridale festes” and was let at other times of the year for its maintenance and repair. It is also said there were two almshouses next the palace gate, and within the brick wall were houses of alms, which at that time had been altered “for her grace’s use” probably meaning by her grace the young Princess Elizabeth. It is also said there was formerly a common brew-house, which was rebuilt and converted into bedehouses by Bishop Alcock, except a small portion, called the gatehouse, which was made into a fish-house.‡

In 1541 we have it on record that the King projected two visits to Hatfield, but whether they were carried out is uncertain.§ Shortly after the crown had acquired the manor, the King seems to have assigned it to the use of his two younger children, Princess Elizabeth and

* *Letters and Papers, Henry VIII.*, Vol. XIV., No. 52.

† *Mins. Accts.*, 32, 33 Hen. VIII., No. 71, m. 3.

‡ *Land Revenue Misc. Bks.* 216.

§ *Letters and Papers, Henry VIII.*, Vol. XVI., No. 677.

Prince Edward, and it was about this time that Parker, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury, preached to the princess, and that the prince received his early instruction in French from Richard Cox, afterwards Bishop of Ely.*

It is difficult to ascertain what amount of time Elizabeth and Edward spent at Hatfield. It would seem clear, however, that a considerable portion of their childhood was passed happily under its roof. Whether Edward was there at the time of his father's death is a matter of some doubt. Holinshed asserts that he was, but Mr. P. Fraser Tytler, in his "*England under Edward VI.*" † brings evidence to show he was at Hertford when his uncle, Edward Seymour, went to acquaint him with the news and to bring him to London. The Princess Elizabeth was, at the time of the death of her father, taken apparently from Hatfield and placed under the charge of the Queen, Katherine Parr, who, it will be remembered, married Thomas Seymour, Lord Sudely, brother of the Protector Somerset. Elizabeth resided at Seymour's house for a time, but on account, as it was hinted, that her host paid her more attention than was discreet, it was agreed that it would be better to remove her from his custody. Shortly afterwards she again took up her residence at Hatfield, and here it was that upon the death of his wife, Queen Katherine Parr, on 5th of September, 1548, the ambitious Seymour paid his addresses to Elizabeth, who, it will be remembered, was then only in her fifteenth year. There is little doubt that, child as Elizabeth was, she showed that coyness in favouring his addresses which she used to such effect later with others. Seymour took as his confidants, Mrs. Ashley, Elizabeth's governess, and Parry, her cofferer, and a clandestine correspondence was carried on until Seymour's brother, the Protector Somerset, getting word of what was happening, and seeing the evident endeavours of his brother to supplant his authority, brought the matter, with other delinquences of Seymour, before the council, who ordered him to be committed to the Tower.

Parry, the cofferer, and Mrs. Ashley, the governess, were examined and made certain confessions. Sir Robert Tyrwhitt and his wife were sent down to

* See Account of Hatfield House, in *Quarterly Review*, 1876. † P. 16.

Hatfield to take charge of Elizabeth, and to ascertain if any contract of marriage had been made. From the reports of the progress of his mission which Tyrwhitt periodically sent to the Protector, during his residence at Hatfield, preserved among the State Papers and Hatfield MSS., we see evidence, even at this early age, of that curious combination of caution and impetuosity, together with that inconstancy, which were so characteristic of Elizabeth's later years. It is quite clear that the Protector's object was to extort a confession from Elizabeth in order to implicate and bring about the fall of his brother, but Elizabeth was not compliant, and on 25th of January, 1549, Tyrwhitt wrote that "he cannot frame her to all points as he would wish." Elizabeth protested against the scandals circulated respecting her, and wrote to the Protector to this effect. Again the Protector wrote to Tyrwhitt to urge him to obtain a confession, but though, as Tyrwhitt said, he used all means and policy, he could get nothing more. From the correspondence between Tyrwhitt and the Protector, it would seem that Elizabeth was daily interviewed, and urged to make a confession, and on 7th of February, Tyrwhitt sent up in all haste an alleged confession, but which he had to allow was not so full as he could wish.

We can picture to ourselves the scene which must have taken place under these circumstances, in the old palace. We can imagine the imperious girl of fifteen, vehemently repudiating the suggestions of Sir Robert Tyrwhitt and his wife, till at last worn out by their persistence, and by being carefully kept from any that would do otherwise than bend her to her keeper's wishes, she was compelled to make a less than half-hearted confession, and when told by Lady Tyrwhitt that she (Lady Tyrwhitt) had received a rebuke from the council, for not seeing her charge properly governed in the place of Mrs. Ashley, Elizabeth replied with spirit that she had not so demeaned herself that the court need put any more mistresses upon her, and then burst into a girlish passion of tears, and as we are told by Sir Robert Tyrwhitt, wept all night. Tyrwhitt adds his opinion somewhat cautiously, that he thinks it would be more meet for Elizabeth to have two governors than one.

Seymour, as it will be remembered, was executed on Tower Hill, on 20th of March, 1549. That he had an intention to marry the princess, and that Elizabeth did not reject his addresses, there can be little doubt, but of any evidence of a contract there appears to be little or none, and considering Elizabeth's age, we cannot blame her for showing a girlish favour to a man who had married her stepmother, and in whose house she had lived almost in the capacity of a daughter. It was at this time, and while at Hatfield, that Elizabeth commenced that friendship and correspondence with William Cecil, which continued throughout Cecil's life, and many messages were passed by her cofferer, Parry, to Master Secretary Cecil.

The Manor of Hatfield was granted to John, Earl of Warwick, father-in-law of the Lady Jane Grey, by letters patent dated 15th July, 1550.* It is evident that Elizabeth was concerned at the prospect of having to leave a place to which she had become so much attached, and we learn from Thomas Parry, her cofferer, before referred to, that in the autumn of 1549, when as we may presume the negotiations for the grant were in progress, she would not remove from Hatfield to Ashridge, as was intended.† She afterwards petitioned the King that an exchange might be made with the Earl of Warwick for Hatfield, and on 22nd June, 1550, an order in council was made that this should be done.‡ In consequence of which order, on 7th September, 1550, letters patent were passed granting the manor to the princess.

This little transaction is of great interest in showing Elizabeth's strong attachment to Hatfield Palace, with which, almost from the day of her birth to the date of her ascending the throne, she was associated. Elizabeth resided principally at Hatfield, but made occasional visits to Ashridge during the remainder of the reign of her brother, Edward VI. Their correspondence during this period is yet extant and preserved at the British Museum. Elizabeth was at Hatfield when Edward VI. died, and at the time that the abortive attempt to place the Lady Jane Grey on the throne, was made.

* Patent Roll, 4 Edw. VI., p. 7.

† *Cal. State Papers, Dom.* 1547-80, p. 23.

‡ *Acts of Privy Council*, 1550-2, p. 52.

Immediately after the accession of Mary, Elizabeth set out for Somerset House, in London, and the next day rode out to meet the Queen at Wanstead. Elizabeth's life at her sister's court, the subsequent plots against her, her retirement to Ashridge, and later, her committal to the Tower, and afterwards to Woodstock, and the regaining of royal favour, are all matters of general history which do not immediately affect the particular history of Hatfield. At length in the autumn of 1555, Elizabeth was permitted again to take up her residence at her beloved Hatfield, under the easy restraint imposed upon her by Sir Thomas Pope. Here Elizabeth surrounded herself with all her old dependents, Mrs. Ashley, Sir Thomas Parry, Roger Ascham (her tutor), and others. At this date Elizabeth devoted much of her time to study, and took a keen interest in her guardian's scheme for founding Trinity College, Oxford. In a letter from Sir Thomas Pope, dated from Hatfield, in 1556, he says, "The Princess Elizabeth, her grace, whom I serve here, often asketh me about the course I have devised for my scholars, and that part of mine estatutes respecting studie, I have shown to her, which she likes well. She is not only gracious but most learned as ye might well know."* Lighter occupations were at times indulged in, and we learn from a MS. in the Cotton Library at the British Museum,† quoted by Robinson in *Vitruvius Britannicus*,‡ that "In Shrovetide, 1556, Sir Thomas Pope made for the Lady Elizabeth at his owne costes a great and rich maskinge in the Great Hall at Hatfield where the pageaunts were marvellously furnished. There were thar twelve ministrels antickly disguised with forty-six or more gentlemen and ladies, many of them knights or nobles and ladies of honour, apperelled in crimson satin embrothered uppon with wrethes of gold and garnished with bordures of hanging perle, and the devise of a castell of clothe of golde sett with pomegranates about the battlements with shields of knights hanging therefrom and six knights with rich harness turneyed. At night the cuppboard in the hall was of twelve stages namlie furnished with garnish of gold and silver vessal and a banket of seventie dishes a voidee of spices and

* Warton's "Life of Sir Thomas Pope," p. 91.

† Cott. MSS. Vit. F. 5.

‡ P. 6.

suttleties with thirty spise plates. And the next day the play, *Holophermes*, but the Queen percase misliked the folleries as by her letters to Sir Thomas Pope, knight, did appear and so theis disguising were ceased."

Elizabeth made frequent visits to the court, residing when in London at Somerset House, and in April, 1557, Queen Mary returned these visits by a journey to Hatfield to see her sister. Extensive preparations were made on this occasion, the great chamber was arranged for the Queen, and adorned with a sumptuous suit of tapestry containing the subject of the Siege of Antioch. We are told that on the morning following the arrival of the Queen, after mass, Elizabeth entertained her with a great exhibition of bear-baiting, with which their highnesses, it is said, were right well content. The evening was more soberly spent with acting and reciting by the choir boys of St. Paul's. Both sisters were musical, and Elizabeth played on the virginals accompanied by a chorister, who is said to have had a divine voice.

Besides study, Elizabeth amused herself in hunting, by occasional visits to London, and by audiences to emissaries from continental princes, asking her hand in marriage. It was at Hatfield she finally refused Philibert, Duke of Savoy, whose suit was so earnestly pressed by her brother-in-law, Philip of Spain, and also the proposal of the great Gustavus Vasa, King of Sweden, that she should marry his eldest son, Prince Eric. She told each of her suitors that she fully intended to remain single. After one of the several plots with which Mary was from time to time threatened, and concerned in which was almost invariably to be found a member of Elizabeth's household, Elizabeth had serious thoughts of escaping to France, but fortunately she was dissuaded from such a project, whereby she would have risked her succession to the throne had she succeeded, and more fatal consequences would have followed if she failed. Nominally free to do as she wished at Hatfield, Elizabeth knew that she was surrounded by spies, and therefore her conduct needed all the caution she could muster, and although Sir Thomas Pope was evidently much attached to his charge, he was responsible to the crown for her safe keeping and for the prevention of plots.

It would occupy a volume to relate the history of Elizabeth's residence at Hatfield, and we must pass on to the final illness of Mary, which occurred in November, 1558. When it was clearly seen by those about the court that the Queen could not live long, they did not fail to acquaint Elizabeth and tried to ingratiate themselves with her. Sir Nicholas Throckmorton, who was employed secretly by Elizabeth to bring her word should her sister succumb, is said to have ridden off in hot haste to Hatfield, to tell Elizabeth of her sister's death, before that event had actually occurred. Elizabeth was too cautious to take any steps to secure her recognition as heir, until she was fully assured of her sister's death and sent Throckmorton back for a token. While he was returning the Queen died, and a number of the council, including Sir William Cecil, hastened down to Hatfield, when, according to tradition, they found Elizabeth sitting under a tree in the park, and when they acquainted her with her accession to the crown, Sir Robert Naunton relates that she fell on her knees in amazement, exclaiming, "*O Domine factum est illud et est mirabile in oculis nostris.*" "It is the Lord's doing, it is marvellous in our eyes." The story is a picturesque one, but we must consider that the middle of November is scarcely a time for a young lady to be sitting in a park, and that Elizabeth must have been fully prepared for the news of her sister's death and the visit of the council. Mary died on Thursday, 17th of November, 1558; three days later Elizabeth's first council was held at Hatfield, at which Sir William Cecil was appointed Chief Secretary of State and Privy Councillor. Councils were also held at Hatfield on Sunday, 21st, and on the 22nd November, and then the Queen took leave of Hatfield, which up to that date had been the witness of her hopes and fears, her troubles and happiness practically all her life, never to return for more than a few days relaxation from the trials and responsibilities of her new life. In this way we find she was at Hatfield in August, 1561, August, 1571, and June, 1575; at the last two of these occasions, privy councils were held; she was also there in June, 1576, and probably at other times.

Elizabeth maintained Hatfield as a royal palace throughout her reign, and at her death in 1603, James I.

granted it on 19th of September to Anne of Denmark, his Queen, as parcel of her jointure.*

James I., taking a fancy to Theobalds, the house of Robert Cecil, Earl of Salisbury, offered to exchange it for Hatfield; and upon the assent of the Earl, the exchange was effected, whereupon the lordship and manor of Hatfield were granted to the Earl of Salisbury on the 27th of May, 1607.† On 15th April previously, Lord Salisbury wrote from Theobalds to Sir Thomas Lake, "Being very desirous to see the house of Theobalds and Parcks (now drawing neere the dilivery into a hand which I pray God may keep it in his posterity untill there be neyther tree nor stone standing), I must confess unto you that I have borrowed one dayes retraict from London, whether now I am returning this morning, having looked upon Hattfield allso, where it pleased my Lord Chamberlain, my Lord of Worcester, and my Lord of Southampton to be contended to take the payne to view upon what part of ground I should place my habitation where I doubt not ere it be long to have the honour to see my great master. This I write because you may know that your letters of yesterday will find me in my pilgrimage at my little lodge with a fayre sight of read deere before myne eies."‡

So soon as Robert, Earl of Salisbury, had entered upon possession of Hatfield, he appears to have set about pulling down half the old palace, and erecting the present house. So far as we are aware, he had no architect. The general design of the house was probably that of the Earl himself, the plans were the work apparently of his servant, Thomas Wilson, afterwards knighted and made keeper of the State Papers, who was assisted by William Basill, surveyor of the King's works, but the great part of the responsibility seems to have been with Robert Lemming, evidently a very capable designer, who acted in the capacity of clerk of the works. To him we are indebted probably for most of the details, particularly of the interior. There are a number of reports, estimates, and letters, regarding the progress of the building of Hatfield

* Patent Roll, 1, James I., p. 20.

† Ibid., 8, James I., p. 19.

‡ State Papers, Dom., James I., Vol. XXVII., No. 7.

House, preserved among the State Papers at the Public Record Office, and among Lord Salisbury's MSS., the former of which have, so far as I have been able to ascertain, not been printed, and I think they are of sufficient interest, having regard to the objects of this Society, to warrant the printing of abstracts of them as an appendix to this paper, that they may be useful to anyone working at the architectural history of the house. Suffice it to say, that the original designs were considerably curtailed during the progress of the work, much to the regret of those who were looking after it. One would imagine from the wording of one of Lord Salisbury's letters, that the bricks were made locally. The joiner's work, wainscoting, etc., was done by Jenever, probably a Dutchman living in London, who also designed the chimney-pieces. The turner's work was made by a man named Hoocker, of St. Martin's Lane, London. The gardens were objects of the particular care of Lord Salisbury, the walling and planting of them is frequently referred to in the reports of Robert Lemming. The Earl was assisted by many friends in this hobby. In 1609, Lady Tresham sent him fifty fruit trees, and in September of the same year, the Earl of Exeter, his brother, sent his own gardener, a Frenchman, to plant vines. Other Frenchmen had before been employed at the vineyard. Mountain Genings was the Earl's gardener, possibly, from his name, also a Frenchman, as we know that there were numerous French gardeners in England at this time. The imperious queen-mother of France, Mary de Medici, widow of the celebrated Henri Quatre, or Henry of Navarre, sent to Lord Salisbury, in 1611, over 500 fruit trees for his garden, and a French gardener and two assistants to plant them. Another scheme which Lord Salisbury had in connection with the house was an elaborate system of waterworks and fountains. These were designed by a Frenchman also, whose plans and rough drawings are preserved among the State Papers at the Public Record Office.

The remainder of the history of Hatfield and Hatfield House is a history of the illustrious house of Cecil, which time precludes us from entering upon here, and is a subject, I hope, may be taken up in another paper at

some future time. There is, however, one interesting scheme for the relief of the poor at Hatfield, to which I have found reference, and which I should like to mention.

The great flow of foreign immigration into England, on account of the religious persecutions abroad, brought with it the establishment of the weaving industry in various parts of the country. Towards the close of the sixteenth, and at the early part of the seventeenth century, it was a favourite project to start this industry for the relief of the poor. We have evidence of this at St. Albans, where a Dutchman was engaged to teach the poor to spin.* At Hatfield, Lord Salisbury, in 1608, immediately after he had come into possession of the manor, set about carrying out such a scheme and entered into an agreement, of which the following is an abstract, with one, Walter Morrall, probably a Fleming:—

Articles† of agreement made in December, 1608, between Robert Earl of Salisbury, Lord High Treasurer of England, on the one part, and Walter Morrall, of Enfield, on the other part, viz. :—Imprimis. The said Walter Morrall, grants to the said Robert, Earl of Salisbury, that he, the said Walter Morrall will, at his own cost, with all speed after the date hereof, for the term of ten years diligently teach within the parish of Hatfield, Herts, in the art of clothing, weaving, spinning, carding, or any other such like commendable trade, which the said Walter shall think good, fifty persons, to be chosen by the Earl within the said Parish of Hatfield, but of no other place; out of which fifty persons the said Walter is to take apprentices for seven years not under the number of twenty persons; provided always that if by death or otherwise there shall at any time be less than the full number, the rest shall be supplied by the direction of the said Earl, and the number of apprentices shall always be fully maintained. And also the said Walter Morrall shall find stuff and work enough to set all these fifty persons at work, so as to avoid idleness, and also for the education and teaching of them in skill and knowledge of the said trades for the better

* *Corporation Records*, by A. E. Gibbs.

† State Papers. Domestic, James I., Vol. XXXVIII., No. 73.

getting of their honest livings afterwards. And shall also pay to the said fifty persons (except such as he shall take apprentice) for their work, such rates as are usually given in Essex and elsewhere for the like work. And that the said Walter shall pay the said wages, after the rates aforesaid, to each of them at the end of each week during the term of ten years, without fraud.

In consideration whereof the said Earl of Salisbury promises the said Walter Morrall, that he, the said Earl, will pay and allow unto the said Walter one convenient house in the parish of Hatfield, rent free, during the said term of ten years fit for him to perform the said trades, at his own cost to keep in good repair, except such decays as shall be made by the said Walter, his servants or people. And also that the said Earl will yearly during the said term of ten years pay the said Walter Morrall £100, in respect of the undertaking of the said business, towards his expenses therein, and for the teaching of the said fifty persons. And the said Walter promises, that if through his negligence any of the said number of fifty persons shall be wanting "at any time in the year during the said term of ten years, by the space of — days, then the said Walter shall be abated out of the said sum of £100 by year for every such person so wanting by the time he or they shall want, for every day after the rate of £10 by year, anything in these presents contained to the contrary notwithstanding."

Shortly afterwards some further stipulations* were arranged for carrying on these works at "Cecil Hatfield," as Hatfield is termed. Amongst these are clauses that the persons employed should be well treated, should attend the parish church on Sundays, should not teach the trade to any other till they had practised it themselves for three years and be perfect therein, and that Morrall should always keep ten looms in his house.

The works were started, and in April, 1609, William Barlow, Bishop of Lincoln, wrote to Lord Salisbury† praising him for his Christian-like provision for the poor at Hatfield. From a report of Robert Abbot to Thomas Wilson,‡ the persons taught seemed very well content

* State Papers Domestic, James I., Vol. XXXVIII, No. 71.

† Ibid., XLIV., No. 84.

‡ State Papers, Eliz., Chap. CXXIII., No. 10.

with their pay and prospects and there were many more applications for work than room could be provided for. The works continued for a year or two at all events, but I have been unable to trace what became of them.

In conclusion, I should like to express my thanks to Mr. R. T. Gunton, Lord Salisbury's Private Secretary, for references to works bearing on this subject, and to Mr. E. Stanley Kent for photographing the old plan of Hatfield House which Lord Salisbury has kindly permitted me to reproduce here.

APPENDIX.

STATE PAPERS DOMESTIC, James I., Vol. XLV., No. 69.

ABSTRACT.

25th May, 1609.

An abstract of all the charges that his Lordship is to be at more than he hath disbursed for the full finishing of his building at Hatfield, according to the plot or to the intended meaning begun, except joinery, plate, books, painting, and gardening.

Masons, freestone, hardstone, chimney-pieces, etc.	£2,160
Bricklayer	£1,659
Carpenter	£1,177
Plumber	£1,200
Plasterer	£967
Glazier	£203
Smith	£170
Slater	£350
Carts and labour	£200
Ironmonger	£60

The whole sum.....£8,146

If front of the gallery be built with pilasters as it is begun, and leave out the columns, he may deduct £120.

If he (Lord Salisbury) omit the architrave, freize and cornice, which is to go twice about the inner court, and put in a plain crest which will not be graceful, he may deduct £75.

If he omit the lions of stone which are to be upon the gable ends for the garnishment of the house and make them with plain "unnials," he may deduct £15.

If he omit the paving of the "survaing" place before the kitchen with Purbeck and the wet larder, scullery, and kitchen court, he may deduct out of paving, £135.

If he leave out the taffrails which are for the garnishers over the windows and do them with plain perime, he may deduct £30.

If he omit covering the two "platforms" towers with lead and to fair rooms over the said towers and to set on a roof it at the height that in it which will be very deformed for the uniform of the building . . both within and without, he may deduct £325.

If he omit the twenty vanes which should have been for the lions, he may deduct £10.

The whole deduction..... £710 0s. 0d.

To the remains of £8,146 is £7,436.

If it please God by the last of July the carpenters will have reared the hall roof and all the roof between the two towers and the great chamber floors and "platforms" and the eight tips upon the towers and all the carpentry work for the slates to cover the house. But if we alter the property of the building it will be ready to cover by Michaelmas next, because the roofs are yet to saw and to frame.

STATE PAPERS DOMESTIC, James I., Vol. XLV., No. 84.

ABSTRACT.

27th May, 1609.

Deductions that may be made out of the last estimate for work either to be left undone or done with less cost about Hatfield Building, by this conference with the workmen before Mr. Forsett, master surveyor, and myself, 27th May, 1609.

The cost that may be saved about the East Gardens in not making "wales" (? walls), "dores," "tarrasses," "rayles and ballisters," as was purposed, £500.

The omitting ten of the twelve tipped small buildings before the house at £60 a-piecke, making only two at the gate, £600.

Omitting architrave, freize and cornice about the returns of the house double, making water table instead of it, £150.

In the garnishment of the front they say there cannot be omitted more than £120.

There may be saved in lead-work £300.

In unnecessary paving of Purbeck, £140.

In taffrails of stone over the windows, £30.

In the cost purposed to be bestowed on the outward gate which may be made of brick, not stone, £20.

In the plaisterers' work and omitting purposed fretts, £100.

In the carvers' work all was rated at £160, may be saved £80.

In the hall screen rated at £100, may be saved £50.

In the smiths' work, black and white, £100.

In the labourers and day carpenters, £50.

In deal boards, omitting spruce deals, £50.

So saved in all, £2,440.

STATE PAPERS DOMESTIC, James I., Vol. LII., No. 17.

ABSTRACT.

18th January, 1610, from Hatfield.

Robert Lemminge to Thomas Wilson, at my Lord Treasurer's House, at Ivy Bridge.

Mr. Jenener, the joiner, hath been down to Hatfield, and we have had some conference about ceiling the rooms with wainscot, and he hath taken measures of certain chimney-pieces to be made, and saith he will draw some plots of the manner of them, and show my Lord and you Pond, the gardener, is not yet returned to Hatfield. It is frivolous for me to write unless I understand my Lord's mind, for the time of the year, unless it be presently set in hand withal, it will be too late to set the quicks. I pray you speak to Hoocker, the turner, in St. Martin's Lane, that he may come down for the turning of ballusters, for the carpenters are in hand with framing the walks in the west garden that it may be enclosed in.

STATE PAPERS DOMESTIC, James I., Vol. LIII., No. 65.

ABSTRACT.

1st April, 1610.

Lord Salisbury to William Bassill, Surveyor of his Majesty's Works, and Thomas Wilson, "my servant."

Whereas there was before Michaelmas last an estimate made of the then future charge of my building at Hatfield, wherewith yourselves were made acquainted, which estimate amounted to £8,500 as by a schedule of particulars then made appears, since then there hath been expended and paid for the same above £4,000, and yet it is to be doubted that the moiety of the said works is finished. I beg you to report on said building. To set down all things in writing, and ease Shaw and Lymning to set their hand thereunto, and further as Shaw and Lymning would have 2,500 thousand (*sic.*) bricks more made this year, I would have them set down the reason why they require so many. I am informed much fewer will suffice.

STATE PAPERS DOMESTIC, James I., Vol. LIII., No. 79.

ABSTRACT.

A brief of the survey of work at Hatfield. 4th April, 1610.

Estimate of 28th July, 1609, £8,500.

Work done and money expended, £5,424.

Work yet to be done as appears, £3,779.

Which amounteth to £607 (*sic.*) more than the estimate for which there is more than £1,100 in addition as appeareth :—

Joiner, £100.

Painter, £30.

For Harestone steps, £80.

Coalhouses, £70.

Garnishing the terraces, £55.

Architrave, freize and cornice, £40.

The front all of stone which should have been part of brick, £150.

To gable ends in tracing, £30.

The scullery Purbeck, £20.

The plain lead and solder, £50.

The garden houses, £50.

Altering the chapel, £150.

Plastering all the brick walls, £250.

The new chapel windows, £50 — £1,125.

Whereby it appeareth that there will be saved of the estimate, £418.

Signed by Basill, Wilson, Liming, Shaw.

STATE PAPERS DOMESTIC, James I., Vol. LVII., No. 82.

ABSTRACT.

A bill of charges [said in calendar to be by Mr. Wilson] about my lord's business from Hatfield since 22nd Sept., 1609, until 29th Sept., 1610.

Riding down with Mr. Jones.

Spent at Hatfield with the surveyor.

19th Dec. Rode down to Hatfield, and rode to Hertford that night and lay at my own house.

Payment of labourers frequently referred to.

10th March. Went down to pay certain bills and carried down Dolphin with me, hiring him a horse, etc.

2nd April. Rode down to meet Mr. Jenings.

4th May. Rode down with Mr. Bell.

(22nd May?) Given to my lord of Exeter's gardener, the second time my lord caused me to carry him down to plant vines himself, that I might see the difference between the other Frenchmen's planting and his, who, coming to my lord at his coming home the 14th December, my lord willed me to give him for four days he had been there, 20s.

STATE PAPERS DOMESTIC, James I., Vol. LVIII., No. 9.

ABSTRACT.

8th November, 1610.

Robert Lyming to Thomas Wilson, from Hatfield.

The mason is in hand with the chapel window, and that would be very well made an end of before Christmas if he had more there. The stone-mason has above 30 men at work, there is a great deal of masonry which will take much time. Stone is delaying. Begs Wilson to see to the sending down stone from London. The front of gallery is brought up above the first storey to the height of the pedestal; half the range, and the other part is wrought ready to set. The mason is paving the great beer cellar with Purbeck, and hath lain some of it. The bricklayers have brought the vaults for the coal house before the kitchen, and are in hand with the foundations of the gates in the Court on the north side of the house, and having done that the bricklayers shall give over all the outward works, and they shall be covered from the weather. He has set the bricklayers to make drains to carry water from the foundations. He thanks God the main building standeth firm and sure in every place.

The carpenters are framing the tips for the porters' lodges. They have joisted and boarded the ground floor for the lodgings at the east end of the house, and plasterers are finishing them.

The plumber has laid on the lead upon the hall roof and towers, though it be long, but he hath not done all the soldering. The glazier shall set up the glass when the scaffolding can be taken down.

Mountague Jenings was here on Tuesday and paid his workmen, and hath some work in the way coming to the house from the south, and some in the east garden, and some in the north walk. As to enclosing the east garden. He entreats him to tell Mr. Bowle that he will bring a just mould of the light of the chapel windows according to the proportion concluded of between them, at his next return to London.

STATE PAPERS DOMESTIC, James I., Vol. LXIII., No. 88 (I.)
ABSTRACT.

A note of his Lordship's business done at Hatfield, etc.
17th May, 1611.

The hall is fully joined with tables and forms fitting to it, the lower part of the screen is set up and finished by the carpenters and carvers, and the upper part of the screen is framed and carved and is now fitting up.

The great chamber on the east side will be fully finished by the painters and plasterers by Monday (note the painters will end to-night), and the scaffold taken down, so that if the joiner be ready, whom Mr. Surveyor hath appointed to do the wainscot work, all the lodgings on that level will be ready within this month.

The frett ceiling in the gallery will be fully finished with the whitening of it on Tuesday, the gallery will then be ready for the joinery work which is framed at London.

The shutting windows for the great chamber on the west side are now in working, and the freize of the wainscot work and the jaumbs of the windows are framed at London by Janiveer, the joiner. There is a footpace to be laid and then that room will be fully finished.

The with-drawing chamber, the closet of the chapel, and the rooms adjoining on that level will be ready to be lodged in within this three weeks. The mason hath fully finished the open work upon the return building on the west side of the Court, and will by Tuesday next have set up the garnish on the east side into the Court. He hath finished the open work of stone upon the front to the north, he hath set up and finished the north gate, he hath paved the cress walk in the inner court, and the residue is working.

The chapel is now a-paving by the mason. Mason now working the garnishing for the walls, and the little houses coming into the Inner Court which he saith cannot be finished in less time than a month. It is not every man's work, for one mason amongst ten cannot do it by reason of the form of it, and to make it stand pleasing to the eye.

The bricklayers are in hand with pencilling the house and court walls as fast as the mason finished.

The decayed bridge at the river is made strong with brick and stone, and it is planked, piled, and wharfed to continue for ever, the gravel is taken away within the river in the park which hindereth the passage of the water, this being done the water will have his free course, that neither winter nor summer the passengers shall have cause to complain.

STATE PAPERS DOMESTIC, James I., Vol. LXV., No. 3.

1st. July, 1611.

Report on Hatfield.

ON THE EAST.

The great chamber hanged and ready; crest of timber for the footpace and the windows . . . and wainscotted.

Dallam to be sent down to tune the pipes of the wind instrument, being removed.

The with drawing chamber matted, hanged and ready.

The king's bed-chamber to be matted and hanged, to-morrow being Tuesday.

The pallet chamber next to that, matted and hanged.

The two bed-chambers (of which that which was the anticke is one) and the lobbie next to them hanged and matted.

My lord's lodgings upon the parlor floore to be hanged and readie upon Tuesday next.

THE GALLERIE.

The chimney peeces of plain wainseott sett uppe.

The south side wilbe wainseotted but not the frise, by Thursdaie.

Both the ends wainseotted but to be hanged.

The retorne to be hanged for the tyme and the prospect in the haule over the skreenc to be mured uppe this daie.

The north side to be hanged.

THE HAULE.

The haule, the seaffold to be strooken by the painter this night.

ON THE NORTH.

The two chambers hanged readie only wanted two plaine chimney peeces which wilbe this week, yf not to be hanged.

The little pallett readie.

THE CHAPPELL.

The closett chimney peece and hanginges chaires and stooles sutable readie (wanteth good andirons).

The chappell, the frise and pulpitt to be don uppon Thursdaie.

ON THE WEST.

The dynyng chamber to be ended uppon Saterdaie by the joyner.

The with drawinge chambers matted and hanged.

Three bed-chambers and three pallett chambers hanged matted and matted with bedes Teusdaie by noone.

The corner lodginges to be hanged and readie Teusdaie morninge.

The upper lodginges to be hanged and readie for the Lord Cranborne Tewesdaie night.

THE MASON.

The scaffold wilbe strooke from the south gate Tewesdaie.

The east parte of the wall of the inner court finished and the type sett uppe.

All the open worke of the weste parte of the wall wilbe ended this weck and the type sett uppe.

The lower parte of the Court next the wall where it is to be paved shalbe sanded close to the square of the turfing.

The little side courts to be rid uppon Satterdaie.

THE EAST GARDEN.

The Ryver in the east garden in the same place for the present to be ended within four daies.

The bridges at the River wilbe sett uppe this weeke.

ABSTRACT.

The conduit head is so sufficiently bound up that there is water enough to serve two such pipes as are laid for fountain. As to water supply.

Carpenters are at work at gate for the north walk which will be fully finished and set up within ten or twelve days.

Plasterer will be out of the house in four or five days.

The water is let into the works at the river which runs very pleasantly, and the workmen are in hand with the turfing and perfecting of the walks on the Island.

The north and south walk in progress.

The east garden and the terrace walk is levelled and perfected, and the little river is indented and stones and shells laid at the bottom, and this day the water running in it. The hedges of either side the walks are removed, and the workmen are in hand with turfing of it and the levelling of the lower parts of the garden.

Sd. JOHN SHAWE,
ROBT. LEMINGE,
SAML. STILLINGFLEET.

The riding in the middle park is a great part of the way finished.

500 pole of pale in new enclosure of Middle Park.

STATE PAPERS DOMESTIC, James I., Vol. LXVI., No. 42.

1st. October, 1611.

Mr. Limming to Mr. Wilson.

I am about drawing of an upright for the front from the gallery which I can do little to but in the evenings, by reason of giving orders to the workmen.

STATE PAPERS DOMESTIC, James I., Vol. LXVII., No. 62.

Mr. Wilson to Lord Salisbury, 25th November, 1611.

A Frenchman has taken the levels and measures all places from the conduit head to the east garden, and the like all the river. The purpose is to make a new *conserve d'eau*, as he calls it, at the corner of the bowling place next the upper part of the east garden which shall contain all the water of the source as well the waste as the rest, so that all the cisterns that now are, will be of no use unless you will like to have the great open cistern in the garden to put fish into to be ready upon all occasions. The great store cistern in the riding court he would have taken down, and the material employed in that he meaneth to make.

The cistern he will make will cost £300 besides the material of the old one, and £100 more, the bringing home of all the water and turning the pipes, the pipes seem to serve the use of the offices in the house as now they do. He means to make in the east garden four fountains.

This evening came the French Queen's gardener that brought over the fruit trees for the King and your lordship; 2,000 and odd for the King and above 500 for your lordship, he desires me to send him a man to-morrow morning to take charge of disembarking them, they being even now arrived at the Tower Wharf. There are two other gardeners besides this man sent over by the French Queen to see the setting and bestowing of these trees.

General Meeting held at the Herts County Museum,
on November 1st, 1901, at 8.30 p.m.

Present—Mr. H. R. Fox Bourne, in the chair; also Messrs. F. W. Kinneir Tarte, A. F. Smith, G. Gaffe, C. H. Ashdown; W. Page, R. J. Hillier, and Mrs. Knight, Hon. Secretaries, and many others.

The minutes of the previous meeting were read and confirmed.

The following new members were duly elected:—Mr. J. Woolman, proposed by Mr. Whitford Anderson. Mr. A. Montiville Evans, proposed by Mr. R. J. Hillier. Mr. J. Blake, proposed by Mr. H. J. Toulmin. Mr. J. J. Ford, proposed by Mr. G. Gaffe. Rev. G. Edwards, proposed by Dr. Wingrave. Rev. H. Worthington, proposed by Mr. A. E. Ekins. Mr. F. Beal, proposed by Mr. F. W. Kinneir Tarto. Mr. A. J. Rhodes, proposed by Mr. H. J. Toulmin. Mr. Walter Millard, proposed by Mr. F. G. Kitton. Mr. J. Denker, proposed by Mr. R. J. Hillier. Mr. W. Fisk, proposed by Mr. Whitford Anderson. Mr. R. Seymour Fannin, proposed by Mr. R. J. Hillier. Mr. and Mrs. Henderson, proposed by Mr. R. J. Hillier. Mr. Ernest Hart, proposed by Mr. F. G. Kitton. Mrs. Horace Slade, proposed by Dr. Wingrave. Miss Brown, proposed by Mrs. Knight. Miss Crowdy, proposed by Mrs. Knight. Mrs. Masters, proposed by Dr. Wingrave. Miss E. S. Wolfe, proposed by Mr. R. J. Hillier.

Mr. A. Whitford Anderson then read his paper upon:—"The Lesser Domestic Architecture of Hertfordshire." The lecture proved extremely interesting, and opened up many new channels for research. It was extremely well illustrated by very beautiful lantern-slides made by Mr. Whitford Anderson himself, and which showed what a vast amount of work had been gone through in preparing them. At the conclusion, a very hearty vote of thanks was passed to Mr. A. Whitford Anderson for his most interesting lecture, and also to Mr. C. H. Ashdown for so kindly managing the lantern.

W. WIGRAM.

The Lesser Domestic Architecture of Hertfordshire.

BY A. WHITFORD ANDERSON, A.R.I.B.A.

When I was honoured by a request from your Hon. Secretary to deliver a lecture to you, I chose the subject of Cottages, which I have enlarged sufficiently to include the smaller town houses, as it is a subject to which I believe very little attention has hitherto been directed in Hertfordshire, and to which a Society like ours should pay pressing and immediate attention, not so much with the idea of preserving all the old houses, which would be quite impossible, as of obtaining, without delay, as complete records as possible of those that remain. A number of the examples I shall show you to-night have disappeared since I have photographed them.

Before entering on the subject immediately before us, it might prove interesting, as well as helpful to the proper understanding of what follows, to take a brief survey of cottage building in England from early times.

When our Saxon forefathers arrived in this country during the 5th century, they found a type of civilization they were unaccustomed to, and which they never adopted. Coming, as they did, from a cold country, where timber was plentiful, to another country very similar in climate to their own, they preferred to continue to build in the material to which they were accustomed, which was wood. The Roman methods of building in brick were forgotten, even the art of brick-making almost disappeared for many centuries, though tiles continued to be used on the roofs of the better class of Saxon dwellings.

The description of Herot Hall in the epic of Beowulf, gives a vivid conception of Saxon timber architecture of the 5th and 6th centuries.

It is not, however, palaces, but much humbler dwellings we have to deal with here, and we really know very little of these before the Conquest, except that they must have been very primitive erections, formed of "stock-lif," or timber posts with roofs covered with straw or shingle.

The houses, or rather the huts of these villeins were of the rudest description.* They were formed by setting up on the ground two pairs of poles, each pair sloping and connected together at the top, the two pairs being connected together at the apex by a ridge-pole; the intermediate space was then filled in with smaller timbers and wattle-work filled with clay and finished on the top with turf. The length of such a building or "bay," as it was called, was usually 16 feet, which was determined by the width occupied by four stalls for ploughing-oxen, which were usually under the same roof. The bay of 16 feet was the unit, and houses of larger size were simply formed by adding bay to bay, so that, when we find in the old monastic accounts descriptions of houses of one, two, three or more bays we can tell the dimensions of the buildings.

* Addy, "Evolution of the English House."

Shakespeare, in "Measure for Measure," makes one of his characters declare that

"If this law hold in Vienna ten year, I'll rent the fairest house in it after three-pence a bay."

As time advanced, these huts were improved by raising the roofs on vertical side walls of timber-framing, still, however, filled with wattle and clay. This state of things continued up to the 14th century, when the rise of the farmer class, and free labour, began, consequent on the Lords of the Manor letting farms at fixed rents in money or kind instead of service. Up to that time the smoke from the hearth was allowed, in the humbler cottages, to find its way out of door or window as it best might. Chaucer describes a poor widow's cottage of this period in his "Nonne Preestes Tale."

"Full sooty was hire bour, and eke hire hall."

It was not until the time of Elizabeth that any real improvement was made in the condition of the labourer's cottage, but even well on in her reign Bishop Hall thus describes a copyholder's house.

"Of one bay's breadth, God wot, a silly cote,
Whose thatched spars are furred with sluttish soote,
A whole inch thick, shining like blackmoor's brows
Through smoke that down the headlesse barrel blows.
At his bed's feete feaden his stalled teame.
His swine beneath, his pullen o'er the beam."

It was about this period, the end of the 16th century, that a great change in the ownership of land took place, tending to create a demand for smaller dwellings, so much so indeed, that Elizabeth had to pass an Act "for avoiding of the great inconveniencies which are found by experience to grow by the erectinge and buyldinge of great numbers and multitude of cotages which are daylie more and more increased in manye parts of this realme." *

The greatest building time was the end of the 16th, and beginning of the 17th centuries. It seems probable that the more ornate woodwork of the smaller houses is a mark of the earlier period, as there were then plenty of skilled craftsmen to spend time on cottages, but later on, owing to the increased amount of building, only the larger houses could be decorated as before.

* Neville, "Cottage Architecture in Surrey."

It should also be remembered that the use of bricks by the poorer classes, only became general about the beginning of Elizabeth's reign, though the wealthier classes had used them from the beginning of the 15th century.

As I do not know of any examples of cottages, or the smaller houses in Hertfordshire, earlier than the reign of Elizabeth, we shall begin our scrutiny from that period, only premising that, in approximating dates, I go by the external appearance only, as probably in many cases the internal framing of a cottage or small house may be older than the front.

The earliest cottages I can show you which have an authentic date are the Almshouses at Barley, which were erected about the year 1540. Though plain, they have the characteristic Tudor arched doors. The chimney, as is usual, projects considerably at the end of the Almshouses, and has regular brick offsets covered with tiles. Projecting chimneys are among the most picturesque features of 16th and 17th century houses, and were so built to save room in the house owing to the enormous fire-places of those days. The long straight stair enclosure projecting out in front of the main building is a feature to be noted. The dormer windows are, I believe, later additions.

The "White Lion" at Walkern is probably of not much later date, the doorway being quite Perpendicular in character, though the wavy type of barge-board points to a later period in the 16th century, when, as I have before indicated, the more skilled craftsmen were getting scarce, owing to increasing building. The boarding at foot of walls is probably not original, but was put in as a patch when the lower part of the plastered front decayed.

In the 15th century, English Inns provided merely wine and ales and shelter for man and beast, and it was not until the 16th century that food was provided as well.*

There was another type of building erected during the latter half of the 16th century, formed of vertical posts of timber placed at short intervals from each other, the spaces being filled in with brickwork or lath

* *Social England*, Ed. by Traill.



The "White Horse" Inn, Bishop's Stortford.
(Photo. 1896).



The "Black Lion" Inn, Bishop's Stortford.
(Photo. 1896).

and plaster. The "Black Lion" Inn at Bishop's Stortford is a somewhat elaborate example. This building is said to have been used as the stables to Bishop Bonner's House, which stood opposite, during the reign of the "Bloody Mary," and a date a little before the middle of the 16th century would suit its architecture.

You will notice, especially on the first floor in front, a range of windows extending completely across the front. This was a characteristic feature of 16th century houses, and was condemned by Francis Bacon, who declared "he could not see where to get out of the light." The window-tax of 1696 caused many such windows to be built up. The space between the upright parts is filled with lath and plaster, as is also the case with a similar type, but much less elaborate example at Stevenage, which probably dates from the latter half of 16th century. As a general rule, the earlier buildings have the vertical posts placed close together, but as timber became scarcer, it was economized by placing the posts farther apart, with or without diagonal braces, or by forming large panels filled or covered with lath and plaster, or frequently filled in with brickwork. The picturesque arrangement, as here shown, of a projecting gable at each end of the front, was one very commonly adopted in the 16th and 17th centuries.

King's Farm, Rickmansworth, has been a good example of this type, but it has been sadly marred at a subsequent date by building up against the front. It is said that William Penn was married in this house in the year 1672. Note the segmental arches over the lower windows which are very similar to a built-up door head in a humbler, but probably as an ancient example at Buntingford. At King's Farm the projecting upper storey stands on a moulded beam supported by wooden brackets, as was also the case at the "Black Lion," Bishop's Stortford; in the example at Buntingford, and also in the house I have just mentioned at Stevenage, being less pretentious, the upper storey rests on the projecting ends of the first floor joists, strengthened by brackets. Both types were in common use, the ends of the joists in the better class of houses being frequently cut into shapes and moulded.

There is a picturesque old farm-house at Pirton of

the vertical post type, the filling in between being in this instance of brickwork. The greater width of the posts in this example is to my mind a distinct improvement.

Portions of an old house at Aldbury, facing the old stocks on the village green, have the filling-in of brickwork, even in the projecting gable, which must entail a considerable strain on the joists below. This is, I should say, a later example, probably 17th century, as we find the framing here being formed into panels.

The next examples are probably also 17th century. The first is an old cottage at Chipperfield, which has a long low upper storey projecting on the ends of joists. The vertical posts here are much further apart, and are strengthened at intervals with curved diagonal braces. The portion facing the roadway is an 18th century addition.

An old house, now demolished, at Bridge Place, Watford, had also a projecting upper storey, of timber and brickwork standing on joists, though spoiled by a later addition.

The origin of projecting upper stories and gables did not arise from a mere love of the picturesque, but had a useful purpose to fulfil. In the 14th and 15th centuries in towns there were no shops as we have them now. Some, more especially ale-houses, were in cellars or vaults beneath the dwelling-houses of the merchants, but most of the wares were exposed in open booths outside their doors; and, in order to protect these in some measure from the weather, the stories and gables above were projected over the narrow streets of those days, in many cases almost shutting out the sky altogether. The projection over the lately demolished alley to Church Street, Watford, must have been excellently adapted for shelter. It is only in the towns that any great projections are to be met with, but it became the fashion to build in this manner, and the country buildings were copied from those in the towns, though, as they were not required so much for shelter, the projections were, in most instances, much less.

The last example I give of a cottage with the vertical posts is at Hadham Cross, and is evidently very late in the style. Indeed the date on the dormer is 1697. It

has a dormer window in the centre, and an oriel window supported on a very common type of wood and plaster cove. The roof of this cottage is thatched.

There is a curious, and so far as I know, unique timber-framed house, of probably late 17th century date at Little Almshoe, near Ippollitts, where the filling-in between the timber is of tiles laid flat, like the thin Roman bricks.† The effect is soft and pleasing.

I may say, in passing, that all the timber-framed houses I have come across bearing dates belong to the 17th century, though it is quite possible that portions of their internal structure may be older.

I now come to another type of house which shows no timber-framing externally. The timber-framing is still there, though the vertical posts are placed much further apart and form panels, either filled with brickwork or lathing, but mostly the latter. The whole front is then covered with plaster.

The use of plaster for external work on timber houses was remarked on by Harrison,* who wrote during the reign of Elizabeth, about the year 1570, as being an extraordinary instance of novelty and improvement.

My first example is a very good one, probably late 16th century, of an old Inn at Barkway. It has three well-proportioned overhanging gables supported on carved wooden brackets. It is the almost invariable custom to form the roof over the bay-window or oriel, by projecting the gable or storey above, over it, as in this example, and there is almost always a drip-board of some kind over the lower windows to throw the rain off, a feature I shall speak of later on.

While speaking of windows, I might say that in the old cottages, glass in the windows, being costly, was almost unknown. The description in "The Courtship of Miles Standish," of the house built by John Alden is a good picture of the type prevailing in England before the sailing of the "Mayflower" to New England in 1620.

"Meanwhile Alden at home had built him a new habitation
Solid, substantial, of timber rough-hewn from the firs of the forest.
Wooden-barred was the door, and the roof was covered with rushes;
Latticed the windows were, and the window-panes were of paper,
Oiled to admit the light, while wind and rain were excluded."

† Two chimneys, built of similar tiles, may be seen at Codicote,

* Harrison's England.

Glass seems to have been rare even at the middle of the 18th century, as an old inhabitant of Hertford, who died about 1830, informed Turner, the Historian of that town, that he remembered when the Market Place had only one glazed shop in it, the other houses and shops being lighted through lattices of wickerwork.

The "White Horse" Inn at Bishop's Stortford is another fine and early example with elaborate barge-boards to the gables. It has several steps up to the door, a common feature, other examples of which I shall mention presently. Between the windows are heraldic devices modelled in the plaster, a mode of decoration I shall treat of later on.

The yard of this Inn shows a small example of how the bedrooms were usually arranged in the additions which were built to meet the increase of coaching. They opened directly on to a covered passage facing the yard. These passages were sometimes entirely enclosed, as in this example, but more often left open in front, with a handrail running round, as in the recently demolished building at the back of the "George" Inn at Watford.

There is a picturesque old building at Baldock with steps up to the door, which shows the curved form supporting the oriel windows, similar to the example at Hadham Cross. This feature is found straight also as well as curved, as in the old house in the churchyard at Royston. This house at Baldock bears the date 1632.

A somewhat similar old house exists at Royston, also with steps up to the door, with a quaint assemblage of tiny oriel and bay-windows, some of them semi-circular on plan.

It is those seemingly haphazard gables, dormers and bays, together with the over-hanging storeys, which must have made our old towns and villages so delightful to look upon, but the modern bye-laws have put an end to them for ever.

The "George and Dragon" at Codicote is a very good example of this old work. It has several gables, all differing in magnitude, but the balance of the whole is well sustained.

There is an old plastered building in Bancroft, Hitchin, with a curious coved plaster cornice, broken

into, at intervals, by the windows underneath. There is another similar cove under the eaves of an old thatched cottage at Barkway, and another example may be seen at Piper's Farm, in the Herts portion of the Parish of Caddington, where, however, the timber framing shows through the plaster.

In the old Inns which used to abound on all the main roads out of London, in the coaching days, it seems to have been found difficult to obtain sufficient height for the yard gateway, when built over, to allow a stage-coach to pass under. This was sometimes done by encroaching on the floor above, thus reducing the height of the room, as was done in a house, once an Inn, at Baldock. A better and much more effective method was, however, arrived at, as in the picturesque arrangement at Buntingford, by raising the roof over the yard entrance bodily and placing it on a higher level with its gable facing the street. A similar treatment may be seen on an old house in Hitchin. This bears the date 1729 on the plasterwork, but I should say that the building itself is a century older.

At Stevenage may be seen another example of a raised roof over the gateway. In this case the sloping roof faces the roadway, and the effect is not so satisfactory as the gable. The "Angel," at Watford, shows a similar treatment, but the raised portion is not confined to the portion immediately over the gateway.

You will have noticed that nearly all the buildings I have illustrated are roofed with tiles, one or two only being covered with thatch. Slates were not introduced until a much later period, in this district at least.

I can only mention a few more out of the many examples of lath and plaster buildings in Hertfordshire, before passing on to speak of some special features.

The "Buck's Head," at Little Wymondley, shows the common arrangement of a gable at each end of the building, and also the usual method of finishing off the apex of a high roof where it abuts on a lower one, by leaving the projecting apex of one roof as a little gablet appearing over the ridge of the lower roof, so as to avoid having a specially made tile, which would be necessary were the ridges at the same level.

The "Bull," at Whitwell, has the gables over the bay-

windows raised high above the eaves of the main building, a most effective arrangement. It has also a bold wooden sign-bracket, instead of the ordinary iron one.

There is another building at Buntingford, with the gable raised above the eaves, though not to such a great degree as at Whitwell. This was a very usual arrangement, not only as giving increased headroom to the rooms within the smaller gable, but it prevented two dripping eaves meeting together at the same level in the angle.

Church Street, Watford, had, until their demolition a few years ago, a very dilapidated row of old lath and plaster houses. It was in one of those houses that Cromwell is traditionally said to have lodged when he passed through Watford.

The old house facing the Market Place, at St. Albans, is a well-known example, and I believe it is principally due to the energy of some members of this Society that this ancient landmark is still spared. It bears the date 1637 on one of the angle brackets.

The "Hit and Miss," Watford, is a simple example. It has recently been restored, and has now quite lost its old character. Though in this particular instance, the bending of the old beam under the projecting upper storey was probably caused by age and the weight over, that is not always the case, as the old cottage builders had frequently to use what timbers they found at hand, and straight timbers of any length were probably costly. A house may be seen in George Street, St. Albans, with a long moulded beam, the bend in which seems due to nature, and the woodwork under it has been cut to fit.

Ashwell has a number of old houses in its main street, with quaint bay windows and projecting gables.

The old gabled houses in Farthing Lane, Watford, are examples of lath and plaster work of the 17th century, though it is probable that the tile-hanging in the gables is of later date, as vertical tiling does not appear to have been used until well on in the 18th century.

The old Inn at Hare Street near the Hormeads, is also a good example, and there are many others scattered throughout the towns and villages of Hertfordshire.

There is a feature in many of the larger cottages of



Church Street, Watford (demolished in 1893).
(Photo. 1892).



Old Almshouses near the Church at Barley.
(Photo. 1897).

this county which deserves some notice, as the effect is generally good. It is that of making the entrance to the house through a wholly or partly enclosed projecting porch with a small room and gable over. The old Vicarage in Fenn's Close, Watford, is a good example. This porch is open at the sides, the openings being filled with moulded balusters. It is, I think, of late 16th century date, and there is some curious Elizabethan panelling on the old wicket-gate giving entrance to the porch.

Another very similar porch exists at an old farm-house at Buck's Hill Bottom, near Chipperfield, and there is, or was, another good example at Little Berkhamstead.

Other porches are entirely enclosed, as at the old brick and timber house at Buckshill, which has the date 1696 carved on the wooden lintel of the doorway. This porch has been recently covered with roughcast instead of the original smooth plaster.

You will also notice, in the gable, that the diagonal braces in the timber-framing having decayed, they have been replaced with bricks. I have met with the same thing in many old cottages, and the decay was probably due to the difficulty of making a water-tight joint on a curved or sloping surface of a timber.

An old farm-house at Belsize, near Sarratt, has a very well-proportioned half-timbered projecting porch, and there is also the old Inn at Baldock to which I alluded when speaking of yard gateways.

The picturesque old Inn at High Wych, near Sawbridgeworth, shows a slight variation, the lower part of the projecting porch being continued on one side along the front, so as to increase the size of a room. This, however, may have been a subsequent addition.

The old practice of forming weather-boards over the doors and windows to throw off the rain, adds greatly to the appearance of many of the houses, especially when elaborated into little tiled roofs or porticos, breaking up the surface of what might otherwise be a flat monotonous front. This may clearly be seen at French's Farm near Chipperfield, where a bold projecting tiled canopy over the upper windows throws a deep shadow under it, and saves the front from being common-place. The way the canopy is returned on to the main roof is also worthy of note.

There is a somewhat similar device over the lower window of a quaint little house at Bushey, which affords protection from the weather in addition to the projection of the oriel above.

A thatched cottage at Barkway has a similar feature applied as a porch over a double door, while in another thatched cottage a little further on may be seen the more primitive and usual type of weather-boarding, consisting of simple sloping boards fixed on small brackets. It was to this cottage I before alluded as having a plaster coved cornice between the projecting end gables like those at Hitchin and Piper's Farm, near Caddington.

I have hitherto been speaking of timber-framed buildings filled with brickwork or covered with plaster, but there was another method used for keeping out the weather, by covering the outer faces of the house with horizontal over-lapping weather boarding. This was possibly in some instances substituted for plaster-work which had decayed, but in many cases was, no doubt, the original covering.

There is a good example of this style of building at Braughing, on a house which seems to have been of some importance, judging from the brick chimneys, which are somewhat elaborate and probably date from early in the 17th century.

There is another example at Watford, in Water Lane, where the upper storey only is boarded.

Small houses or cottages of the 16th and 17th centuries built wholly of brick, appear to be rare in this county, partly no doubt owing to the greater expense of brick, especially in the 16th century, but partly, also, no doubt out of deference to the traditional methods of timber-framing, and we find when brick is used to any extent, it is usually as a filling-in of timber-framing.

The Almshouses at Buntingford were built in the year 1684, and are of brick and stone of a somewhat elaborate character, but are good examples of the style. They may seem rather ambitious buildings to include within the scope of this paper, so I shall not pursue this subject beyond one example which clearly comes under the description "lesser architecture."

It is that of a small ale-house at Gosmore, near

Ippollitts; it is built entirely of brick, and probably dates from the close of the 17th century.

Some excellent examples of brickwork are, however, to be found in the chimneys of many of the old timber houses. Prior to the latter part of the 16th century, the chimneys in the better class of houses were composed wholly of lath and plaster. Leland, writing in 1558, expresses his amazement at the flues in Bolton Castle, which were carried up in the walls as we do now. He says, "I muche notyd in the haulle of Bolton how chimneys were conveyed by tunnells made in the syds of the wauls, betwixt the lights in the haulle; and by this means, and by no covers, is the smoke of the harthe wonder strangly conveyed." The cover referred to was a canopy of wood or plaster placed over the fireplace to convey the smoke to a louvred outlet in the roof. Another writer,* who was born in 1626, says, "Antiently before the Reformation, ordinary men's houses, as copyholders and the like had no chimneys, but flew like louvre holes; some of them were in being when I was a boy." These canopies seem to have been used from a very early period; but in the beginning of the 17th century were prohibited in some districts owing to the danger of fire, the chimneys being ordered to be built of brick only.

Harrison, writing about 1570, says:—"There are old men yet dwelling in the village where I remain which have noted three things to be marvellouslie altred in England within their sound remembrance . . . one is the multitude of chimnies latelie erected, whereas in their yoong daies there were not above two or three, if so manie, in most uplandish towns of the realme . . . but ech one made his fire against a reredosse in the hall where he dined and dressed his meat." The "reredosse" may have been the wooden canopy over the hearth before alluded to, or have been merely the fireback.

There are some very good clustered chimney shafts on an old farm-house, called The Beeches, near Brent Pelham, probably early 17th century work. I might mention, in passing, two advantages in point of appearance, possessed by the old brick-work over the modern.

* "Evolution of the English House," Addy.

In the first place, they employed large white joints of mortar between their bricks, about an inch thick, instead of the modern narrow ones. Secondly, the old bricks were much thinner and lighter in appearance than ours, the thickness of the old bricks averages two to two and a quarter inches thick; modern bricks are from two-and-three-quarters to three inches.

There is a good type of chimney to a farm-house at Graveley, which has a thin mask of bricks in front, crow-stepped, while behind are the usual sloping offsets covered with tiles.

This may also be seen, though in a slighter degree, in a chimney at West Hyde, near Rickmansworth.

In Hertfordshire we have chimneys of many types and shapes. We have chimneys with enriched shafts, usually circular, as at the wooden boarded house I alluded to at Braughing, and at some of the larger houses, such as The Hall at Brent Pelham; we have chimneys with detached shafts, usually octagonal, with heavy moulded brick bases of a Perpendicular type and moulded caps. These are sometimes grouped as at Great Hornead, or in a row of two or three.

Two chimneys at Hadham Ford, and three at Stevenage, and the Parsonage Farm, Great Hornead have similar types of moulded bases, but some of them have more elaborate caps than others.

A very effective cap may be seen at Bury Green near Little Hadham, of a not uncommon type, where the shaft is octagonal, and the brick moulded cap, while retaining the octagonal form of the shaft beneath, has each of its eight sides curved on plan as segments of circles.

There is a very interesting example of a brick chimney at Rickmansworth, not only because it shows a broken outline on plan, as indeed all old chimneys do, but it has the only remaining example that I have met with in its original state of the prototype of the modern chimney-pot. I have met with five or six others, but they are now either demolished or covered with cement. It consists of a circular and slightly conical erection of brick on the top of each shaft, but is evidently not of a nature able to stand very long. This chimney also shows the crow-stepped mask before alluded to.



Old House at Gosmore, near Ippolitts.
(*Photo.* 1898).



Old Houses at Hadham Ford, near Little Hadham.
(*Photo.* 1900).

My next example is an old deserted cottage at Westwick Row, near Leverstock Green. I do not give it for its architectural beauty, but it is a very common type of Hertfordshire cottage, and it is a good illustration of our modern ingle-nook. In those days cottagers had to do their own baking, and every cottage was provided with a small oven, numbers of which may still be seen in every village. This particular cottage has a rather large oven necessitating a separate roof over it, but as a general rule they are covered by the sloping offsets at the foot of the chimney outside. You will notice, by the way, that in this cottage, as in the one I mentioned at Buckshill, the diagonal struts have disappeared, and been replaced with brickwork.

In the room itself, an oven beside the fireplace demanded some width, and it was nearly always recessed. This recess, being roomy and near the fire, was converted into the "chimney-corner," by fitting up brick or stone seats in it, as is done here. There is a second smaller oven on the other side of the fireplace.

Frequently, where space permitted, a window was added to light the "chimney-corner," as was the case at an old cottage at Bulstrode, near Bovingdon.

The last chimney I shall mention is on a house at King's Langley, which has a solid chimney-stack with engaged octagonal shafts at either end. The hanging tiles on the gable are modern, but you will notice how the plastered front is divided off into panels by small sunk mouldings of plaster. This brings me to another branch of my subject—plaster decoration on the external faces of old houses.

External decorative plaster-work was introduced into England before the middle of the 16th century by Henry VIII., who brought over skilled Italian workmen to build his magnificent, but short-lived Palace of Nonsuch, near Epsom, in Surrey. The English workman took to the novelty, and worked it out in an English manner, and it became common in some parts of England, especially in Essex, where the best examples still exist. Though we have nothing in this County to compare with the fine Essex work at Earl's Colne, Prittlewell or Wivenhoe, we still felt the influence of the new art, though the best of our work consists of a few foliated borders round panels.

The only example I know of in Hertfordshire which makes any attempt at filling the panels, are some poorly designed and rudely executed scrolls, with a dragon, on a cottage at Ashwell, dated 1681.

Another type of decoration was by placing various heraldic or other devices in the centres of large panels, as is done in an old house at the west end of Braughing Church. I have previously mentioned the "White Lion," at Bishop's Stortford as an example, and there are others at Aldbury and at Three-mile-pond, near Sawbridgeworth.

Many of the smaller cottages have their fronts covered with roughly executed zig-zags scratched on the surface, and also a pattern of super-imposed segments of circles like the Japanese basket-work pattern. I believe these are still executed by country plasterers.

The best examples of modelled plaster decoration I know of in this county may be seen in your own town of St. Albans. The best is at No. 13, Fishpool Street, but the general effect is spoiled by the hideous black lozenge-shaped figures on the front.*

The borders round the panels show the remains of well designed and executed foliage, though, unfortunately, much worn and covered with white-wash.

No. 135, Fishpool Street, a much less picturesque building, has been similarly decorated, but the plaster-work has perished to a greater degree owing to the want of the overhanging gables to protect it from the weather.

There is another example at St. Albans showing a debased use of plaster-work by the imitation of rustic stone-work on an over-hanging gable. It stands opposite the Clock Tower, and is doubtless well known to you all. It bears the date 1665.

The last feature I shall draw your attention to, and that but briefly, is the old Inn-sign. It was not until the close of the Commonwealth, or about the middle of the 17th century that public coaches became general. Long before that time, however, English Inns had been famous all over Europe for their excellence. The great increase

* Since writing the above, the front of this house has been carefully and judiciously restored and distempered in more suitable colours. A description of the renovations was laid before the Society on Oct. 31st, 1902, by Mr. F. G. Kitton.



The Old Vicarage, Watford.
(Photo 1894).



Old Building in Yard of the "George" Inn, Watford (demolished).
(Photo. 1894).

in the number of travellers compelled Innkeepers to enlarge their Inns and stabling. Numbers of these old Inns are now used as ordinary dwelling-houses, and most of the rest are best described in the words of Longfellow—

“As ancient is this hostelry
As any in the land may be.

Now somewhat fallen to decay
With weather stains upon the wall,
And staircase worn, and crazy doors,
And creaking and uneven floors,
And chimneys huge and tiled and tall.”

The remaining Inn-signs are probably not older than the 18th century. Various laws had been enacted for their suppression, in the towns at least, as, owing to their huge size and projection, they had become a serious danger to the community. The last law was in 1762. Though signs are now almost entirely confined to licensed premises, in those days shopkeepers of every description used them.

It is curious that at a period when all the other arts were at their lowest ebb, the smiths of our towns and villages were everywhere turning out simple and excellent examples of wrought-iron work.

There are numberless old iron sign-brackets in Hertfordshire, but the most elaborate one is at the “Bull” Hotel, at Redbourne. It bears at the extremity the usual hook, on which was hung a lantern to guide the traveller to the Inn. *

There is another good example at Buntingford, over the “George and the Dragon,” of almost equal size to that at Redbourne.

There is a particularly graceful bracket over a little Inn at Graveley.

The last sign I shall mention is of wood, of a type which has nearly disappeared altogether. It is at the village of Barley, and consists of a beam stretching across the road to the house opposite, and bearing figures of hunters and hounds in full cry after a fox. I believe the “Four Swans,” at Waltham Cross, is the only other example in this county.

* This sign-bracket, having become unsafe, has now been taken down. It is hoped, however, that it may be restored to its original position. *Ed. January, 1903.*

The "Fox and Hounds," at Barley, was, according to the Rev. J. Frome Wilkinson,* formerly known as the "Black Swan," the sign being on a shield suspended from the existing beam. It used to be a favourite place of resort of King James I., who would often ride over from his Palace at Royston, a few miles away. There are also traditions that Dick Turpin used it as a house of call.

I have endeavoured in this paper to give you an idea of the leading characteristics of the smaller dwellings of old Hertfordshire, but the number of examples is yearly diminishing, partly owing to natural decay, partly to modern sanitary and other requirements, and partly to fire. It is no uncommon thing to find old records of extensive fires among these wooden houses, as at Barkway, for instance, where a fire in the year 1748 destroyed 19. It behoves us all, therefore, to take what records we can of those remaining to us.

General Meeting held at the Herts County Museum,
on February 27th, 1902, at 8.30 p.m.

Present—Rev. Canon Wigram, in the chair; also Messrs. S. Flint Clarkson, F. G. Kitton, C. H. Ashdown, J. Henderson, J. T. Knight, J. Nicholson, A. Bickley, Wilton Hall, J. Blake, Mrs. Clarkson, Mrs. Henderson; Mr. W. Page, Mr. R. J. Hillier, and Mrs. Knight, Hon. Secretaries.

The minutes of the last meeting were read and confirmed.

The following new members were elected:—Mr. Bakewell, St. Albans, proposed by Dr. Wingrave. Mrs. Bakewell, St. Albans, proposed by Dr. Wingrave. Mr. J. D. Herbert Gordon, St. Albans, proposed by Mr. R. J. Hillier.

Mr. Charles Johnson read a paper on "The Elements of Heraldry," which proved to be most interesting, and which was followed closely by the audience. He showed numerous lantern-slides, many of them prepared by Mr. F. W. Kinneir Tarte, illustrating the various tinctures and ordinaries, and also examples of quarterings with their significances. Subsequently Mr. Johnson exhibited a set of slides made from ancient seals, showing the way in which the various charges were used. Mr. C. H. Ashdown kindly manipulated the lantern.

It was proposed by Rev. Canon Wigram, and seconded by Mr. W. Page, that a very hearty vote of thanks should be accorded to Mr. C. Johnson for his lecture, and to Mr. F. W. Kinneir Tarte for making the slides, and this was carried. Mr. Wilton Hall made some

* Architectural Review, Aug., 1899.

remarks on the very fine set of 15th century shields on the ceiling of the choir at the Abbey, and pointed out how useful they might be to the student of heraldry.

Mr. W. Page stated that the earliest instance of the Saltire being used as the Arms of S. Albans Abbey was in the spandrel of the Abbot's door in the Abbey, and mentioned that the shields in Matthew Paris' manuscripts were originally left blank, and the Saltire had been added at a later date. Mr. S. Flint Clarkson drew attention to the artistic spirit shown in the designs of the seals of which slides were shown on the screen.

W. CAREY MORGAN.

General Meeting held at the Herts County Museum,
on March 13th, 1902, at 8.30 p.m.

Present—W. Carey Morgan, Esq., in the chair; also Messrs. F. G. Kitton, F. W. Kinneir Tarte, C. H. Ashdown, A. F. Smith, V. T. Hodgson, E. Stanley Kent, W. R. L. Lowe, J. Henderson, F. Silvester, Wilton Hall, J. T. Knight, Dr. Wingrave, Mrs. Tarte, Mrs. Hine, Mrs. Horace Slade, Mrs. Wingrave; W. Page and R. J. Hillier, Hon. Secretaries, and many others.

The minutes of the last meeting were read and confirmed.

Mr. W. T. Hillier, proposed by Mr. Ashdown, and seconded by Mr. Tarte, was elected as a new member.

Mr. Kitton then read a short paper on the methods employed in producing mediæval mural paintings, and described the paintings recently uncovered at the "White Hart," on Holywell Hill; his paper being illustrated by lantern-slides.

Mr. Victor T. Hodgson described some mural paintings recently uncovered in the Hall at Rothamstead, showing slides and photographs of them.

Mr. F. W. Kinneir Tarte gave a short description of some mural paintings in an old house at Royston, and showed tracings taken therefrom, which he offered to the Museum, which offer was at once accepted by Mr. Page.

A discussion followed, in which Mr. Carey Morgan referred to the numbers of interesting paintings still existing.

Dr. Wingrave also spoke about the dates of the different paintings.

Mr. Tarte referred to the mural paintings in the gatehouse of the old Palace at Hatfield, and suggested that all such works should be copied, and the copies lodged in the Museum.

Mr. Hodgson and Mr. W. Page made suggestions with regard to the dates and artists of the paintings; and Mr. Ashdown pointed out some peculiarities in the armour of the Rothamstead pictures which might help to fix the date.

A hearty vote of thanks was accorded to the Lecturers on the proposal of Mr. Carey Morgan, seconded by Mr. Silvester, for the very interesting papers read; and to Mr. Ashdown for working the lantern.

Mr. Wilton Hall subsequently asked some questions concerning the proposed Archæological Survey of Hertfordshire, which were answered by Mr. F. G. Kitton.

A. E. EKINS.

Notes on the Mural Decoration at the old
 "White Hart" Inn, St. Albans.

BY F. G. KITTON.

In a paper read before the St. Albans and Hertfordshire Architectural and Archæological Society about two years ago,* I gave a brief account of this ancient hostelry, which was formerly called the "Hartshorn," and dates back to the beginning of the 16th century or end of the 15th century. Some ten or twelve years since, when preparations were made for adapting one of the rooms in this building to the requirements of a small local club, the late Mr. John Chapple (clerk of the works at the Abbey Church) here detected vestiges of wall-decoration of a peculiar kind, but no record as to the character of the design seems to have been made. During the autumn of 1901, that portion of the old hostelry which had been used in recent times as grocery-stores underwent reparation, and Mr. S. Flint Clarkson, F.R.I.B.A., who superintended the work, kindly notified to me that in the room over the archway the walls had just been stripped of paper-covered canvas, thus exposing the original plaster surface, upon which were painted curious designs—the same, of course, as those alluded to by Mr. Chapple. The room measures 19 feet by 13 feet 6 inches, height about 7 feet 6 inches; a window on the west side overlooks Holywell Hill, and another on the east faces the yard in the rear. On the north side of this apartment is a match-boarded partition, separating it from a larger chamber, panelled throughout, and containing an interesting 17th century fireplace and overmantel. In the room under consideration there is a dado, painted to represent woodwork, and the timber-framing is clearly visible on each side except the north, where we find the modern partition. The walls are plastered between the framing—a white plaster laid over a coarser kind containing an abundance of hair—and upon the surface have been painted quaint embellishments, somewhat heraldic in character, portions of which remain in a fairly good condition, while other parts are entirely obliterated. The designs are believed to be

* *Vide* Transactions. Vol. I., Part III. New Series, 1899-1900.



Mural Decoration at the old "White Hart" Inn, St. Albans.

From a Photograph by C. H. Ashdown, F.R.G.S.

early Jacobean (*circa* 1625), as evidenced by the suggestion of the "strapwork" and floral scroll-work peculiar to the period. On the west wall is portrayed the head of a cherub surmounted by a basket containing



fruit and flowers, while below is seen another cherub on horseback, grasping a floral scroll. On the south wall, to the right of the fireplace, is an elaborate design (measuring 6 feet by 3 feet 9 inches), having in the centre a lion's head crowned with a trophy of fruit, and flanked on the right by a rampant griffin, whose tail

forms a scroll, and on the left by a horselike animal, probably intended for a unicorn. Perhaps the most striking feature is the heraldic representation of an eagle, occupying a space two feet square at the right-hand upper corner of the west wall, and I am glad to say that the owner of the property (Dr. Martin) has kindly allowed it to be cut out and transferred to the Hertfordshire County Museum, where it now is. Below the eagle the artist depicted a lion, with its tail continued into a scroll, and on the left of this is seen a portion of what appears to be much later work. The designs are executed in black only, on the white plaster; they are in outline,



which was first drawn with a free and vigorous hand, by means of the brush, and then the black background filled in, thus effectively throwing up the general composition. Each of the principal designs is enclosed laterally by the timber-framing and at the top by a cornice, the timbers and cornice being ornamented with a simple scroll device, thus forming a kind of border. This interesting example of wall-decoration is undoubtedly a spontaneous effort and the work of one who was evidently skilful, not only in the use of his materials, but in conceiving the broadly-felt design. It is not unlikely that other houses in St. Albans were decorated in this manner, prior to the introduction of wall-paper.

Mural Paintings at Rothamsted.

BY VICTOR TYLSTON HODGSON.

Rothamsted House, near Harpenden, like most old houses, has undergone changes and enlargements from time to time. During some alterations, begun a little over a year ago by its owner, Sir Charles Lawes, the panelling in the hall was temporarily removed, and when the wall behind was being examined, with the view of seeing how best to bring this room back to its former state, traces of decorations were observed under a thick coat of whitewash.

Upon further search these were found to have been fairly extensive and to have covered at least the greater part of one wall of the apartment. It was through the courtesy of Sir Charles Lawes that I was able to examine the paintings, and make notes and drawings of them. Having found this first series of paintings in the hall, interest was aroused, and a part of the panelling in the dining-room immediately at the back of this same wall was removed, and the other, and more interesting paintings brought to light.

When it was suggested that I should read a paper upon them before this Society, I made several enquiries, and corresponded with various people, among others, Mr. Keyser, who used to live near Bushey, and was one of our members. He has published a South Kensington Handbook on Mural Paintings. Fortunately he was able to come and see the paintings at Rothamsted, and was so interested that he read a paper upon them before the Society of Antiquaries, illustrated by enlarged photographs and lantern-slides. These he has kindly lent me for to-night. The upper portion of the painting in the dining-room represents some battle scene, siege, or military parade. The picture appears to have been continued at either end farther than we now see it, although, even as it stands, it is quite a well-balanced composition, the chief figures being near the centre of the picture.

On the left, the painting finishes abruptly, but the plaster itself is continuous, the break occurring in the centre of one of the lower panels. This looks as if there had been some fixture against the wall, round which the painting had continued.

On the right, the panelling, which has not been



Mural Painting at Rothamsted.
(Block lent by the Society of Antiquaries).

removed, overlaps the painting, but I could not see if the latter runs on for any distance or no.

A small and much damaged portion of a somewhat similiar painting has since been found behind a part of the panelling on the opposite side of the room. Of this I was unfortunately unable to take a record, before it was again covered in; otherwise it has not been thought worth while removing any more of the panels.

The wall is composed of wattle and dab, and instead of the face of the timbers, which are very rough, being brought to an even surface, the painting is carried into the cracks and shakes just as they come, except on the left hand post, where some of the cracks are very roughly filled with plaster. The space of three or four inches between the wall and panelling was found to have been filled with gorse.

The battle-scene, in the upper part of the painting, in which the action takes place from left to right of the spectator, is a continuous panel some three or four feet deep, and immediately below the cornice of the room.

The lower part, or dado, is painted to represent a series of arches or niches between columns, which support an entablature. This is very "renaissance" in treatment. The heads of the niches are formed of scallop shells, and in each niche is seated an animal. These are rather difficult to make out, but seem to comprise a cat, a dog, and a bear. The base of each column has a lion's face upon it. The whole is of a yellowish brown colour shaded with black lines and relieved with white high lights, probably meant to represent "jallo antico," "Siena," or other marble, and it may be noted here that some of the old fireplaces are painted and grained in imitation of marbles.

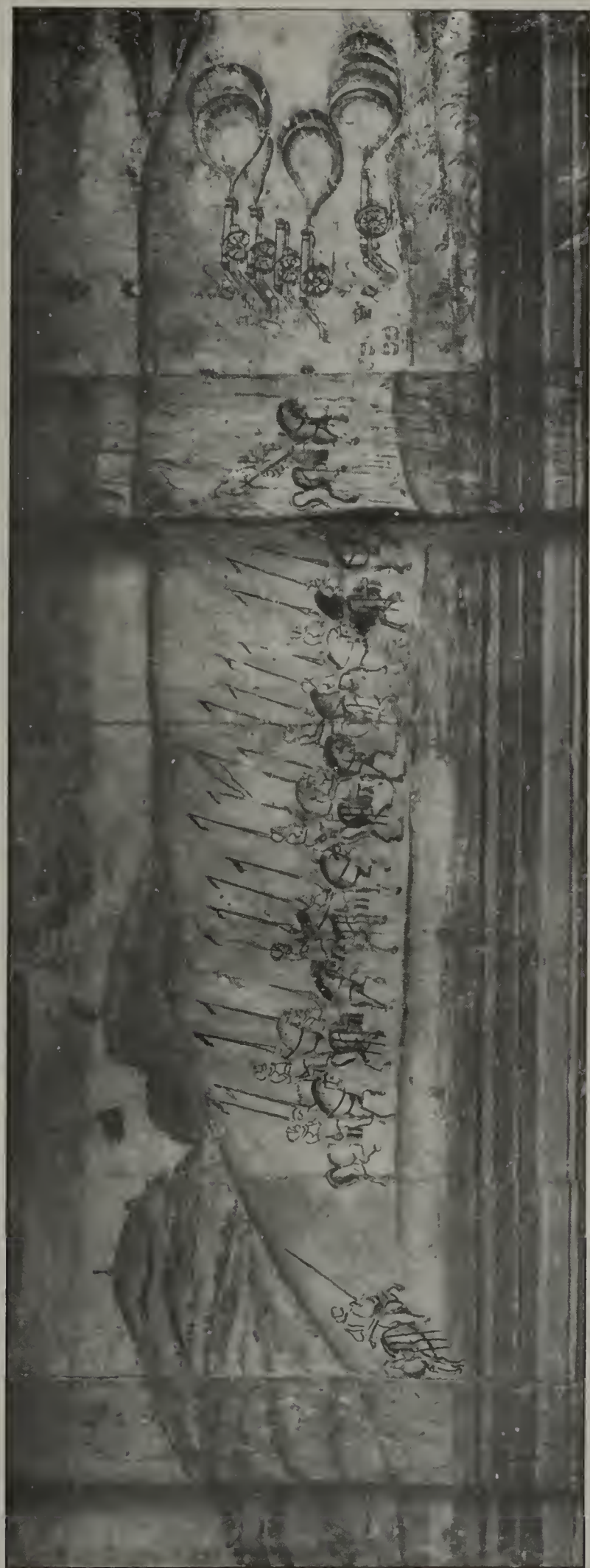
The lower painting is much mutilated, and I can discover no trace of inscription here or elsewhere. In one of the niches may be seen the curious jewel-like pendant, which occurs again in the hall paintings. This may be given as evidence of the paintings being contemporary, although some experts who have seen them put the arcade later. They may be, I think, put down to about the latter half of the sixteenth century. The pendant in the dining-room does not appear to mean anything, and is hung at the back of the left-most niche. In the centre niche is scratched the date, 1632; and this may

have been done by a workman at the time the paintings were covered with the panelling. A nearly identical date, 1635, was found scratched on one of the jamb stones of the old wide fireplace in the hall. This fireplace had been made narrower by having splayed jambs built within it, of bricks, of a size which corresponds to that of other bricks, used at about the same date in other parts of the house. The fireplace was narrowed again at two subsequent dates. The year, 1632, is also about the time when the ancestors of the present family bought the house.

These ancestors were members of the Wittewronge family, who had fled from Holland during the persecutions. They also got possession of Stantonbury, in Bucks. From them Rothamsted descended through the Bennets to the Lawes family.

Before the above date, the manor belonged for some 100 years to the Bardolphs, who about the middle of the sixteenth century bought it from the Cressy family.

Returning to the military subject in the upper panel. The principal figures are a number of men on horseback. The foremost horse is ridden by a Knight or Squire, who carries a halberd, thus being differently armed to the rest of the horsemen, who have got long lances with pennons. These lances are more like tilting lances than the real weapon of the day, but this may be because the artist was not acquainted with the latter. It is noteworthy that pennons were usually only carried by knights, and not by common troopers. The artist has given in a clever way the appearance of a large body without overcrowding the figures. There are six horses in the file nearest the spectator, and six behind these, each with its rider and his lance, but if counted, there will be found to be 22 lances, one rider near the centre carrying a much larger pennon than the others. These pennons are red and white. Behind the main body, and galloping to them, with his three-quarter back to the spectator, is a single horseman. He carries a lance without a pennon, and wears a morion or helmet, which is usually supposed to belong to the Commonwealth times, but is known to have been in use at a much earlier date. The horses are either grey, black, or roan, and the trappings are similar to those usually seen in illustrations of this period. The men are



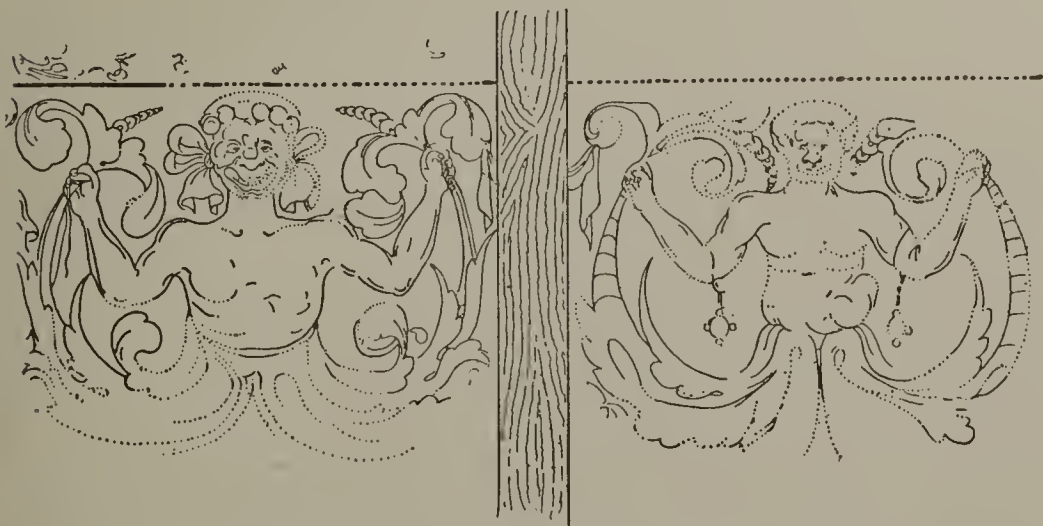
Upper Portion of the Mural Painting at Rothamsted.
(Block lent by the Society of Antiquaries).

dressed in demi-armour, which came into use at the same time that firearms began to be employed in warfare, as it was found that the old plate-armour was really no protection against shot and shell, and was needlessly cumbersome. The helmets have vizors and are of the usual type. Corselets cover the upper part of the body, and the arms seem to be protected by plate-armour, with smaller hinged plates at the elbow. Below the waist buskins are worn. In front of the horsemen, and pointing away from them, are seen five cannon, four being in a straight row, the other, of rather more elaborate design, nearer and slightly advanced. They are attended to by three gunners, who have evidently just applied lighted torches to the touch-holes. Dense volumes of balloon-like smoke issue from the muzzles of the guns. This is evidently before the days of smokeless powder. One gun has apparently gone off of its own accord. The fifth gun is silent. The gunners have a peculiar head-dress, with a rosette on top. It is difficult to say if their bodies are protected by armour or leather jerkins. The torches are of some twisted material. The cannon are of a yellow colour, representing brass or bronze, or, as was frequently used, iron gilt. Behind the gunners are four or five kegs of powder, and some spare cannon balls in what looks like a modern waste-paper basket. The horses do not seem to mind the explosions, and walk calmly on, all keeping perfect step with one another. There was no stampeding of untrained animals, ordered by the thousand at the last moment from Hungary or elsewhere. The background to all these figures is a sloping hill of green colour, shaded to red in the foreground, and over the left end of this appears what has been pronounced as a cornfield, a stockade, and the spears of a body of infantry. I am inclined to favour the last supposition. Since first writing this note, I have been shown an old print representing the engagement of Carberry-hill, near Edinburgh. Here an almost identical mass of spears or pikes occurs appearing over a hill, as in this instance, and they are also shown in another part of the picture together with the pikemen who carry them. In the background, at either end of our paintings, are rolling fields and hedges of a vivid green; also a couple of villages, and on the top of a hill what appears to be

a tower or beacon. What particular event the whole is meant to represent I cannot make out. The painting would be executed a century after the battles of St. Albans, one of which has been suggested as the subject, but it is possible, if one of them is represented, that the two towns or villages are meant for St. Albans and Sandridge, and although the spire of the latter is somewhat different in reality, we may allow so much latitude to the artist. I cannot find any mention of a Cressy or a Bardolph being present in these engagements. One of the members of the latter family is, however, believed to have taken part in the expeditions to Scotland at a latter date, but here again I do not know in what particular engagement he distinguished himself. I was very much struck with the similarity to these paintings of some prints published by the Society of Antiquaries. These prints are of some historical mural paintings, which used to exist in Cowdray House, in Sussex, and represent scenes during the reign of Henry VIII., such as (1) The march of Henry from Calais to Boulogne; (2) The encampment of the English forces at Marquise; (3) The Siege of Boulogne. They were in the dining parlour at Cowdray, and were whitewashed over by the owner at the time of the great rebellion, when the Parliamentary forces were quartered there. An account of them is given in "Archæologia," Vol. III.

Turning our attention now to the paintings in the hall at Rothamsted, the first thing to note is their position. This is at the end above where the dais probably existed, and, that it was the principal end, is borne out by the fact that I can find no trace of further decoration on any of the other three walls. This end, then, between the bay window and the door to the present dining-room, is divided by timbering into three compartments, and it is across these that the painting occurs. The timbers were probably always visible as such, because the design coincides with the compartments. It was, however, carried across them in the form of swags. The face of the timber on this side is flush with the plaster, whereas on the other side it projects some two or three inches, leaving the thickness of the plaster wall about two-and-a-half inches. Where the plaster was carelessly washed, so that its surface on which the

paintings occur was destroyed, another surface was visible, and on this, sham half-timber work had been painted, as was the custom. On the drawing, the black ink lines show as much as I was able to trace with certainty, the dotted lines being conjectural restoration, so as to give an idea of the whole design. There is a thickish black line reaching from end to end, at the height of six feet seven inches from the floor. Above this the plaster was so mutilated that it was with great difficulty I was able to recover as much design as is shewn on the drawings. This, as far as it exists, does not show sign of figure subject, but is generally floral. It is executed in a thin firm black line on a white ground, and there was a slight trace of colour on some of the leaves. It is most unfortunate that this was in such a bad state, as I am inclined to think that the central design would have been an achievement of arms, or some definite subject connected with the family. The leaves are somewhat similiar to those in a coloured frieze of about one foot deep, found above an old fireplace, and behind the panelling at the other end of the dining-room. This frieze represents various fruits, such as oranges, apples, grapes, etc., and was executed in delicate greens, reds, and yellows. Of the three compartments below the line in the hall, that on the left

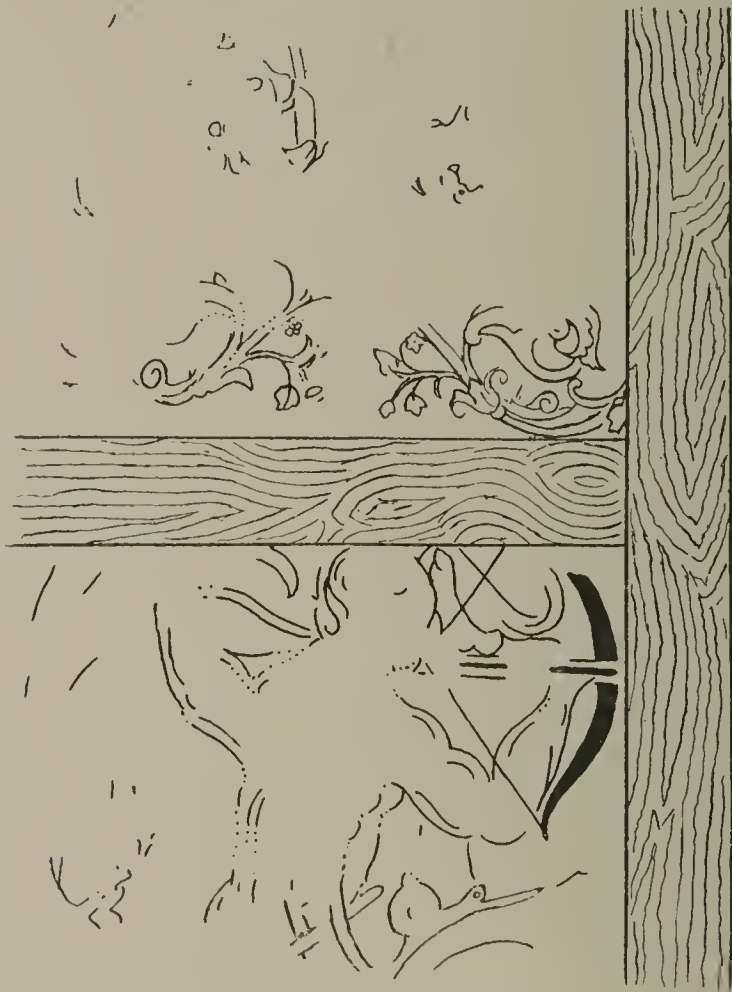


Mural Painting in the Hall at Rothamsted.

From a Tracing by V. T. Hodgson.

represents an archer. In the centre and right compartments are figures of mermen, or fearsome creatures, with the upper part of the body of human form, and the lower part from the waist downwards divided into

two fish-like and foliated tails, the narrowest parts being grasped and held up by either hand. I don't



Mural Paintings in the Hall at Rothamsted.

From a Tracing by V. T. Hodgson.

think they are family portraits. These have all been painted on a yellow ground, and traces of green colour occur, not on the foliage part, but on the drops of the swags. There is a good red colour on the nose of the central monster. Suspended by a band from each arm of the right-hand monster is the jewel pendant to which I drew attention before. There was a trace of green colour on one of them, which may have been meant to imitate an emerald, but there is no record known of any special family jewel. There are other old painted decorations in the house, such as black and white squares in the fireplace jambs. Also sham newels on the walls of the staircase; and in a small corridor off the staircase on the first floor, panels enclosed by upright strips painted to represent marble, very like what is done in Italy at the present day.

Mural Colour Decoration at Mr. H. J. Thurnall's House, at Royston.

BY F. W. KINNEIR TARTE, M.S.A.

Whilst visiting Mr. H. J. Thurnall's ancient house, at Royston, I was very much struck with the amount of decorative painting on the ceilings of various rooms, and in all sorts of odd places, even in the rooms in the roof; and he then told me that, sometime since, there was a portion of the upper part of the house that had always puzzled him, so much indeed, that his curiosity led him to have this opened out, with the result that he discovered it was the upper part of an ancient staircase. This had probably been closed, after an alteration had taken place, and another staircase inserted. The plaster-



Mural Decoration in an old House, at Royston.

From a Tracing by F. W. Kinneir Tarte.

work around this space is decorated in colour-work, and divided into panels executed in stencil-work and line-work. These panels vary slightly in width, and were evidently increased or decreased so that the panels should fit into the wall spaces.

The stencilled panels are from $4\frac{1}{4}$ inches to $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches in width, and 20in. repeat, and are executed in a crome-coloured pattern, having the background coloured in Indian red, the lines on each side of these panels dividing them from the line panels, are executed in Indian red, and also vary from three-quarters of an inch to one inch in width.

The line panels have a bluish-white coloured background, the lines black, and the panels varying in width from 9 inches to 10 inches, being 6 feet long. They appear to me to have been executed by hand, the lines being in some places considerably thicker than in others, and it will be noticed that where the rake of the ceiling prevented the square-headed panels the artist was quite equal to the occasion, and deftly applied a varied design to the top of his panel. The subject is figure-work, with fruit, birds, and ribbons.

The frieze consists of two bands, the lower band 8 inches wide, being yellow, and the upper band immediately under the ceiling is 4 inches wide, and is in the red colour.

The whole of the work is in distemper colours, and is somewhat obliterated, but in many places on the various panels it was sufficiently distinct for Mr. Thurnall and myself to trace the design, and with the aid of a number of tracings, I was able to put together the complete patterns and design.

The Annual General Meeting of the Society was held at the County Museum, St. Albans, on April 24th, 1902, at 3.0 p.m.

Present—The Mayor of St. Albans (Mr. A. E. Ekins) in the chair; also Messrs. H. J. Toulmin, F. Silvester, F. G. Kitton; R. J. Hillier and Mrs. Knight, Hon. Secretaries.

The minutes of the last meeting were read and confirmed.

The Hon. Treasurer, Mr. H. J. Toulmin, presented the balance-sheet, which was considered very satisfactory, and was passed by the meeting, and ordered to be printed in the next volume of Transactions, on the motion of Mr. Silvester, seconded by Mr. Kitton.

The Hon. Secretaries presented an account of the progress of the Society, which was also considered to be satisfactory.

The officers for the ensuing year, as suggested by the Committee, were:—President: The Very Rev. the Dean of St. Albans. Vice-Presidents: Lord Cranborne, Sir John Evans, Lord Verulam, Canon Davys, and Mr. E. N. Wix. Committee: Rev. G. H. P. Glossop, Mr. F. W. Kinneir Tarte, Mr. Charles Johnson, Mr. A. E. Gibbs, Mr. C. H. Ashdown, Dr. Wyatt Wingrave, Mr. S. Flint Clarkson, and Mr. A. J. Rhodes. Hon. Treasurer: Mr. H. J. Toulmin. Hon. Secretaries: Mr. W. Page, Mr. R. J. Hillier, and Mrs. M. C. Knight. Hon. Auditor: Mr. G. N. Marten.

On the motion of Mr. Toulmin, seconded by Mr. Silvester, these officers were unanimously elected.

Mr. George Palmer and Miss E. M. Palmer, proposed by Mr. F. Palmer; and Mr. H. Maurice, proposed by Mr. Hillier, were unanimously elected members of the Society.

A design for a new Book-Plate for the Society, by Mr. Kinneir Tarte, was submitted to the meeting by Mr. Hillier, who explained that Mr. Tarte wished to make a present of the design.

This was accepted unanimously, and Mr. Toulmin proposed, and Mr. Kitton seconded, a hearty vote of thanks to Mr. Tarte for it.

It was also decided, on the motion of Messrs. Toulmin and Kitton, that the carrying out of the engraving of the design should be left in the hands of the Committee to deal with.

Votes of thanks to the Chairman for presiding, and to the Treasurer, having been carried unanimously, the meeting terminated.

S. FLINT CLARKSON.

Meeting held at the Herts County Museum, on April 30th, 1902, at 8.30 p.m.

Present—Mr. S. Flint Clarkson, in the chair; Messrs. Carey Morgan, Knight, Henderson, Worssam, W. T. Hillier, Ashdown, Ford, Jordan, Woodman, Palmer, Coleman, Gaffe, Gordon, Mrs. Worssam, Ashdown, Jordan, Palmer; Mr. R. J. Hillier and Mrs. M. C. Knight, Hon. Secretaries; and many others.

The minutes of the last meeting were read and confirmed.

Mr. A. J. Nicholson, proposed by Mr. C. H. Ashdown, and seconded by Mr. S. Flint Clarkson, was unanimously elected a member of the Society.

A letter from Mr. F. G. Kitton, the Secretary of the Sub-Committee for the Archæological Survey of the County, was read, detailing various suggestions for carrying out the Survey, and inviting discussion, but as it had not been already placed before the General Committee, it was referred back for that purpose.

Mr. C. H. Ashdown then read a most interesting paper on "English Mediæval Armour," giving in detail the gradual development of armour in England. The paper was very well illustrated throughout, with lantern slides, and rubbings from brasses, and was highly appreciated.

On the motion of the Chairman, seconded by Mr. F. Palmer, it was decided not to discuss the paper, as the hour was late, but to move a very hearty vote of thanks to Mr. Ashdown for his very able and interesting paper.

WALTER J. LAWRENCE.

English Mediæval Armour; as Exemplified by
Hertfordshire Brasses, &c.

BY CHARLES H. ASHDOWN, F. R. G. S.

The study of Armour is one which should be followed more or less by every antiquary, inasmuch as it often affords a valuable clue in elucidating the doubtful age of a building, the period when a monumental tomb was erected, or a brass incised. Not only did different ages of the past afford different methods of defensive equipment for the soldier, but various nationalities adopted essential styles of their own, and thus afforded topographical clues of origin as well as chronological. The comprehensive study of armour is one of extremely wide limits, and presents many intricate ramifications; to deal with it all thoroughly is utterly beyond the limits of a paper read to a learned Society. Even English armour in its entirety would be far beyond the capacity mentioned, and I have, therefore, for this evening, limited myself entirely to the Mediæval period, as affording the most useful, and probably the most interesting epoch in the development of means of personal defence. The period is thus almost entirely confined to that under the Plantagenet monarchs. A glance at the Saxon and Norman periods may, however, be instructive. The Saxon helmet was of Phrygian shape as a rule, and consisted of leather strengthened with an iron frame. The body-defence was a byrnie, or battle-sark, of leather, often strengthened by iron rings and discs being sewn upon it. The shield was large, circular and convex. As Norman influence began to prevail, ringed mail, more or less crude, was introduced, until, at the time of the Conquest, Saxon armour and arms were almost identical with those on the Continent. Norman armour consisted of garments of the ordinary fashion either quilted, to deaden the force of a blow, or covered with rings to resist the edge of a sword. The helmet was conical and furnished with a nasal, the shield being kite-shaped. This style of body armour, consisting of ringed mail over a padded or

leather under garment, continued in use for a considerable period; it was supplemented at the time of the Crusades by a heavy cylindrical helmet with a flat top and horizontal slits for vision. Surcoats also were introduced, and appear to have been made of linen or silk. Although devices are represented upon shields as early as the period of the Bayeux tapestry, they were merely decorative; it was not until the latter end of the twelfth century that fixed devices were introduced for distinguishing knights from each other, and which became hereditary.

The period of absolutely plain mail terminated about 1260, after which time secondary defences were introduced. No brass exists of a sufficiently early date to show the plain mail period, and I am therefore compelled to have recourse to representations upon effigies. These show the head protected by a *coif-de-mailles* to which the gorget is affixed. The hauberk has sleeves terminated at the wrists and mail gauntlets, subsequently the gauntlets and sleeves were made in one piece. Under the hauberk was invariably worn a *plastron-de-fer* or breastplate. The hauberk generally reaches to the knees; the surcoat is very long and full, and open in front to the waist; the shield is heater-shaped and has no guige, and the sword possesses a singularly-awkward hilt and crossguard. The chausses are furnished with pryck-spurs.

This kind of defensive equipment was worn during the greater part of the Crusades, in the troubles under King John, at the Fair of Lincoln in 1217, &c. Hertfordshire examples comprise:—

An effigy of a knight, much defaced, lying in the Salisbury Chapel, of Hatfield Church, *circa* 1200.

A large effigy of a knight (Lanvalei family?) with helmet covering the features, in Walkern Church, *circa* 1200.

Similar effigy in Eastwick Church.

SECOND PORTION OF THE MAIL PERIOD, 1260 to 1300.

After 1260, various additions were made to the former plain mail, consisting of pieces of cuir bouilli over the elbows and knees, termed respectively *coudières* and *genouillères*. Cuir bouilli consisted of leather which

had been softened by boiling and then pressed into the required shape; to the *coudière*, above and below the elbow, the mail was fixed so as to prevent chafing of the joint. For the same reason the *genouillère* was introduced.

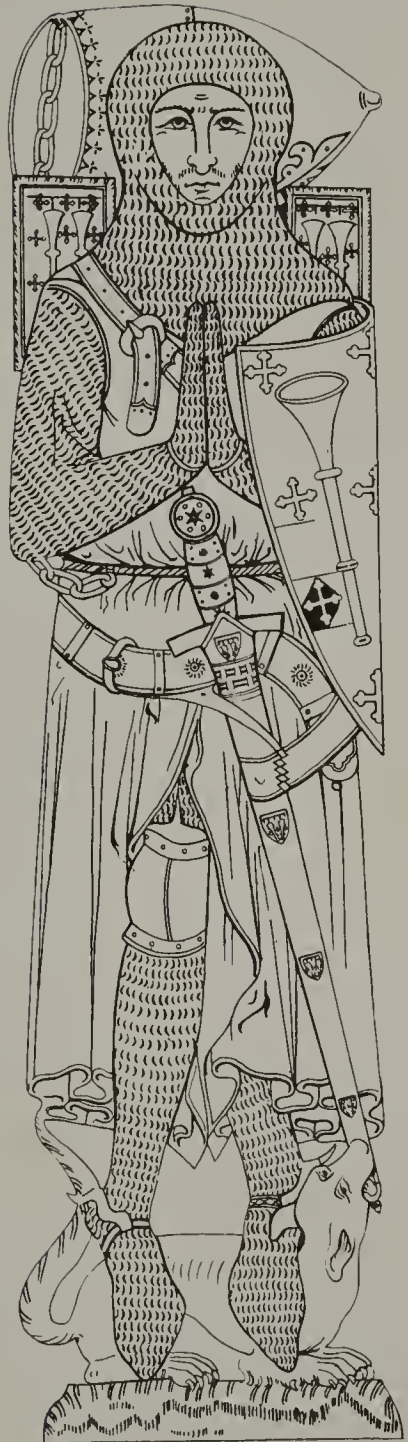
I deem myself particularly fortunate in being able to show you this evening a magnificent rubbing of the earliest English brass known to be in existence, which illustrates the early part of this second period of Mail Armour. It is from the brass of Sir John D'Aubernoun, 1277 (Ed. I.) (Fig. 1) preserved in the Church of Stoke D'Abernon, near Guildford, in Surrey, and is the only military full-length example of this reign which is not cross-legged. I may mention here that the cross-legged position does not signify that the Knight had been upon a pilgrimage to the Holy Land, or engaged in a Crusade; it was merely a position adopted by the engraver or sculptor to give what he thought was ease or repose to the lower limbs. The sleeves of the *hauberk* are continued so as to cover the hands without divisions for the fingers; *genouillères* only, and no *coudières* are shewn; the shield is suspended by an ornamental *guige*, and a peculiar arrangement of straps support the sword. Upon the small heater-shaped shield are the D'Aubernoun arms, azure, a chevron or. The representation of the lance as an appurtenance of the chief figure is unique.

About 1280, *ailettes* were introduced, and were in use for about forty years. They were the prototypes of the *epaulettes* of modern times, and form a most singular appendage to the equipment of the period. They were constructed of steel, and usually displayed the arms of the knight, their object being to afford additional protection to the neck and shoulders of the wearer. There were also dress *ailettes*, not intended for actual service, and these were made of leather covered with silk. *Ailettes* were attached to the armour by lacing-points. The brass of Sir Roger de Trumpington (in Trumpington Church, Cambridgeshire), A.D. 1289 (Ed. I.) is in most respects similar to that of Sir John D'Aubernoun, but has the *ailettes* shewn, and also the large tilting-helm fastened by a chain to the *cincture* round the waist.

The brass of Sir Roger de Septvans, 1306 (Ed. I.)



1



2

English Mediæval Armour ; as Exemplified by Hertfordshire Brasses, &c.

1. Sir John de Bitton, Bitton Church, Somerset. A.D. 1227.
2. Sir Roger de Trumpington, Trumpington Church, Cambridge. A.D. 1289.

From Boutell's "Monumental Brasses."

(Chartham Church, Kent), may be cited as an interesting memorial, showing the ailettes and their positions. The *coif-de-mailles* is thrown back, showing the head bare, while the sleeves of the *hauberk* hang down from the wrists. Beneath the *hauberk* appears the termination of the under garment, called the *haqueton*, the stuffed leather jacket which was invariably used under a coat of mail. This armour was in use in the battles of Lewes and Evesham (1264 and 1265), during the Conquest of Wales under Edward I., and at the battle of Falkirk, in 1299.

A monument in Hitchin Church, reputed to be to the memory of Bernard de Baliol is approximately of the date 1280.

In Benington Church is the effigy of a knight, possibly Sir — Benstede, in chain armour, reinforced, and wearing a *chapel-de-fer* upon the head, which dates from the reign of Edward I.

MIXED MAIL AND PLATE, 1300 to 1410.

1300 to 1325.—The mail, as a rule, underwent no change, but additional plates were added to strengthen the defence. The back parts of the upper arms were protected by *demi-brassarts*, *coudières* covered the elbows, *vambraces* the upper parts of the forearms, and *jambarts* or *shin-pieces* protected the legs, all being strapped on over the mail. At the bend of the shoulders and elbows in front, *roundels* or *palettes* were used.

The brass of Sir — de Fitzralph, 1320 (Ed. II.) (Pebmarsh Church, Essex), affords us a good example of this period. In addition to the characteristics enumerated, we find mixed *sollerets* of mail and plate to protect the feet; the shield is convex and larger than formerly; the *surcoat* is long and ample; and a portion of the *haqueton* appears above the *genouillère*. *Ailettes* are omitted. This armour was in use at the battle of Bannockburn, 1314, and in the troublous times of Edward II. No example, so far as I am aware, of a military effigy or brass of this period exists in Hertfordshire.

CYCLAS PERIOD, 1325 to 1335.

The knight of this period is readily recognised by an extraordinary garment termed a *Cyclas*, which superseded the *surcoat* which had been worn for so many years.

It was cut very short in front, but reached to the knee behind, and was laced up at the sides. The multiplicity of garments worn by the warrior of this time is well shown by the brass of Sir John de Creke (and Lady) 1325 (Ed. II.) (Fig. 3) in Westley Waterless Church, Cambridgeshire.

Taking the equipment in order we have :—

1. The Cyclas, as already described.
2. The Gambeson, with an scalloped and fringed border—a stuffed and padded garment.
3. The Hauberk of Mail, now cut to a point in front.
4. The Haqueton, beneath the hauberk, reaching to the *genouillières*.

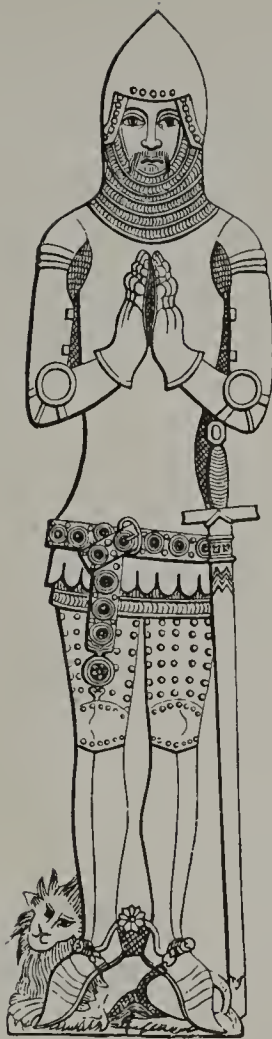
The *sollerets*, *jambarts*, *coudières*, and *demi-brassarts* were similar to the preceding period, but the forearm was entirely covered by the *vambraces*. The sword was supported by a simpler method than formerly. A narrow *guige* supported the small heater-shaped shield. On the head was a *bascinet* instead of the former *coif-de-mailles*, and from it a *camail* descended to protect the neck and shoulders. The battle of Halidon Hill, 1333, and the troubles in Scotland occurred during this period. There are no examples in the county of Herts.

STUDED ARMOUR PERIOD, 1335-1360.

A curious variety of defensive equipment succeeded the Cyclas period. Its chief points were the partial abolition of the great helm, a stronger *bascinet* with a visor taking its place; the shortening of the surcoat, and the displaying thereon above the waist the armorial bearings of the wearer; and the introduction of studs upon the defences for the body and limbs. These studs passed through plates or splints of metal, and thus fixed them to a tight-fitting leather or padded garment, the usual mail defence being underneath. This system was generally termed *studded pour-pointerie*. The great helm (if worn), and also the sword, were fastened to the knight by chains. Unfortunately, I am unable to show you a good example of this period, as *brasses* are rare, and our chief authorities are sculptured effigies. One brass, however, which is preserved in Hertfordshire, at Watton Church, that of Sir John de Paletoot, 1361



3



4



5

3. Sir John de Creke,
Westley Church,
Cambridge. A.D.
1325.

4. Sir John de Pale-
toot, Watton
Church, Herts.
A.D. 1361.

5. Peacock (?) St.
Michael's Church,
St. Albans. A.D.
1385.

6. Sir John de Har-
pedon, West-
minster Abbey.
A.D. 1457.



6

English Mediæval Armour; as Exemplified by
Hertfordshire Brasses, &c.

From Boutell's "Monumental Brasses."

(Ed. III.) (Fig. 4) partially exhibits this peculiar method of reinforcement. The cuisses only are of studded pourpoint, probably cuir bouilli; another example occurs upon a brass to a knight unknown, in Berkhamsted Church, *circa* 1365. During the period this armour was in use, occurred the battles of Crécy, 1346, Neville's Cross, 1346, and Poitiers, 1356.

CAMAIL AND JUPON PERIOD, 1360 to 1410.

After 1360, armour assumed a decided character, and no great changes appeared for a considerable period. The chief characteristics were:—

1. The arms and lower limbs were entirely cased in plate jambarts and cuissarts, with laminated sollerets, pointed at the toes, upon the feet.
2. The hauberk reached to about the middle of the thigh, and under it a globular breastplate was used.
3. Over the hauberk appeared the jupon, a tightly-fitting surcoat without sleeves, of a rich material, and invariably emblazoned with the wearer's arms. It laced up at the sides and was often quilted.
4. The belt was remarkable both for its splendour and for the singular method of wearing it round the hips.
5. The sword appeared at the left side and the *miséricorde* at the right.
6. Laminated epaulières and coudières were used instead of the former roundles.
7. The camail depending from the bascinet was universal.

As the period progressed the helmet became less pointed, and after 1380, the lacing of the camail to the helmet was covered with a more or less richly ornamented border. The belt, too, became more elaborate. This armour was in use at the battle of Navarette, 1367; during the operations following Wat Tyler's Rebellion; the insurrection in Wales under Owen Glendower, 1401; the battle of Shrewsbury, 1403, etc. Hertfordshire is

rich in examples of this period; some of them are as follows:—

- 1360 A Knight unknown—effigy in Bovingdon Church.
- 1361 Sir John de Paletoot (as before)—a brass in Watton Church.
- 1373 Edward de Kendale; monument in Hitchin Church.
- c. 1380 — Scales?—monument in Royston Church.
- c. 1380 Sir John Thornbury—effigy in Little Munden Church.
- 1385 — Torrington (Incent?)—effigy in Berkhamsted Church.
- c. 1385 — Peacock?—brass in St. Michael's Church, St. Albans. (Fig. 5)
- c. 1396 — Walter de la Lee—monument, Albury Church.
- 1400 — Robert Albyn—brass in Hemel Hempstead Church.

1410 to 1430—THE SURCOATLESS PERIOD.

The armour now became a complete panoply of plate. The jupon was abolished, a polished breastplate was worn, roundles protected the shoulder-joints, fan-shaped *coudières* were used, and the *camail* was superseded by a *gorget* of plate. Below the waist appeared overlapping plates called *taces*, sewn on leather, and the sword-belt was worn diagonally over them. (Fig. 6).

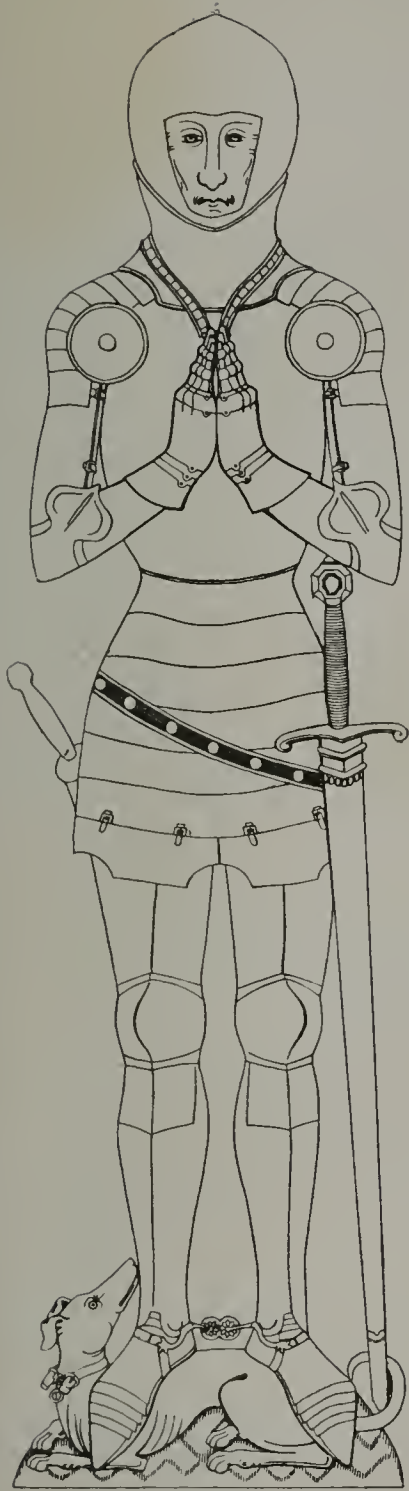
This style prevailed in the battle of Agincourt, 1415, the siege of Orleans, the battle of Herrings, etc.

Examples in Hertfordshire:—

- 1415 Sir Thomas Peryent; brass in Digswell Church. A *camail* is shewn instead of the *gorget*.
- 1421 Sir Thomas Barre; effigy, Ayot St. Lawrence (old church).

1430 to 1500—THE TABARD PERIOD.

Reinforcements were added to various portions of the plate armour during this period: *tuilles*, or plates of various forms, were suspended from the lowermost *tace* to protect the thigh; elaborate defensive armour began to appear upon the left side of the figure, the right side being made lighter so as to adapt it for offensive purposes. *Placcates* were affixed to the shoulder joints, but when the shoulders were eventually protected by large reinforcing-plates they were termed *pauldrons*. Over the armour, to protect the wearer from the rays of the sun, was worn the *tabard* which had short sleeves, both body and sleeves shewing the armorial bearings of the knight. (Fig. 9).



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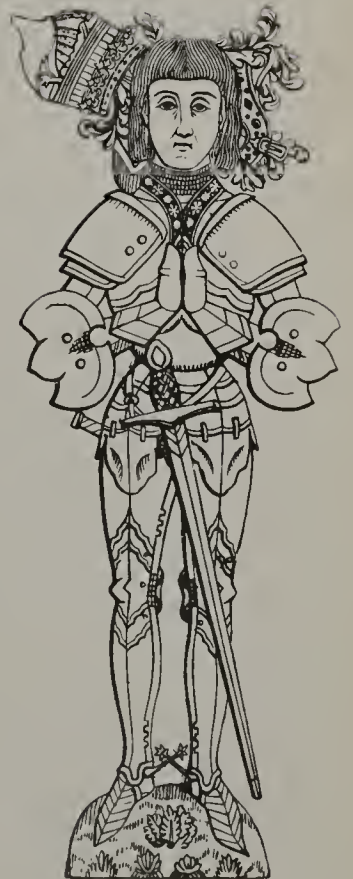


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7. Sir John Leventhorpe, Sawbridgeworth Church, Herts. A.D. 1433.
8. Sir John Peryent, Digs-well Church, Herts. A.D. 1450.
9. Sir William Fynderne, Childrey Church, Berks. A.D. 1444.
10. Sir Anthony de Grey, Abbey Church, St. Albans. A.D. 1480.



10

English Mediæval Armour; as Exemplified by Hertfordshire Brasses, &c.

From Boutell's "Monumental Brasses."

The latter part of this period may be termed the

YORKIST PERIOD ;

it is remarkable for the extravagant and fantastic character of the armour which prevailed at that time. Reinforcing-plates of every possible design were used to further strengthen various parts ; the sword was again hung in front, and a lance-rest was affixed to the breast-plate. This armour was in use in the war with France, under Bedford, after 1430, and during the period of the War of the Roses, 1455 to 1485. The Hertfordshire examples comprise :—

- 1432 Sir John de Benstede—effigy in Benington Church.
- 1433 Sir John Leventhorpe—brass in Sawbridgeworth Church.
(Fig. 7).
- 1450 Sir John Peryent—brass in Digswell Church. (Fig. 8).
- 1469 John Boteler—incised slab in Watton Church.
- 1471 Sir R. Whittingham—monument in Albury Church.
- 1473 Sir John Saye—brass in Broxbourne Church.
- 1475 — Fanshawe?—brass in Albury Church.
- 1477 Son of Alderman Field—brass in Standon Church.
- 1480 Sir Anthony de Grey—brass in St. Albans Abbey Church.
(Fig. 10).
- 1480 John Fitz-Geoffrey—brass in Sandon Church.
- 1482 Sir William Robins—brass in St. Stephen's Church,
St. Albans.
- c. 1500 Sir Ralph Verney—monument in King's Langley Church.
- c. 1500 Sir R. Clifford—monument in Aspenden Church.

To the majority of antiquaries, armour after the year 1500 presents but few features of interest. It attained its highest pitch of perfection as defensive equipment during the mediæval period, and with the advance in efficiency of firearms was gradually discarded, being used only for the tourney or for ornament. Portions of it, such as the breastplate and the helmet, survived for even two centuries or more after the period named, but armour, in the true sense of the word, became practically obsolete at the accession of the Tudor dynasty.

The list of Hertfordshire examples given in this paper is not by any means complete, and in every probability contains many inaccuracies ; the author would be very thankful for any additions or corrections that Members may kindly send to him.

A General Meeting held at the Herts County Museum, on May 16th, 1902.

Present—The Very Rev. the Dean, in the chair; also, Messrs. H. J. Toulmin, F. G. Kitton, A. E. Ekins, C. H. Ashdown, A. J. Rhodes, J. Henderson, Victor T. Hodgson, A. Montiville Evans, J. T. Knight, W. T. Hillier, H. Maurice, R. S. Fannin, J. Herbert Gordon, Mrs. Ekins, Miss Fearnley; Mr. R. J. Hillier and Mrs. Knight, Hon. Secretaries.

The minutes of the last meeting were read and confirmed.

The following new members were elected unanimously :—Mr. G. E. Martin, Mr. G. Hansard, and Mr. Blundell.

Mr. Page then read two most interesting papers on—(1) “Further excavations on the site of Verulam.” (2) “The Mediæval School of Mural Paintings at St. Albans.”

The latter paper was illustrated by lantern slides and water-colour drawings.

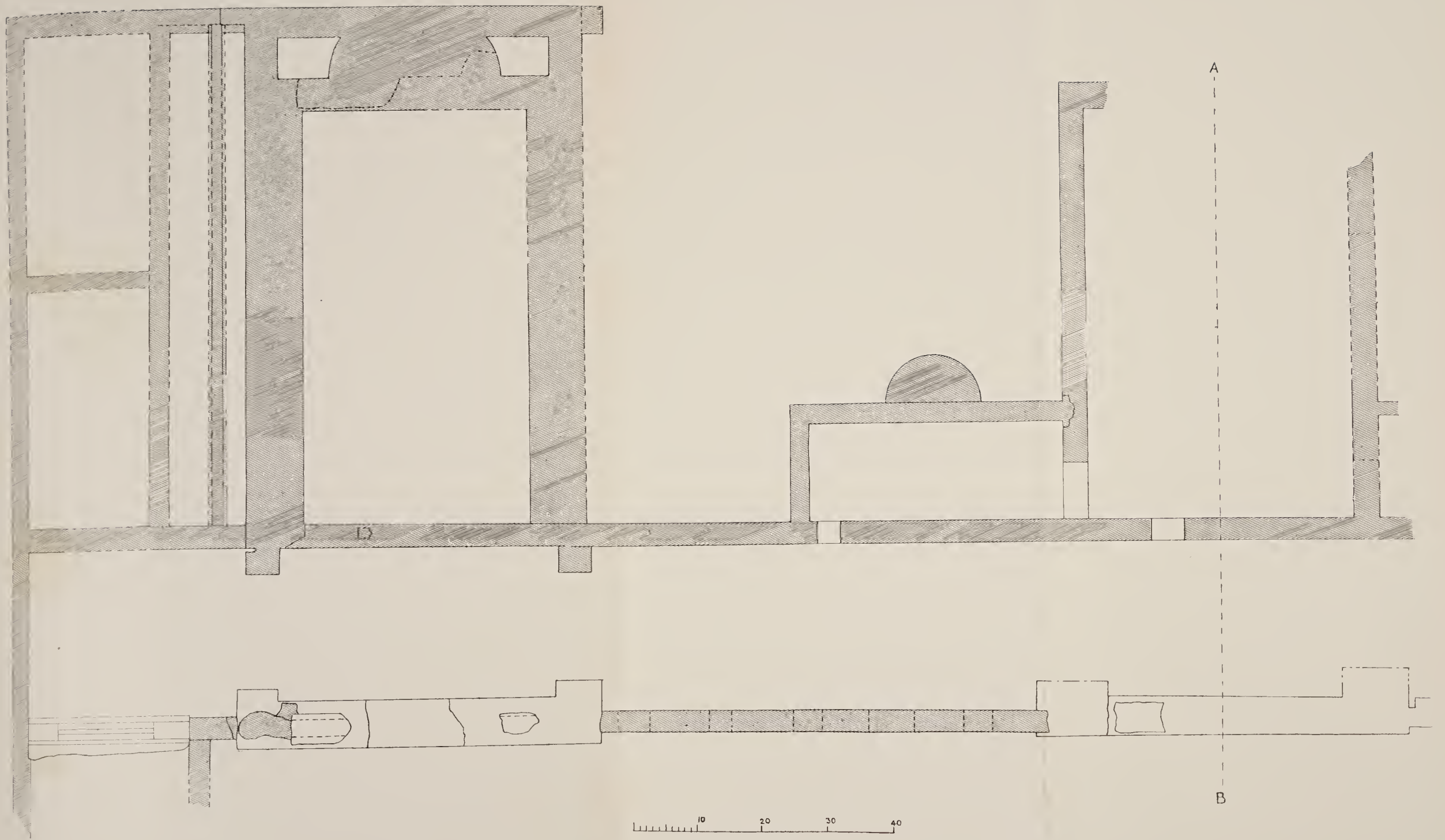
Both papers were very interesting, and were greatly appreciated.

Afterwards a hearty vote of thanks was moved to Mr. Page on the motion of the Dean, and seconded by Mr. Toulmin, who also included Mr. Ashdown for his management of the lantern, and this was passed unanimously.

Excavations of Verulamium.

BY WILLIAM PAGE, F.S.A.

For various reasons, I was unable to carry the excavations on the site of Verulamium this winter so far as I wished, but I think what has been disclosed this year will materially assist in deciding the nature of the building, the plan of which we are working out. I may perhaps repeat that I am obliged to make these excavations in the winter months, owing to the land being wanted for pasture and hay at other times of the year. Excavations were commenced in November by opening out the 3 ft. 6 in. sleeper wall, running east and west, and backing on the ambulatory wall, from the point at which we left off in the winter of 1898-9. For 32 feet westward of the western of the two great 8 ft. walls, which we suppose carried the barrel vault of the chamber excavated in 1898-9, we found this wall continued to have a smooth surface, acting apparently as a sleeper wall for a colonnade similar to what we found eastward of this point. On the north of this wall was the *opus signinum* floor of the ambulatory, and to the south was rammed gravel, over which was black mould to a depth



Excavations at Verulamium.

Note.—The dotted line from A to B indicates the centre line of Building.

of from 4 ft. to 5 ft., unmixed with building rubbish and fallen debris, indicating that the ground was open here. At 32 feet from the wall, carrying the barrel vault before referred to, the longitudinal wall rises, and a cross wall three feet in thickness runs southward forming the east side of a chamber 15 ft. 6 in. by 39 ft. This chamber has a floor of coarse red tesserae in good condition. The entrance to it was by a doorway about 3 ft. 8 in. in width at the east end of the north wall. At some date apparently after the completion of this room, a semi-circular apse 15 ft. in length was added on the south side, between which and the wall of the chamber there was sufficient space to allow of a knife being run. The apse is solid, and the existing surface stands five inches below the floor-level of the chamber. From the quantity of coloured wall-plaster which was found in the chamber, it is clear that the walls were decorated with the usual coloured designs.

Adjoining, on the west, is another very much larger chamber, 62 ft. 9 in. in length by 40 ft. in width. I was only able to open out a part of this latter chamber, the walls on the east, west, and south sides of which are 3 ft. 10 in. in thickness, and of well-built rubble with brick bonding courses. The floor is tessellated, but of what design, if any, I have not made any attempt to discover. The room was entered by a doorway in the north wall 5 ft. in width, and there was a doorway about 8 ft. 6 in. in width, with three steps 8 inches in height, indications of which remain, descending into the smaller chamber, the floor of which is 2 feet lower in level. On the west side of this chamber, there are indications of a similar small chamber to that found on the east side with a similar doorway into it.

The whole of the work opened out this winter was of the second or best period of the three periods of masonry, which we have found in this building. Besides the usual quantity of potsherds and a great deal of coloured wall-plaster, the only objects of special interest were two fragments of inscriptions on Purbeck marble.

I append a list of the coins found, which have been kindly identified by Mr. Grueber, F.S.A., of the British Museum. They range from the second brass of Nero

to a penny of Ethelred II. The only specimen to which Mr. Grueber calls special attention is a copper denarius of Allectus, with a ship on the reverse, struck at Colchester, which is somewhat rare.

“Second brass” of Nero, A.D. 54-68; two denarii (silver) of Septimus Severus, *circa* A.D. 200; base denarius of Postumus, A.D. 258-267; British imitation of a base denarius of Victorinus, A.D. 265-267; third brass or base denarius of Claudius II. (?), A.D. 268-270; copper denarius of Allectus, struck at Colchester (Camulodunum), a somewhat rare piece, having a ship on the reverse, A.D. 293-296; Constantine the Great (?), third brass, if so, *circa* A.D. 325; third brass of Constantine the Great, struck in London, *circa* A.D. 330; third brass of Constantine the Great, *circa* A.D. 333-335; third brass of Constans, A.D. 337-350; a Siliqua (silver) of Constans, A.D. 337-350; twelve British imitations of Roman base denarii of the third and fourth centuries; penny of Ethelred II., struck at Canterbury, “Boia Mo. Caent,” A.D. 978-1016.

The Late Rev. H. Fowler's Papers.

BY H. R. WILTON HALL.

The Secretaries of the Society entrusted me, some time ago, with a considerable number of MSS. and Memoranda belonging to the late Rev. Henry Fowler, that they might be sorted and classified, and so arranged as to be available for reference. It has been a somewhat lengthy task, but most willingly undertaken, as a tribute to the memory of one who was so diligent a student of Antiquities and Archæological lore in general, and especially of all such matters relating to this county.

A good many of Mr. Fowler's Papers have been published in the Society's "Transactions," and the original copies of most of these are in this collection. But it is not so much the finished Papers as the Notes, References and Memoranda, which he made when compiling them, that form the bulk of the papers here dealt with. There can be no doubt but that Mr. Fowler was most anxious to be strictly accurate in the statements which he made, and these papers abound in instances

which show the pains he took to secure that accuracy. Sentences are written and re-written in a variety of ways, showing that he wished to say the right thing in the right way. It was this over-anxiety to be accurate which largely caused that hesitancy in delivery, which made his speeches at times so difficult to follow.

As regards much that he wrote, he does not seem to have been satisfied that the last word had been said. Much, therefore, has been left unfinished, that he might revise it in the light of a more exact knowledge following on deeper research.

Several drafts, more or less complete, of nearly every paper in this collection are to be met with, and in most cases it is very difficult to determine which is meant to stand for fair copy. There are several instances in which the MS. of the Paper, and the same Paper, as printed in the "Transactions," show considerable variation from each other. A good deal of suggestive matter may be found in these drafts.

It has been difficult in some instances to classify the Notes and Memoranda, and a thorough and complete classification would only be possible after making a careful calendar and index, as one sheet or fragment of paper frequently contains notes relating to several different subjects, and connected with different places. As a rule, however, they have some connection with each other; the references and memoranda, for the most part, being concerned with places visited at the summer excursions of the Society.

Many of the notes, headed "British Museum," cover a variety of subjects. In some of them the same references occur more than once, as if the notes made in the first instance had been mislaid.

The papers have been sorted out, as far as possible, under the head of "Parishes," as follows:—

- | | |
|----------------------|--------------------|
| I. ST. ALBANS. | II. HERTFORDSHIRE. |
| III. OTHER COUNTIES. | IV. MISCELLANEOUS. |

The documents relating to each "Parish" are, as a rule, in separate envelopes, and the papers are grouped, numbered, and lettered, and a list of the contents similarly numbered and lettered is filed in each envelope with the Papers; it is not an ideal arrangement; but still, it is a step in the direction of a proper classification.

The following list gives an outline of the subjects dealt with. For more detailed information the list of contents in each envelope must be consulted; but the student must be prepared to look the papers carefully through for himself, as the list of contents is not, of necessity, exhaustive.

I. RELATING TO ST. ALBANS.

1. THE GRAMMAR SCHOOL.—Roman Wall—Raynshaw Family—Rowlatt Family—Queen Elizabeth's Visits—Survey 3° and 4° Philip and Mary—Verulam Road—Cotton Mill Lane—Verulam—Moot Hall.

2. ST. ALBANS ABBEY.—Voluminous Papers on the Monastic Buildings—Sites of Monastic Buildings—Boundary Wall of the Monastery—Notes on the Fabric. Abbot Wheathampstead and his family—Miscellaneous Papers on the Abbey—Mr. Ridgway Lloyd's "Mediæval Pilgrimage to St. Albans"—Cathedral of St. Albans—Abbey Roofs—Extracts from Weever—Thomas de la Mare—Vicarages in Patronage of the Abbot.

3. ST. ANDREW'S CHAPEL.—The Chapel and its Levels—Various Notes—Sketch Plans.

4. ST. MICHAEL'S.—Pulpit—Roman Foundations—Lady Anne Bacon—Gorhambury.

5. ST. PETER'S.—Church Plate—Pemberton Family—Church—Photographs.

6. ST. STEPHEN'S.—Bells—Registers—St. Julian's.

7. JENNINGS FAMILY—Jennings and Maynards from Abbey Register—Will of the Duchess—Notes relating to the Duchess and the Jennings Family from Strickland, Pepys, Evelyn, etc.—Note *re* certain Sandridge Vicars.

II. RELATING TO THE COUNTY.

1. ALDBURY.—Leeds and Verney Chapels—Notes relating to Aldbury (Edlesborough, Dagnall, Eaton Bray)—Sketch of Carving in South Aisle of Church.

ALDENHAM.—The Manor—Printed Slips relating to Church—Priest's Heath—Carye Brass—Inscriptions—Bells—Census of 1891—Palimpsest Brass.

2. ASHWELL.—Paper on the Church—Four Drafts of the Paper more or less complete—Many Notes—Plan of the Church—Pencil Sketches and Notes on parts of the Church—Portion of another draft on the Church.

3. BALDOCK.—Notes on the Argentein Slab—from Clutterbuck—References to Authorities.

4. CHESHUNT.—Unfinished Note on Cheshunt—Notes on Brasses and Manor of Theobalds—Various Notes and Extracts—Cheshunt Great House.

WALTHAM.—Notes on the Abbey Church—The Austin Canons—Waltham Cross—Eleanor Crosses.

5. GREAT BERKHAMPSTEAD.—Paper on the Castle—Books of Reference—Notes from Mat. Paris and Rishanger—References to State Papers.

6. FLAMSTEAD.—Effigies in Church—Notes on Flamstead—on the name—Extracts from Mat. Paris, and Book of Benefactors—Pedigree of Ferrars.

7. GREAT GADDESSEN.—The Manor and Church—Attack of Wat Tyler's mob on Ashridge.

LITTLE GADDESSEN.—References in Mat. Paris and the Gesta—Various Extracts chiefly relating to the College of Bonhommes—Extracts and Notes from Lipscombe and Todd-Pitstone—Ashridge—Wright's Notes on Little Gaddesden Church and Letter—Notes on the Monuments—Notes relating chiefly to 2nd Duke of Bridgewater—The Egertons—Monumental Inscriptions—Part of a Paper by Rev. F. H. Hodgson—Drafts of a Paper on Little Gaddesden—Two Photographs.

8. HERTFORD.—On Hertford Churches—Tracing of the site of St. John's.

HITCHIN.—Notes on Effigy and the Church—On Ashwell, Arbury Banks—The Baliols—Temple Dinsley—The Kendals.

9. KING'S LANGLEY.—Paper dated June 1st, 1894—Notes on Abbot's and King's Langley from Pridmore—Survey of Manor 2^o Philip and Mary with Plan of Black Friars at Norwich—Notes on Palace, Priory, and Church—Roll of Arms and Will of Edmund Langley, Duke of York—The Langley Tomb—Lancaster Shield—Label of Bolingbroke—Black Friars of Norwich—Part of a Draft of a Paper on the Palace and Priory—Notes from Strickland, Trokelow, etc.

10. KING'S WALDEN.—Paper on King's Walden, copy and several drafts—Charter of Æthelred, references in Mat. Paris—Priory of Malton and ordination of Vicarage—Letter from A. H. Kersey on the Restoration of the Church—Notes from various sources—Name and Places Names—References to various Authorities—The Nevilles—Legats—Kimpton and Offley.

11. LITTLE BERKHAMPSTEAD.—Note on Bishop Ken—Borders of Danish Territory.

BUSHEY and OXHEY—from Cussans. CALDECOTE and NEWENHAM—Notes and Sketch of Effigy in EASTWICK Church.

12. MACKERY END.—Paper on Mackery End—Notes on the House—Paper, R. L. Howard—Draft of Paper—Bostok Pedigree—Name of Mackery, Charles Lamb—Plans, Tracings, and Rubbings.

NORTH MIMMS.—Notes on North Mimms—Chantry of St. Catherine—North Mimms Place.

13. REDBOURN.—Paper on Redbournbury—On the Priory—References in the "Gesta"—Invention of St. Amphibalus—Manor of St. Amphibal—Extracts from Weever, etc.—Pecok Brass—Reade Brass—Church Plate.

14. ROYSTON.—Paper on the Priory Church with Plan—Another Copy.

TEWIN.—References to Conventual Leases—Transcript of Lease 24 Henry VII.

QUEEN HOO.—Various Notes and References—Part of Draft of a Paper—Notes from the Romance—Woodhall—Botelers—Pedigree of Boteler.

THUNDRIDGE.—Paper on Thundridge—Bishops of London—Sketch of the Bury.

GREAT HADHAM—Notes on.

STANDON—The Manor and Church.

ST. PAUL'S WALDEN.—Notes and Memoranda, various.

15. STEVENAGE.—Paper on the "Six Hills"—Plan and Section of Bartlow Hills—Various Notes—Folk Lore of the Hills—Sketch of Moat in Holmley Wood, etc.

16. THERFIELD.—Visit of Abbot of Ramsey to Therfield.

17. TRING.—Brief Note.

18. TYTTENHANGER.—Paper on Tyttenhanger—Six Drafts or portions of Drafts of the same—Ridge—Sir Thomas Pope—Lee—Mountjoy—Pictures in the House.

19. WATFORD.—Paper on Cassiobury—Plan—Draft of Paper and Notes on an Excursion—Watford Place Names—Morison Chapel—Notes from "Gesta," etc.—The Church—Vicarage, time of Abbot Stoke. CHENIES—Russell Chapel. SARRATT.

20. WHEATHAMPSTEAD.—Charles I. at Lamer—Brass of Hugh Bostock.

III. RELATING TO OTHER COUNTIES.

1. BEDFORD—Excursion to—Bedford Castle—ELSTOW—St. Paul's Church—Numerous Notes.

2. ELY—Notes.

3. IVINGHOE.—Church—Chaceport's Tomb—Materials for Papers.

4. LINCOLN.—Newport Gate—Tracings. Paper, not in "Transactions."

5. ST. HELEN'S, BISHOPSGATE.—Church—Nunnery—Pemberton Brass in St. Helen's.

6. ST. NEOT'S.—Paper on St. Neot's—Translation of the Homily for St. Neot's Day—Glossary—Various Notes—Priory.

7. SAFFRON WALDEN—Excursion Notes—Tracings—Audley End—Lord Braybrook.

8. SOMERIES and LUTON.—Paper—Several Drafts—Many Notes—Wenlock Chapel—Sketch Plan of Luton—Someries—Someries Pedigree—Sketch of Someries—Will of William Wenlock—Plan of Someries—Many Notes.

9. TOTTERNHOE.—Paper—Notes on the Name—Vicarage, tempo Hugo Wells.

10. TYNEMOUTH.—Robert de Mowbray.

IV. MISCELLANEOUS PAPERS.

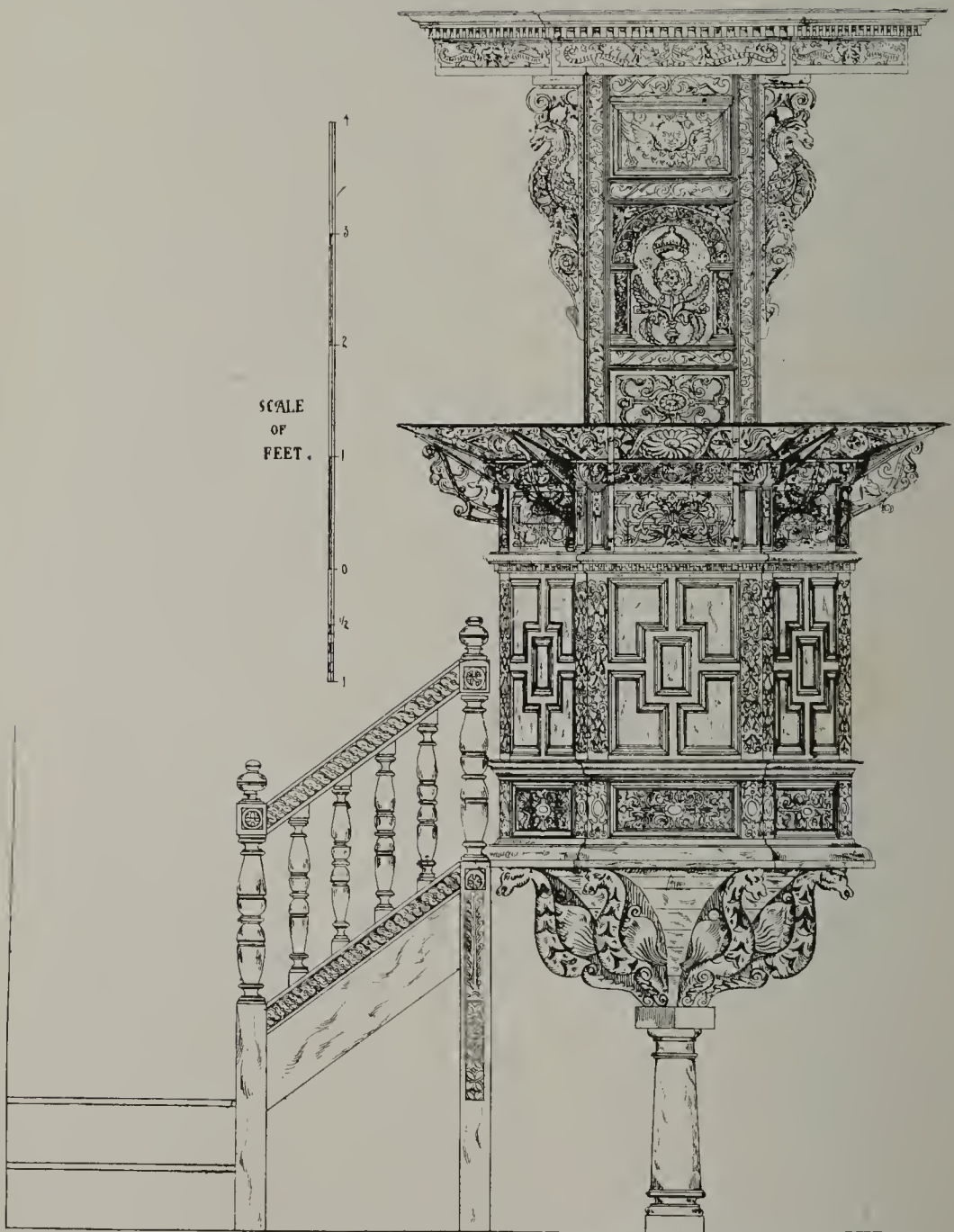
1. Translation of Poem, said to be by John Wheathampstead—Part of an Heraldic Glossary—Alfred's Boethius—Weather in the Thirteenth century.

2. Memoranda relating to a variety of persons, places, and things; unclassified.

3. A variety of Memoranda relating to Meetings of the Architectural and Archæological Society.

4. Odds and Ends.

5. A number of Newspaper Cuttings.



Front Elevation of Pulpit, St. Michael's Church, St. Albans.
From a measured Drawing by F. W. Kinneir Tarte.

St. Michael's Pulpit.

BY F. W. KINNEIR TARTE, M.S.A.

This gorgeous, elaborately carved, and beautiful oak pulpit, is in a most excellent state of preservation, and is, I may say, almost intact. Several of the large black ornaments at the angles, and on the lower panels, are lost; and again, four of the candles in the tiny panels at the angles immediately below the cornice, under the bookboard, are missing.

I am very greatly indebted to the Vicar, Mr. Bicknell, for kindly searching the Churchwardens' Accounts for me, in order to find out whether there is any mention of a new pulpit. No reference is made to this, however; only of the small items which I shall give you later on. From this I gather that, probably, no pulpit was erected during the period of these accounts. The Churchwardens' Accounts date from the year 1625 to 1740-50, with the exception of the years 1640-45, during which period no accounts were entered, but I think it extremely improbable that the pulpit was erected during the missing years, the work being, in my opinion, too early for that date.

Bloxam, in "Gothic Architecture," says that pulpits of the reign of Edward the Sixth are very rare, nor are those of the reign of Queen Elizabeth at all



Scale—
quarter
full
size.

One of the
Carved
Supporters
under the
Sounding-
board.

From a Drawing
by
F. W. Kinneir
Tarte.

common. By the Canons of 1603, the Churchwardens, or Quest-Men were to provide in every Church a "comely and decent pulpit." He also says, "that the canopy or sounding-board appears to have been introduced in the early part of the 17th century, and gives an instance in 1626-7, that the Churchwardens of Grimston, Leicestershire, were presented for not providing a cushion and making a canopy or cover of wainscot over the pulpit."

This pulpit is so complete that it has its sounding-board and also a fine wrought-iron hour-glass stand.

From the Churchwardens' Accounts of St. Michael's, it appears that in 1628-31-32, there are items "for an hour glass, 8d.;" in 1633, "altering the pulpit cushion," 2s.; in 1659, "mending the pulpit cushion," 1s.; in 1663, "mat for the pulpit"; in 1667-72, "mending the cushion," 1s. and 8d.; and in 1680, "the (hour) glass frame gilding," 2s. 6d.

It is now several years since my interest has been aroused by the crowned rose panel in the back, supporting the sounding-board, and I have always taken this for the Badge of Queen Elizabeth, whose badges were a Tudor rose, crowned falcon and sceptre. The badges of the reigning sovereigns, as I have pointed out before, were very frequently used in the decorative work of that particular sovereign's reign, so much so that I have found on several occasions, the date of work may be closely arrived at by the badge being worked into the design.

Now the most important and most conspicuous carved panel in this pulpit is the beautiful panel representing "a crowned Tudor rose," the flower with its stalk and leaves being finished in base with an ornament or vase. (See front elevation and also detail A).

With regard to the crowned falcon, I do not know whether we may go so far as to consider the supporters to the sounding-board to be falcons (it will be seen, on reference to the front elevation, that they are on either side the "crowned rose," see also detail in letterpress), but they certainly are birds with wings and tail-feathers. If we closely examine the carved panel immediately below the crowned rose on the front elevation, and also the detail C, it



1



Scale of Inches

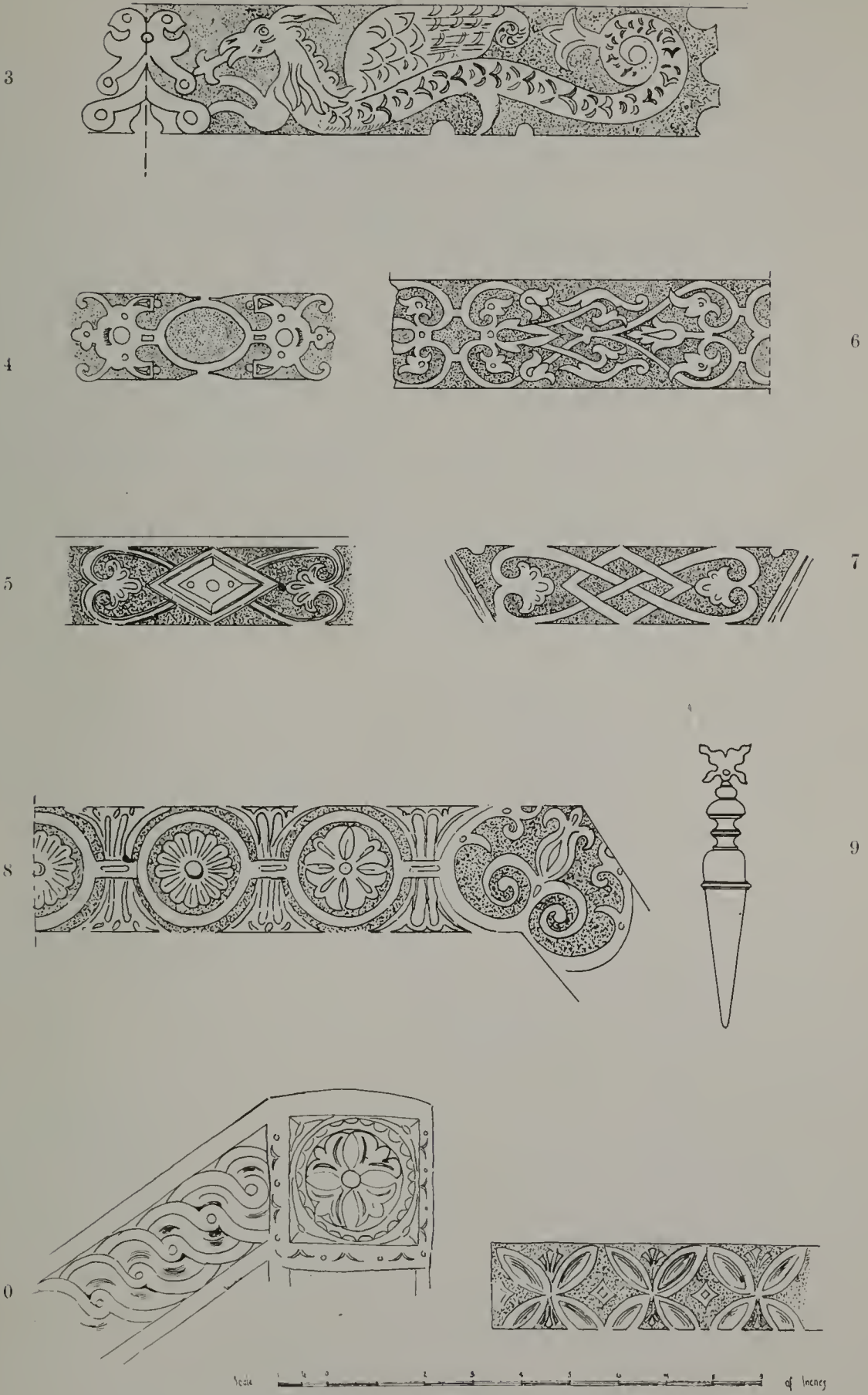


2

Details from St. Michael's Pulpit.

1. Detail A. Crowned Rose Panel on back of Sounding Board.
2. Panel above Crowned Rose Panel.

From measured Drawings by F. W. Kinneir Tarte.



Details from St. Michael's Pulpit and Sounding Board.

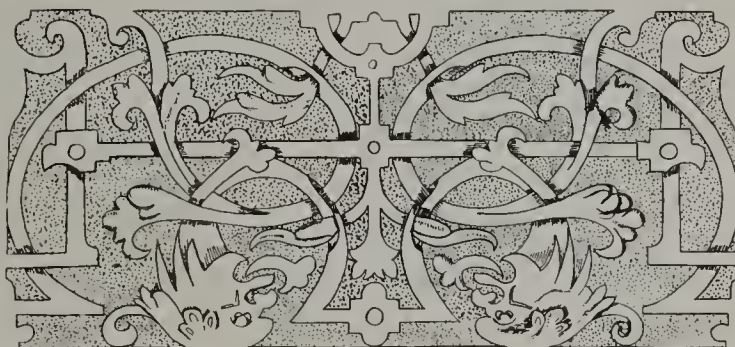
3. On edge of Sounding Board. 4 and 6. On angles of base.
 5, 7 and 8. On Sounding Board. 9. Candle under Bookboard.
 10. Newel to Stairs.

From measured Drawings by F. W. Kinneir Tarte.

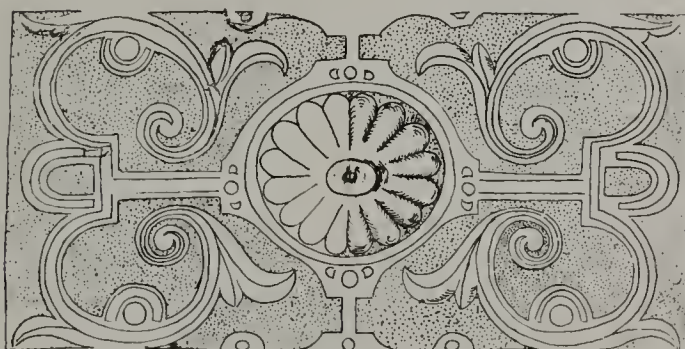
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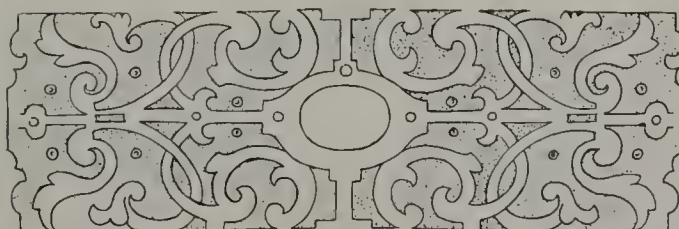
12



13



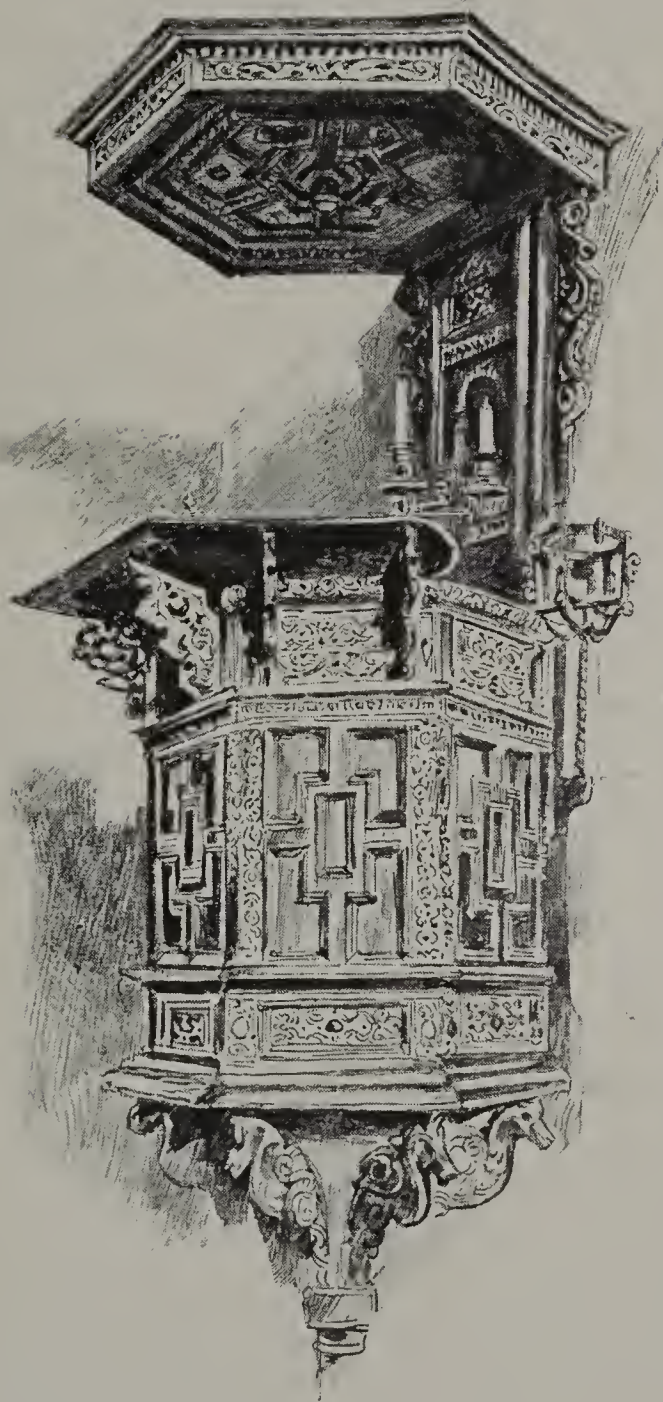
14



Details from St. Michael's Pulpit.

- 11. Detail D. Panel at base of Pulpit.
- 12. Detail C. Panel under Crowned Rose panel.
- 13. Detail E. Panel under Book Board.
- 14. Panel on Book Board.

From measured Drawings by F. W. Kinneir Tarte.



The Pulpit at St. Michael's Church, St. Albans.
From a Sketch by F. G. Kitton.

is at least striking, that we should find the outside portion of the design, on either side of the central ornament, to represent the letter "E." It may, of course, be an accident, but it is a coincidence nevertheless. I call your attention also to the very beautiful strap-work panels, details D. E. and others, which, I think, belong to the date of Queen Elizabeth. In many instances, in the rich carving of the cornice, the enrichments in the arch around the crowned rose (detail A.), and in other places, the rose is present.

The Badges of James I., Charles I., Charles II., and James II., were a thistle and rose dimidiated and crowned, but I have searched this pulpit very carefully, without having found the presence of the thistle, which became quite a common ornament after the accession of James I.

I believe, however, that the bookboard and the brackets supporting it, are of a later date. These brackets are planted on the margins of the strap-work panels below, but the panels were evident never intended to have their margins covered in this manner. The carving on both the brackets, and the carved panels on the bookboard, are much coarser, and I do not think were carved by nearly such a skilled workman as was the rest of the work.

To sum up, I venture to say that I believe the pulpit belongs to the Elizabethan era, and not, as is generally supposed, to the Jacobean period. It would not be strange to find an Elizabethan pulpit in St. Michael's Church, for the Queen paid visits to Gorhambury in the years 1571, 1573, and 1577; and what could have been more fitting than to erect a carved oak pulpit in the Church, to commemorate the visits paid by her to the neighbourhood?

In 1846, the Rev. James Brogden read a paper on St. Michael's Church, before this Society, in which he states, "that the richly carved pulpit and sounding-board have been cleaned, varnished, and restored to a state of decent appearance, and a fringe-covering, concealing some brackets, removed."

I have, in conclusion, to thank Mr. F. G. Kitton for kindly allowing me to use his sketch of this pulpit.

St. Albans and Herts Architectural and Archæological Society.

BALANCE SHEET, 1901.

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
RECEIPTS.				EXPENDITURE.			
Balance at Bank, Jan. 1st, 1901.....	20		6	Printing and Stationery—			
Petty Cash in Hon. Sec.'s hands, Jan. 1st, 1901.....	3		5	Messrs. Gibbs & Bamforth	2		3
Subscriptions	34		2	Collotype Portraits of the late Rev. H. Fowler ..	3		0
Dividends on £19 5s. 0d. Consols	0		4	Meisenbach Company, Blocks for Illustrations in			
From Herts Museum Account credited in Error.....	3		0	Transactions	2		10
				<hr/>	<hr/>		<hr/>
				Secretary's Petty Cash Account—			8
				Postage	0		19
				Expenses of Meetings	0		7
				Stationery	0		4
				Expenses of Excursions	1		16
				<hr/>	<hr/>		<hr/>
				Expenses of moving Library from Town Hall to County			3
				Museum (Mr. A. Adams)	0		13
				Subscription to "National Trust"	1		1
				Subscription to Congress of Archæological Societies.....	1		0
				Subscription to purchase of "Lewis Evans" Collection of			
				Plates and Books relating to Hertfordshire.....	5		0
				Book bought for Library (Messrs. W. H. Smith & Son).....	0		12
				<hr/>	<hr/>		<hr/>
				Balance at Bank, Dec. 31st, 1901.....	20		6
				Balance in Hon. Sec.'s hands, Dec. 31st, 1901	41		7
				<hr/>	<hr/>		<hr/>
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					£62		1
							9

Examined and found correct,
G. C. BARNES,

April 19, 1902.

HENRY J. TOULMIN,
Hon. Treasurer.

Excursions in 1901.

Place.	Date.	Paper by
King's Langley	May 18th	{ Mr. TARTE and Mr. ASHDOWN.
Dunstable (with Photo- graphic Society)	{ June 1st	Mr. ASHDOWN.
Abbots Langley	June 15th	Mr. TARTE.
Berkhamsted (with Photo- graphic Society)	{ June 22nd	Mr. ASHDOWN.
Hatfield	July 11th	{ LORD WILLIAM CECIL, Mr. PAGE.
Hitchin	Aug. 28th	{ Members of E. Herts Society.

S. Albans and Herts Architectural and Archaeological Society.

VERULAM RESEARCH FUND.

BALANCE SHEET FOR 1901-2.

RECEIPTS.	£ s. d.	EXPENDITURE.	£ s. d.
Balance in hand.....	5 9 0	Wages to men excavating, etc., Nov. 1901 to Feb. 1902 ..	23 16 0
Grant from the Society of Antiquaries	15 0 0	Compensation for damage to land, etc.	1 18 0
C. M. Wilshire	3 3 0		
W. Page	2 2 0		
	£25 14 0		£25 14 0

WM. PAGE.

April, 1903.

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Ch., Church; mon., monument; St., Street.*

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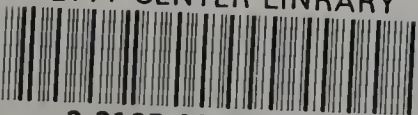
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