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TRANSACTIONS

OF THE

St. Paul's Ecclesiological Society.

VOL. V.

LONDON:
PUBLISHED FOR THE SOCIETY BY
HARRISON AND SONS, 45, PALL MALL.

MCMV.

St. Paul's Ecclesiological Society.

FOUNDED FEBRUARY 6th, 1879

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THE VERY REV. THE DEAN OF ST. PAUL'S.

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(*Elected January 28th*, 1905.)

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Rev. E. S. Dewick, M.A., F.S.A., 26, Oxford Square, Hyde Park, W

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Page 173, note 4, Dr. F. J. Furnivall has pointed out that "to volow" is but the Anglo-Saxon *fullwian, fullian*, to baptize, and that Tyndale's derivation is mere popular etymology.

Page 190, l. 21, *for* 1632 *read* 1630.

Page 192, l. 10, *for* Cornick *read* Cornock.

Page 192, l. 12, *for* L. C. *read* S. C.

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Page 207, l. 35, *for* seventeenth *read* thirteenth.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE ST. PAUL'S ECCLESIOLOGICAL SOCIETY.

WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 7, 1900.

Chairman: Rev. Lewis Gilbertson, M.A.

Before commencing the business of the evening, the Chairman referred to the recent death of the Rev. H. C. Shuttleworth, who was practically the founder of the Society, and after its foundation in 1879, took an active part in the work of the Society as Chairman of the Council for many years. The Chairman mentioned that the Council had already requested him to convey to Mrs. Shuttleworth their sincere condolence with her in the loss she had sustained.

A paper was read by Mr. J. N. Comper, on "The Altars and Screens of some Churches in Brittany." Some remarks upon the paper were made by Dr. Wickham Legg and Mr. Fedarb, and in conclusion the Chairman thanked Mr. Comper on behalf of the Meeting.

WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 28, 1900.

Chairman: Rev. E. Hoskins, M.A.

A lecture on "Wells Cathedral" was given by the Rev. T. Perkins, M.A., who described the architecture of the building, and gave some account of the history of the see and its bishops. The lecture was illustrated by a series of lantern views from photographs taken by the lecturer. A cordial vote of thanks to the lecturer concluded the proceedings.

WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 19, 1900.

Chairman: Rev. E. Hoskins, M.A.

The re-election of the auditors, Messrs. Banister, Day, and Fedarb, was proposed by the Rev. E. S. Dewick, seconded by Mr. W. M. Chute, and carried unanimously.

The Rev. E. S. Dewick then exhibited and described a manuscript Evangelistarium, containing the liturgical gospels according to the use of the Black Friars. The MS. was written in the thirteenth century. Marginal additions to the Sanctorale show that it was used in an English house of Black Friars, and that the particular house may have been Worcester. The MS. belonged at one time to the late Mr. William Morris.

A paper by Mr. Cuthbert Atchley was then read, "Some Notes on Harvest Thanksgivings and certain other Votive Offices." A considerable discussion followed, in which Mr. Banister, Mr. Gill, Rev. E. S. Dewick, Mr. Letts, and the Chairman took part. The paper is printed in the *Transactions*, V p. 58.

WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 16, 1901.

Chairman: Rev. E. Hoskins, M.A.

Mr. F. Herbert Mansford read a paper entitled, "Notes on City Churches." A discussion followed in which the Chairman, Mr. Banister, Mr. Gill, Mr. Garraway Rice, and Mr. Andrew Oliver took part.

In illustration of the paper Mr. Oliver exhibited some large maps showing the sites of the present churches, and also a collection of engraved views of the City churches.

SATURDAY, JANUARY 26, 1901.

Twenty-Second Annual Meeting.

Chairman: Rev. Lewis Gilbertson, M.A.

The Minutes of the last Annual Meeting were read and confirmed.

The Chairman proposed, "That this Society places on record its sense of the great loss which has befallen the Nation by the death of Her Majesty Queen Victoria." This was seconded by Mr. Deputy White and carried unanimously, all standing.

The Report of the Council and the Balance Sheet were presented:—

Twenty-Second Annual Report, 1900–1901.

Since the last Report, seven meetings have been held at the Chapter House, at which papers on the following subjects were read:—"The Early Ecclesiastical Registers of London," by the Rev. George Hennessey; "The Registers of Winchelsea," by Mr. R. Garraway Rice; "A Terrier of West Dean and Binderton, Sussex, dated 1615," by Mr. R. Garraway Rice; "On the Hood as the Ornament of the Minister at the time of his Ministrations in Quire and elsewhere," by Mr. Cuthbert Atchley; "Westminster Abbey," by Mr. J. T. Micklethwaite; "The Altars and Screens of some Churches in Brittany," by Mr. J. N. Comper; "Wells Cathedral," by the Rev. T. Perkins; "A Manuscript Evangelistarium of the Thirteenth Century," by the Rev. E. S. Dewick; "Some Notes on Harvest Thanksgivings and certain other Votive Offices," by Mr. Cuthbert Atchley; "Notes on City Churches," by Mr. F. Herbert Mansford.

During the Summer months the following Churches were visited:—

St. Mary Magdalene, Paddington, which was described by the Vicar, the Rev. W. H. Bleaden, who read a letter from the late Mr. G. E. Street (Architect of the Church), and afterwards Mr. J. N. Comper described the Chapel of St. Sepulchre.

St. Magnus the Martyr, and St. Mary-at-Hill, both described by Mr. Philip Norman.

Gray's Inn, where a paper by Mr. W. R. Douthwaite (who was unavoidably absent) was read by Mr. Severn, the Deputy Librarian.

Bedfont Church and Stanwell Church, both described by Mr. S. Rawson.

Windsor, St. George's Chapel and the Memorial Chapel, under the guidance of the Rev. Canon Dalton.

The Council very heartily thank the Clergy of the churches visited, the Treasurer and Benchers of Gray's Inn, and those gentlemen who have rendered assistance by reading papers and describing the places visited, for their kindness in furthering the objects of the Society.

The Council greatly deplore the death of the Rev. H. C. Shuttleworth, who was practically the Founder of the Society, and was for many years Chairman of the Council, and a very regular attendant at its meetings.

Part V., completing Vol. IV. of the *Transactions*, had been issued since the last Report; and a new list of Members will be issued shortly.

The accompanying Balance Sheet shows that the financial position of the Society is satisfactory.

LEWIS GILBERTSON,
Chairman.

EDWARD J. WELLS,
Hon. Secretary.

BALANCE SHEET FOR THE YEAR ENDING DECEMBER 31ST, 1900.

Dr.

Dec. 31st, 1900.	£	s.	d.
To Balance in hand	12	14	8
,, Entrance Fees and Subscriptions	54	5	0
,, Life Subscriptions	9	9	0
,, Sale of *Transactions*	4	3	3
,, Interest on Reserve Fund	2	15	6
,, Donations	0	7	6
	£83	14	11
Jan. 1st, 1901.			
Balance in hand	£18	17	2
Reserve Fund in Post Office Savings Bank ...	103	0	6

Cr.

Dec. 31st, 1900.	£	s.	d.
By Amount paid for *Transactions*	40	3	8
,, Printing and Stationery	7	16	9
,, Postage, including forwarding of *Transactions*	13	10	10
,, Fees to attendants	1	4	0
,, Miscellaneous	2	2	6
,, Balance	18	17	2
	£83	14	11

Having examined the above, and inspected the books and vouchers, we find it correct.

EDWARD J. WELLS, *Hon. Secretary.*

ALBERT BANISTER,
ARCHIBALD DAY,
EDWIN H. FEDARB, } *Auditors.*

January 23rd, 1901

FREDERICK GILL, *Treasurer.*

The Report and Balance Sheet were adopted.

In accordance with Rule VI. four members retired from the Council. Of these, three were re-elected, viz.: Messrs. T. Garratt, A. Taylor, and E. Bell; and Mr. W. W. Watts was elected in the place of Mr. Marshall, who did not seek re-election.

Mr. Gill and Mr. Wells were re-elected as Hon. Treasurer and Hon. Secretary respectively.

Votes of thanks were passed to the Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's for their continued kindness in allowing the meetings of the Society to be held in the Chapter Room, to the Officers of the Society, and to the Chairman of the Meeting.

Various suggestions were offered with regard to the summer visits of the Society, and on other matters.

A large number of members afterwards attended Evensong in the Cathedral, seats being reserved for them in the stalls by the kindness of the Dean and Chapter.

WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 30, 1901.

Chairman: Rev. Lewis Gilbertson, M.A.

A paper was read by the Rev. H. Bedford Pim on "English Sculptured Fonts, with special reference to their Ecclesiological Symbolism." The paper was illustrated by a series of lantern views. After some remarks by the Rev. E. Hoskins and the Rev. W. Marshall, the Chairman thanked the lecturer on behalf of the Meeting.

WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 27, 1901.

Chairman: Rev. E. S. Dewick, M.A., F.S.A.

Mr. Mill Stephenson, F.S.A., read a paper entitled, "Notes on the Brasses of Kent. Part I. Ecclesiastical and Military." The paper was illustrated by a large series of rubbings of brasses, many of them lent by Mr. E. J. Wells. After a short discussion, a cordial vote of thanks was passed to the lecturer.

WEDNESDAY, MARCH 20, 1901.

Chairman: Rev. Lewis Gilbertson, M.A.

Mr. Mill Stephenson read a paper entitled, "Notes on the Brasses of Kent. Part II. Ladies and Civilians." The paper was illustrated by a fine series of rubbings of the brasses described.

SATURDAY, APRIL 27, 1901.

The church of St. Mary, Willesden, was visited under the guidance of the Vicar, the Ven. Archdeacon Atlay. A visit was subsequently paid to the new church of St. Andrew, Willesden Green.

SATURDAY, MAY 11, 1901.

A very large party of members visited St. Stephen's Chapel and the Houses of Parliament, under the guidance of Sir Joseph Dimsdale, M.P.

SATURDAY, JUNE 1, 1901.

The Parish Church of Enfield was visited under the guidance of the Rev. G. H. Culshaw.

SATURDAY, JUNE 15, 1901.

A visit was paid to Sarratt Church, Hertfordshire, where a short descriptive paper was read by the Rector, the Rev. E. Ryley. He commenced by describing the state of the church at the time of his appointment to the rectory in 1859. The building was then in a most dilapidated state. The walls were green, the floors were uneven and full of holes, and the roof allowed the rain to enter freely. The church was blocked with high pews, and it had two ugly galleries. In the year 1865 it was restored at a cost of about £1,400 by the late Sir G. Gilbert Scott, who had worshipped in the church as a boy, and took great personal interest in the building. The walls were underpinned and strengthened, and two aisles were added to accommodate 75 people, as compensation for the loss of the seats in the gallery. Several piers and arches were rebuilt, and some new windows were inserted. The original arch of the east window was found, and a new two-light window was constructed. Before the restoration the old Norman font was let into the chancel arch and supported by bricks. The bowl was too much decayed to be preserved, and a new one, of Purbeck marble, was made to replace it. The old plinth, which showed that the bowl was originally supported by a central column and four shafts at the angles, has been preserved.

The earliest portion of the church is plain, and may be dated about 1200. The walls are of flint, with quoins of Totternhoe stone. The tower has a pack-saddle roof, with the gables pointing north and south, a rare feature in England. Its foundations include a large block of Hertfordshire pudding-stone at the south-west corner. The pulpit is Jacobean. In the chancel are two stone sedilia, apparently made out of a double Early English piscina, the drain in the easternmost niche still remains. A late Perpendicular piscina has been constructed to the east of the sedilia. There is a niche on the north side of the chancel, which was probably used for an Easter Sepulchre, and also an aumbry. On the south side of the chancel is a monument, with kneeling effigies of Sir William Kingsley and wife, with four boys and one girl. The date painted upon it is 1502, evidently an error for 1602. Probably the mistake was made when the inscription was re-painted.

Twelve of the old encaustic tiles have been preserved and placed in front of the altar. Of the three bells, the two older ones bear the dates of 1606 and 1719 respectively. The third was cast in 1865. Remains of paintings have been found on the east wall of the south transept, consisting of scenes from the life of our Lord. When the church was restored, it was reseated with oak, after the pattern of two or three old seats which remained in the north transept. The registers commence in 1560.

On leaving the church, members were invited to proceed to the Rectory, where tea was most kindly provided by the Rev. E. and Mrs. Ryley.

SATURDAY, JULY 6, 1901.

A visit was paid to the church and rectory house of Southfleet under the guidance of the Rev. H. J. Clayton.

WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 6, 1901.

Chairman: Rev. Lewis Gilbertson, M.A.

A paper on "Mediæval Parish Clerks in Bristol," by Mr. Cuthbert Atchley, was read. It is printed in the *Transactions*, V. p. 107.

In the discussion which followed, Mr. John Smith, of the Worshipful Company of Parish Clerks, took part, and he was followed by the Rev. E. Hoskins, Mr. Gill, Mr. Watts, and the Chairman.

Mr. Smith exhibited a copy of a book entitled, *Some Account of Parish Clerks, and especially of the Ancient Fraternity of St. Nicholas, now known as the Worshipful Company of Parish Clerks*, by James Christie.

WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 20, 1901.

Chairman: Rev. E. Hoskins, M.A.

Mr. H. C. Richards, K.C., M.P., F.S.A., read a paper on "John Wesley in City Churches," in which it was shown that for a space of 50 years John Wesley was continually preaching in City Churches, in spite of his oft-repeated fear that he would not be allowed to preach again. The paper is printed in *Transactions*, V. p. 85.

WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 11, 1901.

Chairman: Rev. Lewis Gilbertson, M.A.

A paper was read by Mr. Leopold G. Wickham Legg, B.A., entitled, "Suggestions for the Reconstruction of the Coronation Ceremonies."

The paper, after pointing out that the Coronation Ceremonies were full of constitutional meaning, proceeded to suggest that the old procession on the day before the Coronation might be revived on the lines of that which took place in 1661. On the day of the Coronation itself, after the Champion had performed his duty at St. James's, Charing Cross, and Westminster, the Peers should assemble in Westminster Hall, and there raise the King into his seat on the King's Bench, thus fulfilling the ancient election of the King by the second estate, which consisted of raising the new King, either on a shield or on a stone seat. The religious procession to the Abbey was then described; with the King and Queen going separately, each under a canopy, and with the Peeresses following the Queen, just as the Peers precede the King. As to the service in the Abbey, a considerable reconstruction was desirable, to set right the confusion of arrangement which was a blemish in the service at present. The reconstruction suggested was that the oath should be placed after the first oblation, and that after the sermon, which might be omitted if desired, there should be said two consecratory prayers and a consecratory preface, accompanied with imposition of hands. This consecration would be followed by unction with chrism in three places. As the orb and the sceptre with the cross were interchangeable, the orb should not be delivered with the Imperial mantle, but rather as the sceptre with the cross. The act of crowning should not be accompanied by acclamation. During the recess to St. Edward's Chapel, the "Hallelujah Chorus" should be sung, not before, and the King would return to Westminster Hall in the same manner as he came, wearing his crown and bearing his sceptre with the cross and the rod with the dove, having left the orb in St. Edward's Chapel. In Westminster Hall the King's styles would be proclaimed, and the next day the King would receive the homage of the Peers. The paper ended with an appeal to the musicians to restrain their zeal, as it was the music that made the service unduly long.

The paper was illustrated by numerous lantern views of the Regalia and of the Processions and Ceremonies in Westminster Abbey. On its conclusion, a vote of thanks to Mr. Legg was proposed by Dr. Eager, seconded by Mr. Almack, and carried unanimously.[1]

WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 15, 1902.

Chairman: Rev. Lewis Gilbertson, M.A.

A paper was read by Mr. G. C. Druce on "Early Christian Art as reflected in our Church Sculptures." The paper was illustrated by a series of lantern views, and on its conclusion the Chairman thanked the lecturer on behalf of the Meeting.

[1] The paper has been printed as No. LXVII. of the Church Historical Society's Publications. (S.P.C.K.)

SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 1, 1902.

Twenty-third Annual Meeting.

Chairman: Dr. J. Wickham Legg, F.S.A.

The Minutes of the last Annual Meeting were read and confirmed.

The Report of the Council and the Balance Sheet were presented:—

Twenty-Third Annual Report, 1901 1902.

During the past twelve months, seven meetings have been held at the Chapter House, at which the following papers have been read:—"English Sculptured Fonts, with special reference to their Ecclesiological Symbolism," by the Rev. H. Bedford Pim; "Notes on the Brasses of Kent" (two papers), by Mr. Mill Stephenson; "Mediæval Parish Clerks in Bristol," by Mr. Cuthbert Atchley; "John Wesley in City Churches," by Mr. H. C. Richards, M.P.; "Suggestions for the Reconstruction of the Coronation Ceremonies," by Mr. Leopold G. Wickham Legg; "Early Christian Art as reflected in our Church Sculptures," by Mr. G. C. Druce.

Visits were made to the following Churches and other buildings:—

St. Mary, Willesden, described by the Ven. Archdeacon Atlay.
St. Andrew, Willesden Green, conducted by the Vicar.
St. Stephen's Chapel and the Houses of Parliament, conducted by Sir Joseph C. Dimsdale, M.P.
The Parish Church of Enfield, described by the Rev. G. H. Culshaw.
The Parish Church of Sarratt, described by the Rev. E. Ryley.
The Parish Church and the ancient Rectory House of Southfleet, conducted by the Rev. H. J. Clayton.

The thanks of the Society are due to the Clergy of the various churches which have been visited, to the gentlemen who have conducted the parties, and to those who have read papers at the Meetings.

Part I. of Volume V. of the *Transactions* has been issued.

The accompanying Balance Sheet shows that the finances of the Society are in a sound position.

LEWIS GILBERTSON,
Chairman.

EDWARD J. WELLS,
Hon. Secretary.

BALANCE SHEET FOR THE YEAR ENDING DECEMBER 31ST, 1901.

Dr.

Dec. 31st, 1901.	£	s.	d.
To Balance in hand	18	17	2
,, Entrance Fees and Subscriptions	52	2	6
,, Life Subscriptions	9	9	0
,, Sale of *Transactions*	12	6	4
,, Interest on Reserve Fund	2	11	6
	£95	6	6

Jan. 1st, 1902.	£	s.	d.
Balance in hand	£11	6	5
Reserve Fund in Post Office Savings Bank	£103	0	6

Cr.

Dec. 31st, 1901.	£	s.	d.
By Amount paid for *Transactions*	58	17	8
,, Printing and Stationery	8	16	6
,, Postage, including forwarding of *Transactions*	14	1	11
,, Fees to attendants	1	2	0
,, Miscellaneous	1	2	0
Balance	11	6	5
	£95	6	6

Having examined the above, and inspected the books and vouchers, we find it correct.

EDWARD J. WELLS, *Hon. Secretary.*

ARCHIBALD DAY,
EDWIN H. FEDARB,
W. HOWEY,
Auditors.

January 24th, 1902.

FREDERICK GILL, *Treasurer.*

The Report of the Council and the Balance Sheet were unanimously adopted.

The members of the Council retiring in rotation were the Rev. L. Gilbertson, the Rev. E. S. Dewick, Mr. Horsburgh, and Mr. Fletcher. On the proposal of the Chairman, seconded by Mr. Letts, these members of the Council were re-elected.

Mr. Gill and Mr. Wells were re-elected as Hon. Treasurer and Hon. Secretary respectively.

Votes of thanks were passed to the Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's for their kindness in allowing the Meetings of the Society to be held in the Chapter Room, and to the Chairman of the Meeting.

WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 19, 1902.

Chairman: Rev. Lewis Gilbertson, M.A.

Mr. Leopold G. Wickham Legg read a paper, "On the Claim of the Archbishop of York to crown the Queen Consort." The paper is printed in the *Transactions*, V. p. 77.

WEDNESDAY, MARCH 19, 1902.

Chairman: Rev. E. S. Dewick, F.S.A.

A lecture was given by Mr. Francis Bond, M.A., on "Capitals." A fine series of lantern views was exhibited, by means of which the various forms of capitals and their history and development were very clearly set forth. After a brief discussion, a very hearty vote of thanks was passed to the lecturer.

SATURDAY, MAY 3, 1902.

A visit was paid to Croydon under the guidance of Mr. George Clinch. At the church of SS. Michael and All Angels the members were welcomed by the Vicar, the Rev. R. W. Hoare, who gave a brief account of the building. The church was designed by the late Mr. Pearson, R.A., and was opened for public worship in 1881, and consecrated in the following year by the late Archbishop Benson. It is vaulted in brick throughout, and has a very picturesque chapel on the south of the choir.

The party then proceeded to the Whitgift Hospital, which was described by the Warden, special attention being directed to the Chapel. In the Warden's room, a number of mazer bowls, books, and documents relating to the history of the hospital had been kindly arranged by the Warden in readiness for the visit of the Society.

The remains of the Old Palace of the Archbishop of Canterbury were then visited under the guidance of Mr. Clinch. The most interesting portion is the great Banqueting Hall, with a fine open-timbered roof, which was built by Archbishop Stafford (1443–1452), whose arms are carved on the corbels. The withdrawing-room or guard chamber has a picturesque oriel window looking out upon a small quadrangle. The chapel has fittings which bear the arms of Archbishop Juxon and other Archbishops. Before leaving the palace, the members were most hospitably entertained at tea by Mr. W. Bruce Bannerman, F.S.A.

The parish church of St. John the Baptist was then visited. The old church was almost entirely destroyed by fire in 1867, and with the exception of the tower was rebuilt by Sir G. Gilbert Scott, and consecrated in 1870. Before the fire the church contained monuments of several of the Archbishops, some of which were not entirely destroyed and have been preserved.

SATURDAY, MAY 24, 1902.

A visit was paid to Denham Church, Bucks., which was described by the Rector, the Rev. R. H. Lathbury.

The oldest part of the church is the Norman tower, which, however, has had Perpendicular windows inserted in the belfry stage, and has been much altered in other respects. The chancel retains some portions of late Early English work, and the nave has a well-proportioned arcade of the fifteenth century. The whole church was very thoroughly "restored" by Mr. G. E. Street in 1861. The monuments include an altar-tomb with recumbent effigies of Sir Edmund Peckham (who died in 1564) and his wife. There are several monumental brasses, the most interesting being that of Agnes Jordan, last Abbess of Syon, who died *circa* 1545; and a palimpsest brass of Amphillis Peckham, 1545, the reverse of which has a representation of a Franciscan friar (unique on a brass), with his hands folded within his sleeves, and a knotted cord hanging from his girdle.[1]

After visiting the church, the members were most hospitably entertained at tea by Mr. and Mrs. Lathbury at the Rectory.

SATURDAY, JUNE 14, 1902.

The churches of Langley Marsh and Upton, near Slough, were visited under the guidance of the Rev. E. S. Dewick, F.S.A. At Upton the members were welcomed by Colonel Ward, churchwarden, whose recollection of the church as it was before its restoration in 1850 enabled him to give much interesting information.

[1] The brass is described and figured in the *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of London*, 2nd Series, vol. xv, pp. 229–232.

The church of Langley Marsh takes its distinctive name of "Marsh" or "Marish," not from the nature of the ground on which it is situated, but from the family name of de Mariscis. It is said that the manor was held in the time of Edward I. by Christiana de Mariscis.[1] It subsequently passed to different families, and in the early part of the seventeenth century it was held by Sir John Kederminster, who has left his mark upon the fabric of the church in very striking fashion.

The church is dedicated to St. Mary, and consists of a nave and chancel with a north aisle extending the full length of both. It still retains much of its ancient furniture and fittings, and the hand of the modern "restorer" has happily not yet been passed over it to wipe out its history, and to substitute dull uniformity for picturesque variety.

There seems to be no evidence to show when a church was first built on this spot. There was certainly one in the Norman period, for a single stone carved with the star pattern characteristic of this style has been built into a wall at the east end of the nave arcade. The nave of the church was at least partly rebuilt about the beginning of the thirteenth century, and a single arch of the arcade remains at the west end of the present nave on the north side. This is plain and massive Early English work, probably not far from the year 1200. The church appears never to have had a south aisle. About the middle of the fourteenth century the chancel was rebuilt, together with a chapel on its north side, and rather later the north aisle of the nave was rebuilt. The greater part of this work still remains, and the windows of the chancel and of the north aisle retain their late Decorated tracery. The capitals of the pillars which separate the chancel from its aisle are finely worked in clunch, and the mouldings of the arches deserve notice. In the fifteenth century a window was inserted in the south wall of the nave, which still remains, although its tracery has been blocked up on account of the library subsequently built on the south side of the church.

In the early part of the seventeenth century great changes were made in the fabric of the church at the expense of Sir John Kederminster. The arcade separating the nave from the north aisle was taken down, and replaced by wooden pillars in 1630, which date may be seen upon the architrave, which is also of wood. A chapel, now used as the manor pew, was built on the south side of the church. The floor of this is raised above the level of the church, and has a vault below. The upper part of the tower was also rebuilt in brick about 1630. The arms of Sir John Kederminster may be seen on it (quarterly, 1st and 4th, two chevrons between three bezants; 2nd and 3rd, a saltire between four fleurs-de-lys). About the same time, to the west of the manor pew, a library was built, which is referred to in the will of Sir John Kederminster, dated February 22, 1631. It was founded "as well for the perpetual benefit of the vicar and curate of the parish of Langley, as for all other ministers and preachers of God's Word that would resort thither to make use of the books therein." The books as well as the fittings of this library have been preserved with little change, and a very careful description of the room is given by Mr. J. Willis Clark in his recent work on *The Care of Books*, Cambridge, 1901, p. 258.

The only subsequent change of importance in the fabric of the church has been the construction of a screen separating the manor pew from the church. This was made of "Coade's artificial stone" in 1792.[2] It is a curious specimen of such Gothic as would have delighted Horace Walpole.

Of furniture and fittings, attention may first be directed to the sedilia, which are of the same date as the chancel. They are quadruple, but the easternmost recess is about four inches narrower than the other three, and its level is about six inches higher. It is, therefore, possible that the eastern recess once contained a *piscina*, though the drain is no longer in existence. The bench appears to have been renewed.

Many old encaustic tiles remain in the chancel, and the gravestones in the floor of the nave have not been disturbed. Some fragments of fourteenth century glass remain in the windows of the north aisle; and a shield of the Stuart arms, encircled with the Garter, shows that Sir John Kederminster did not omit to beautify the church with stained glass. The old roofs remain, and the part of the ceiling of the chancel above the altar is decorated with stars in gold on a blue ground.

There is a chancel screen of oak in the Perpendicular style. According to Lipscomb, it was in 1847 "surmounted by the Royal arms in carved open work, between two oval tablets, on which are inscribed the Creed, Lord's Prayer, and the Ten Commandments."[3] The tablets have now been removed to the east end of the chancel; and the royal arms, bearing the date 1625, have been relegated to the wall behind a gallery at the west end of the north aisle.

The pulpit is plain Jacobean, with the arms of Kederminster, and the date 1625. A fine brass candelabrum hangs in the nave. It was placed in the church at the beginning of the eighteenth century, and is inscribed with the names of "James Reddington, John Tice, Churchwardens, 1709."

The most important monument in the church is the Kederminster tomb on the north side of the chancel. It is in two divisions, that on the right commemorating John Kederminster (*d.* 1556) and his wife Elizabeth (*d.* 1590), with two sons and three daughters, and that on the left Edmund Kederminster (*d.* 1607) and his wife Anne (*d.* 1618), with two sons and six daughters.

[1] Lipscomb's *History and Antiquities of the County of Buckingham*, iv, 531.
[2] *Ibid.*, iv, 531.
[3] *Ibid.*, iv, 531.



CHANCEL OF UPTON CHURCH, BUCKS.



UPTON CHURCH FROM THE NORTH.

The church of St. Laurence, Upton, before its "restoration" in 1850–1, was one of the most perfect examples of a Norman parish church to be seen near London. Even now, in its sadly mangled state, it still retains its ancient appearance when seen from the north.

Before the alterations of 1850, the church consisted of a nave without aisles, a central tower, and a vaulted chancel of two bays. The original Norman work of the chancel, tower, and north wall of the nave still exists and belongs to two periods. The eastern part of the nave is of early Norman, and retains one of the original small windows, though it is now blocked up.[1] The quoin stones of the western end of this early Norman nave may be seen at a point about 18 feet from the present west end of the nave.

The nave was lengthened about the middle of the twelfth century, when the walls were raised and larger windows were inserted at a higher level than the original windows. The north door of the church was moved towards the west. Its original position can still be seen in the masonry of the north wall. The chancel too seems to have been rebuilt about the same time.

The manor of Upton was granted, it is said, by William I. to Hugh de Beauchamp, whose son, Paganus, subsequently gave it to the Augustinian Canons of Merton in Surrey, together with the right of presentation to the church, and it remained in their hands until the Dissolution. The enlargement of the church probably took place under the auspices of the Canons who held the manor.

After this alteration the general plan of the church remained without change for several centuries, but in the fifteenth century some Perpendicular windows were inserted in the nave to give more light, and at the east end of the chancel a late Perpendicular window of three lights, displaced the Norman windows and remained until the "restoration."

During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the furniture and stained glass[2] of the church suffered from iconoclastic fury; and in the course of the eighteenth century the church became blocked up with high pews and galleries, one of which is said to have been in front of the chancel arch. A large pulpit, with a sounding board, was very much in evidence.[3] The building altogether fell into a state of deplorable decay. In 1837 it was decided to build an entirely new church at Slough and to abandon the old one. This was done, and the old church was stripped of its furniture, though it was occasionally used as a cemetery chapel, for the churchyard continued in use for burials. The very fabric narrowly escaped being pulled down and sold for the sake of the materials. It was saved by the action of Mr. Pocock, a farmer, who gave £50 to the parish on the condition that the old church should be left standing.[4]

In 1835 the population of Upton was under a thousand, but by the opening of the Great Western Railway in 1838 the population of the place rapidly grew, and in 1850 the want was felt of more church accommodation. It was then decided to restore the old church. Mr. Ferrey was appointed architect. He pulled down the south wall of nave, and built the present arcade in Transitional Norman style, which fortunately tells its own tale, and cannot be mistaken for old work. The materials of the old south wall, containing a large quantity of local "pudding stone," were used in constructing the new one. Some of the stone-work of the old windows has also been inserted in this wall, but the south doorway is entirely the work of Mr. Ferrey. Very considerable changes were made in the chancel and beneath the tower. The original chancel arch was a plain circular-headed opening in the west wall of the tower, not more than 4 feet 3 inches wide, and 12 feet high.[5] This was removed and a wider one substituted; whilst the stones of the original arch, together with those of two blind arches on each side of it, were re-erected by Mr. Ferrey at the east end of his new aisle. In the chancel the Perpendicular east window was removed, and replaced by two windows in Norman style, of the former existence of which Mr. Ferrey found evidence. These two windows have been filled by Mr. Willement with stained glass containing figures of St. Stephen, and of St. Laurence, the patron saint of the church.

On removing the whitewash from the walls considerable remains of painting, including scenes from the life of our Lord, and some consecration crosses, were discovered.[6] But the greater part was destroyed, and the present colouring on the capitals and vaulting ribs of the chancel is all that remains of the original decoration, and even this has been retouched.

The tower of the church was lowered by the removal of 19 feet of brickwork, which had been added to the original tower, and the present pyramidal cap was placed upon it.

[1] This early work has been claimed as Saxon, but the claim does not appear to rest on strong support.

[2] Fragments of stained glass, found near the church, have been used for filling a circular window in the new south aisle. Colonel Ward, whose recollection of the church goes back to days before its "restoration," states that this glass was found in clearing out a large pond by the roadside on the north side of the church. This pond has now been drained and filled up.

[3] Mr. Myres, in *Records of Bucks*, vii, 77.

[4] *Records of Bucks*, vii, 77.

[5] See *Gentleman's Magazine*, N.S., vol. xxviii, p. 489, November, 1847, where there is a good figure of this arch in its original state.

[6] *Records of Bucks*, i, 204.

In the north wall of the nave, a Perpendicular window was removed, and replaced by two in Norman style. The whole fabric was so scraped and renovated that it is not easy to tell by mere inspection which portions are original, and which are the work of Mr. Ferrey, but a comparison with old engravings shows that the original windows in the north wall nave are the easternmost and the westernmost.

The church was re-consecrated by Bishop Samuel Wilberforce on December 2nd, 1851.

A further addition was made to the church in 1879, when Mr. J. O. Scott erected an organ chamber on the south side of the tower, for which purpose he was compelled to pierce the wall of the tower and to destroy an old window. New stalls and prayer desk were placed in the chancel in 1883–4, also from the design of Mr. J. O Scott.[1]

In the present church the most interesting feature is the vaulted chancel of two bays to which reference has already been made. It has two Norman windows on each side, and the external flat pilaster buttresses on the south side remain in genuine condition. The Norman font is circular, and has twelve round-headed panels. When the church was abandoned in 1837, the font was removed to the new church, but it has happily been brought back to its original home. A Norman pillar piscina was discovered when the church was being restored, and has been replaced in the chancel.

Of the Early English period there is a remarkable blind arch in carved wood with dog-tooth ornament and foliage. This arch was once on the north side of the chancel arch, but it is now at the east end of the new south aisle. It is described and figured in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, N.S., vol xxviii, p. 489, November, 1847. "The recess is 12 feet high, and 6 wide; its sill being 4 feet from the ground. The mouldings are alternately dog-tooth and small tori all springing from clustered columns, with bell bases and capitals. The capitals are adorned with foliage, and were painted red, while the columns were embellished with red spiral stripes and spots." Traces of colour may still be seen. The arch probably formed the reredos of an altar on the north side of the chancel arch. The Creed was inscribed on the flat surface of the recess enclosed by the arch some time after the Reformation, and this was afterwards partly hidden by a monument to a member of the Bulstrode family erected in the time of Charles I. (*Gentleman's Magazine*, N.S., vol. xxvi, p. 607, December, 1846.)

A fragment of an alabaster tablet representing the Holy Trinity has been found, and has been mounted in a frame of the same material and fixed to the south wall under the tower. It consists of the Eternal Father holding the Crucified between His knees. The Dove representing the Third Person has been broken off. Traces of gold and colour remain.[2]

Several brasses have been fixed to the east wall of the new south aisle. They commemorate members of the Bulstrode family, who resided at Bulstrode Park, in a detached part of the parish near Gerard's Cross.

Of more modern monuments, there is a mural tablet, near the north-west corner of the tower, in memory of Sir William Herschel, the astronomer, who had lived in the parish for 40 years, and had made remarkable discoveries by the aid of his forty-foot telescope. He died in 1822, is buried under the tower, the exact spot of his grave being marked with a slab.

In the churchyard there is a fine yew tree on the north side of the church: and near the north wall of the church there is a tombstone with the somewhat enigmatical inscription:—"Here lies the body of Sarah Bramstone, of Eton, a person who dared to be just in the reign of George the Second." Probably this is a delicate way of indicating that the lady's political views were of Jacobite complexion.

SATURDAY, JUNE 28, 1902.

The churches of St. Olave, Hart Street, and All Hallows, Barking, were visited under the guidance of Mr. Philip Norman, F.S.A. The papers read by Mr. Norman on this occasion are printed in the *Transactions*, vol. v, pp. 93, 99.

WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 29, 1902.

Chairman: Rev. Lewis Gilbertson, M.A.

Two papers were read by Rev. E. S. Dewick, M.A., F.S.A.—"On an Inventory (*circa* 1400) of Church Goods of St. Martin Ludgate," and "On some fly-leaf notes in a manuscript Sarum Prymer." Some remarks on these papers were made by Dr. J. Wickham Legg, and by the Chairman. The first of the papers is printed in the *Transactions*, vol. v, p. 117, and the second in vol. v, p. 172.

[1] Rev. Pownoll W. Phipps' *Records of the Churches, Rectory and Vicarage of Upton-cum-Chalvey, Bucks*, Slough, 1886.

[2] Figured in *Records of Bucks*, i, 200.

WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 12, 1902.

Chairman: Rev. Lewis Gilbertson, M.A.

A lecture on "Some North-West Norfolk Churches," was given by the Rev. H. Bedford Pim, M.A., which was illustrated by a fine series of lantern slides prepared from photographs taken by the lecturer. A cordial vote of thanks to the lecturer concluded the proceedings.

WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 10, 1903.

Chairman: Rev. E. S. Dewick, F.S.A.

The Rev. R. J. Fletcher, M.A., read a paper on "The Inns of Court and the Reformation." A short discussion followed in which the Rev. Canon Thompson, Preacher of Gray's Inn, Mr. Gill and Mr. Fedarb took part, and the Chairman thanked the lecturer on behalf of the Meeting. Mr. Fletcher's paper is printed in the *Transactions*, vol. v, p. 149.

WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 14, 1903.

Chairman: J. T. Micklethwaite, Esq., F.S.A.

A paper on "Saxon Churches" was read by Mr. C. R. Peers, F.S.A. In the discussion which followed Mr. Bell, Rev. H. Bedford Pim and Mr. Leland L. Duncan took part, and the Chairman, after making some remarks, tendered the thanks of the Meeting to Mr. Peers.

SATURDAY, JANUARY 31, 1903.

Twenty-fourth Annual Meeting.

Chairman: Rev. Lewis Gilbertson, M.A.

The Minutes of the last Annual Meeting were read and confirmed.

The Report of the Council and the Balance Sheet for the year ending December 31st, 1902, were presented:—

Twenty-Fourth Annual Report, 1902–1903.

During the past twelve months, six meetings have been held at the Chapter House, at which the following papers have been read:—"On the claim of the Archbishop of York to crown the Queen Consort," by Mr. Leopold G. Wickham Legg, B.A.; "Capitals," by Mr. Francis Bond, M.A.; "Some Fly-leaf Entries in a Sarum Psymer," by the Rev. E. S. Dewick, F.S.A.; "An Inventory (*circa* 1400) of the Church Goods of St. Martin Ludgate," by the Rev. E. S. Dewick, F.S.A.; "Some north-west Norfolk Churches," by the Rev. H. Bedford Pim, M.A.; "The Inns of Court and the Reformation," by the Rev. Reginald J. Fletcher, M.A.; "Saxon Churches," by Mr. C. R. Peers, M.A., F.S.A.

Visits were made to the following Churches and other buildings:—

Croydon (Parish Church, St. Michael's Church, Whitgift Hospital and Old Palace), conducted by Mr. Geo. Clinch.

Denham Church, Bucks, described by the Rector, the Rev. R. H. Lathbury.

Langley Marsh and Upton Churches, conducted by Rev. E. S. Dewick, F.S.A.

St. Olave, Hart Street, and All Hallows Barking, conducted by Mr. Philip Norman, F.S.A.

The thanks of the Society are due to the Clergy of the various churches which have been visited, to the gentlemen who have conducted the parties, and to those who have read papers at the Meetings.

Part II. of Volume V of the *Transactions* has been issued.

LEWIS GILBERTSON,

Chairman.

EDWARD J. WELLS,

Hon. Secretary.

BALANCE SHEET FOR THE YEAR ENDING DECEMBER 31ST, 1902.

Dr.

	£	s.	d.
To Balance in hand	11	6	5
,, Entrance Fees and Subscriptions	44	5	0
,, Life Subscriptions	8	8	0
,, Donations	1	0	6
,, Sale of *Transactions*	4	1	6
,, Interest on Reserve Fund	2	12	6
	£71	13	11

Cr.

	£	s.	d.
By Amount paid for *Transactions*	37	19	6
,, Printing and Stationery	11	6	3
,, Postage, including forwarding of *Transactions*	12	17	3
,, Fees to attendants	1	10	0
,, Hire of lanterns	2	2	6
,, Balance	5	14	5
	£71	13	11

Jan. 1st, 1903.

Balance in hand	£5	14	5
Reserve Fund in Post Office Savings Bank	103	0	6

Having examined this account, and compared it with the books and vouchers, we find the same correct.

EDWARD J. WELLS, *Hon. Secretary.*

ARCHIBALD DAY, EDWIN H. FEDARB, } *Auditors.*

January 22nd, 1903.

FREDERICK GILL, *Treasurer.*

The adoption of the Report was moved by the Chairman and carried unanimously.

Mr. Deputy White proposed, and Mr. Plowman seconded, the adoption of the Balance Sheet, which was carried.

On the nomination of the Council, Mr. Philip Norman, F.S.A., was elected an Honorary Member.

The four members of the Council retiring in rotation were the Rev. W. P. Besley, Mr. L. L. Duncan, Mr. Ebbs, and Mr. R. Garraway Rice. Their re-election was proposed by Mr. Rawson, seconded by Mr. White, and carried unanimously.

Mr. Weils and Mr. Gill were unanimously re-elected to the offices of Hon. Secretary and Hon. Treasurer respectively.

Some discussion took place on the question of the time of holding the evening meetings, some members suggesting 6.30, and others preferring 8 or 8.30. A show of hands was taken, and it resulted in 6.30 receiving three supporters, 8.30 five supporters, while the majority was in favour of 8 o'clock.

A vote of thanks to the Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's for their continued kindness in allowing the Meetings of the Society to be held in the Chapter Room was proposed by Mr. R. Garraway Rice, seconded by Mr. Wright, and carried unanimously.

A vote of thanks was passed to the Editor of the *Transactions* on the proposal of Mr. Plowman, seconded by Mr. Wright.

Mr. White called attention to the proposal for the demolition of the church of All Hallows, Lombard Street, and on his initiative a resolution was adopted which was forwarded to the *City Press*.

WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 4, 1903.

Chairman: Rev. E. Hoskins, M.A.

A lecture was given by the Rev. Stanford F. H. Robinson, M.A., F.R.S.A.I., on "Celtic MSS. and their Illuminations." The lecture was illustrated by lantern slides of photographs of the MSS. described in the lecture.

In his introductory remarks the lecturer referred to two distinct and very different periods in which Ireland had left a definite impression on European art. Such masterpieces as the Chalice of Ardagh, the cross of Cong, or those examples of illuminative art which had come down to them from the sixth, seventh and succeeding centuries, recalled to them one of those periods—the time when the Celts of Ireland were exercising a humanizing influence on the Teutonic conquerors of the Roman Empire, and were diffusing a type of illuminated decoration which was itself the outgrowth and translation of a peculiar heirloom of the Irish race—the art of enamel work. All this, he said, was generally recognised, but the important influence exercised by a much earlier period had yet to win recognition, that well-nigh 1,000 years before the days of Saint Columba, Ireland had won an almost European position as a centre of metallurgic art. Scandinavian archæologists were now awakening to the fact that certain bronze arms and implements, together with gold cups and ornaments found in the bronze

age deposits of Northern Europe, including parts of Germany, were made in Ireland, and an analysis by experts had declared the metal of these objects to have been Irish gold. Mr. Arthur Evans, who visited Dublin a few years ago, considered that the museum of the Royal Irish Academy was richer in objects of native gold than any museum outside Athens, and in comparing the massive torques, fibulæ and other ornaments with the treasures unearthed by Dr. Schliemann at Mycenæ, he regarded these latter as far surpassed by the massiveness of these pre-Christian Irish ornaments, some of which were assigned by him to the fifth or sixth century before Christ. The lecturer pointed out that it was important to remember this earlier period, and in the course of his lecture showed how it explained many ornaments and devices which were adopted by Celtic art in Christian Ireland, and how with the introduction of Christianity came, not only a revival of the earlier art which was moulded and developed in new directions but also new ideas which were welded into the more primitive conceptions of decoration.

Before proceeding to deal with the various types of ornament found in Celtic MSS., the lecturer dealt at some length on certain characteristics which marked the script of the Celtic scribe, and produced a distinctive school of handwriting so conservative in its style as to completely prevent the dating of a MS. with any precision if the style of the script was the only criterion. Continuing, he pointed out the close resemblance that existed between this Celtic script and the semi-uncial form of the letters found in MSS. of the fifth and sixth century in Italy and Gaul; these similarities were fully illustrated by photographic reproductions from the oldest MS. of the old Latin version—Codex Vercellensis—and others. The lecturer, after describing the kind of quills used by the Celtic scribes, then dealt with the text of the Celtic MSS. in Ireland and in England, explaining the origin of the mixed text in Ireland, which was due to the conservatism of Irish Christianity clinging so tenaciously to the Old Latin Version which, however, in time was influenced and considerably modified by the presence of the Vulgate. Continuing, he said that while the illumination designs of the MSS. of northern England were wholly derived from Ireland and executed by Irishmen or by their Anglo-Saxon disciples, the text they contained was vastly superior; the Lindisfarne Gospels and Codex Amiatinus were instanced as examples of MSS. written in England and containing an excellent text of the Vulgate which was fully accounted for by the coming of Theodore of Tarsus to the see of Canterbury in 669, and by bringing with him, as his friend and adviser, Hadrian, the abbot of a monastic establishment close to Naples.

Having dealt with the versions of the Old Latin and Vulgate contained in the Celtic MSS. in Ireland and in England, the lecturer proceeded to deal with the illumination ornament, and explained the principle and structure of some of the designs which were most frequently used. He referred the spirals, zigzags, circles, dots, etc., to the earlier period, and as more or less common to all primitive people, and considered that the spiral form of decoration came into European decoration at Mycenæ which had close contact with Egypt, many of these Mycenæan designs closely resembled the Celtic spirals, but he said that no doubt the source of these designs, as Mr. Flinders Petrie had observed, lay in the 2,000 years start which Egypt had before Europe awoke. The drawing of these spirals was a matter of extreme difficulty; Dr. Keller considered the examples of their treatment in Irish illumination as real masterpieces, which furnished a splendid proof of the extraordinary skill of the drawing and of the firmness of the artist's hand.

The spiral design was used in Ireland in several ways that would seem to indicate the distinct influence of the taste of the Celtic race upon this principle of decoration, some of the forms of spiral ornament were evidently derived from the application of gold wire to flat surfaces of gold or other metal; for the Celtic scribe, illuminator and artificer in metal worked side by side, and many of the smaller linear and geometrical designs were plainly suggested by the metal work, which was itself so richly decorated, and its main features and outline so judiciously emphasised by the enamel work effectively introduced with marvellous skill into the general design. To these beautiful specimens of cloisonné inlay with pieces of transparent carbuncle used with such delicate skill in the finer gold work, might be attributed a whole series of the diaper and similar patterns formed with step-like lines enclosing minute spaces with brilliant colour. These patterns were illustrated from the greatest treasure of Celtic art, the *Book of Kells*. The various interlaced and knotted patterns, the fish, bird and reptile forms and many other symbolical and decorative, were likewise dealt with, as were also the traces of influence exerted by Byzantine Art which came to Gaul through Ravenna and from Gaul to Ireland. The lecturer attributed the drawing of the human face and figure to the influence of some (probably debased) Byzantine prototype which had by the same spirit of conservatism that prevailed among the scribes perpetuated a type of handwriting which remained unaltered in its main features during five successive centuries, and had also made these portraits of the Evangelists and other human figures traditional, while the ingenuity of the ornament in which they were framed would seem to have been developed and elaborated by each generation of illuminators who every century evolved more intricate designs and at the same time produced (as in the *Book of Kells*) a beauty and harmony of colour which had never been surpassed. The nature of the materials out of which these magnificent colours were made, that now have stood the test of 1,000 years, was of special interest. Bede in his Ecclesiastical History, when speaking of the colours used in Britain, notices in particular the brilliancy of the red, and mentions that on the British coasts there was an abundance of cockles yielding a bright scarlet, "a most beautiful colour," he says, "which never fades

with the heat of the sun or the washing of the rain, but the older it is the more beautiful it becomes." After referring to the results of Professor Hartley's investigations on the subject, the lecturer in his concluding remarks alluded to several beautifully ornamented MSS. executed either by Celtic scribes in England or by Anglo-Saxons, who learned their art from Celtic teachers, and specially drew attention to two such here in London that would well repay several visits—the gospels of St. Cuthbert, better known as the *Book of Lindisfarne*, now in the custody of the British Museum, and the gospels of MacDurnan, preserved in the library of Lambeth Palace.

After some remarks by Mr. Garraway Rice and Rev. E. S. Dewick, the Chairman thanked the lecturer on behalf of the Meeting.

WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 18, 1903.

Chairman: Rev. E. S. Dewick, F.S.A.

A third and concluding lecture entitled "Notes on the Brasses of Kent," was given by Mr. Mill Stephenson, F.S.A., which was illustrated by a fine series of rubbings, for the most part exhibited by Mr. E. J. Wells. After a few remarks by Mr. Garraway Rice, the lecturer received the thanks of the Meeting.

A summarized account of Mr. Stephenson's three lectures on the brasses of Kent is printed in the *Transactions*, vol. v, p. 129.

WEDNESDAY, MARCH 4, 1903.

Chairman: Rev. Lewis Gilbertson, M.A.

Mr. R. Garraway Rice, F.S.A., exhibited and described a large number of lantern views of objects of ecclesiological interest in Ireland and Sussex. At the conclusion of the lecture a hearty vote of thanks was passed to the lecturer.

WEDNESDAY, MARCH 18, 1903.

Chairman: Dr. J. Wickham Legg, F.S.A.

Mr. F. C. Eeles read two papers: (1) "Which St. Valentine is commemorated in the Calendar of the Prayer Book?"; (2) "Some Traditional Customs connected with the Scottish Liturgy."

A discussion followed the reading of each paper, in which Rev. E. S. Dewick, Rev. E. Hoskins, Mr. Gill, Mr. Comper and the Chairman took part.

The first of Mr. Eeles' papers is printed in the *Transactions*, vol. v, p. 158.

SATURDAY, APRIL 18, 1903.

A visit was paid to the church of St. Giles, Cripplegate, under the guidance of the Rev. A. Barff, Rector of the parish, and Prebendary of St. Paul's.

SATURDAY, MAY 9, 1903.

The church of St. Bartholomew the Great, Smithfield, was visited under the guidance of Mr. E. A. Webb, F.S.A., who has kindly supplied the following account of the visit.[1]

The occasion of this further visit to this old Priory Church was in connection with the effort now being made by the Restoration Committee to save from destruction the three bays of the East cloisters, which are all that now remain of the 30 bays of which the cloisters originally consisted.

These three bays fortunately are adjoining the church wall, so that access can be had from the church through the original entrance by which the canons passed into the church from the cloisters. This round-headed doorway, which is bricked up, can be clearly traced on the church side, and on the cloister side the mouldings are visible.

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[1] This church has been formerly visited by the Society in 1886, 1887, 1891, 1893, and 1896. An illustration of the restored apse is given in *Transactions S.P.E.S.*, vol. ii, p. xxvi.

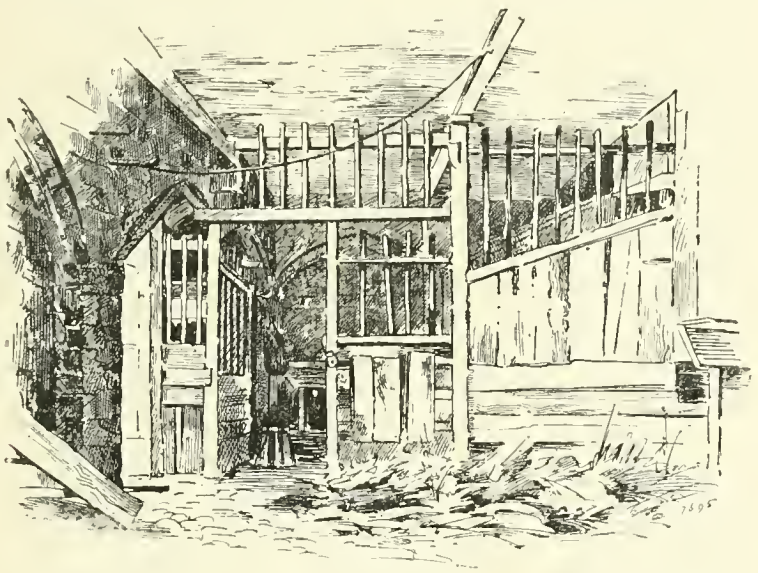
The cloisters at present are filled with earth to within 2 feet of the springing of the arches, and are occupied by stables, the drainage from which percolates through the church wall. They are 15 feet wide, but the vaulting has fallen in, probably at the time of the fire in 1830. The freehold of the land which they occupy and some 10 feet beyond, has been secured by the Committee, but unfortunately subject to the remainder of a long lease which does not expire until 1926, so that immediate occupation depends upon sufficient funds being raised to buy out the leaseholders.

The antiquarian interest in the recovery of these cloisters is considerable, but a still more important point is that the lofty warehouses, which were eventually to have been erected on the site, and which would have abutted on to and dwarfed the tower, will now be kept 19 feet away, and this will be an incalculable benefit to the church, which, situated as it is in a densely packed neighbourhood, surrounded by many old lath and plaster buildings and highly inflammable warehouses, is in constant danger of fire.

The total cost of purchase and restoration is estimated at £2,500, of which some £1,200 has been already received or promised.

A brief account was given by the lecturer on the history and architecture of the building, but a heavy thunderstorm accompanied by great darkness considerably interfered with a proper inspection of its details.

The present building consists of the monastic portion of the church, the choir, the crossing, truncated transepts and one bay of the nave; the rest of the nave was destroyed by Henry VIII.



CLOISTERS OF SAINT BARTHOLOMEW THE GREAT IN THEIR PRESENT STATE.

between the years 1540 and 1544, and the stones were made use of in some of the many buildings he was erecting at that time. It was an Augustinian Priory, and possessed all the usual monastic buildings appertaining to that order. The nave was the parish church called from the earliest times St. Bartholomew the Great.

After the dissolution in October, 1539, the priory buildings at once came into the hands of the Chancellor of the Court of Augmentations, Sir Richard Rich, who with Thomas Cromwell was the chief instigator of the spoliation of the monasteries. The Lady Chapel was made into the chief mansion house and accommodated four families, mostly of the nobility, two of which occupied the north and south triforia with windows looking into the church, and which are described as being within "a reasonable distance of the pulpit." The Great Plague of 1665 drove all the nobility away never to return, and the building was given over to further encroachment, neglect or whitewash until 1863, when the Rector, Rev. John Abbiss, commenced a partial restoration: at his death in 1884 the work was recommenced with great earnestness by the Rev. Wm. Panckridge under the able guidance of Mr. Aston Webb as architect, and it is now carried on by his successor, the Rev. Sir Borradaile Savory, Bart. Several of those present could remember the church before the Restoration when there were 2 feet of earth over the floor and the high pews reached nearly to the capitals of the great Norman piers. The Lady Chapel was then occupied by a fringe factory, the north transept by a blacksmith's forge, the south transept by a vestry room, the north triforium by a school. These have all in turn disappeared, but the

Committee are justly proud of the fact that throughout no worked stone has ever been moved, no new work has been added but what was required for the services of the day, and that all new work, whilst harmonising with the old, can in no case be mistaken for anything but the work of the nineteenth century.

The lecturer referred to those priors only who had left their mark upon the building. He commenced with Rayer (or Rahere), an ecclesiastic and courtier at the court of Henry I., who founded the Priory in 1123, and who after the wreck of the White Ship in 1120, went on pilgrimage to Rome, and had the vision of St. Bartholomew so often described, at whose bidding he founded the church simultaneously with the great hospital of St. Bartholomew adjoining. He built the church up to the east arch of the crossing. There is some uncertainty as to the date of the effigy on his tomb, but the opinion that it was earlier than the beautiful canopy above, which dates from about 1410, seems to have favour.

Prior Thomas from St. Osyth's succeeded on Rahere's death in 1144. He built the transepts, the crossing, and the first bay of the nave in Transition Norman style, and died in 1174.

Prior Allen, whose name occurs in 1181, continued the work, and perhaps inserted the present clerestory window on the south side of the nave.

Peter le Duc, who was prior from 1242–1255, probably built the nave in Early English style, of which two clustered shafts remain, and the Priory gateway leading into Smithfield. The affray so graphically recorded by Mathew Paris took place at this time. The raising of the floor of the choir to the level of the nave was also probably carried out by Prior Peter.

Whilst John de Pekenden was prior, 1340–1355, the Lady Chapel was rebuilt, but only two small decorated mouldings of that work now remain.

John Eyton from Repton, 1391–1414, obtained indulgence of the Pope in 1395 to study for seven years in the University, amongst other things apparently architecture. He took off the roof of the church, rebuilt the clerestory, took down the apse, and replaced it with a square termination and two fine windows with early Perpendicular tracery; he extended and rebuilt the Lady Chapel, built the Founder's tomb, and took down and re-erected the west and north arches of the crossing, probably necessitated by a settlement in the great pier at the north-east corner of the crossing. Bishop Walden also founded in Prior Eyton's time a chapel on the north side of the north ambulatory.

Prior Bolton, 1505–1532, was a great architect, and as such was employed by Henry VIII. at Newhall in Essex, and at the Tower of London. He built a Rectory house at Harrow and Canonbury Tower at Islington. At St. Bartholomew's he inserted the oriel window in the south triforium with his rebus, a Bolt-in-tun in the centre panel, the door at the east end of the south ambulatory, where his rebus may also be seen, and added to or repaired the outbuildings of the Priory. He was succeeded by Fuller, the Abbot of Waltham, who surrendered to Henry VIII., October 25, 1539, without doing anything for the good of the Priory.

After the Dissolution there is no reason to believe but that the priest in charge of the Parish Church continued the services without a break; John Deane was curate in charge when Henry VIII. in 1544 appointed him the first rector. Whether he remained on when Queen Mary set up the Dominicans here in 1555 is doubtful, but if not, he returned in 1559.

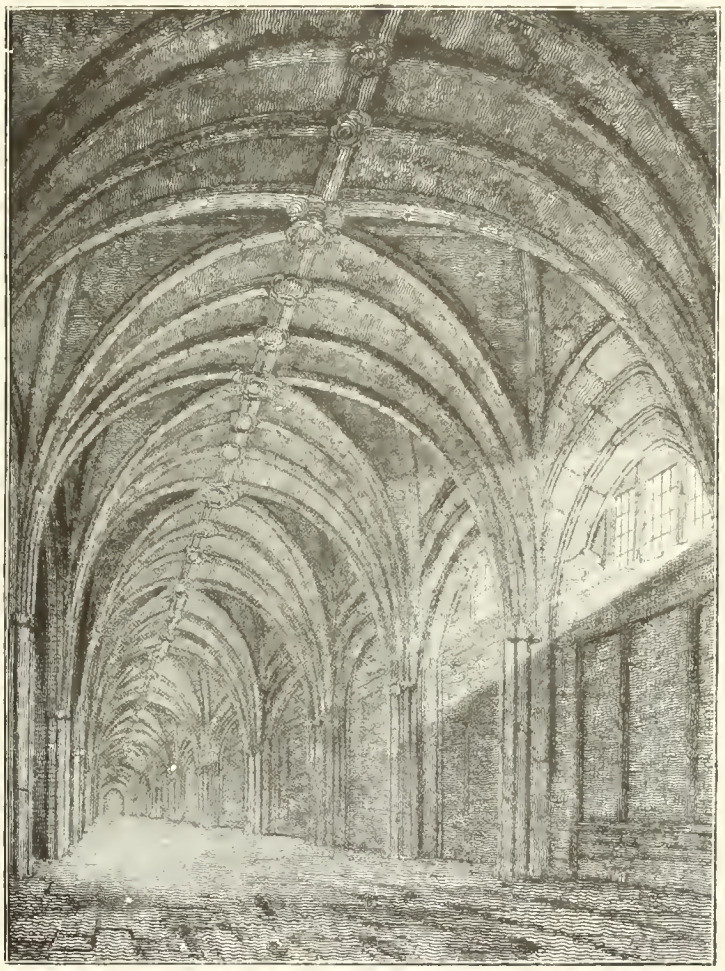
Of the Rectors, other than Mr. Abbiss, Mr. Panckridge and the present Rector, who have left their mark on the building, reference was only made to Thos. Westfield, 1605–1644, in whose time (1628) the tower was taken down and the present brick tower erected in a very unsuitable place over the south aisle. Westfield, when he died, was the Bishop of Bristol as well as Rector of St. Bartholomew's.

During the perambulation of the church notice was taken of a nameless prior's tomb in the arcading of the north transept, of the fine modern wrought-iron grille beside it, also of the wrought-iron memorial screen at the entrance to the Lady Chapel, a visit to which and to the crypt beneath concluded the inspection.

SATURDAY, MAY 23, 1903.

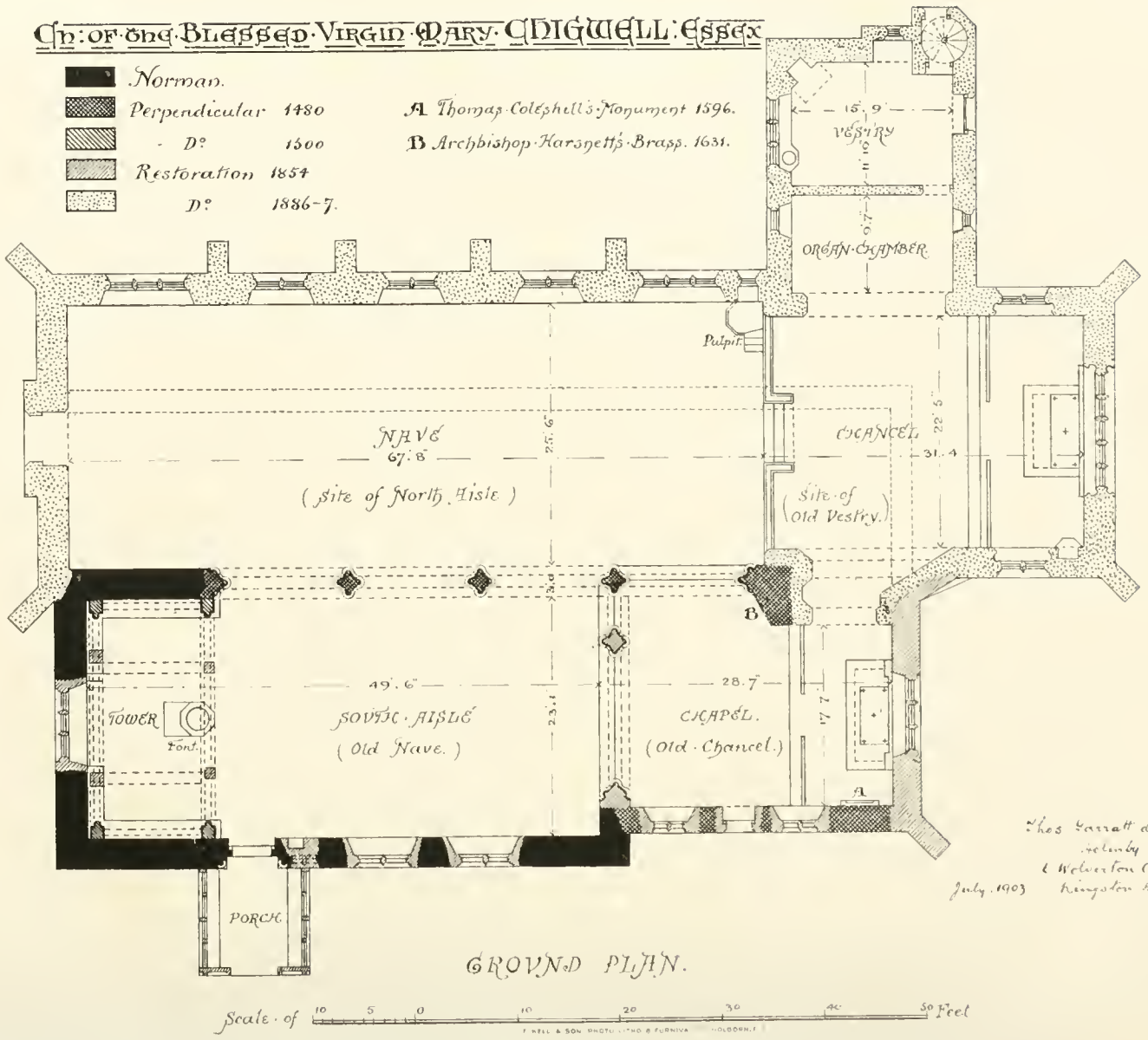
Aldenham Church was visited under the guidance of the Vicar, the Rev. the Hon. K. F. Gibbs, Hon. Canon of St. Alban's.

The church is of various dates and styles, and has some remarkable irregularities in its plan, which produce a strikingly picturesque effect. Of the Norman period there remains a window at the west end of the south aisle. The arcade on the south side of the chancel and the lower part of the tower belong to the early part of the thirteenth century, to which date the font may be also assigned. The south arcade of the nave was probably built towards the end of the fourteenth century, whilst the north arcade and most of the windows belong to the fifteenth century. The fine roof of the nave, built towards the end of the fifteenth century, retains much of its ancient coloured decoration. The screen at the east end of the south aisle, and several monuments, deserve attention.



ST. BARTHOLOMEW THE GREAT.

THE CLOISTERS AS THEY WERE A HUNDRED YEARS AGO.


Ch: of the Blessed Virgin Mary Chigwell Essex
Norman.
Perpendicular 1480
D° 1500
Restoration 1854
D° 1886-7.
A Thomas Colesshill's Monument 1596.
B Archbishop Harsnetts Brass. 1631.
15. 9
VESTRY
11. 0
9. 7
ORGAN CHAMBER
Pulpit
NAVE
67. 8
(Site of North Aisle)
CHANCEL
31. 4
22. 5
(Site of Old Vestry.)
25. 6
B
49. 6
28. 7
TOWER
Font
SOUTH AISLE
(Old Nave.)
CHAPEL.
(Old Chancel.)
23. 1
17. 7
A
PORCH
Thos Garratt del
Selsby
1 Waterloo Avenue
July. 1903 Kingston Hill. Surrey
GROUND PLAN.
Scale of 10 5 0 10 20 30 40 50 Feet

SATURDAY, JUNE 13, 1903.

A visit was paid to the church of Kemsing, near Sevenoaks, which was described by the Vicar, the Rev. T. C. Skarratt. Some further information was given by Mr. J. N. Comper, under whose direction the chancel has been newly decorated in gold and colours.

The church originally consisted of chancel, nave, and western tower. A north aisle has been added to meet the present requirements of the parish. The fabric of the nave is Early English and one lancet still remains. The chancel is Perpendicular. The fittings and furniture of the church are of special interest. The lower part of the original rood-screen remains, and it has lately received the addition of a very beautiful rood-loft. Of stained glass there is a medallion containing the B.V. and Child of the thirteenth century, and a remarkable figure of St. Anne in a window on the south side of the chancel. The glass of the east window is new and has been designed by Mr. J. N. Comper. There is an early and interesting monumental brass consisting of the half-effigy of a priest in eucharistic vestments with the inscription : Hic iacet Dominus Thomas de Hop. It commemorates Thomas de Hop, who was rector of Kemsing from 1341 to 1348,[1] though the brass itself is generally believed to have been engraved some years earlier. Three painted consecration crosses remain, two on the south wall of the nave and one on the south wall of the tower. They vary from 11½ to 12½ inches in diameter. There were two others on the north wall of the nave before it was pulled down for building the new aisle.

SATURDAY, JUNE 27, 1903.

Visits were paid to the churches of St. Andrew Undershaft, and St. Katherine Cree, under the guidance of Mr. Philip Norman, F.S.A. The two papers read on this occasion are printed in the current volume of the *Transactions*, at pp. 181, 189.

SATURDAY, JULY 18, 1903.

A visit was paid to Chigwell Church, where the members were welcomed by the Vicar, the Rev. T. Marsden, and a paper on the church was read by Mr. T. Garratt. After giving a detailed history of the parish and its manors, Mr. Garratt proceeded to read the following description of the church :—

"I would now like to turn your attention to the fabric of the church, and if you will allow me to treat it in my own way, I propose to refer to it as it exists at the present time, and trace back the various changes and alterations until we arrive at something like a probability of its first proportions. I know this is rather a topsy-turvy arrangement, but I believe I shall thus be enabled to point out its different stages more clearly.

"First let me interpolate a little bit of information given me by the Vicar, which is simply that the very first collection made in the church on his coming into the parish was devoted to the *future restoration*, and the result of that *first* and later efforts is before us. I am sure all members of our Society who are present here to-day will congratulate him on this result, and I do not think I am saying too much in calling this a model village church, for here we have evidence of the care taken of what was ancient in the building, and I have no need to speak of the correctness, beauty, and harmony of the new work with the old, some of the very best architects, artists, and craftsmen of the day having been employed to carry out the work.

"I have a plan of the church here which I hope will help you to follow me in my description.

"When Blomfield was called in to restore the church in 1886, instead of tinkering with and pulling about the antient portion of the building he very wisely, as I think, decided to gain the additional space required by practically building a new church alongside the small old one ; as you can see, the whole of the building north of the old arcade is modern. It consists of a nave nearly 70 feet long by 25 feet 6 inches wide, chancel 30 feet long by 22 feet 6 inches wide, an organ chamber north of the chancel 15 feet 9 inches by 9 feet 6 inches and beyond it a vestry 15 feet 9 inches by 12 feet with a room over, approached by a turret staircase. This new portion is all carried out with considerable care in its detail without being over-elaborated. The walls are faced with pebble and flint with stone dressings and tiled roof. Among its most striking features are the clever way in which the communication is made with the south chapel, the insertion of a small window giving light to the

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[1] Mill Stephenson in *Transactions S.P.E.S.*, vol. v, p. 136.

pulpit, and the fine open timber roof to the nave, and I would particularly call your attention to the capital effect of the curved wind braces as leading the eye up to the apex of the roof.

"In 1897 Bodley visited the church with a view to completing the more decorative details. The white alabaster reredos was executed by Farmer and Brindley under him, and pourtrays the Annunciation of the Virgin in the centre panel with angelic figures bearing the sacred monogram on shields in the compartments on either side; it will repay very careful examination.

"The pulpit was executed by Rattee and Kett under Mr. Bodley and is a typical example of his elegant treatment of woodwork. He is also responsible for the decoration of the chancel roof carried out by Powell of Lincoln, which I am sure all will admire for its harmony and restraint.

"I will also call your attention to some fine specimens of modern glass which the church contains. The east window is by Powell of Whitefriars, the three-light window on the north side of the nave by Kemp shows most delicate drawing and beautiful colouring, nor must I omit the little gem which gives light to the pulpit by Burlinson and Grylle.

"Now let me give you an idea of what the church was like before this 1886–7 restoration took place. The present south aisle was then the nave with a timber tower and spire at the west end, its chancel is now the south chapel, a porch on the south side of the nave and a long narrow aisle on the north side next the arcade extending from the western face of the tower nearly to the eastern face of the chancel. The eastern portion of this aisle formed the vestry which had a door communicating with the chancel. An examination of the photographs kindly lent by the Vicar will, I think, satisfy you that no great harm was done in removing this aisle off the face of the earth to make way for the beautiful nave we are in, in spite of Walford's reference to 'the decent Church of Chigwell as yet happily unrestored.' The old aisle certainly had some windows of a Gothic character though not of much artistic merit, and it will be seen from the photographs that it had on the outside a wooden boxed-in erection which contained a staircase communicating from the outside with a gallery inside, which stretched across the middle of the aisle and was supported on columns. This gallery I imagine was really a private pew belonging to the family of Hatch, and probably had its own particular stove and other appurtenances of the period. There was also another gallery across the west end of the north aisle,[1] and under the tower extending eastwards as far as the first detached column of the arcade was a third gallery. This we learn was built by private subscription in 1722 for the accommodation of the Charity girls. In connection with this gallery you will notice in the south wall near the entrance a small two-light window higher up in the wall than the remaining windows which was no doubt inserted specially to light this gallery. The church appears to have undergone a rather extensive restoration or renovation in 1854, the architect being a Mr. Dolby or possibly Mr. F. T. Dollman. It must have been at this time that the old nave and chancel were re-roofed and the arcade built across the church between the nave and chancel, which I think is a clever bit of work for the time it was done. The work also extended to the windows in the south wall of the nave, and not improbably a considerable change, if not the actual rebuilding, of the old chancel.

"We have now traced the form of the plan of this church at two distinct periods, the present time and in 1854; and I think we have only to go back one step farther to see the probable form, if not the actual plan, of the early, *i.e.*, the Norman church.

"The character of the arcade, which is of four bays all alike, 11 feet high to top of the capitals, 16 feet 6 inches high to the apex of the arch and 13 feet from centre to centre of the columns; with its partly octagonal capitals and bases, but with the arch, still a true curve (not four-centred), may be dated at about the close of the fifteenth century, probably about 1480. The plan of the columns is certainly a late Decorated form but the mouldings indicate the Perpendicular period. It was then, I presume, that additional space was required and the aisle was thrown out. Now if you carefully examine the plan you will notice the internal face of the north wall of the old chancel coincides very closely with the south wall so as to bring the central axis of the chancel and nave almost in a direct line. There is therefore good reason to believe that this bit of the north wall and also the south wall of chancel are at least on the old Norman foundations and that the south and west walls of the nave are more or less original, with, of course, the later windows inserted; and I have little doubt that if the cement were peeled off the outer faces of the latter, evidence of their Norman origin would be forthcoming. One fact is clear, that in this south wall towards the tower is a finely proportioned Norman doorway of an early type, with its detached columns, cushion capitals, carved scolloped tympanum above a segmental-headed opening on the outer face, but inside a complete semi-circular arch. This is a treatment which is not very usual in the south (though I believe there is something similar at Rochester Cathedral), but it occurs in the Yorkshire Abbeys and I have met with it in varying forms at Lilleshall Abbey in Shropshire. The proportion of the doorway is quite noble for a village church, the clear opening being 8 feet high by 4 feet wide, and I should imagine that originally it was not intended to be enclosed by a

[1] Archbishop Harsnett built a gallery in the church for the use of his scholars, who were enjoined to attend Divine Service every Sunday and Holy Day.

porch. I date this doorway quite early in the twelfth century, probably 1106 to 1110. The old nave is 50 long by 23 feet wide, and the chancel 29 feet long by 17 feet 6 inches wide (which may have been lengthened) and I think gives a good idea of the general proportion of the original forest chapel. There is a fine array of sixteen large and small hatchments now affixed to the old nave roof. Two or three old features remain to be described. On the east side of the Norman door, and close to it, is a recessed stoup, but there is nothing about it to denote its date. The steeple at the west end is an exceedingly fine bit of timber construction with heavy timbers measuring 14 inches by 13 inches. A high segmental-curved arch was thrown across from north to south between its eastern and western posts, whilst the north and south sides are braced and cross-braced together. The intermediate posts appear to have been inserted for strength probably when more bells were added, as it is more than likely that there was only one bell originally. Above the belfry floor there is double framing and bracing, the inner framing carrying the bells. You will find much of interest if you venture up the circular staircase to see for yourselves. It will be noticed that the timber framing is detached or at least within the walls, not built into them. I should think it dates back to 1500-20, but there is not much to go upon. The timber I judge to be chestnut, but I am open to correction. The belfry contains five bells, bearing the dates 1737, 1743, 1771, two of 1693, both of which bear the inscription 'Matt. Bayley made mee' (he was an Oxford bell founder). The tower is weather-boarded and the spire covered with copper though it is described in old books as being shingled, and probably this is correct.

"The monuments are not numerous, but there is at least one very fine brass originally in the floor of the old chancel (now fixed on the splay of the north wall of the chapel) to Samuel Harsnett, Archbishop of York, which according to Walford[1] is the latest known example of an ecclesiastic of the Church of England figured as habited in alb, cope and mitre, and is thus described by Chancellor.[2] The brass is a most interesting one, the inscription is very quaint and the person to whom it is dedicated was a man of importance and by his forethought conferred special benefits upon the parish of which he was Vicar and also upon other parts of the country. He was born 1561 and was the son of a baker in St. Botolph's Street, Colchester. He was ordained in 1584, and was for one year (in 1587) Head Master of the Grammar School at Colchester, to which town he bequeathed his library. In 1597 he became Vicar of Chigwell, which living he vacated in 1605. He became Archdeacon of Essex in 1603, Master of Pembroke College, Cambridge, in 1605, Vice-Chancellor of Cambridge 1606, Bishop of Chichester 1609, translated to Norwich 1619, and eventually Archbishop of York in 1628. The slab to which the upright brass is fixed measures 8 feet by 4 feet. He wears the alb, but open in front, which is unusual, over which is a cope richly decorated, his right hand instead of being upraised in the act of benediction is laid across his breast and in his left he holds a pastoral staff. He wears a mitre upon his head. The inscription is in Latin and has been translated as follows:—'Here lieth Samuel Harsnett formerly Vicar of this Church. First the unworthy Bishop of Chichester, then the more unworthy Bishop of Norwich, at last the very unworthy Archbishop of York, who died on the 25th day of May in the year of our Lord 1631,' and under the effigy, 'Which very epitaph that most reverend Prelate out of his excessive humility ordered by his will to be inscribed to his memory.' There is an unreal ring in the Archbishop's description of himself which might create ungenerous thoughts did we not know that he was both generous and good to those about him. He founded two schools, and endowed three alms-houses, besides other charities.

"On a mural marble monument on the south wall of the Chapel near the east end, 'depicting under an arch the kneeling figures of a man and woman on either side of a priedieu and behind the woman smaller male and female figures probably children all with hands clasped in prayer,' is a Latin inscription of which the following is a translation:—Thomas Coleshill, Esq., and Mary his wife daughter of Gideon Crayford, Esq., were married 50 years. During the same time he served King Edward, Mary and Elizabeth as Surveyor of the great customs of the City of London and in that county was one of the Justices of the Peace 24 years. The integrity of their lives and their Christian deaths promise their souls to rest in heaven as their bones do in this tomb. He died March 30th, aged 77, 37th Elizabeth. She died June 3rd, aged 74 years, 41st Elizabeth. Wright mentions an inscription in old English characters on a brass plate, which records that Robert Ramston, gent., of Chingford, deceased, as he was careful in his lifetime to relieve the poor so at his end he gave £24 yearly to the poor of two parishes, whereof to the poor of this parish of Chigwell he hath given 40s. to be paid in the month of November. He died in 1585. The rest of the money went to Walthamstow.

"You cannot fail to have noticed on approaching the church the unique features of the two cloisters of cut yews, one of six trees leading to the people's door, the other having nine trees leading to the old priest's door. I call them cloisters, for I was greatly struck with the wonderful beauty and intricacy of the interlacing branches overhead, so suggestive of fan tracery.

"The Registers, I believe, date back to the sixteenth century, the earliest being 1555; 27 persons

[1] Walford's *Greater London*, vol. i, p. 449.

[2] *Ancient Sepulchral Monuments of Essex*, 1890, p. 374, Plate CXLV.

died of the plague in 1666. There are several interesting entries, one of a widow Goulding 100 years old buried 1671.[1]

"In the churchyard are tombs of Mr. William Brown, 1653, Thos. Browne, 1676, and several others of a little later date.

"I need hardly tell you that the old inn opposite the church is the original of Dickens' 'Maypole' in *Barnaby Rudge*, and it was in its quaint old kitchen that the scene is fixed in which the story opens. Its proper sign is the 'King's Head' (Charles I.), whose portrait was painted on the signboard some years back by Miss Herring."

On leaving the church the members proceeded to the Grammar School, of which the most interesting features were described by the Rev. R. D. Swallow.

WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 28, 1903.

Chairman: Dr. J. Wickham Legg, F.S.A.

The Rev. S. F. H. Robinson, M.A., F.R.S.A.I., read a paper "On a fragment of an Anglo-Saxon Benedictional preserved at Exeter Cathedral." The Rev. E. Hoskins, Rev. E. S. Dewick, and the Chairman made some remarks upon the paper, which is printed in the current part of the *Transactions*, p. 221.

Mr. Cuthbert Atchley's paper "On the Jesus Mass and Anthem," was then read, and was followed by a short note by the Rev. E. S. Dewick "On a manuscript Sarum Prymer which belonged to a member of the Jesus Gild at St. Paul's, London." The Rev. E. Hoskins, Rev. S. F. H. Robinson and others took part in the discussion which followed the reading of these two papers, which have been printed in the current volume of the *Transactions*, pp. 163, 170.

WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 18, 1903.

Chairman: Rev. E. Hoskins, M.A.

Dr. J. Wickham Legg read a paper on "The Bledlow Inventory of 1783," which will appear in the next part of the *Transactions*.

WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 18, 1903.

Chairman: Rev. E. S. Dewick, F.S.A.

A lecture was given by Mr. F. Bligh Bond, F.R.I.B.A., "On Rood-Screens and Rood-Lofts," which was illustrated by a large number of lantern views, and after some remarks by the Rev. H. Bedford Pim and Mr. Garraway Rice, the Chairman thanked the lecturer on behalf of the meeting. The substance of Mr. Bond's lecture is printed in the current part of the *Transactions* at p. 197.

WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 27, 1904.

Chairman: Rev. Lewis Gilbertson, F.S.A.

A lecture was given by the Rev. H. Bedford Pim, M.A., entitled "Some Notes on Low Side Windows," which was illustrated by a large series of lantern views. Rev. E. S. Dewick and Mr. R. Garraway Rice spoke on the subject, and Mr. R. P. Brereton described several typical examples in Northamptonshire. In conclusion the lecturer received the cordial thanks of the meeting.

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[1] Lyson's *Environs of London*, vol. iv, p. 120.

SATURDAY, JANUARY 30, 1904.

Twenty-Fifth Annual Meeting.

Chairman: Rev. Lewis Gilbertson, M.A., F.S.A.

The Minutes of the last Annual Meeting were read and confirmed.

The Report of the Council and the Balance Sheet for the year ending December 31st, 1903, were presented:—

Twenty-Fifth Annual Report, 1903–1904.

Eight meetings have been held at the Chapter House, during the past twelve months, at which papers on the following subjects have been read:—"On Celtic MSS. and their illuminations," by the Rev. Stanford F. H. Robinson, M.A., F.R.S.A.I.; "Notes on the Brasses of Kent," by Mr. Mill Stephenson, F.S.A.; Views of Churches, Crosses, Tombs, etc., by Mr. Garraway Rice, F.S.A.; "Which St. Valentine is commemorated in the Prayer-book Kalendar?" by Mr. F. C. Eeles; "Some Traditional Liturgical Customs connected with the Scottish Liturgy," by Mr. F. C. Eeles; "On a fragment of an Anglo-Saxon Benedictional, preserved at Exeter Cathedral," by the Rev. Stanford F. H. Robinson, M.A., F.R.S.A.I.; "On the Jesus Mass and Anthem," by Mr. Cuthbert Atchley; "On a Sarum Prymer which belonged to a Member of the Jesus Gild at St. Paul's, London," by the Rev. E. S. Dewick, M.A., F.S.A.; "The Bledlow Inventory of 1783, its Genuineness and Curiosities," by Dr. J. Wickham Legg, F.S.A.; "Rood-Screens and Rood-Lofts," by Mr. F. Bligh Bond, F.R.I.B.A.; "Some Notes on Low-Side Windows and other objects of Interest in Churches," by the Rev. H. Bedford Pim.

Visits were made to the following Churches and other buildings:—

St. Giles, Cripplegate, under the guidance of Rev. Prebendary Barff.
St. Bartholomew the Great, conducted by Mr. E. A. Webb, F.S.A.
Aldenham, conducted by the Hon. and Rev. K. F. Gibbs, Hon. Canon of St. Albans.
Kemsing, conducted by the Rev. T. C. Skarratt and Mr. J. N. Comper.
St. Andrew Undershaft and St. Katherine Cree, under the guidance of Mr. Philip Norman, F.S.A.
Chigwell, to the Church, under the guidance of the Rev. T. Marsden, where also a paper was read by Mr. Thomas Garratt; and to the School, where the Rev. R. D. Swallow conducted.

The thanks of the Society are due to the Clergy of the various churches which have been visited, to the gentlemen who have conducted the parties, and to those who have read papers at the Meetings.

Part III. of Volume V of the *Transactions* has been issued, and it is hoped that it fully maintains the character of the Society's publications.

LEWIS GILBERTSON,
Chairman.
EDWARD J. WELLS,
Hon. Secretary.

BALANCE SHEET FOR THE YEAR ENDING DECEMBER 31ST, 1903.

Dr.

	£	s.	d.
To Balance in hand	5	14	5
,, Entrance Fees and Subscriptions	54	9	8
,, Life Subscriptions	6	6	0
,, Sale of *Transactions*	8	2	8
,, Interest on Reserve Fund	2	14	0
	£77	6	9

Jan. 1st, 1904.

Balance in hand	£12	5	11
Reserve Fund in Post Office Savings Bank	103	0	6

Cr.

	£	s.	d.
By Amount paid for *Transactions*	35	11	10
,, Printing and Stationery	9	15	6
,, Postage, including forwarding of *Transactions*	14	13	3
,, Fees to attendants	2	8	6
,, Hire of lanterns	2	6	6
,, Miscellaneous	0	5	3
,, Balance	12	5	11
	£77	6	9

Having examined this account, and compared it with the books and vouchers, we find the same correct.

EDWARD J. WELLS, *Hon. Secretary.*
ARCHIBALD DAY,
EDWIN H. FEDARB, } *Auditors.*
January 13th, 1904. FREDERICK GILL, *Treasurer.*

there were originally altars here, and Brewer, in his *Beauties of England and Wales*, refers to them and speaks of hooks which formerly assisted in supporting an image at the east end of the north aisle.

"In a splay of the angle formed by the east and south walls of the nave a small window has been introduced with the object, I suppose, of giving better light to the preacher. Those who have visited Chigwell Church will call to mind a similar treatment on the north side of the new nave. Both here and at Chigwell these windows have been embellished with choice stained glass, that at Littleton being a nice example of Powell's work.

"In the north aisle there is a good Decorated door (with mouldings much decayed) now blocked up, in which a small window has been inserted with glass designed by the late Sir John Millais. Further east in the same wall there is a window now blocked up, the crumbling remains of which afford an interesting example of a small two-light window of fifteenth century date. It is shortly to be re-opened and filled with stained glass. The west window of this aisle is of a much earlier type, and has recently been filled with glass by Powell. The greater part of the south aisle has been restored but it retains a lancet window at its west end.

"Most of the ancient external ashlar work is of Surrey firestone, known as Gatton stone, which was largely used in the thirteenth century. I suppose it was easily worked, and for fire-places and internal work it stands fairly well, but most that I have seen used externally has more or less perished.

"The chancel is separated from the nave by a pointed arch of two chamfered orders; and the chancel itself measures 38 feet 9 inches by 17 feet 3 inches, being no less than 6 feet longer than the nave. The modern east window of three lights is filled with glass by Burlinson and Grylle. The south wall is pierced with three lancets, and one window of two lights to the sanctuary. The north wall on the inside exhibits nothing of interest, but on examining the plan of the church or by passing through the doorway from the chancel to the vestry, it will be seen that this wall is of unusual thickness, and I was greatly puzzled until the Rector pointed to the fact that it was a double wall, as may be seen from the heating chamber. It appears that when the brick buildings, forming the vestry and the burial place of the Wood family, were added at the beginning of the eighteenth century,[1] it was decided to build up a new brick wall which should have a neat and finished appearance, whilst leaving untouched the old rubble face of the wall of the Lancet Period. Thus some interesting lancet windows, still partially glazed, have been left for our information.

"The font has a large octagonal bowl, and is supported by a sturdy circular shaft, which was probably surrounded by smaller shafts. It has an ancient cover of oak, octagonal in form and domical in treatment, having the eight sides pierced with quatrefoils and cinquefoils. The ribs are crocketted and finished with a stumpy carved finial.

"The only brass in the church is fixed to the north wall of the chancel, and is in memory of Lady Blanche Vaughan, who died in 1553.

"Some old oak benches remain in the nave, five on the north side and five on the south. They are of a very good type, sound and solid, with moulded cappings and moulded and buttressed ends. They are very similar to the seats in Harmondsworth Church, which are said to date back to 1430, but I should be disposed to date the Littleton benches rather later, say 1460.

"The organ unfortunately blocks up the tower arch and occupies a considerable space in the small nave, thereby spoiling the proportions and dignity of an otherwise charming interior. I venture to suggest that it might be possible to make use of the space on the north side of the chancel, adjoining to, and west of, the vestry, by constructing an arch in the north wall, and at the same time opening up the ancient lancet windows.

"The west tower is probably part of a considerable restoration which took place in the middle of the sixteenth century, embracing portions of the south aisle and the two clerestories. The dimensions of the tower on the inside are 11 feet 1 inch by 8 feet 7 inches, the former being the measurement from north to south. It consists of four stages with walls more than 3 feet thick, and it possibly contains the core of an older tower. It has a four-centred doorway in its western face, with a three-light window over. In the second stage there is a single-light window in the north and south faces, and indications of a blocked up two-light window in the west face. The third, or belfry stage, has two-light windows in the north and south faces, and a three-light in the west face. The fourth and uppermost stage has a quatrefoil opening in each of the four faces. The top is finished with plain brick battlements. The clerestories have two-light windows of Tudor pattern, with square drop labels over the same. All the brickwork has at one time been covered with stucco and pebble dash, but much of it in course of time has come away. Indeed nearly the whole of the brickwork of the north clerestory has been exposed, and has weathered in the most charming manner, whilst the stucco on the south side remains almost intact."

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[1] The date MDCCV (1705) is over the door on the outside of the burial place of the Wood family.

WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 2, 1904.

Chairman : Rev. Lewis Gilbertson, M.A., F.S.A.

A letter was read by the Chairman announcing the resignation of the Hon. Secretary, Mr. E. J. Wells, on account of very serious illness. The announcement was received with the greatest regret by all present, and, as a slight recognition of Mr. Wells' services to the Society during the period of twenty-two years, it was unanimously decided that he should be elected an honorary member of the Society.

It was then announced that, acting under Rule XV. the Council had filled up the vacant post of Secretary by the election of Mr. Thomas Falconer, of 151, Adelaide Road, N.W. ; and this election was unanimously confirmed by the meeting.

A paper was read by Dr. J. Wickham Legg, F.S.A., on "London Church Services in the time of Queen Anne," which will be printed in a subsequent part of the *Transactions*.

WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 23, 1904.

Chairman : Rev. E. S. Dewick, M.A., F.S.A.

A lecture was given by Mr. Arthur G. Hill, M.A., F.S.A., on "Some Cities and Churches of Spain." Mr. Hill gave a most interesting account of some places in Spain recently visited by him. The lecture was illustrated by a fine series of lantern slides, and at its conclusion the Chairman thanked the lecturer on behalf of the Meeting.

WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 14, 1904.

Chairman : Rev. Lewis Gilbertson, M.A., F.S.A.

A paper was read by Mr. Leopold G. Wickham Legg, M.A., on "The Relations of Church and State in France."

The paper gave a summary sketch of the relations between Church and State in France from the time of the Pragmatic Sanction of Bourges (1438) to the Concordat of 1802 ; and dwelt at some length on the state of the Church in France in 1789. The most remarkable feature of that period was the Gallicanism of the French clergy, the bishops being Gallican from loyalty to the Crown, which was the sole source of their honours ; the lower clergy from dislike of the Concordat of 1516 and from a desire to revive the Pragmatic Sanction of Bourges. Yet in spite of this union, the clergy were divided in interests, for the upper clergy were all nobles, and the lower clergy *roturiers*, and consequently the bishops had lost touch with their inferiors. The Civil Constitution of the Clergy (1790) by trying to accentuate the Gallicanism of the clergy, killed it. The clergy began to be ultramontane. The confiscation of the church lands deprived them of any influence in the State and of all independence, and they turned to Rome for help. The Concordat of Napoleon was meant to restore the ecclesiastical situation of 1789 ; but as Napoleon would not give back the confiscated lands, and as the bishops were no longer exclusively drawn from the *noblesse*, and as they now had the patronage of the smaller benefices, the Concordat of 1801 had been unable effectively to prolong the life of Gallicanism. The paper ended with a discussion of the question whether, in the present dispute between France and the Papacy, the latter had violated the terms it had accepted in the Concordat, and it argued that none of the charges brought against the Vatican in this respect had any foundation whatever.

WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 18, 1905.

Chairman : Rev. Lewis Gilbertson, M.A., F.S.A.

Mr. E. F. Strange read a paper on "The Painted Rood-Screens of East Anglia," which was illustrated by a fine series of drawings and lantern slides, and at its conclusion the lecturer received a hearty vote of thanks from the meeting.

SATURDAY, JANUARY 28, 1905.

Twenty-Sixth Annual Meeting.

Chairman: Rev. Lewis Gilbertson, M.A., F.S.A.

The Minutes of the last Annual Meeting were read and confirmed.

The Annual Report and Balance Sheet were presented:—

Twenty-Sixth Annual Report, 1904–1905.

During the past twelve months, seven meetings have been held at the Chapter House, at which the following papers have been read:—"The Precursors of the Romanesque" by Mr. H. H. Stannus, F.R.I.B.A.; "French Cathedrals and Churches," by Mr. Andrew Oliver, A.R.I.B.A.; "Early Christian Art in the Roman Catacombs," by Mr. G. C. Druce; "Church Services in the time of Queen Anne," by Dr. Wickham Legg, "Cities and Churches of Spain," by Mr. Arthur G. Hill, F.S.A.; "The Relations of Church and State in France," by Mr. Leopold G. Wickham Legg, M.A; "The Painted Rood-Screens of East Anglia," by Mr. E. F. Strange.

Visits were made to the following Churches and other buildings:—

Lambeth Palace.—The Library, the Chapel and Guard Room, conducted by Mr. S. W. Kershaw, F.S.A.

The Parish Church of Broxbourne, described by the Vicar.

The Churches of St. Mary-le-Bow, St. Mary Aldermary, and St. Mildred, Bread Street, under the guidance of Mr. Philip Norman, F.S.A.

The Parish Church of Littleton, under the guidance of Mr. T. Garratt, A.R.I.B.A.

The Council have pleasure in recording that the Meetings in the Chapter House have been well attended, the attendance being especially good at the five lectures illustrated by lantern slides. The visits to churches and other buildings have also attracted large numbers, and the success of the visit to Lambeth Palace may be referred to with special satisfaction.

The thanks of the Society are due to the clergy of the various churches which have been visited, to the conductors of the visits, and to the readers of papers and lecturers at the Meetings.

During the past year the Society has suffered serious loss from the illness or death of some of its prominent members. The late Hon. Secretary, Mr. E. J. Wells, who was elected to the post in January, 1882, has been compelled by grave illness to relinquish the duties which he performed with zeal and devotion for more than twenty-two years. His resignation was accepted with much regret; and, with the approval of the Council, a sum of money was subscribed by some of the members, and presented to him as a mark of their regard. Owing to the state of Mr. Wells' health, it was not possible for the presentation to be made in public.

To supply the place of Mr. Wells, the Council appointed Mr. Thos. Falconer to the post of Hon. Secretary, and this selection was subsequently confirmed at a General Meeting.

By the death of Mr. G. H. Birch, a Vice-President, the Society has lost one to whom much of its early success was due. Mr. Birch was ever ready to place his great knowledge of London topography and ecclesiology at the disposal of the Society, and the volumes of the Society's *Transactions* bear witness to his activity and zeal.

Another Vice-President, Mr. H. Roumieu Gough, has passed away. In the early days he actively assisted the society both in contributing papers and as a guide on the occasion of their visits.

A further loss has fallen upon the Society by the death of Mr. Archibald Day, who for the last ten years has given his services to the Society as one of its honorary auditors.

Part IV. of Volume V. of the *Transactions* has been issued.

The accompanying Balance Sheet shows the financial position of the Society.

LEWIS GILBERTSON,
Chairman.
THOMAS FALCONER,
Hon. Secretary.

BALANCE SHEET FOR THE YEAR ENDING DECEMBER 31ST, 1904.

Dr.

Jan 1st, 1904.	£	s.	d.
To Balance in hand	12	5	11
,, Entrance Fees and Subscriptions	50	19	6
,, Life Subscription	3	3	0
,, Sale of *Transactions*	4	15	10
,, Interest on Reserve Fund	2	15	0
	£73	19	3

Cr.

Dec. 31st, 1904.	£	s.	d.
By Amount paid for *Transactions*	44	12	3
,, Printing and Stationery	7	11	9
,, Postage, including forwarding of *Transactions*	11	13	7
,, Fees to Attendants	1	12	0
,, Hire of Lanterns	3	17	6
,, Balance	4	12	2
	£73	19	3

Jan. 1st, 1905.	£	s.	d.
Balance in hand	4	12	2
Reserve Fund in Post Office Savings Bank ...	103	0	6

Having examined this account, and compared it with the books and vouchers, we find the same correct.

THOS. FALCONER, *Hon. Secretary.*

EDWIN H. FEDARB, ARTHUR L. CHUTE, } *Auditors.*

January 12th, 1905. FREDERICK GILL, *Treasurer.*

The Chairman, in moving the adoption of the Report, referred to the death of Mr. F. C. Penrose, a Vice-President of the Society, who when Surveyor to the Cathedral had done much for the Society in its early days.

The Report was adopted unanimously, as was also the Balance Sheet.

The four retiring members of the Council, were the Rev. E. S. Dewick, Messrs. E. Bell, W. W. Watts, and J. Horsburgh. The first three of these were re-elected, and the place of Mr. Horsburgh, who did not seek re-election, was filled by the election of Mr. H. Plowman, F.S.A.

The re-election of Mr. Gill as Hon. Treasurer was carried unanimously ; and Mr. Gill, while consenting to serve for a time, expressed his wish to be relieved from the duties of the office as soon as a successor could be found.

The re-election of Mr. Falconer as Hon. Secretary was carried unanimously.

A vote of thanks was passed to the Editor of the Society's *Transactions*, and to the Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's for their continued kindness in allowing the Society to meet in the Chapter Room.

Mr. Ebbs, the Hon. Treasurer of the "E. J. Wells Testimonial Fund." then read his report, which the Secretary was instructed to place with the Society's papers, and a hearty vote of thanks was passed to Mr. Ebbs for his services.

The proceedings closed with a vote of thanks to the Chairman.

Members afterwards attended evensong in the Cathedral, seats being reserved for them in the choir.

WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 8, 1905.

Chairman : Rev. Lewis Gilbertson, M.A., F.S.A.

A paper was read by the Rev. Percy Dearmer, M.A., on "The Christ in Art." After a brief discussion, the Chairman thanked the lecturer on behalf of the Meeting.

WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 22, 1905.

Chairman : Rev. Lewis Gilbertson, M.A., F.S.A.

Before proceeding to the business of the evening, the Chairman referred in feeling terms to the loss which the Society had just sustained by the death of the late Hon. Secretary, Mr. E. J. Wells.

On the proposal of the Rev. E. S. Dewick, seconded by Mr. Alfred Ebbs, it was unanimously resolved that the Chairman be requested to write to Mrs. Wells expressing the sorrow felt by members of the Society at the loss of one to whom they owed so much, and also their deep sympathy with her and other members of his family in their bereavement.

A paper was read by the Rev. E. S. Dewick on a fragment of an English mass-book recently discovered by the Rev. R. M. Serjeantson in the church chest of Burton Latimer, Northamptonshire. The leaves had been stitched together to form the cover of some churchwardens' accounts, dating from 1559. The paper is printed in the current part of the *Transactions*, page 251.

Mr. F. C. Eeles, F.S.A.Scot., then read a paper on "Some Miscellaneous Pictures of Altars— Old and New," which was illustrated by lantern slides.

WEDNESDAY, MARCH 15, 1905.

Chairman : Rev. Lewis Gilbertson, M.A., F.S.A.

A paper was read by Mr. W. W. Watts, F.S.A., entitled "Notes on pre-Reformation Vestments." In illustration of the paper, lantern slides, specimens of actual work, and coloured drawings were exhibited.

WEDNESDAY, MARCH 29, 1905.

Chairman : Rev. Lewis Gilbertson, M.A., F.S.A.

A lecture was given by the Rev. H. Bedford Pim on "Some Churches in Northamptonshire," which was illustrated by a fine series of lantern views.

SATURDAY, MAY 6, 1905.

The churches of St. Lawrence Jewry, and All Hallows, Lombard Street, were visited under the guidance of Mr. Philip Norman, F.S.A. The papers read by Mr. Norman are printed in the current part of the *Transactions*, at pages 261 and 265.

SATURDAY, MAY 20, 1905.

St. Cyprian's Church, Marylebone, was visited by a large party of Members, under the guidance of the architect of the church, Mr. J. Ninian Comper, who pointed out the leading features of the building and described the work which was still needed to complete the fittings and decoration.

The party then crossed Regent's Park and visited St. Katharine's Hospital, when the Rev. the Master gave an account of the history of the foundation, and afterwards conducted Members to the Chapter Room and Chapel, in which buildings there are many relics of the old Hospital by the Tower of London. At the conclusion of the visit, the Members present were most hospitably entertained at tea by the Master.

The hospital of St. Katharine's was founded by Queen Matilda in 1148 on a site near the Tower of London, purchased from the Priory of Holy Trinity, Aldgate. The foundation consisted of a Master three Brothers who were Chaplains, and three Sisters ; together with six Scholars, who were to assist in performing Divine Service. The patronage of the Hospital was secured to the Queens of England. It was refounded by Queen Eleanor, wife of Edward I in 1273, and it now stands as she ordained it by her Charter. The Master and Brothers were to be priests, and the Sisters, associated with them as members of the Chapter, were specially enjoined to minister to the sick and infirm. Provision was made for the distribution of alms. The Master, Brothers and Sisters of the Chapter continued to be appointed by the Queens of England. The Sovereign for the time being only exercises the rights of the patron when there is no living Queen Consort or Queen Dowager. At the time of the Dissolution of the Monasteries, St. Katharine's Hospital was spared, but in the reign of Edward VI. the office of the Master was secularised and continued so for over 300 years. The first lay Master was appointed by Queen Catherine Parr in the person of Sir Thomas Seymour, whom she had married after the death of Henry VIII. Sir Julius Cæsar was Master in 1596, and a succession of lay Masters followed, until the late Queen Victoria, in the two appointments which fell to her to make, determined that the Master should again be in Holy Orders as originally ordered by the Charters.

The Hospital of St. Katharine by the Tower continued to exist on its old site until 1825, when the old buildings were destroyed to make way for the St. Katharine's Docks. New buildings were erected near the north-east corner of Regent's Park, the architect being Ambrose Poynter, and some few relics were brought from the old chapel. The most interesting of these are the choir stalls with misericord

seats, some of which are in the new Chapel, and some in the Chapter House. There is also the wooden pulpit, which was the gift of Sir Julius Cæsar, with curious carved panels and the following inscription :— "Ezra the scribe stood upon a Pulpit of Wood, which he had had made for the Preachin. Nehe[h] Chap. VIII., 4." Still more important is the tomb of John Holland, Duke of Exeter (d. 1447), with recumbent figures of himself and his first wife Anne and his sister Constance, and an elaborate canopy.[1]

SATURDAY, JUNE 3, 1905.

The church of Hayes in Middlesex was visited, and described by the Rector, the Rev. J. Godding.

SATURDAY, JUNE 17, 1905.

A visit was paid to the church of Chelsfield, Kent, where a paper by Mr. Leland L. Duncan, F.S.A., was read :—

"I may commence by reminding you that we are some 450 feet above the level of the sea, on a spur of the range of hills forming the North Downs. Chelsfield Church is thus a prominent object for many miles, and I daresay its steeple is known, by sight at any rate, to many who have never ventured up the hillside from Orpington. On this spot there has been a church for at least seven hundred years ; possibly, nay, almost certainly, a much longer period. At the time of the Doomsday Survey in 1084, this part of Kent was in the hands of the Bishop of Baieux, and we are told in that record, that in the demesne in Chelsfield were two ploughs, that 20 villains with four bondsmen had eight ploughs, that there was a mill and ten acres of meadow with wood for ten hogs, and further that though it was valued at twenty-five pounds, yet the tenant rendered thirty-five pounds for it. So that, as things went in 1084, it was in a fairly prosperous way.

"When the returns, from which the Doomsday Book is compiled, were sent in, many of them contained two words which perhaps convey more to most of us at the present day than anything else in the various entries, 'Ibi ecclesia,' 'Here is a church.' Now, although several places round us are stated to have possessed a church, those responsible for the return relating to Chelsfield did not think it part of their duty (as in truth it was not) to make any statement on that point. If, however (which I think unlikely), there was no church in 1084, one was very soon afterwards built, and the nave walls of the present building date from that time. You will see two little Norman windows yet remaining.

"Early in the thirteenth century extensive works were carried out here, and the church then took the form in which you now see it. To this period belong the tower, with its deeply splayed windows, and the chancel. The East window is a very good example of the Early English triple lancet, shafted and banded with good caps and bases. The little chapel on the south side of the nave also appears to have been erected at the same time. It is dedicated in honour of St. John ; and Otho Grandison, lord of the manor of Chelsfield, who died in 1360, desired that he should be buried therein.

"In the fifteenth century several new windows were introduced ; the two-light windows on the south side of the chancel and the eastern window of the south aisle belong to this period.

"The south porch, though much patched with brick, occupies an old site, as William Whythed in his will dated 1468, desired 'to be buryde yn the porche of the chyrche of Chellesfelde,' and he left 3*s.* 4*d.* to pay for repaving the same.

"Thus much, very briefly, as to the growth of the building.

"I should now like to call your attention to a few points for information regarding which I am indebted to the wills of Chelsfield folk, long since gone to rest, and but for their wills we should be entirely without knowledge of many interesting particulars as to the interior arrangements of the church in mediæval times.

"As you are all aware, prior to the Reformation of the Church of England in the sixteenth century every parish church contained a great Rood or Crucifix with the figures of St. Mary and St. John one on either side a representation, in fact, of the scene recorded by St. John, when Our Lord committed His mother to the Evangelist's care. This Rood was placed over the Beam which went across the church at the entrance to the chancel, and to which William Cokke of Chelsfield in 1472 left two bushels of barley. Lamps or candles were kept burning before the Rood, and John Beveryche yeoman left 20*s.* in 1513 to 'bye latyn bolles to stande underneathe the tapers that ys before the Rode lofte in Chellysfeld church.'

[1] Further particulars will be found in *A Lecture on St. Katharine's Royal Collegiate Hospital*, delivered before the Hampstead Antiquarian and Historical Society on April 11th, 1904, by the Rev. A. L. B. Peile, Master of St. Katharine's, from which most of the above facts have been taken. See also Dr. Ducarel's *History of the Royal Hospital and Collegiate Church of St. Katharine near the Tower of London*, London, 1782, in *Bibliotheca Topographica Britannica*, Vol. II.

"Besides this Crucifix there were in every church images of certain saints. There was always one of the Blessed Virgin, which stood in the chancel and generally on a bracket on one side of the high altar.

"Richard Aschlegth of Chelsfelde, whose will is dated the morrow of the Ascension of Our Lord, 1493, left '6*s.* and 8*d.* to paint the image of the Blessed Mary in the chancel.'

"There was also an image in each church of the Saint in whose honour the church is dedicated. Now on that point I see authorities differ regarding Chelsfield, and in many books you will find St. Mary given as the 'head halowe.' Here again these old wills come to our help. Henry Dawnce of Chellesfeld, whose will is dated 29 July, 1468, desired that he might be buried 'in cimiterio ecclesie Sancti Martini de Chellesfeld,' and Richard Bonnaventor the rector, was present, and very probably drew up the will. Alice Bray, whose brass lies in the chancel floor, in her will dated 22nd October, 1509, says. 'I will my bodie be buried within the church of Saynt Marten of Chellisfeld.' There can therefore be no doubt that Chelsfield church is dedicated in honour of St. Martin of Tours. The legend regarding his dividing his cloak with the beggar was no doubt represented in the church, and Alice Bray left a taper to be set before his image here in 1509.

"There were also the following images :—

1. *Our Lady of Pity.*—A representation of the Blessed Virgin weeping over the Dead Body of Our Lord. This is mentioned by William Cokke in 1472 and by John Beveryche in 1513.
2. *St. John.*—Mentioned by Thomas Jetour in 1472. This would have stood in the south chapel.
3. *St. James.*—To which Richard Aschlegth in 1493 left two candles. He also stated in his will that if the churchwardens were disposed to have a new image made he would have 13*s.* 4*d.* given thereto. In 1289 Otho de Grandison, lord of the manor, had obtained leave for a fair to be held in Chelsfield on the day of St. James the apostle.
4. *The Holy Trinity.*—Alen Colgate in 1508 left 7*s.* 'to fynde a taper to bren before the Trinite in the church for evermore.'

"At the Reformation this placing of lights before images was one of the first things prohibited, and, even in the reaction in Mary's reign it does not seem to have been revived to any extent.

"Time will not permit of my dwelling on the many other things which these old Chelsfield wills contain. I might just mention the Sepulchre which was erected or prepared at Easter time, nearly always on the north side of the chancel, and round which lights were kept burning. Bequests to this are very frequent There was also a custom in the marriage service of the bringing in of a cup which was blessed by the priest and partaken of by those present. The custom also obtained at Churchings. John Beveryche in 1513 left 'to the churche of Chellisfeld a maser cuppe which I bought of Mastresse Alys (most probably Alice Bray) for this entent that every childwife and also every bryde shall drink in it and to contynue as long as it lastith.'

"I must now turn to the monuments, which are of considerable interest, and as many of them are to the parsons of Chelsfield, I might do so in conjunction with the list of Rectors you see on the Chancel wall and which begins in 1317. The first rector whose memorial lies before us is Robert de Brun, who came here from Stamford in Lincolnshire, and was admitted on 30th January, 1400. He died on 25th April, 1417, and lies buried in the arched recess on the north side of the chancel. The inscription is perfect, but some sacrilegious hand has mutilated the crucifix with which the tomb was adorned.

"The next rector was William Robroke, who was admitted on 19th February, 1417, having been presented by Henry V. whilst besieging Rouen. He died in 1420, and his brass is in the chancel representing him as usual in mass vestments, but without orphries, which is uncommon.

"There is also in the chancel a memorial of three rectors, three George Smiths, father, son and grandson, whose period extended from 1570 to 1650. The elaborate monument in the south chapel is to Peter Collett, Alderman of London, who died in 1607.

"I have left to the last one of much interest, viz.. the brass to Alice Bray, who died in 1510. Her father was John Bonaventure, or Bounter, as it appears to have been pronounced, whose brother Richard was rector of Chelsfield from 1464 to 1493. Her will is dated 22nd October, 1509, and in it she describes herself as 'widow' and desires to be buried 'within the Church of Saynt Marten of Chellisfeld by the north side of the high aulter where my father and my mother lieth buried.' At her funeral there were to be five priests besides the parson, and eight torches were to be lighted and burnt at the time of her going to church all the way between her house and the church. She also desired that three tapers of two lbs. of wax should be made, one to burn before Our Lady in the north part of the church : the second before St. Martin and the third before St. James. Also a taper of three lb. of wax was to burn before the Sepulchre at Easter from Good Friday to the Thursday in Easter-week. She died, as stated on the brass to her memory, on 6th April, 1510. Her uncle, Richard Bonaventure, or Bounter, the rector, made his will on 18th March, 1493. He calls himself 'late parsonne of Chellisfeld,' and as he was admitted to the rectory on 14th January, 1464, he was probably an old man. He desired to be buried in the body of the church before the crucifix. He mentions his brother John and his sister Alice and his cousin Agnes

Getour. The Getours seem to have been people of substance in Chelsfield in those days, and Thomas Getour in his will dated 8th January, 1472, left to this same rector—whom we may suppose was some relative—a small property as an endowment for the rectory. He says, 'I will Richard Bonaventor, parson of Chellesfeld, have five acres of londe lyeing in a field called Grete feld lyynge under ye parsones hawe in Chellesfeld to hym and his successors for evermore for to be prayed for and all my frends evermore perpetually.' This piece of land remained part of the glebe until recently when with other glebe land it was sold.

"There are two other brasses which have lost their inscriptions: (1) a priest about 1440 placed on the chancel wall (2) The wife of a civilian and her children about 1470.

"As to the bells. They were three here in Edward VI.'s reign. Now there are five, cast in 1672 by John Hodson and rehung in 1880.

"The parish registers begin in 1538 and the earlier part was printed by the late rector—Mr. Barnes, in the parish magazine. They contain some interesting notes of current events, and appear to have been more carefully noted up than the usual run of registers. The names of the sponsors at baptism are added at one period in Elizabeth's reign."

On leaving Chelsfield the party walked to Orpington, where the church was described by the Vicar, the Rev. W. D. May.

The church[1] consists of nave and chancel erected in the eleventh or twelfth century. The walls of the nave have not been broken into subsequently for the purpose of adding aisles. In the west porch there is a fine altar tomb with arched and crocketed canopy, which now has no inscription, but has recently been identified by the late Canon Scott Robertson as that of Nicholas, rector of Orpington, who made his will on August 1, 1370, and placed on record that he had built the porch in his life-time and desired to be buried in it. He also left various legacies to the church of Orpington and the various chapelries connected with it. The west doorway is well preserved and has chevron and dog-tooth ornaments. On the south side of the nave there are two blocked up doorways, one on the ground level, the other about five feet from the ground which finds an explanation in the suggestion that it led to a mural pulpit. The tower is on the north side of the church and its lower stage retains its thirteenth-century groining.

There is a fine monumental brass of Thomas Wilkynson, rector of Orpington and of Harrow-on-the-hill and a prebendary of Ripon, who died in 1511. He is represented in cope and almuce, and the inscription runs :—"Orate pro anima Thome Wilkynson Arcium magistri quondam prebendarii in ecclesia sancti Wulffrani[2] de Ripon et Rectoris de harowe super montem et Orpington qui obiit xiii die decembris A° domini M°V°XI° cuius anime propicietur deus."

The mediæval house, known as "the Priory," was afterwards visited by the courteous permission of Colonel Schletter, who kindly welcomed the members and conducted them over the building.

At the close of the visit, members were most hospitably entertained at tea at the Vicarage by the Rev. and Mrs. W. D. May.

SATURDAY, JULY 1, 1905.

A visit was paid to the Exhibition illustrative of Church History at St. Albans. The members were welcomed by Mr. W. J. Hardy, F.S.A. The collection of Bibles and Prayer Books was described by the Rev. the Hon. Kenneth Gibbs, Hon. Canon of St. Albans. Some of the manuscripts were commented upon by the Rev. E. Hoskins. A lecture on the "Prayer Book and its Sources," by the Rev. W. H. Frere, was attended by some of the members.

[1] Orpington Church has been described by the late Canon W. A. Scott Robertson, in *Archæologia Cantiana*, vol. xiii, pp. 374–385. The parish registers from 1560 to 1754 were printed in 1895 by Mr. H. C. Kirby, a member of this Society, and can be obtained of Mr. Charles North, printer, Blackheath.

[2] *Sic*, apparently in error for Wilfridi.

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Plowman, H., F.S.A., 23, Steele's Road, Haverstock Hill, N.W.
Poland, Rev. Eustace B., Vicarage, Burwash Weald, Sussex.
Price, Rev. Salisbury J. M., D.D., The Manor House, Kingston, Taunton.

Rawson, S., 30, Linden Gardens, Chiswick, W.
Reeve, J. B., Roxwell, Beverley Road, Hale End, Chingford.

Reynolds, Rev. H. W., B.A., 21, St. Charles Square, Notting Hill, W.

*Rice, R. Garraway, F.S.A., 23, Cyril Mansions, Prince of Wales Road, S.W.

*Riley, Athelstan, M.A., 2, Kensington Court, W.

Robinson, Rev. S. F. H., M.A., 17, Lower Leeson Street, Dublin.

*Rosedale, Rev. H. G., M.A., D.D., F.S.A., 13, Ladbroke Gardens, W.

*Ross, Rev. G. Lockhart, B.A., St. Cuthbert's Clergy House, Philbeach Gardens, S.W.

Rutt, Thomas, 19, Evelyn Mansions, Carlisle Place, Westminster, S.W.

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Sampson, Rev. G., M.A., House of the Resurrection, Mirfield, Yorks (for the Community).

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*Wall, R. H., Brook House, Chigwell, Essex.

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Watson, L. H. Cradock, Estate Duty Office, Somerset House, W.C.

*Watson, Miles W., 13, Beckenham Road, Beckenham, Kent.

Watts, W. W., F.S.A., 59, Bishop's Mansions, Fulham, S.W.

Weekley, G. W., Thornbury, Hornsey Lane, N.

Wells, E. E., 4, Mallinson Road, Wandsworth Common, S.W.

*White, Rev. C. H. Evelyn, F.S.A., Rampton Rectory, Cambridge.

White, H. G., 78, Bishopsgate Street Within, E.C.

*White, J. G., 91, Cannon Street, E.C.

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Wilson, Rev. H. A., M.A., Magdalen College, Oxford.

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*Winter, F., 13, Robert Street, Hampstead Road, N.W.

*Woods, Ernest, Warren Wood, Gravel Hills, Bexley Heath.

*Woolley, T. Cecil, The Small House, Collingham, Newark.

*Wordsworth, Rev. Canon Christopher, M.A., St. Peter's Rectory, Marlborough.

Wright, Alfred, 19, Champion Park, Denmark Hill, S.E.

Wyatt, E. G. P., Rustington Hall, Angmering, R.S.O., Sussex.

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THE *PILEUS QUADRATUS*: AN ENQUIRY INTO THE RELATION OF THE PRIEST'S SQUARE CAP TO THE COMMON ACADEMICAL CATERCAP AND TO THE JUDICIAL CORNER-CAP.

BY

THE REV. N. F. ROBINSON,

Mission Priest of the Society of St. John the Evangelist.

Two words are used in Latin to denote the different kinds of cap to be considered in the present paper—*pileus* and *birettum*. Either word may signify a square or a round cap; but the classical word *pileus*, which has a wider meaning than *birettum*, is more frequently accompanied by an adjective determining the shape; while *birettum*, though very often denoting a square cap, must sometimes signify a round one.[1]

I. *Of the Origin of the* PILEUS *or* BIRETTUM, *and of its Change from the Round to the Square Shape.*

The *pileus quadratus* was derived, by a curious evolution, from the hood, which is a descendant of the ancient *birrus*; or, more accurately, it is a detached portion of the *birrus*. When the cap was evolved it took the name of its ancestor, in the diminutive form *birettum*, while it was still round in shape. The hood had been worn upon the head for a thousand years in what may be termed the perpendicular fashion; but someone conceived the idea of wearing it horizontally, the head being inserted into the opening for the face, and the hood wound into a sort of turban, called a *bourrelet*. Soon after there arose a fashion of wearing an imitation of the turbanized hood, also called a bourrelet—a padded circlet covered with cloth, to which were attached what appeared to be the extremities of a hood.[2] When the custom of wearing the hood upon the head was finally abandoned, even by the *gens de robe* (who continued to wear it upon the shoulders), a more convenient head-covering than the

[1] The word *birettum* has been used to denote at least three kinds of round caps: (1) the white silk coif of a sergeant-at-law. See Sir John Fortescue's *De Laudibus Legum Angliae*, Cap. L, Lond., 1616. (2) The *pileus rotundus* of a doctor. See Lenaudière's *Tract. de Privileg. Doct.* P. I, Q. III; or, De Launoy's *De Vera Causa Secess. S. Brunonis*, Paris, 1662, p. 121. (3) The *birettum clericale*, worn at the University of Aberdeen by certain persons not doctors, in 1549. See *Fasti Aberdonen.*, Spalding Club, 1854 p. 260. I am indebted to F. C. Feles, Esq., for a reference to this last book.

[2] *Glossaire Archéologique*, V. Gay, s.v. *Chaperon* and *Bourrelet.*

bourrelet came into use, called a *bonnet* or *barrette*.[1] This cap was an *insigne* of the man of letters and in appearance it was not unlike a Turkish *fez*.[2] About the year 1460, the shape began to vary greatly,[3] at one time rising up into a "towered felt." This ambitious development gave rise to the tall, truncated cap of secular canons,[4] and to the tall, pointed cap of physicians, shaped like a candle extinguisher. Stephen Pasquier (b. 1529; d. 1615) asserts that the change from round to square caps was due to a certain cap-maker, Patrouillet, who grew rich through the invention of a cap known as a *bonnet à quatre brayettes*, or *braguettes*.[5] It was a large, heavy cap, somewhat square in shape. Polydore Vergil, at the close of the fifteenth century, mentions as a recent invention the woollen head-covering called a *birettum*.[6]

The *pileus* or *birettum*, while still only approximately square, was made of four pieces of cloth sewn together.[7] The raised seams marked four divisions on the top of this cornered cap, which symbolized to the sixteenth century mind "the whole monarchy of the world, east, west, north, and south, the government whereof standeth upon them, as the cappe doth uppon their heades"[8]; but the dividing seams formed also a cross; and it was that which specially commended the square cap for the use of priests. The thought of the four-fold division of the globe was rather approved by doctors at the Universities, when the seamed, square cap was bestowed as one of the *insignia* of doctors.[9] The ear-laps often to be seen on the *pileus quadratus* in the portraits of priests in England and Germany should not be mistaken for a black coif. They are possibly a remnant of the hood.[10] Bonanni, in one plate, gives four different types of the *pileus* of priests:—(1) A Portuguese priest in a tall *pileus rotundus* without "horns"—very like the *camelaucium* of Greek and Russian monks. (2) An Italian priest in *pileus quadratus*, with three horns, and without a tuft. (3) A Spanish priest in *pileus quadratus*, with four "horns," and no tuft. (4) A French priest in *pileus quadratus*, with four "horns" and

[1] See *Hist. du Cost. en France*, J. Quicherat, Paris, 1875, p. 322; *Dict. of the French and Eng. Tongues*, R. Cotgrave, s.v. *Bourlet*. "Bonnet" is supposed by Du Cange to be derived from a kind of cloth named *bonetus*; but Louis d'Orleans in *Les Ouvert. des Parlements*, p. 259, and Stephen Pasquier, less certainly, in *Les Recherches de la France*, p. 383, think that "bonnet" is a corruption from "bourlet."

[2] *Hist. du Cost. en France*, J. Quicherat, p. 322. One form of the *fez* is tall and truncated.

[3] *Syn. Vet. Reliq. Rituum atque Legum*, A. Caraccioli, Paris, 1628, pp. 128, 129.

[4] See an example of this shape in *Scenes and Characters of the Mid. Ages*, Rev. E. L. Cutts, 1872, pp. 240, 241; or in the *Dictionary of the Ch. of Eng.*, by the same writer, 1889, p. 481.

[5] *Les Recherches de la France*, Etienne Pasquier, Paris, 1621, L. IV, Ch. IX, p. 383.

[6] "Est vel novitium inventum illud laneum tegmen capitis, quod birettum vocant. . . . . Ex quo apparet, recens esse inventum hoc operimentum capitis, quo modo passim utimur, auctor tamen ignoratur." *De Inventoribus Rerum*, Venice, 1498, Lib. III, Cap. XVIII. The Abbé Legendre gives the date of the *bonnet rond* as belonging to the reign of Charles V, 1357–1380. *Les Mœurs et Coutumes des François*, Paris, 1753, p. 206. The Père Daniel gives a somewhat later date, the reign of Charles VII, 1403–1461. *Hist. de France*, Paris, 1713, Tom. II, col. 1204. Landtmeter traces the origin of the *pileus quadratus* to the year 1546, and to the diocese of Turin (*De Vetere Clerico, Monacho, Clerico-Monacho*, F. L. Landtmeter, Antwerp, 1635, p. 5); but it was certainly known elsewhere at an earlier date.

[7] *Hieroglyphica*, J. Pierii Valeriani, Frankfort, 1678, pp. 499, 500.

[8] *Anatomie of Abuses*, Philip Stubbes, Lond., 1583, P. II, fo. 113.

[9] "Dari per hoc doctori facultatem docendi in quatuor plagis Orbis terrarum," etc., *De Symbolis Doctorum*, F. G. Struve, Kiliae, 1739, fo. 3; *cf. De Jure Publico*, J. Limnæus, Jena, 1699, Lib. VIII, Cap. VIII, § 93. Foxe speaks contemptuously of the "Mathematicall cap wyth iiij angles, deviding the whole world into foure partes." *Acts and Monuments*, Lond., 1583, p. 1503, col. 2.

[10] A good example of the priest's square cap before it has assumed the stiff, square shape, but showing the cross on top and ear-laps, may be found in a portrait of Erasmus (*b.* 1467, *d.* 1536), by Holbein. See Lat. Edit. of Sebastian Munster's *Cosmographia* Basle, 1554, p. 407; or French edit., 1552, p. 447.

a large tuft, which looks like a paint-brush.[1] In the same book the *pileus quadratus* of a Syrian bishop, in the habit that he wears when at Rome, is represented with four "horns"[2]; and a German canon[3] wears a low *pileus rotundus*, shaped like a mushroom, but having ear-laps at the back.

II. *Of the Differentiation of Caps, as the Proper Adjuncts of Different Varieties of Hoods.*

The law of the evolution of apparel having produced many species of hoods from one common ancestor, the *birrus*, has caused a further differentiation in the proper adjunct of hoods, the *pileus* or *birettum*. It is sufficient for our present purpose to confine our attention to hoods and caps worn by (1) ecclesiastics, (2) by judges or other lawyers, and (3) by doctors and others at the Universities.

1. Of ecclesiastical hoods the chief varieties are the following:—

a. The capuce of the monk or friar, which possesses no cap as its proper adjunct. By papal permission, however, a cap is sometimes allowed to monks and friars. A well-known instance of such permission occurred in the case of the monks at St. Augustine's, Canterbury, who were allowed by a bull of Innocent IV, in 1243, the privilege of wearing a *pileus* in choir, with their capuce.[4]

b. The almuce, a hood of fur or skins worn by canons regular and secular, and by certain rectors of parish churches.[5] Heads of colleges and priests of collegiate churches also wore the almuce. The proper adjunct of this ecclesiastical hood was the canon's *pileus* or *birettum*, whether round or square. The *pileus rotundus* was worn by secular canons in England until the year 1529,[6] and possibly even later. The canon's *pileus rotundus* or *birettum* was sometimes furred, as in Du Molinet's plate of the Polish canon regular, reproduced by Dr. Legg[7]; and instances of a white *pileus* or *birettum* worn by canons are not lacking.[8] The Abbé Le Gendre, in describing the evolution of the almuce and cap from the hood,[9] says that when the hood

[1] *La Gerarch. Eccles.*, P. Filippo Bonanni, Rome, 1720. The plate is numbered 17, 18, 19.

[2] *Ibid.*, Pl. 78.

[3] *Ibid.*, Pl. 122.

[4] Odorici Raynaldi, *Continuatio Annal. C. Baronii*, T. XIII, p. 524, col. 1, Colon. Agrip., 1692. Two curious mistakes occur in the editor's marginal note. The monks are spoken of as Austin canons regular, for whom a papal bull would not have been needed; and the caps are designated as "pileis quadratis," whereas the *pileus quadratus* was unknown in the thirteenth century. An instance of the *pileus quadratus* worn under the capuce by lax monks in choir may be seen in an illustration contained in *Hist. de l'Abbaye Royale de Saint Denis*, Dom M. Félibien, Paris, 1706, p. 449. The date of the event represented was Aug. 12, 1633.

[5] *Concilia*, Wilkins, Vol. III, pp. 615, 616.

[6] There is a brass of that date at Hereford Cathedral, in memory of Edmund Frowsetoure, S.T.P., dean, and prebendary of Barton Collwall. The effigy of the dean is vested, as is quite usual in brasses, in a canon's processional cope, not in academical dress; and the *pileus rotundus* does not fit the head as closely as the doctor's *pileus rotundus*. I am indebted to W. H. St. John Hope, Esq., for calling my attention to the Hereford effigies. A description of them is given by Bloxam in *Archæological Journal*, Vol. XXXIV, p. 416.

[7] *Trans. S.P.E.S.*, Vol. III, p. 45.

[8] Canons regular wearing a habit entirely of white are required to wear also a white biretta, unless by special permission a black biretta be allowed. Such permission was granted to the Canons Regular of the Most Holy Saviour in 1634. See *Le Cost. et les Usages, Eccles.*, X. Barbier de Montault, T. I, pp. 453, 454. The canons regular of St. Mark of Mantua, whose habit is all of white, wear in choir (unless the custom has been changed) a white lambskin almuce on the arm, and a white biretta on the head, as the proper adjunct. See Moroni's *Dizionar.*, T. VII, p. 273; *Hist. des Ordres Relig.*, Schoonebeek, Amsterdam, 1688, p. 8. A plate in the latter work represents the white biretta as having four "horns." These birettas were, of course, square.

[9] *Les Mœurs et Coutumes des François*, Paris, 1753, pp. 206, 207.

was made entirely of the skins of animals, it was called an almuce; otherwise, it retained the name of hood (*chaperon*). This distinction, though commonly ignored, is carefully observed in the statutes of Cardinal's College, Oxford.[1] The stone effigy in Hereford Cathedral of Dean Borew or John de Swinfeld (authorities differ as to the name) shows a *pileus rotundus* with a well-defined ridge, lower in front than at the sides and back. This effigy is well figured in *Archæological Journal*, Vol. XXXIV, oppos. p. 418. The doctor's *pileus rotundus*, as shown in the Chandler MS. of New College, Oxford, consists of a crown without a ridge;[2] and there is at least one instance of a brass in which the canon's *pileus rotundus* is worn by a bachelor in sacred theology—that is to say, by one not entitled to wear a doctor's *pileus*.[3] The canon's *pileus* was worn with the choir habit, and with the processional cope; and at Lincoln Cathedral (and probably elsewhere also) it was worn to the altar as well.[4] In many parish churches, and sometimes even in cathedrals,[5] the custom of vesting at the altar would render it impossible to wear the cap to the altar with the mass vestments,[6] though it may have been worn by the priest to the altar before vesting, with his out-of-doors dress or his choir habit.[7]

The name in French for the canon's *pileus* was *aumusson*[8] or *aumussette*,[9] and in low Latin *aumucella*.[10] This *pileus* or *birettum* came to be regarded as one of the *insignia* of canons;[11] and doubtless, like the almuce,[12] it was not worn in common life, as were the *pileus quadratus* and the tippet, or black scarf. The canon's *pileus rotundus* bears no trace of a cross on top, formed by seams; and it sometimes lacks the *apex*, or peak, always to be found on the doctor's *pileus rotundus*.[13]

I have been kindly favoured, through the courtesy of the Rev. E. J. Bishop, with a rubbing from the brass of John Yslyngton, S.T.P., in Cley Church, Norfolk; the date

[1] *Statutes of the Colleges of Oxford*, &c., 1853, Vol. II, p. 59. The date of the statute is *circ.* 1526.

[2] See *The Black Chimere*, &c., Plate II, *Trans. S.P.E.S.*, Vol. IV.

[3] The instance referred to is that of William Moor, "Sacre scripture Baccalaureus," second provost of Tateshale College, prebendary of Holme Archiepiscopi, in Lincolnshire, rector of Ledenham. His effigy is vested in cassock, surplice, almuce, cope, and *pileus rotundus*. See *Sepulchral Monuments*, R. Gough, Lond. 1796, Vol. II, Pt. III, Pl. LXIV, p. 178. The epitaph shows the date to be 1456.

[4] The cap was handed to the boy server (*puero ministranti in altari*) during the singing of *Gloria in excelsis*. See *Linc. Cath. Stat.*, Pt. I, *Liber Niger*, Bradshaw and Wordsworth, Cambridge, 1892, p. 377. The use of a black cap (*pilliolus niger*) by the canons (*installati*) at Salisbury is mentioned in the *Nova Constitutio* of the *Registrum Osmundi*. See Frere's *Use of Sarum*, Cambridge, 1898, p. 263. The *pilliolus* was probably a skull-cap—a smaller cap than the *pillius* of the canons at Lincoln.

[5] See *Missale ad usum Herforden.*, edit. Rev. W. G. Henderson, 1874, p. 114.

[6] The *pileus*, or *birettum*, has never been regarded as one of the sacred vestments.

[7] Monks and friars would not wear the *pileus*—another reason for the infrequent mention of the *pileus* at the altar.

[8] The "Sieur de Moleon," in his *Voyages Liturgiques*, Paris, 1718, p. 49, describes the *pileus* of the Chanoines-Comtes at Lyons as, "une espèce de bonnet fourré ou petit aumusson, qui couvre toute la tête & le front même"; and he adds, concerning others in the choir, "les Perpetuels," that in winter "au lieu du bonnet fourré des Chanoines ils ont sous leur capuchon un bonnet quarré," &c.

[9] *Dict. de l'Ancienne Langue Française*, F. Godefroy, s.v. *Aumussette*.

[10] *Glossarium*, Du Cange, s.v. *Aumucella* and *Almucium*.

[11] *De Symbolis Doctorum*, F. G. Struve, fo. 1.

[12] See Canons of the Council of Rheims, 1583, *Conc. Gen.*, Labbé & Cossart, Edit. Coleti, T. XXI, Col. 707 708, Cap. *De Capitulis et Canonicis*.

[13] A silk tuft (*floccus* or *hapsus*) was afterwards added to the *apex*. See *De Pileo*, A. Solerius, Amsterdam, 1672, pp. 206, 224.

PLATE I





Walker and Boutall, Photo.

THE 'HABITUS SACERDOTALIS,' WITH BLACK SCARF, OR TIPPET, WORN AS A HOOD

From a fifteenth-century French MS. of the 'Roman de la Rose' in the British Museum
(Harl. MS. 4425 ff. 143 and 166)

PLATE II



Walker and Boutall, Photo.

THE 'HABITUS EPISCOPALIS' OF A FIFTEENTH CENTURY BISHOP

From a MS. French Pontifical of the fifteenth century in the British Museum
(Egerton MS. 1067, fol. 12)

of which, as given by Haines, is *circ.* 1520. The figure of Dr. Yslyngton is that of a canon wearing a canon's *pileus rotundus*, without tuft or *apex*—very different from that of the doctor; but resembling the cap worn by Archbishop Warham, except for the absence of ear-laps.[1] His dignity as canon or rector is marked not only by the *pileus*, but also by the cassock richly lined with fur. He carries in his hands a chalice with priest's host; and over his shoulders is what I take to be a veil for chalice or paten, with an embroidered cross.[2] The canon's cap in brasses and monumental effigies is commonly mistaken for the doctor's *pileus rotundus*.

c. The identity of the tippet with the black scarf has been demonstrated elsewhere;[3] but for the purpose of the present paper it will be necessary to establish also the fact that the tippet, or black scarf, was originally a kind of hood. Fortunately there is proof of this in a late fifteenth century Flemish MS. at the British Museum,[4] of *Le Roman de la Rose*, by Guillaume de Lorris and Jean de Meun, surnamed Clopinel. In the second part of this MS. are three illuminations (to illustrate the text by Jean de Meun) showing the priest's black scarf, or tippet, worn as a head-covering.[5] The representations are symbolical, but the out-of-doors dress of a Flemish priest of the fifteenth century has been copied. From a comparison of these three illuminations (two of which are reproduced in our Plate I), the manner of wearing the tippet, or black scarf, like a hood will be perceived at once. The tippet was first placed upon the head in such wise that one end hung down farther than the other, the longer end being wrapped about the neck at pleasure like a scarf.[6] When so worn, its relationship to the hood is unmistakable. This explains why the canons of 1604 allow to non-graduates the tippet as the alternative of, or substitute for, an academical hood.[7] There is no rubrical nor canonical authority for the simultaneous use of hood and tippet, either in church or out-of-doors; and the curious anomaly of a black cloth hood worn upon the back over the surplice by certain non-graduates is intolerable, if called a tippet; for it is certainly not the *liripipium* of Canon LVIII.[8] The Flemish priest in the illuminations wears a small red skull-cap beneath the black scarf, or tippet. The cassock is lavender-coloured.[9]

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[1] See *The Black Chimere*, Plate III, *Trans. S.P.E.S.*, Vol. IV, Pt. III.

[2] This brass is figured in *Engravings of Sepulchral Brasses*, J. S. Cotman, Lond. 1819. There is also a small figure of it in *Costume in England*, F. W. Fairholt, Lond. 1885, Vol. I, p. 199.

[3] See *The Black Chimere*, &c., *Trans. S.P.E.S.*, Vol. IV, Pt. III.

[4] The date given above is that ascribed to the MS. in the Class Catalogue of Illuminated MSS. at the British Museum.

[5] *Cf.* Du Cange, *Glossarium*, s.v. *Liripipium*: "Epomis, unde Belgis *Liire-Piipe*, seu potius longia fascia." The poke of this hood having disappeared (if it ever had one), only the long extremities, or tippets, (*liripipia*) remain. The hood (*epomis* or *capitium*) has become a mere scarf, or tippet, (*liripipium*).

[6] The third illumination, not reproduced here, shows this clearly. See Harl. MS. 4425, fo. 98.

[7] "Loco caputiorum [hoods] liripipia" [tippets], Canon LVIII; "una cum caputiis, vel liripipiis," Canon LXXIV. According to Canon LVIII, Ministers reading Divine Service, and administering the Sacraments are ordered to wear academical hoods "upon their surplices," if they be graduates; but if not graduates, they may wear instead "some decent tippet of black, so it be not silk." Canon LXXIV, however, deals with the out-of-doors dress only, graduates being required to "usually wear . . . hoods or tippets of silk or sarcenet"; but "all other ministers" were to wear out-of-doors "the like apparel . . . except tippets only."

[8] If it be claimed that it is a "literate's hood," and not a tippet, it has in its favour neither rubrical nor canonical authority.

[9] A good example of the *habitus sacerdotalis* with hood instead of tippet may be seen in the effigy of John Strete, Rector, in Upper Hardres Church, Kent, date A.D. 1405, reproduced in Waller's *Monumental Brasses*.

The frequent recurrence of the words, "square cap and tippet," is to be accounted for by the explanation that the tippet is a priest's hood, but no longer worn upon the head; because its proper adjunct, the square cap, has made the tippet quite useless as a head-covering; but the tippet with the square cap, worn "abrode" together, was expressly termed in England an *insigne sacerdotale*.[1]

The earliest known instance of the square cap worn in England with the black scarf, or tippet, is to be found in the portrait of Bishop Fox, who died in 1528. The idea that this was a traditional variety of the square cap peculiar to England must be abandoned.[2] The so-called "horns" of the modern *pileus quadratus* are the cross-seams raised and stiffened; the true horn (*cornu*) is the corner itself, curved inwards or outwards. De Vert says that the fourth "horn" (*corne*) was added for the sake of symmetry,[3] but Sarnelli makes a contrary statement, to the effect that the fourth horn (*angolo*) was put down (*deprime*) in the Roman biretta.[4] There is absolutely no pre-reformation authority, so far as I can discover, either in England or anywhere else for the "three-horned" biretta. The French biretta has four "horns,"[5] and is more like the biretta of Archbishop Cranmer or of Bishop Fox (except for the added tuft) than the modern "Canterbury Cap" or "Sarum biretta," because these lack the raised cross on top. The *pileus quadratus* of the sixteenth century had no tuft, and even to the present day the *pileus* or *birettum* of the Jesuits is without it, having instead a small piece of cloth.[6] The Roman biretta does not fold and close, but is always open.[7]

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[1] See, for example, *Statuta Acad. Cantab.*, 1785, p. 255; also, in *Appendix* to *Statuta Cantab.*, p. 572, Cardinal Pole's Statutes.

I am puzzled, I confess, by Wriothesley's statement (*Chronicle*, Camden Soc., Vol. II, p. 14) that the "petie cannons" of St. Paul's wore "tipittes like other priestes"; but I incline to the opinion that he is confounding the out-of-doors tippet or black scarf worn by priests in general (but worn then in choir for the first time by the minor canons at St. Paul's) with the almuce-shaped black cloth hoods, worn in choir by the chaplains, and called in the statutes of St. Paul's "*almiciae de nigro panno*." The black tippet worn out-of-doors would strongly resemble the black cloth almuces, so called, worn by the inferior clergy in choir; and a layman may well be excused for mistaking the one for the other. The Statutes of Henry VIII's College (revised in 1527, after the fall of Wolsey) mention two kinds of black cloth almuces, worn respectively by the vicars (*vicarii*) and other clerks (*clerici*), as a part of the choir habit; but their choir habit was certainly not the same as their usual out-of-doors dress: and these black cloth hoods of the inferior clergy are expressly called almuces, not tippets. The language of the Statutes of Cardinal's College is more accurate. Black hoods were not worn there, but the statutes speak of "*capuciis* panni blodei coloris et *ad formam etiam amiciarum confectis*." *Statutes of Cardinal's College*, p. 59. These were certainly not tippets: they formed a part of the choir habit.

[2] For an instance of the Continental use of the low *pileus quadratus*, with slightly raised seams instead of "horns," see the *pileus quadratus* of the Cardinal Stanislaus Hosius (*b.* 1504; *d.* 1579) in a portrait contained in *Viror. Doct. de Disc. Benemerent. Effigies, XLIIII*, a Philippo Galleo, Antwerp, 1572. The same book contains examples of the use of ear-laps on the Continental *pileus:* the *pileus* of Hosius lacks them. The *pileus quadratus* in portraits of Archbishop Laud is very like that of Hosius, though the tuft is wanting in the *pileus* of Hosius. This is the Hosius who declared: "Those who refuse to be called Papists are Satanists." He died in 1579. This portrait is reproduced in our Plate III. The tuft was a later addition to the cap.

[3] *Cérémon. de l'Eglise*, Paris, 1710, T. II, p. 273, n. (a).

[4] *Lettere Ecclesiastiche*, P. Sarnelli, Venice, 1740, T. I, p. 60. The *pileus quadratus* of the doctor in Italy retained its fourth "horn."

[5] The writer was told by a priest of Angers that no special form of biretta had been prescribed for use in that diocese, but that it would be "une singularité" if any priest of that diocese were to adopt the Italian "three-horned" biretta, the use of the "four-horned" biretta being almost, if not quite, universal in the diocese.

[6] *Le Cost. et les Usages Ecclés.*, X. Barbier de Montault, Vol. I, p. 233.

[7] See *Le Cost. et les Usages Ecclés.*, X. Barbier de Montault, Vol. I, p. 229.

2. The proper adjuncts of the judicial hood are the white lawn or silk coif, the black judicial skull-cap resembling the black coif of the priest, and the black "corner-cap," commonly called the "sentence-cap." Our attention must now be directed to the last of these caps—the judge's *pileus quadratus*, a limp, black, square cap, bearing a marked resemblance to the square cap worn by Archbishop Laud and other seventeenth century prelates, but without tuft or raised seams on top.[1] Before the judge's square cap came into existence the hood was pulled up over the coif, as may be seen in old monumental effigies. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries judges wore their corner-caps in the courts at Westminster, and during the circuit they were to go to church on Sundays, and "sit in their cornered-caps"[2]; but the wearing of the corner-cap by judges at the present day is reserved to the sole occasion of pronouncing the death-sentence upon a convicted criminal; either as a veil to the white coif, as Mr. Sergeant Pulling supposed,[3] or more probably as the sign of dignity and authority,[4] after the manner of the priest seated in the sacred tribunal.[5] Unfortunately, since judges have taken to wigs, the white coif and the judicial black skull-cap have shrunk into a small black and white patch on top of the wig—a device of the *perruquier* of the last century.[6]

3. The academical hood in all its varieties has as its proper adjunct the several kinds of academical caps. In England there were two kinds of academical catercaps, (1) the doctor's velvet *pileus quadratus*, with tuft and cross, and (2) the common cloth *pileus quadratus* worn by graduates and foundation scholars, which lacked both tuft and cross.

When a distinctive dress was adopted at the Universities, the clerical, the sacerdotal, and the episcopal dress were made the basis. The clerk at the university who had received only the first tonsure would be entitled to wear some distinctive clerical dress; and as he received academical distinction (whether he had been advanced to priest's orders meanwhile or not) so he would acquire the right to use symbols borrowed from the sacerdotal habit, but adapted to academical use. Thus the M.A. or B.D., though not entitled to a doctor's *pileus*,

[1] The square shape is probably borrowed from the priest's *pileus quadratus;* but in France the cap of the President of Parliament was the same in shape and material as the round velvet *bonnet* of the King. It was called a *mortier*—a name suggestive of the colloquial "mortar-board." See *Les Ouvertures des Parlements*, Loys D'Orleans, Paris, 1607, Chap. XXIII, *Du Mortier*, pp. 257 *sqq*. For a description of the French *toques* of to-day, see Additional Note I, on p. 14.

Concerning the *quasi-sacerdotium* of judges, consult Sir John Fortescue's *De Laudibus Legum Angliae* (Selden's Edit., Savoy 1741, pp. 4, 5), in which the author states that the "Ministerial Officers, who sit and preside in Courts of Justice, are there not improperly called *Sacerdotes*." The reader is referred, also, to the following representations of judges wearing their proper priest-like habit, of which the *pileus quadratus* forms a conspicuous part:—1. Three portraits in the National Portrait Gallery—(*a*) Sir John Bramstone, (*b*) Sir Edward Coke, (*c*) Sir E. Anderson, *circ.* 1581, showing all four corners of the "sentence cap." 2. Other examples of the judge's corner-cap may be seen in (*a*) *Monument. Architect.*, M. Bloxam, p. 328, an effigy of Sir Edward Montagu, 1556, with coif and *pileus quadratus*, (*b*) *Hist. of Coron. of K. James II*, F. Sandford, 1687, showing the judges in the coronation procession, carrying their corner-caps in their hands.

[2] See the "Solemn Decree and Rule made by all the Judges of the Courts at Westminster, bearing date the fourth day of June An. 1635," quoted in *Origines Juridiciales*, Sir W. Dugdale, Lond. 1666, p. 101.

[3] *The Order of the Coif*, A. Pulling, Lond. 1897, pp. 231, 232.

[4] The former custom of wearing the corner-cap in church seems to imply this.

[5] A contrast, however, should be noted. There is no sentence of condemnation in the sacred tribunal; and the priest before pronouncing absolution would naturally remove from the head his *pileus quadratus* or *birettum*, *propter reverentiam*, in the presence of the Supreme Judge, and as His minister; though some priests, I believe give absolution with the head covered, *propter dignitatem*.

[6] This device is well shown in a portrait of Mr. Serjeant Pulling in *The Order of the Coif*, Pl. I.

did wear a hood borrowed from the sacerdotal habit,[1] but modified so as to indicate the academical degree of the wearer; and the doctor in any faculty wore a habit resembling that of a bishop. The ancient statutes of Cambridge allowed the graduate, if a priest, to wear also the tippet (*insigne sacerdotale*).[2] A comparison of Plate II in the present paper[3] with Plate II of *The Black Chimere, &c.* (*Trans. S.P.E.S.*, Vol. IV, Pt. III), will show how closely the academical dress of the fifteenth century doctors at Oxford resembled the out-of-doors dress of a French bishop of the same date. Ring, book, chair, and cap, were *insignia* of the doctor; yet they were but academical adaptations of things connected with episcopal dignity.[4] The development of the ecclesiastical and the academical dress went on independently; but there was a mutual borrowing of ideas, and a close relationship. The academical *pileus*, or *birettum*, was properly restricted to doctors.[5] The university of Paris, in the year 1520,[6] exchanged the doctor's *pileus rotundus* for one of square shape, in imitation of the change in the shape of the priest's cap, which had begun in the preceding century. A *pileus quadratus* for doctors was probably adopted at Oxford and Cambridge shortly after 1520. The *pileus rotundus* had formerly been restricted to doctors in sacred theology, canon law, medicine, and civil law;[7] but when a *pileus quadratus* came to be bestowed upon doctors, a *pileus rotundus* had begun to be worn by those of lower degree, though not at public exercises at the universities. At Cambridge, in 1588, foundation scholars, and graduates below the grade of doctor, wore "a square cap of cloth"[8]; but this common catercāp was obviously not the square cap conferred upon doctors at their creation, as will be shown later on; nor was

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[1] The clerical and the sacerdotal habit are both mentioned in the Acts and Proceedings in Convocation, in the reign of Queen Mary, 1557, see Cardwell's *Synodalia*, Vol. II, p. 459. A clerk of that date not in holy orders would be distinguished *a laicis* by wearing, instead of short clothes, a habit reaching at least *ad medias tibias*; but he would not wear the square cap and tippet (*insigne sacerdotale*) of the priest of the sixteenth century.

[2] *Statut. Acad. Cantab.*, Cambridge, 1785, p. 255.

[3] From a MS. *Liber Ordinis Pontificalis* of the fifteenth century, originally executed for a prelate whose arms have been covered over by those of Etienne de Poncher, Bishop of Paris from 1502 to 1519. The Bishop is vested in a long rochet, a black chimere, or "tabert of fyne silke," with hood, and a *pileus rotundus*. One of the figures wears a *pileus quadratus*. This is a full-page illustration, on fo. 12. A smaller illustration of a bishop, in similar dress, washing the foot of a man on Maundy Thursday will be found on fo. 186. The abuse of administering confirmation in the episcopal habit, or proper out-of-doors dress, was not infrequent in the middle ages; and that fact may give some countenance to modern Anglican bishops who do the same. It would be harder to find a precedent, even among the abuses of the middle ages, for celebrating the holy communion in the episcopal habit—a violation of both canon and rubric. For the use of a long rochet, see *Proleg. in Pontif. Rom.*, J. Catalani, Cap. XII, No. 6.

[4] "Verum pileus ille à sacerdotibus est mutuatus: quemadmodum & annulus, qui in introductione episcoporum in episcopatum adhiberi solet." *Dissert. de Grad. Magist.*, H. Wegner, Regio Monti, 1713, p. 25.

[5] It was not conferred at Oxford upon the master of arts or the bachelor in sacred theology; though in some universities the master of arts as doctor in philosophy did receive it; and it was sometimes even granted to a licentiate in arts. See *Hist. de l'Instruct. en Europe*, V. de Viriville, Paris, 1849, p. 136.

[6] See Joannis Launoii (De Launoy's) *De Vera Causa Secess. S. Brunonis in Erem. Dissert.*, Paris, 1662, p. 121; *Diss. de Gradu Magisterii*, S. P. Glud, Copenhagen, 1695, p. 64; and Herm. Conringii, *De Antiquitat. Acad. Dissertat. Septem*, Göttingen, 1739, p. 257.

[7] *Loci e Libro Veritatum*, or *Selections from Dr. T. Gascoigne*, edit. by J. E. Thorold Rogers, Oxf. 1881, p. 178. *Cf.* De Boulay's *Hist. Univ. Parisien*, 1665, T. II, p. 257. In the Chandler MS. those who were not doctors are represented bare-headed. See *The Black Chimere, &c., Trans. S.P.E.S.*, Vol. IV, Pt. III, Pl. I.

[8] See letter of Lord Burleigh, Chancellor of the University of Cambridge, dated May 7th, 1588. *Orig. Letters, Illust. of Eng. Hist.*, Sir H. Ellis, Lond. 1824, Vol. III, pp. 25, 26; *Annals of Cambridge*, C. H. Cooper, Vol. II, pp. 455, 456.

it the *pileus quadratus* of priests, which bore the cross on top. In 1769, undergraduates at Cambridge who had been wearing round caps (not being foundation scholars) petitioned for a change to square caps, which was granted to them.[1] The earliest mention that I can find of the square cap of the foundation scholar occurs in the Injunctions of the Royal Visitors at Cambridge in the year 1549.[2] This, and not the priest's cap, was the ancestor of the present "trencher," or "mortar-board."

Like the priest's cap, the doctor's cap has assumed in different universities, and at different periods, the shapes represented by the three words, *rotundus*, *quadratus*, and *cornutus*; and a combination of two or more of the features denoted by these words, together with a variety of colours for the caps themselves or for their tufts, has given rise to a great variety of doctor's caps alone,[3] not to mention the common academical caps allowed even to undergraduates and choristers. The *birettum doctorale* was clearly quite distinct from the *birettum sacerdotale*, though derived from it; for however close the resemblance may have been in shape, they would have been distinguishable by reason of the velvet material of the doctor's cap, if in no other way.[4] The *birettum doctorale* bestowed upon St. Theresa, after her death, was certainly not a *birettum sacerdotale*. It was expressly permitted that the images of that saint in the Spanish churches should be represented with this *insigne* of the doctor in sacred theology, worn above the habit of the Carmelite nun.[5] An analogous case may be found in the friars—Dominican, Franciscan, Austin, &c., who might be entitled to wear on occasions a doctor's *pileus* or *birettum*, while forbidden to wear that of the priest.[6] At the funeral of a friar who is a doctor, the *pileus* or *birettum* is placed upon the head above the capuce; but if it had been the *pileus* or *birettum* of a priest, it would have been placed beneath the capuce, if put upon the head at all.

The *pileus quadratus* worn by the English prelates of the seventeenth century bore on top a tuft and a cross formed by the slightly raised seams; as may plainly be seen, *e.g.*, at

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[1] *Hist. of St. John's Coll., Camb., by T. Baker*, edit. by J. E. B. Mayor, Camb. 1869, Part II, pp. 1046, 1047.

[2] "Sociorum et discipulorum vestitus et cultus corporis honestus sit et decorus: pilei autem scholastici et quadrati." *Collection of Letters and Other Documents from the MS. Lib. of C.C.C., Camb.*, edit. by J. Lamb, D.D., Lond. 1838, p. 143. This reference is due to the kindness of Prof. E. C. Clark, LL.D. The Injunctions of the Royal Visitors at Oxford, about the same date, do not mention the shape. The revised statutes of the University of Paris, 1598, while allowing a *pileus quadratus* to masters of arts and to *pædagogi*, require the undergraduates to wear a *pileus rotundus*. *Leges et Stat., 1598*, Paris, 1601, p. 41.

[3] *E.g.*, at Salamanca the *pileus* or *birettum* of the doctor in sacred theology was both *quadratus* and *cornutus*; but its crown was *rotundus*. The four horns or corners curved outwards, instead of inwards like a priest's cap. At some universities the colour of the tuft designated the faculty. See *De Pileo*, Anselmus Solerius (M. l'Abbé T. Raynaud), Sect. X, pp. 206, 224. At Salamanca the tuft of the cap of the doctor in sacred theology was white; that of the doctor of canon law, red; that of the doctor of civil law, green; and that of the doctor of medicine, yellow. These caps were certainly not priests' caps.

[4] In the *Acts and Proceedings in Convocation*, in the reign of Queen Mary, the use of velvet in the *pileus* of the clergy was explicitly forbidden. Cardwell's *Synodalia*, Vol. II, p. 277. Francis Peck says: "The clergy of England never wore silk or velvet 'till the Time of the pompous Cardinal Wolsey." *Desid. Curios.*, Lond. 1732, Lib. XV, p. 16.

[5] St. Theresa has been incorrectly styled a doctor of the church; but this title has never been granted to her. The degree of doctor in theology is said to have been bestowed upon her by a bull of Pope Urban VIII; though the alleged bull and the grace of the university conferring the degree are not forthcoming. See the Bollandists' *Act. Sanct.*, T. VII, Oct., Pars Prior, Brussels, 1845, § LXXI, pp. 468-470, where the Saint may be seen in a *birettum doctorale*.

[6] Moroni, *Dizionar.*, T. V, p. 170, s.v. *Berretta Clericale*; also, p. 156, s.v. *Berretta*.

Hereford Cathedral, in the recumbent effigy of Augustin Lindsell, bishop of Hereford, 1633–1634. The tuft has been broken off, but the stump remains, and the cross is well defined. It was probably the now extinct cap of the doctor of divinity, and made of velvet.

The common catercap of the foundation scholar was worn contemporaneously, as we have seen above, with the doctor's *pileus quadratus*. The ring, kiss, and cap, were ceremonially bestowed at Oxford[1] upon the newly created doctor of divinity as late as 1654, at least; but it would be absurd to suppose that the cap bestowed upon the doctor at his creation, as one of the *insignia* of his newly-acquired dignity, was the foundation scholar's catercap.[2] The *pileus quadratus* of the doctor of divinity has been supplanted by this common catercap, now worn by all graduates and undergraduates alike; though the post-reformation *pileus rotundus* is worn on occasions by the doctors of civil law and of medicine. This is not the same kind of round cap as the fifteenth century cap of doctors, for it is the same in shape with the bedell's cap, though made of velvet. It is the academical adaptation of the "laical cap" worn by Becon in Plate IV.

The doctor's *pileus quadratus*, or *birettum*, together with the rest of the academical habit, owes its origin to the papal laws regulating the dress of the clergy;[3] the *pileus* and other *insignia* of ecclesiastical dignity being adopted at the universities to designate academical distinction.[4] The celebrated jurisconsult, Guido Pancirola (*b.* 1523; *d.* 1599) says that a *pileus quadratus* was given, as one of the *insignia*, to doctors, in token of the *sacerdotium justitiae* conferred upon them at their creation.[5] Such exalted language can hardly be applied to the common academical catercap, which, nevertheless, has so strongly asserted its own claims to be *the* academical *pileus quadratus* that it has altogether banished the square cap proper to the doctor of divinity; and having banished, too, from the Church of England the square cap proper to priests, with the raised seams on top, it is now contesting its readmission, and claiming to be the "modern representative of the priest's cap." It is not a priest's cap, like the cap of Cranmer or Fox; but it is the modern representative of the cap of the foundation scholar, to which was added a tuft, afterwards exchanged for the present tassel.

III. *On the Authority for the Use of the Priest's Pileus Quadratus in the Church of England.*

The use of the priest's *pileus quadratus* as an *insigne sacerdotale* was hotly contested in the vestiarian controversy, which began in the reign of King Edward VI, and lasted for more than a century, if indeed it has ended even yet. When the reformers had done their best to "turn

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[1] *Diary of John Evelyn*, edit. Bray, Chandos Classics, p. 341.

[2] According to the Laudian Statutes those who were to be created doctors remained bare-headed at the inception until the time of the solemnity of conferring the *pileus* or *birettum*: "Singuli Inceptores, donec solenniter creati fuerint, capitibus apertis in publico sedeant et incedant, sub pœna tredecim Solidorum et quatuor denariorum." *Statutes of Univ. of Oxford codified in* 1636, edit. Dr. J. Griffiths, Oxf. 1888, p. 78.

[3] See *De Symbolis in Promotion. Doctor.*, F. G. Struve, Kiliae, 1739, f. 1. In the canon law there is explicit legislation concerning doctors (De Magistris) both in the Decretals of Pope Gregory and in the Clementines. *Richter's Corpus Juris Canonici*, edit. A. Friedberg, Leipsic, 1879, coll. 768 *sqq.* and 1179 *sqq.*

[4] In the Scottish Universities doctors are still created by *birretatio*, see Rashdall's *Univ. of Europe*, Vol. I, p. 232. At Edinburgh, on occasions, the "John Knox laical cap" is worn by doctors other than doctors of divinity. See the *Univ. Calendar for 1873–4*, p. 174.

[5] *Thesaur. Varior. Lect. Utriusque Juris*, Guidus Pancirolus, Lib. I, Cap. XXIII, *Insignia Doctorum*, Venice, 1611, p. 24: or Lyons, 1739, p. 952, col. 2.

the mass into a communion" by pulling down stone altars and banishing the proper mass vestments, the controversy waxed hot over the "horned cappe,"[1] tippet, and "syde priestes gown," worn out of doors; and the surplice worn in the church. We have already seen that the use of the *pileus quadratus* by judge and doctor was based upon the *pileus quadratus* of the priest; and it is now time to enquire more particularly into the authority for the use of the priest's *pileus quadratus* in the Church of England. It is germane to our subject to answer the questions:—

1. Upon what authority was the use of the priest's *pileus quadratus* in England originally based?
2. By what authority was it retained at the time of the Reformation?
3. What authority is there for it at the present day?

1. It is remarkable that no English council nor diocesan regulation of archbishop or bishop in pre-Reformation times can be quoted as authority for the use of the *pileus quadratus*.[2] The use of a square cap for priests in contradistinction to the round "laical cap"[3] was defended solely on the ground that the pre-Reformation custom of wearing a *pileus quadratus* proper to priests had not been, and was not to be abolished.[4] Whence, then, was the English custom of wearing the *pileus quadratus* derived? It might appear to have been ordered by a canon of the council of Basle, 1434–5 A.D.; which must have had in England the force usual to the canons of an Ecumenical council.[5] But this cannot have been the case; for at that date the

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[1] The "horned cappe" is mentioned as one of the "grosse pointes of poperie" in a rare but well-known little book by Anthony Gilby, published in 1581; a copy of which is to be found at the British Museum, 'G. 12013." It is quoted in the *Brit. Mag.*, Vol. XXI, 1842, p. 625. The first part of the little volume is entitled, *A Pleasant Dialogue, Between a Souldior of Barwick and an English Chaplaine, &c.*

[2] In contrast with the absence of conciliar enactment or episcopal regulation in England before the Reformation, we may note the names and dates of some Continental Councils which prescribed the use of a *pileus* or *birettum* for priests, in choir or in the street:—Saltzburg, 1274; Ravenna, 1314; Basle (General Council), 1434; Freisengen, 1440; Sens, 1485; Seville, 1512; Sens (or Paris), 1528; Cambrai, 1550; Mechlin, 1570; Brescia, 1574; Tours, 1583; Bourges, 1584; Aix, 1585; and Toulouse, 1590. The Canons of these councils are to be found in *Concilia Generalia*, Labbé and Cossart, edit. Coleti.

Sarnelli in his *Lettere Ecclesiastiche*, Tom. I, p. 59, mentions several councils; and among them two that do not occur in the above list—Conc. Cremonense, 1584; and Conc. Anagnin., 1596. Moroni in his Dizionario s.v. *Beretta Clericale*, mentions two others—Conc. Astense, 1588, and Conc. Hieracen. 1593. Du Cange, s.v. *Pileus*, gives Conc. Terracon, 1591. I have not continued the list beyond the date of our own Canons of 1603–4. Nicolio, quoted by Barbier de Montault, says that the following decree was passed by the S. Congregation of bishops and regulars at Ragusa, Mar. 18, 1516: "Les clercs séculiers, surtout les prêtres, doivent porter la barrette carrée et non rond." *Le Cost. et les Usages*, X. Barbier de Montault, Tom. I, p. 229.

[3] A good example of the round "laical cap," worn over a black coif with untied strings, is to be seen in a portrait of Thomas Becon, "Sacrosanctæ Theologiæ Professor," in a copy of his *Reliques of Rome*, Lond. 1563, at the British Museum. The portrait bears the date of 1553. See our Plate IV.

[4] This appears strange to us, because the grey almuce was "put down" as popish (though not one of the mass-vestments), either because it may have been carried on the arm to the altar by the celebrant, as in a few French cathedrals at the present day; or else, because it was worn by canons assisting at high mass in the full choir dress, especially at the *Missa in capitulo*—a mass for the dead.

[5] The canon prescribed the dress of the secular clergy "in cunctis Cathedralibus ac collegiatis ecclesiis," and reads as follows: "Horas canonicas dicturi, cum tunica talari ac superpelliciis mundis ultra medias tibias longis vel cappis, juxta temporum ac regionum diversitatem, ecclesias ingrediantur, non caputia, sed almucias vel birreta tenentes in capite." *Conc. Basil.*, Sess. XXI, Cap. III, *Conc. General.*, Labbé and Cossart, edit. Coleti, Tom. XVII, col. 318.

word "*birreta*," used by the council, must have meant a *pileus rotundus* or *aumucella*, the round cap worn by canons of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

Now as the *pileus quadratus* seems to have been introduced into England not earlier than the beginning of the sixteenth century, and as, moreover, the English *pileus quadratus* of the sixteenth century is identical in shape with the Roman *pileus* of the same date, it can hardly claim to be an Anglican variety, or to have descended by Anglican tradition. Nevertheless, though this canon of the council of Basle cannot be quoted as authority for the *pileus quadratus*, it proves that an ecclesiastical *pileus* was worn by Ecumenical authority during the recitation of the divine office by priests in cathedral and collegiate churches, quite independently of the use of academical caps. The canon forbids the use of the out-of-doors hood (*capitium*) at the choir offices by canons and other ecclesiastics, who were required to wear the almuce, with or without the cap, as part of the *insignia* proper to their ecclesiastical dignity ; for, where the almuce was not worn upon the head, its proper adjunct, the *pileus rotundus*, was to be worn instead. It is incontestable that the pre-Reformation custom in England of wearing a *pileus quadratus* out of doors and in church, rested upon no Anglican order or tradition, but upon a general consent to adopt the usual headgear of priests on the continent, which Protestants hated as belonging to the "dregs of popery"[1] ; but which was deliberately retained in the Church of England. There were certain restrictions, before the Reformation, in the use of a head-covering by the inferior clergy in choir ; just as there are restrictions, on certain occasions, in the use of a *pileus* or *birettum* by the inferior clergy in the Roman Church and Curia at the present day.[2]

2. The retention of the Roman *pileus quadratus* at the time of the Reformation was secured by the case of Bishop Hooper, in 1550 ; though some obstinately refused to conform.[3] Yet Hooper was compelled to accept the episcopal habit, and to wear a "foure-squared cap" when he went to preach before the King.[4] The ultra-Protestant party regarded the "popish" *pileus quadratus* as a fit head-covering for "priests of Baal"[5]; but they were met with

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[1] Harding, Jewel's opponent, says : "What adoo was made in the late King Edwardes days to bring syr Iohn Hooper that worthy prelate of yours to a Rochet? As for the square cappe, syde priestes gowne and tippet, I trowe, he would rather be brought to a stake, then to those dregges of popish superstition, and ragges of the Romish Antichrist." *Confutation of An Apologie of the Church of England*, T. Harding, Antwerp, 1565, fo. 146. Foxe ridicules Hooper for wearing a square cap, "albeit his head was round." See *Acts and Mon.*, edit. 1583, p. 1504. This witticism seems to have originated with Martin Bucer. *Pilkington's Works*, Parker Soc., p. 662. *Cf.* Strype's *Life of Abp. Parker*, Oxf. 1821, Vol. III, Append. XXV, p. 69. The witticism occurs also in Stephen Pasquier's *Recherches de la France*, Paris 1621, L. IV, Chap. IX, p. 383. Pasquier concludes with the pleasantry that the invention of the square cap was a successful squaring of the circle, "amusoir ancien des Mathematiciens, où ils ne peurent jamais donner attaint." *Ibid.*

[2] See *Le Costume et les Usages Eccléss.*, X. Barbier de Montault, Tom. I, pp. 452, 453. See also the bare-headed priest in our Pl. II, in attendance upon the bishop.

Through information kindly given me by W. J. Birkbeck, Esq., I am able to state that not all priests in Russia wear a cap at the altar, but only those to whom the privilege is granted ; that the cap is the same as that worn out of doors ; that, roughly speaking, the priest removes the cap when he is representing our Lord (*e.g.*, at the consecration) ; but he wears it on his head at other times (*e.g.*, at the intercessory prayer, immediately after the consecration).

[3] Harding says : "Do not some weare square cappes, some rounde cappes, some butten cappes, some only hattes"? *Confutation of Apology of the Ch. of Eng.*, Antwerp, 1565, p. 146.

[4] Foxe's *Acts and Monum.*, 1583, p. 1504.

[5] See *Zurich Letters*, 2nd Ser., Latin, Parker Soc., Epist. LIII, from Beza to Bullinger, p. 77.

PLATE III.



PORTRAIT OF CARDINAL HOSIUS.

(From *Virorum Doctorum De Disciplinis Benemerentium Effigies XLIIII*, a Philippo Galleo, Antwerp, 1572.)

Shewing the shape of the unstiffened Roman Biretta, or Pileus Quadratus, of the sixteenth century, with raised seams, but without tuft; and pointing to the Roman origin of the now extinct cap of the D.D. prescribed by the Laudian Statutes for the University of Oxford.

PLATE IV.



PORTRAIT OF DOCTOR THOMAS BECON.

(From Becon's *Reliques of Rome*, London, 1563.)

Shewing the John Knox Laical Cap, the original of the *Pileus Rotundus* prescribed by the Laudian Statutes for the D.C.L. and M.D. at the University of Oxford. Its use by Becon was doubtless in accordance with Genevan custom.

a determined resistance on the part of the King or of his advisers.[1] The authority for the use of the *pileus quadratus* in the reign of King Edward VI is clearly set forth in Queen Elizabeth's injunctions of 1559, which prescribe the use of "such square caps, as were most commonly and orderly received in the latter year of the reign of King Edward the Sixth."[2] In these words two things should be noted:—(1) The pre-Reformation custom was not altered, but was "commonly and orderly received" down to the "latter year of the reign of King Edward the Sixth," in spite of all attempts to abolish it. (2) The words "such square caps" imply that in the "latter year" of the reign more than one kind of *pileus quadratus* was used. Probably three kinds are intended—the priest's cap, the doctor's cap, and the cap of the foundation-scholar.[3]

The Prayer Book of 1549 forbids neither almuce nor cap; it simply ignores them. The use of the hood is twice mentioned.[4] An exceptional use, at least, of grey and calaber almuces survived until the year 1561, and possibly even later[5]; while the use of some sort of *pileus quadratus* (even though it were only the common academical catercap, carried in the hand) never died out.[6]

3. The present authority for the use of the *pileus quadratus* or *birettum*.

The following are the chief enactments and regulations enjoining the use of an ecclesiastical or an academical *pileus quadratus*, from the beginning of the reign of Queen Elizabeth to the canons of 1604, inclusive:—

(1.) The Injunctions of 1559, which require "such square caps, as were most commonly and orderly received in the latter year of the reign of King Edward the Sixth."[7] (2.) Archbishop Parker's Advertisements, 1564, which order "all ecclesiastical persons or other, having any ecclesiastical livinge" to "weare the cappe appointed by the injunctions," *i.e.*, the priest's cap.[8] (3.) The Elizabethan code for the University of Cambridge, 1570, prescribing the use of a square academical cap (*pileo scholastico et quadrato*) by fellows and by graduates who were not fellows, while sojourning at the University.[9] I understand these words to mean the common academical catercap, as distinguished from the priest's cap. (4.) The Injunctions of Archbishop Whitgift for the University of Oxford, 1602, which order a *pileus quadratus* for non-graduates, as well as for graduates.[10] (5.) The Constitutions and Canons Ecclesiastical of 1604. Canon LXXIV orders for the out-of-doors habit:—*a*. That the archbishops and bishops "shall

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[1] When Q. Elizabeth came to the throne, her sight was keen enough to perceive that if the priest's *pileus quadratus* were done away with, the monarch's crown would not be long in following; which came to pass, literally, in a later reign, when archbishop and king lost not only their headgear, but their heads as well.

[2] Cardwell's *Document. Ann.*, Vol. I, p. 193.

[3] See the Injunctions of the Royal Visitors at Cambridge in 1549, quoted on p. 9, n. 1.

[4] (1.) "In all Cathedral churches and Colleges, the Archdeacons, Deans, Provosts, Prebendaries, and Fellows, being graduates, *may* use in the quire, besides their Surplices, such hood as pertaineth to their several degrees," &c. This does not forbid the use of the almuce to those who prefer it to their academical hoods. (2.) "It is also seemly that graduates, when they do preach, shall use such hoods as pertaineth to their several degrees." The use is permissive, not obligatory; and it applies to the preacher only.

[5] Diary of H. Machyn, edit. J. G. Nichols, 1848, Camden Soc., p. 258.

[6] This is largely due, no doubt, to the zeal of Archbishop Laud. See his Visitation articles, *Works*, Lib. of Ang. Cath. Theol., Vol. V, Pt. II.

[7] Cardwell's *Document. Annals*, Vol. I, p. 193.

[8] *Ibid.*, p. 295.

[9] *Doc. Relat. to Univ. and Coll. of Camb.*, Lond. 1852, Vol. I, p. 483.

[10] *Injunctions of Jo. Cantuarien.*, contained in *Statutes of All Souls' Coll.*, p. 97.

not intermit to use the accustomed apparel of their degrees" (*consuetum ordinum suorum habitum*) *i.e.*, of their ecclesiastical order, not of their academical degrees. This would include the "episcopal cap, or four nukit bonat,"[1] which is as truly a part of the episcopal habit[2] as the rochet, chimere, or tippet. *b.* A *pileus quadratus* is also ordered to be used not only by doctors of divinity and other priests, but by doctors of civil law and medicine, &c. This gave room for a diversity of square caps—some ecclesiastical, some academical.

The Laudian Code of Statutes for the University of Oxford, 1636, wrought a change in the use of caps, and ordered:—(1.) A *pileus quadratus* (the common catercap) for graduates, foundation scholars, choristers, &c.; (2.) A *pileus rotundus* for commoners and all who were not on the foundation of the several colleges; (3.) A *pileus quadratus* for doctors in theology; and (4.) A *pileus rotundus* for doctors in civil law, medicine, and music, &c., instead of the *pileus quadratus* which they had previously worn in common with doctors in theology. This new *pileus rotundus* was doubtless the "John Knox laical cap," still worn on occasions both at Oxford and Cambridge. It is made of velvet, and is the only cap proper to doctors still surviving at the English Universities.

Archbishop Laud's Visitation Articles for the cathedral churches of the southern province, 1634–6,[3] were intended to enforce the canons of 1604; but it would seem that the general use of the two sorts of academical square caps—viz., the square cap of the D.D. and the common catercap—resulted in the entire disuse of the *pileus quadratus* proper to priests, *quâ* priests. Ultimately the square cap proper to the D.D. became extinct through a growing preference shown by doctors of divinity for the common academical catercap. The use of a square cap proper to priests has never been prohibited, but has only been in abeyance. There is evidence of this in three different attempts made to bring it back again by the introduction of (1) the modern Roman biretta, with its three "horns," the use of which the Privy Council would not condemn provided it were not worn upon the head; (2) the so-called "Sarum biretta," which has nothing to say in its favour; and (3) the so-called "Canterbury Cap," which is an imperfect reproduction, not of the priest's cap, but of the cap of the doctor of divinity, with a decided leaning towards the shape of the common academical catercap, because of the mistaken notion that this last cap is a combination of the priest's square cap and the black coif, neither of which was allowed to be worn by the undergraduate at any period.

ADDITIONAL NOTES.

NOTE I.—THE FRENCH TOQUE.

I am indebted to a friend in Paris for the following information concerning the cap, or *toque*, worn at the present day in the French courts—the *Tribunal Civile General*, the *Cour d'Assise*, and the *Cour de Cassation*. The presidents, the judges, and the *procureurs de la Republique* wear a round *toque*, with gilt bands.[4] The *greffiers*, *huissiers*, *avocats*, and *avoués* wear a curious *toque*, square at the lower part of the ridge where the *toque* rests upon the

[1] See Additional Note III, on p. 16.

[2] It is required by the last rubric of the Coronation Service. See p. 16.

[3] Laud's *Works*, Ang.-Cath. Lib., Vol. V.

[4] Illustrations of this form of the *toque* may be seen in the *Special Number* of the London *Graphic*, for September 14th, 1899, pp. 13, 15, 16.

head, but rising up into an octagonal shape at the top. There are eight seams on top—four raised into "horns," and four not raised. At the intersection of the seams there is a velvet knob, instead of the silk tuft (*floccus*) or the modern tassel. The *toque* of the *avocats* has a velvet ribbon border; and that of the *avoués*, a silk ribbon border.[1] These cornered *toques*, though octagonal at the top, bear a strong resemblance to the priest's *pileus quadratus* with four "horns," or raised seams.

NOTE II.—THE PURPLE "CANTERBURY CAP."

The resuscitated "Canterbury Cap" has assumed, within the past few years, upon the heads of a few prelates, an "Episcopal-purple" colour. This is a palpable error, which makes confusion worse confounded; for a purple square cap was never worn, I believe, in England, either by bishop or priest, or by doctors in any faculty. The colour was always black. On the continent, however, the use of the black *pileus* was not, and is not, universal. There are certain canons who use a violet biretta, either by the authority of a papal brief,[2] or by an ancient custom, as in the case of the canons at Antwerp.[3] This latter instance is a confirmation of the fact mentioned in the above paper of a cap proper to canons, as distinguished from the inferior clergy. The canons at Pavia have added, without papal authorization, a violet tuft to their black *pileus*.[4] French canons generally, in the present day, have added a red cord to the four "horns" of their black biretta, without the formality of the customary papal brief, to distinguish them from the other clergy. The apostolic nuncio of Vienna, during the years 1894 and 1895, authorized the use of a violet biretta by the canons of Lemberg, Przemysl, and Stanislaw.[5]

The more usual colour on the continent for the *pileus*, or birettum, of the doctor of divinity is black, though some universities in Germany conferred a purple or violet cap. At Helmstadt a purple (*purpureus*) *pileus* was worn by doctors of all faculties.[6] A violet *pileus* was worn at Leipsic, and a purple *pileus* at Cologne, by the doctor of divinity.[7]

Until February 3rd, 1888, there was no authority in the Roman Church for the use of a purple or violet biretta by bishops, though French bishops, acting on their own authority, did assume a violet biretta before that date.[8] Other Roman bishops wore a black biretta, commonly lined with green. On the above-named day Pope Leo XIII, in honour of the fiftieth anniversary of his ordination to the priesthood, granted to all bishops throughout the world the use of a violet biretta.[9] It will probably be maintained that, though Anglican prelates did not change the colour of their *pileus* or *birettum* until after the date of the papal brief, it was a case of *post hoc, sed non propter hoc;* still, it should be remembered that

[1] See illustration of the cornered toques in the *Special Number* of the *Graphic*, p. 9.

[2] In Moroni's *Dizionario*, Tom. XCVI, p. 200, an instance may be found of such prerogative having been granted by Pope Pius VII, in 1801.

[3] See Sarnelli's statement to that effect quoted by Moroni, *Dizionar.*, s.v. *Beretta Clericale.*

[4] See *Le Cost. et les Usages*, Barbier de Montault, Tom. I, pp. 230, 231. [5] *Ibid.*, p. 454.

[6] See *De Symbolis Doctorum*, F. G. Struve, fol. 3; *Oratio de Honoribus Academ.*, J. G. Kipping, Helmstadt, 1744, pp. 21, 22.

[7] See *De Doctoratu Theologico*, W. E. Tonnemacher, Verdensis, 1699, p. 12.

[8] See *Le Cost. et les Usages*, Barbier de Montault, Tom. I, p. 231.

[9] The words of the papal brief are as follows: "Quare hisce litteris Apostolica auctoritate Nostra perpetuum in modum concedimus, ut universi Patriarchae, Archiepiscopi, et Episcopi birreto violacei coloris hoc futurisque temopribus uti libere et licite possint et valeant." Quoted in *Le Cost. et les Usages*, Barbier de Montault, Vol. I, p. 232.

Archbishop Laud, following the Anglican tradition, clung tenaciously to his black *pileus quadratus*, even when he was offered (so it is alleged) the scarlet hat and biretta of a cardinal of the Holy Roman Church. The archbishop's skull-cap, still preserved at St. John's College, Oxford, is red, not purple like the skull-caps of some Anglican prelates of to-day.

NOTE III.—ON THE POST-REFORMATION USE OF THE *PILEUS QUADRATUS* IN CHURCH AS A COVERING FOR THE HEAD.

We have already noted that the corner-cap was worn by judges in church, in the seventeenth century.[1] In Archbishop Laud's time it was the custom also for "masters" at Oxford to wear their caps at the University Church of St. Mary-the-Virgin,[2] though Archbishop Laud tolerated the incipient custom of "their sitting bare, so long as they go along the streets in their caps, and keep form, &c." This was in 1638–9. And we have the following testimony that a square cap was worn upon the head in church by bishops after the restoration of King Charles II :—"The Archebischop of St. Androis sat thair covered with his episcopall cap, or four nukit bonat." This was at the consecration of seven bishops (the first consecration by bishops of the new succession), by Archbishops Sharp, of St. Andrew's, and Fairfoull, of Glasgow, and by Bishop Hamilton, of Galloway, in the chapel-royal of Holyrood.[3]

The last rubric of the Coronation Service of Queen Victoria, following the traditional use, orders the archbishops and bishops, in going from St. Edward's Chapel through the choir to the west door of the Abbey, to wear their caps.[4] Anthony Wood says: "As divines preached in caps . . . so the auditors, if scholars, sat in them, which continued so till the late unhappy times; but when King Charles II was restored, then the auditors sat bare, lest if covered, should (*sic*) encourage the laical party to put on their hats, as they did all the time of Rebellion."[5] We have seen above that the *pileus quadratus* has been worn on the head in church since the restoration of King Charles II. The supposed prohibition of Canon XVIII, A.D. 1604,[6] has absolutely nothing to do with the priest's cap: it concerns the head-covering of the layman only.

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[1] See above, p. 7.

[2] Laud's *Works*, Lib. of Ang.-Cath. Theol., Vol. V, Pt. I, p. 216.

[3] *The Diary of John Nicoll*, printed for the Bannatyne Club, Edinburgh, 1836, p. 366. Cf. *The Epis. Ch. of Scotland from the Reformation to the Revolution*, J. P. Lawson, Edinburgh, 1844, p. 712.

[4] See Maskell's *Mon. Rit.*, 2nd Edit., Vol. II, p. 148; and *cf.* Section XII, p. 127, *ibid.*

[5] *Hist.*, Vol. I, p. 71, quoted in Laud's *Works*, Lib. of Ang.-Cath. Theol., Vol. V, Pt. I, p. 216, Note x.

[6] "No man shall cover his head in the church or chapel in the time of divine service, except he have some infirmity; in which case let him wear a nightcap (*pileolo*) or coif (*rica*)." Cardwell's *Synodalia*, Vol. I, p. 255.

SOME LOCAL REFORMS OF THE DIVINE SERVICE ATTEMPTED ON THE CONTINENT IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

BY

J. WICKHAM LEGG,

Fellow of the Royal College of Physicians and of the Society of Antiquaries of London.

The incompleteness of the following paper will be plain to every one who examines it. Yet I am led to submit it to the Society for these reasons: one, that having been interested in this matter for some fifteen years, and having sought whatever material could be found, I now seem to have reached all that a superficial investigation can discover amongst printed books in libraries: another, that increasing years daily suggest that what is to be done at all should be done soon: and a third, that the publication of a paper, even if incomplete, may stir up some interest in a subject which, to tell the truth, is very much neglected. The scientific ritualist will hardly take one of these reformed breviaries into his hand. The ultramontane ritualist looks upon these deviations from the Roman highway as eccentricities that alarm him, of which the very memory should be wiped out.[1] The Anglican ritualist may be fanned into a faint interest in one of them, the Breviary of Cardinal Quignon, when he is told that the Preface to the Book of Common Prayer is greatly indebted to Quignon, and that the scheme of its Mattins and Evensong draws many of its notable features from that reform. It would almost seem that most students of liturgy are really unwilling to know what there is to be said about these out-of-the-way books.

Generally speaking, the breviaries that make up this corner of liturgical history can

[1] Speaking of Cardinal Quignon's Breviary and its reprint by the Cambridge University Press, Abbé Ulysse Chevalier says: Je ne sais s'il serait jamais venu à un catholique la pensée de le réimprimer, malgré sa rareté. (*La Renaissance des Études liturgiques*, p. 20. contained in *Compte rendu du quatrième congrès scientifique international des Catholiques tenu a Fribourg*, 1898.) Abbé Batiffol, more of a scholar, speaks differently: Récemment l'Université de Cambridge a eu la bonne pensée d'en donner une réimpression. (*Histoire du Breviaire romain*, Paris, 1893, p. 222.)

Cardinal Quignon's Christian name was Francis. But Dr. Neale, in a careless fit, has called him Fernandez or Ferdinand. (*Essays on Liturgiology*, Lond. 1863. p. 3.) This little mistake, once begun, will probably go on to the end of the chapter. It has been perpetuated by Mr. Frere in his new edition of Procter's *History of the Book of Common Prayer* (Macmillan, 1901. p. 27), which might have been a most valuable work, if the Editor had had the time to arrange his notes and to correct the proofs.

hardly be said to have been studied at all. To give an example of the way in which this liturgical by-path is dealt with, I may point out two handbooks that have appeared within the last ten years, and that treat of the history of the divine service. One is by an accomplished French writer, Abbé Batiffol; it is written in a most charming and lucid manner, with all the graces of the French language; but the local reforms of the breviary that preceded the action of Pius V. in 1568, are dismissed in a couple of pages.[1] The other work is by a learned German author, Dom Suitbert Bäumer, and he hardly gives the subject a page.[2] The reformed breviary of Cardinal Quignon, which was preceded by the hymn book of Ferreri, who promised an immediate reform of the breviary,[3] is, I need not say, treated by both these authors at considerable length; and it is not my intention in this paper to do more than call attention to the existence of these reforms, and that of the Theatines, all of which need special and separate treatment.[4] In the table of distribution of the psalter I have however given the distribution of the psalter by Quignon, which is the same in both the texts of his breviary, for comparison with the other sixteenth century reforms.

The beginning of the reforms of the divine service may be traced in France some years before the appearance of the Quignon Breviary.[5] Two provincial synods, one of Sens, the other of Bourges, were held in the year 1528. That of Sens, celebrated at Paris in the autumn of 1528, evidently saw the need of a reform of the breviary; for it commissions the bishops to visit the breviaries, mass books, antiphoners, and legends of the saints, and whatsoever they find in them superfluous, or not suited to the dignity of the church, they are to take

[1] Pierre Batiffol, *Histoire du Breviaire romain*, Paris, 1893, pp. 234–236. This is the first French edition. In 1898 an English translation appeared, of great merit, from the pen of Mr. A. M. Y. Baylay. The corresponding part is on p. 252 of this edition.

[2] Suitbert Bäumer, *Geschichte des Breviers*, Freiburg in Breisgau, 1895. p. 408. Even this modicum of information seems to be taken from an article on the Quignon Breviary in the *Church Quarterly Review*, January, 1889, a reference to which is given inexactly in a note, as the *Quarterly Review*. See also p. 384, note 1. "Man findet solcher reformirten Breviere noch in der Nationalbibliothek zu Paris und in der Angelica sowie der Vallicellana zu Rom und gewiss auch anderswo in grosser Zahl." I have found but one reformed breviary, that of Pampeluna, in the national library at Paris; but (excepting Quignon's) I have no notes of any such reformed breviaries in the Angelica at Rome, which I visited in 1886. This paper would have been more complete if Dom Suitbert Bäumer would only have told us exactly where such breviaries may be found "in grosser Zahl."

[3] *Breviarium ecclesiasticum ab eodem Zach. Pont. longe brevius et facilius redditum, et ab omni errore purgatum propediem exibit* is at the bottom of the title of Zachariae Ferrerii Vicent. *Hymni novi ecclesiastici*, Romae, L. Vicentinus and Lautitius Perusinus, Kal. Febr. 1525.

[4] It has been already mentioned that the first text of Cardinal Quignon's reformed breviary was reprinted at Cambridge in 1888. A reprint of the second text is much needed by the student of these local reforms, which borrowed largely from the second, though not so much from the first, text. The second also considerably influenced the legends of the Pian reform. An account of the Quignon Breviary, it has been said above, may be found in the *Church Quarterly Review*, January, 1889, No. 54, p. 353. Something on the proposed Theatine reform may be found in Joseph Silos, *Historiarum Clericorum Regularium* . . . Pars Prior, Romae, 1650. Lib. iii. p. 95.

[5] I will mention here, chiefly to show that it has not been forgotten, a book which received the approbation of Leo X. but which appears to be a sort of primer rather than a breviary, put together by one "Andreas Mattheus Aqueuius de Aragonia dux Adrie." The colophon is: Impressum Neapoli per Antonium de Frizis Corinalden. anno Domini .M.ccccc. xxiij. Die .xxv. Mensis Octobris. I have only seen the book in the British Museum, where its press-mark is C. 35. c. 26.

away, and what they judge necessary they are to add.[1] The Council of Bourges held in March of the same year,[2] did not go so far, but suggested merely that the liturgical books, the books of uses as it calls them, should be submitted to the ordinary of the place before they were sent to the printers.[3] It seems likely that the synod of Sens had considerable influence: for that province then included Paris, which did not become metropolitan till the seventeenth century; at all events, in the year after, in 1529, the bishop of Soissons, suffragan to Rhemes, attempted to do on his own authority what the bishops of the neighbouring province of Sens had judged needful to be done. He published a breviary, printed by Reginald Chaudiere,[4] which appeared in 1529, that is, six years before the first text of Quignon and only four years after the publication of Ferreri's hymn book. I have never been fortunate enough to see a copy of the book, and I have been unable to gain any knowledge of its contents. But the Sorbonne smote it at once; and, wisely perhaps from their point of view, though irritating on the historical account, they gave no reasons for their condemnation, so that we are unable to judge of the nature of the alterations. On July 24th, 1529, the Faculty sent two letters to Soissons, one to the bishop, the other to the dean and canons. Both are much to the same effect. The new breviary is said to contain no small number of things odious by their novelty and repugnant to the common use of the Church. Whence, unless this be looked to, there will arise no small division in the Church of France.[5]

After this condemnation by the Sorbonne of the Soissons reformed breviary, there seems to have been a breathing space, so far as I can make out: for I find no record in France of any other reformed breviary until 1541. In this year the bishop and chapter of Angoulême put forth a breviary which I only know by the mention made of it by Claude Joly. The title and colophon claim that the breviary is corrected and reformed[6]; but like the

[1] M. L. Bail, *Summa Conciliorum*, Parisiis, 1675. t. ii. p. 452. In Canon xxi. there is: "Dioecesani statim post dissolutum praesens Concilium, diligenter visitabunt Breviaria, Missalia, Antiphonalia, ac Sanctorum legendas. Et quae deprehenderint in illis superflua, aut non satis pro Ecclesiae dignitate convenientia, ipsi continuo tollent & resecabunt, & quae viderint esse necessaria, adjicient." The Sens breviary of this period (*Breviarium secundum verum et integrum preclare ecclesie Senonen. usum*, Parisiis, Thielman Keruer, 1546, 8°) shows nothing that I can see of a reforming spirit.

[2] It should be remembered that in France the year began with Easter.

[3] Hardouin, *Acta conciliorum*, Paris. 1714. t. ix. col. 1921. Canon XV. Decernit quod breviaria, missalia, baptisteria, processionalia, horae, & huiusmodi libri, quos vocant usus, non mittantur ad chalcographiam imprimendi, donec ipsi librarii acceperint exemplaria ab Ordinario aut deputato emendata.

[4] According to Panzer (*Annales Typographici*, Norimbergae, 1803. t. xi. p. 270) he printed at Paris from 1515 to 1534.

[5] See C. Du Plessis d'Argentré, *Collectio Judiciorum*, Lutet. Parisiorum, 1728. t. ii. p. 77. All that is known about this work seems to be contained in these letters. Jules Leclercq de Laprairie (*Observations sur les livres liturgiques du diocèse de Soissons*, Laon, 1852. p. 10) tells us no more; and he is certainly wrong when he says that this is the first Soissons liturgical book that was printed.

[6] Claude Joly, *De Reformandis Horis Canonicis, . . . consultatio auctior et emendatior*, no place, 1675. p. 258. Title: BREVIARIUM ANGOLISMENSE. Noviter correctum & multis lectionibus ad pietatem Fidem, Spem & Charitatem excitantibus abunde locupletatum. M.D. XLI.

The colophon runs:

Quod insigne Angolismensis Ecclesiae Capitulum excudi curavit collata in hoc propria ipsius pecunia Parisiensis civitatis Bibliopolae Galeoto à prato. Ipsum autem Breviarium reformatum atque ordinatum est autoritate Reverendi Angolismensis Ecclesiae Episcopi; deinde ipsius quoque Capituli. Si sunt autem qui

breviary of Soissons I have been unable to find a copy in any library in England or on the Continent. Nothwithstanding the appearance of this book within the bounds of the University of Paris, the Sorbonne did not, so far as I know, take notice of it.

Next in order of time there follows a breviary of Orleans, one of the suffragan dioceses to Sens, the provincial council of which in 1528 is spoken of above. This breviary was published in 1542, and appeared in two parts. I have examined the winter part in the Library of Sainte Geneviève at Paris. (Rés. BB. 827.)

The title is this:

¶ *Breuiarium diocesis Aurelianensis a* viris cum doctrina atque ingenio, tum vite integritate ac pietate claris recens ab erroribus quibus scatebat repurgatum necnon vanis & inutilibus resecatis, grauibus et seriis auctum prodit sanctorum historiis. 1542.

A large wood-cut of the Crucifixion takes up good part of the title. Below the wood-cut is:

¶ Venale est apud *Franciscum Guepart* et *Iacobum Martinet* bibliopolas *Aurelianenses*.
Cum privilegio.

Erroribus scatebat is an expression to be noted. So is the statement that this new breviary was put together by pious and learned men, and that the old, vain, and useless legends had been omitted, and the book enlarged by those that were grave and serious.

On the verso of the title page there is this address:

¶ *Ad ecclesiasticum lectorem.*

HAbes charissime lector breviarium lucidius, breuius, ac cultius quam antea: in quo quod perplexum erat, explicatum est: quod sepius repetitum tedium afferebat, est bona sui parte decurtatum: quod piorum ac doctorum aures offendere poterat, quantum occasio presens exposcit, vel recisum vel in synceriorum formam excultum. Fruere igitur alieno labore ac devote ex animo sed integro preces sine intermissione ei funde: qui toto corde, tota mente, totisque viribus coli optat: facque vt mens, sermo, opera, ac tota vita in dei gloriam et ecclesie edificationem, tuo ordine, qui peculiari vite innocentia atque celestium rerum cognitione et meditatione aliis prelucere debet, respondeant: Deum ita labiis honora, vt cor tuum non longe sit: eumque qui spiritus est, adora in spiritu et veritate. Que si perfeceris, nemini dabis vllam offensionem tuumque ministerium duplici celebrabitur honore.

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unquam aliquid spiritualis fructus ex huius Breviarii lectione percipiant hi Domino gratias agentes meminerint etiam ei commendare precibus suis illos qui suam & pecuniam & diligentiam hoc in opus impenderunt.

Excudebat Parisiis Joannes Kerbriand alias Huguelin in alma Parisiorum Academia Typographus anno ab orbe Redempto M.D.XXXXI. circiter Idus Maii absolutum.

I find also two breviaries, the introduction to which may excite suspicion; both are in the Mazarine Library at Paris; one is a Macon breviary, *Breviarium ad insignis* Ecclesiæ Matisconensis *ritum, iam denuò promulgatum* . . . Lugduni, Th. Paganum, MDLII. in the preface of which we find "Quas [horas] a plurimis mendis (quibus olim scatebant) extersas: the other is a Meaux breviary, *Breuiarium secundum vsum insignis ecclesie Meldensis, nouissime correctum et emendatum*, Paris, 1546: there are these words in the preface: Unum tantum vos latere nolumus hoc breuiarium supra mille erratis (quibus aliud scatebat) expurgatum esse. These words in the prefaces might, like the Angoulême breviary cited by Claude Joly, seem to indicate a considerable reform of the breviary in each case; but I find no remarkable changes in the distribution of the psalter, or elsewhere, in these two books. Perhaps the Angoulême reform was no greater.

There are but slight changes to be noticed in this breviary. The Gregorian distribution remains unchanged. Anthems and responds are left, and an unpractised eye discovers but little difference from the other French breviaries of the sixteenth century.

But it may be that the Sorbonne bethought itself of the advice: *principiis obsta*. On the first of March, 1548, the Faculty determined that the title of the new Orleans breviary excites suspicion and is false: those things which have been expunged from the old are neither vain nor useless, nor are they offensive to learned and pious ears. First of all the *preces* after lauds and vespers and other hours of the day have been taken away from certain week-days (*in quibus dicitur dicta*)[1] either fasting days, it may be supposed, or what are now called days of abstinence; also were omitted in Lent the penitential psalms after *Miserere*.

The disappearance of *preces* from any breviary may, I think, be regretted. We have happily retained it on all occasions in the Book of Common Prayer. But the Sorbonne is condemning by anticipation the present practice of the Roman Church, where the *preces* now are but rarely heard.

Then the Sorbonne condemns the diminution or entire disappearance of special lessons on Saints' days, so that feasts of nine lessons have become feasts of three lessons, and feasts of three lessons have become simples. And even where no change has been made in the degree of the feasts a great many lessons have been taken away either from the feasts themselves or from their octaves, and either taken wholly away or mutilated in some form. Also the title of *beatus* or *beatissimus* is not given to the saint at the beginning of the legend; the miracles and merits of the saints are omitted, and they are not invoked. Also some things have been expunged from this breviary which may seem to exalt the sacraments of the Eucharist and Confirmation, as is plain from the histories of the blessed Gregory, Benedict, Ambrose, and Mary of Egypt. Other things also are left out, of true Christian religion, such as fasting, the maceration of the flesh, the building and endowment of churches, which may be seen in the lessons of SS. Antony, Simeon, Lewis, Genevieve, and many others. Further, in the proper of saints, hymns and anthems special to the saint have been left out, and substitutes taken from the common, and this even in saints which are peculiar to the church of Orleans. They do not note that many of the legends of the saints are taken from the Quignon breviary.

The Faculty ends its censure by saying that these changes in the new breviary are imprudent, temerarious, and scandalous, and not without suspicion of favouring heretics. If there be vain and useless things in the old breviary, as the compilers say, let them show them to the Faculty, who will then give their opinion.[2] Thus much from the Sorbonne: but they could not foresee that most of the changes so severely condemned by them would be adopted in the reform of the breviary carried out under Pius V.

This condemnation probably alarmed the Bishop and chapter of Orleans, for in the same year they published a fresh edition of their breviary; but I have not seen it, and do not know if the old features were restored. Looking at the matter from the liturgical standpoint, not from the standpoint of Ultra-conservatism, the complaints of the Sorbonne do not seem well grounded. May not a bishop and chapter, in the exercise of the *ius liturgicum*,

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[1] Diète...privation de nourriture. *Littré*. "To fast, like one that takes diet." *Two Gentlemen of Verona*, II. 21.

[2] C. Duplessis d'Argentre, *op. cit.* p. 240. (*thus, for* 140.)

a right which has come down to the bishop from the time of the apostles, he following of course certain well defined lines, make alterations in the *legenda* of the saints? In the reform of Pius V. a few years after, the legends of the saints were entirely recast, an acknowledgement that something was wrong with them, although the Sorbonne seems to have looked upon them as irreformable, the retouching of the legends being a great ground of complaint. Indeed the rage of the Sorbonne seems to have passed all reasonable bounds. Its zeal against the alterations suggested by the provincial councils exceeded what was desired by the Roman Court itself, which is not generally considered to have a passion for innovation.

The incident shows the bitter opposition which they had to encounter who in the sixteenth century laid the very lightest hand in the way of reform upon the traditional divine service; the Orleans reform was made in the most legitimate manner, by the authority of the bishop and chapter, and it was not extravagant. Yet the way in which the Sorbonne censured it was enough to send the men who were thus attacked into the camp of the extreme and radical reformers.

The next reformed breviary that appeared in France to my knowledge is the breviary of Arles printed in 8° at Lyons in 1549 by Th. Payen. I have seen copies of this book in the Bibliothèque de Mejanes at Aix-en-Provence, in the Bibliothèque de la Ville at Arles, and in the Bibliothèque Mazarine (23795) at Paris.

In the Aix copy some person, eager for the liturgical orthodoxy of Arles, has cut out part of the word *Arelatensis* both in the title page and preface.

The title page is:

Breuiarium recens ad usum Arelatensis Ecclesiæ, Ex veteri ac nouo testamentis: Tum ex Homiliis & Sermonibus sanctorum approbatorum doctorum: de nouo per Reuerendissimum in Christo patrem ac dominum *Ioannem Ferrerium, dictæ Arelaten. Ecclesiæ* Archiepiscopum bene meritum absolutè instauratum est.

Vna cum Indice locorum eorum omnium quæ in eodem continentur.

Then is Cavalli's wood-cut. Below comes:

Venvndantvr Aquis, in Palatio Regali per Vas Cauallis Bibliopolam M.D.XLIX.

The colophon is:

Lugduni Excudebat Theobaldus Paganus 1549.

It will be noted that the title of the breviary is highly suggestive of Quignonian influence: the breviary is taken from the old and new testament and the homilies and discourses of holy and approved doctors. On the other hand the archbishop tells us in the preface, addressed to the Christian reader, that he has kept nearly all the anthems, responds, chapters, and versicles. This is to show that it is distinct from Quignon, who in his first text removed all anthems, and in both texts all responds and chapters and versicles. Also the archbishop tells us that he has arranged the psalter so that the whole of it shall be said once a week; and that he has borrowed the lessons of the saints from the new Roman, that is, the Quignonian, breviary. Then as soon as we begin to examine the breviary, we find a decided touch of Quignon's influence in the setting of *Confiteor* before Mattins, a feature thought by some to have been borrowed from Quignon when it was set in the morning service of the book of common prayer of 1552.

In the distribution of the psalter at Arles (see the comparative table accompanying this paper) it is the psalms for Mattins, Lauds, and Compline, that have received a fresh distribution; the psalms for the little hours and vespers remaining almost untouched. At Mattins the device seems to have been to leave out some three or so of those given in the Gregorian distribution, and to say them at Lauds, or elsewhere. Only twelve psalms are said on Sunday instead of the Gregorian eighteen; pss. 14, 15, and 16 are left out. Psalms 148, 149, 150, which are supposed to give its name to Lauds, are not said at this hour, except on Sundays. Compline, too, instead of the invariable psalms of the Gregorian psalter, has different every day. Colbert, a century later, had the same idea, but he adopted it more extensively, giving to the little hours a number of the psalms said at Mattins in the Gregorian distribution, and thus relieving the overburdened Gregorian Mattins and reducing the number of psalms in his breviary at Mattins to six, or five, or seven, or three, according to their length.[1]

In the scripture lessons, the Archbishop of Arles followed the old arrangement in some points. Isaiah is still begun in Advent, and Genesis in Septuagesima. Isaiah is read until the third Sunday *after* Advent: this expression is a Quignonian novelty. The epistle to the Romans is then begun and goes on up to the seventh week after Advent, when Septuagesima comes. With Septuagesima Genesis is begun; and, together with Exodus, lasts up to Passion Sunday. Then begins a selection from the prophets, just as in the second text of Quignon; which selection ends at Easter.

On Easter day the first lesson is from Jonah, as in the second text of Quignon; but in Easter week Exodus is continued, and goes on to Low Sunday, when the Acts of the Apostles begin.

One thing may be noticed that at Vespers *Victimae paschali* is said after the psalms and *Magnificat* daily during the Easter week unto Low Sunday. This is probably a relic of an old custom at Arles. It survived in many French dioceses as late as the nineteenth century; for example at Lyons. The Acts of the Apostles continue to be read from Easter until Corpus Christi, with short breaks for Holy Thursday and Whitsunday, when special lessons are read. On the Saturday after Corpus Christi they go on with the Pauline epistles, beginning with that to the Corinthians. Like so many other uses, the Sundays are called Sundays after Trinity; and, during the summer, kings, parables, and other sapiential books are read as third lessons, a mark of the old influence.

Christmas, as in Quignon and some other breviaries, is not in the *Temporale* but in the *Sanctorale*. It has retained the old number of nine lessons. The legends of the saints are mainly those of the second text of Quignon. Positively, in one case at least, it has preserved the blunders of Quignon. St. Thomas of Canterbury, in a large number of the editions of Quignon, is said to have been slain on the fifth of the Calends of December. We all know that it was the fifth of the Calends of January. But this error is repeated at Arles.

I have been unable to find any record of the Sorbonne having dealt with this book. We may have further information when the task of printing the documents of the Sorbonne shall have advanced into the sixteenth century. It has been recently announced in the

[1] See the *Breviarium Colbertinum*, a breviary put together for his own private use by the greatest of Louis XIV.'s ministers. The distribution of the psalter is given in the comparative table accompanying this paper.

newspapers that these documents from 1510 upwards, which had been given up as lost, have lately been discovered, and the French government, it is understood, is willing to pay for the expense of editing and printing them.

Almost at the same time as the breviary of Arles, appeared a far reaching reform at Milan: the breviary of the *Humiliati*. These religious persons were of both sexes, and had been content to use a breviary more akin, so it seems to me, to the Dominican than to any other that I know of. But in 1548 they published a breviary most thoroughly reformed[1]; exceeding the Quignon breviary in some directions in its wide changes. In the first place the psalter was redistributed in a way without precedent in any other breviary known up to that time. The whole of the psalter was only recited once a month. (See the comparative table accompanying this paper.) In the old Roman, Quignon, and Arles breviaries the psalter was intended to be recited once a week. This redistribution of the *Humiliati* was accomplished mainly by diminishing the number of the psalms at Mattins; if three only were said on week days, and nine on Sundays, the enormous length of the old Mattins would be sensibly reduced. It will be remembered that in the old Gregorian distribution on Sundays eighteen psalms, and on week days, twelve psalms, were recited. The *Humiliati* simply divided the Sunday psalms into two portions of nine and recited these on alternate Sundays. The twelve psalms of each week day were divided into four portions of three psalms each; the first portion was to be said in the first week of the month; the second in the second week; and so on. Thus all the psalms allotted to Mattins in the old distribution of the psalter are recited, but only once in the month instead of once in the week. For the rest of the hours the distribution has been little, if at all, disturbed.

The backbone of the divine service is the recitation of the psalter. In the early ages of the church it would appear that the whole of the psalter was recited daily by the ascetics. It is spoken of in the Rule of St. Benedict as the custom of the holy fathers to perform resolutely in a single day what the tepid monks now achieve in a whole week.[2] Egbert, the youth of noble birth that Bede tells us of, vowed to recite the psalter daily besides the canonical hours.[3] The recitation of the psalter must have been the chief occupation of the ascetics; in fact they can have done little else. In the first half of the middle ages we have a strange story handed down to us concerning St. Dominicus Loricatus. One day after vespers he told St. Peter Damian with great joy that he had been able to do that day a thing that he had never been able to accomplish before. He had recited the whole of the psalter eight times. Later on, he was able to recite the psalter nine times in the day; but never arrived at completing the tenth.[4]

But leaving extravagances of this sort we may notice the more wholesome piety of St. Louis, the king of France, who was accustomed every morning to say, kneeling, the psalter; that is, most likely, the divine service: and in his advice to his son he recommends him to

[1] An account of this breviary has already appeared in our *Transactions* (Vol. ii. p. 273), so that only its more striking features need now be pointed out.

[2] *Regula Sancti Benedicti*, cap. xviii. at end.

[3] Bede, *Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum*, III. xxvii. (ed. Plummer, Oxon. 1896, i. 193.)

[4] *Vita Venerabilis Dominici Loricati* per Petrum Damianum, capp. 6 & 8 in Surii, *De vitis sanctorum* Oct. 14, Venetiis, 1581. t. v. fo. 272. *b*.

hear the divine service attentively.[1] In our age we have made the discovery that the psalms are unfit for the devotion of the lay folk, and should be kept solely for those who are bound to recite the divine service.

In the East there are still traces of the recitation of the whole psalter in public worship in one day. It still exists for example amongst the East Syrians on feast days[2]; and among the same people one-third of the psalter is recited on week days so that the whole psalter should be said twice a week. Like this is the practice of the Russians where the psalter is said twice a week in Lent, though during the rest of the year it is said only once a week.[3] It would seem that by little and little we descend in frequency in the recitation of the psalter; first it is recited seven times in the week, then twice a week, then once a week. In the Ambrosian breviary, as far back as we have knowledge, the psalter has been recited only twice a month. In some of the reformed breviaries, presently to be spoken of, this was also the practice. At last with the *Humiliati*, and the book of Common Prayer, the psalter was recited once a month only.[4]

Another curious feature in the breviary of the *Humiliati* is that for the scripture lessons and even for the psalter, the Vulgate is not used; but a modern version printed first in 1542 by Isidore Clarius, a monk of Monte Cassino.[5] The Vulgate and the Itala are the two established versions for liturgical books in the church of Rome: and our astonishment is not small to find a perfectly recent version, not six years old, adopted in a breviary, even though the changes in the version be not very great. And further to raise our surprise to the highest possible degree we find all these changes, the redistribution of the psalter, the employment of a new version, the recasting of the lessons, and a number of other alterations, approved by a papal letter, which further tells us that this new book of the *Humiliati* has been well put together, and corrected, and freed from all the faults with which the old one abounded.

The Scripture lectionary follows the traditional arrangement in many places: Isaiah is begun in Advent; the Pauline epistles in the time after the Epiphany; the Pentateuch in Septuagesima; the Apocalypse and the Catholic epistles in Easter. The lessons for the Saints' days are borrowed freely from the Quignon breviary.

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[1] See his life by his confessor in Surius, *op. cit.* Aug. 25, t. iv. ff. 282 & 283.

[2] See A. J. Maclean, *East Syrian Daily Offices*, London, 1894. pp. xv. & 260.

[3] W. J. B[irkbeck], *Guardian*, November 4, 1891, p. 1783, col. iii. At the end of the seventeenth century, at the church of St. Aniane at Orleans, then Royal and Collegiate, but formerly an abbey of the Benedictine order, they used to recite fifty psalms each day of the Rogations, that is the whole psalter in three days. (*Voyages liturgiques de France*...par le Sieur de Moleon, Paris, 1718, p. 209.) Compare the custom at Rhemes in holy week. (U. Chevalier, *Sacramentaire* &c., Paris, 1900, p. 120.)

[4] These two reforms appeared almost simultaneously. The papal letter allowing the new breviary of the *Humiliati* is dated November 21st, 1548, and the book itself bears the date of 1548. The first book of Edward VI. was passed by Parliament in January, 1549. I do not want to suggest that the English had any idea of what was going on at Milan, but only to point out the coincidence, due doubtless to the general movement in favour of some reform of the divine service all over the West at that time. The *Humiliati* must have been known in England; for Thomas Becon, whose learning cannot be thought very extensive, speaks of the *Humiliati*, whom he mentions in his *Reliques of Rome*. (See *Works*, Lond. 1560, vol. ii. fo. ccexiii.*b*.)

[5] *Vulgata Editio veteris ac novi testamenti* . . . authore Isidoro Clario Brixiano, Monacho Casinate, Venetiis, apud Petrum Schoeffer, 1542 fo. [Case mark in British Museum: 3021 f.5.] The title of the second edition is: *Biblia sacrosancta* . . . auctore Isidoro Clario, Venetiis, apud Iuntas, 1555. [Press mark: 3021 f. 9.] John de Arze complains of the use of other versions than the Vulgate. See below, p. 29.

If we turn to Spain, the evidence of a desire to reform the breviary is much greater than in France or Italy. Perhaps this may be owing to the fact that Quignon was a Spaniard. Before the rise of Quignonism I have found no evidence amongst the breviaries that I have examined of any tendency to reform, such as we have in France in the Soissons breviary of 1529 or the hymns and proposed breviary of Ferreri at Rome. In the National Library at Madrid there was a Saragossa breviary printed in 1527,[1] but no trace of any reforming influence could be discovered. One feature I noticed amongst the Great Oes of Advent. The breviary had the seven Gregorian Oes, with *O virgo virginum*, *O celorum domine*, and for St. Thomas *O decus apostolicum*, and *O Thoma didyme*: but there was also one that I had not seen before:

O thesaurum: o diuitie populorum tuo nos dita aduentu christe qui pauperem facis et ditas: humilias et subleuas: veni iam ditare nos in pace.

This is not quite equal to the old Gregorian Great Oes. On the whole there is nothing to indicate the coming storm which according to John de Arze's account,[2] was to burst upon this church before 1551.

There is another breviary, published about a year later, coming from the church of Jaen, one of the southern dioceses of Spain, but suffragan to Toledo. I find nothing of reform in this work, though the preface seems to promise revision.[3] It may be noticed that Mattins begins with *Kyrie eleison*, which may have its analogue in the same introduction to the Mozarabic Vespers.

But in Spain after 1540 evidence of the reforming tendency offers itself. The breviaries themselves have in many cases disappeared; but notes of their existence may yet be found in the libraries of Madrid. In the National Library there was in 1892 a manuscript with this number DD. 78, apparently written in the eighteenth century, with this title: *Extractos de Breviarios de España*, by D. Pedro Camino. One of the earliest of the reformed breviaries that these notes mention is that of Granada. It was published in 1544 by Fernandus Niño the archbishop, and its title suggests the influence of Quignon. It runs: *Breviarium Romanum secundum ordinem sancte ecclesie Garnatensis Pauli Pape III. Pont. Max. anno x.* Here it must be owned that the prominence given to the title of Roman Breviary and the name of Paul III. countenance the idea that the breviary may have been a mere local reprint of Quignon. John de Arze in his memorandum addressed to the Council of Trent, insinuates that some dioceses had adopted wholly the Quignon breviary. But the evidence of this is very far from being complete; and in fact must remain so until one of the local breviaries wholly Quignonian can be produced. The readiness with which critics have pronounced breviaries to be reprints of Quignon must put us on our guard: for instance, it has been asserted, and I daresay it will continue to be asserted, that the breviary of Colbert, the

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[1] *Breviarium sancte metropolitane ecclesie Cesaraugustane* is the title. The colophon has *ex officina cesa. Georgii coci* 1527. It is published by the authority of Ioannes de Aragonia, archbishop-elect. The book is in 8°.

It may perhaps be regretted for the purpose of this paper that those who of late years have examined the Spanish breviaries of this period have done so more with a view to the hymns than to the structure of the Breviary.

[2] See Roskovány, *Coelibatus et Breviarium*, Pestini, 1861, vol. v. p. 656. See below, p. 28.

[3] *Breviarium secundum consuetudinem sancte ecclesie Gienensis*, Hispali, 1528.

minister of Louis XIV. is a reprint of Quignon[1]; or worse still, that the reformed breviaries of the French dioceses published in the eighteenth century are reprints of Quignon. Such carelessness of statement makes us cautious in drawing conclusions from the mere assertions of writers who offer no description of the contents of a breviary. We read in Florez of "el Breviario antiguo de Tarazona arreglado al Rito del Cardenal Quiñones."[2] But if the extracts from the printed breviary of 1541, given by Don Vicente de la Fuente,[3] may be trusted, it was not an exact reprint of Quignon, for it contained a lesson for St. Prudentius and a lesson, hymn, and collect for St. Gaudiosus which do not occur in Quignon. The exact nature of the changes alluded to by Florez still remains uncertain. They may have been the reduction of the breviary to offices of three psalms and three lessons, or merely that the lessons for the saints were drawn chiefly from Quignon.

Two other breviaries of this period have come under my notice. One the breviary of Calagorra and la Calzada, printed in 1543; but I regret that I have no more information about it than that given in the manuscript book of notes of which I have just spoken. On folio 119 it gives the title printed below.[4]

The other is the breviary of Tortosa printed in 1547, which I have seen in the National Library at Madrid.[5] The letter of the bishop of Tortosa printed on the verso of the title seems to indicate that he had brought out this edition to check the spread of Quignonism.[6] As far as I was able to examine the book I could find no mark of the influence of Quignon upon it.

A breviary for Burgos was published in 1538; as a note from the MS. DD. 78 in the national library at Madrid tells us. On fo. 70 there is: *Breviarium Burgense*, and the colophon is said to be:

Compluti, excudebat Iohannes Brocarius anno virginei partus MDXXXVIII. Mense Septembris.

This would exhaust my information about the breviary of Burgos did I not possess a little volume with this title:

[1] See *Biographie Universelle*, Paris, 1823. t. xxxvi. p. 412, s.v. François de Quignonez. "Il [Quignon's breviary] a été reproduit en 1679 à Paris in 8° sous le titre de *Breviarium Colbertinum*."

[2] H. Florez, *España sagrada*, Madrid, 1756. Seg. ed. tomo iv. p. 45. Trat. 2. Cap. 2. § 73. See also p. 61. § 103.

[3] *Ibid.* Madrid. 1865. t. xlix. pp. 315–319. This writer tells us that a copy of the breviary of 1541 is preserved in the episcopal archives (*ibid.* t. l. p. 77). This church is suffragan to Saragossa and should not be confounded with Tarragona, which is a metropolitan see.

[4] Breviarium ad usum Ecclesiarum Calagurritane et Calciatensis . . . Excussum fuit breviarium hoc in inclyta Cantabrica Lucronis . . . anno domini 1543. secundo idus Feb. in edibus Iohannis de Brocario.

[5] *Breviarium secundum usum Almae Dertuseñ Ecclesiae*. apud Bartholomeum Massia, 1547. 8°. The colophon is long: the book is brought out by the authority of "domini Hieronymi requesentii, ipsius Dertusensis ecclesiae pastoris dignissimi necnon et venerabilis ipsius ecclesiae capituli et precipue doctissimi viri domini Michaelis botellerii eiusdem ecclesie canonici et camerarii: Lugduni. Dyonis. Hersii . . . Barth. Massia, 1547. septimo calendas nouemb."

[6] Conquesti estis apud me, immo et stomachabundi obiecistis plerique vestrum, deesse breviaria (sic enim appellant) Huius nostre diocesecos nec uspiam reperiri venalia: eo que nomine non paucos clericos ob codicum horariorum, iuxta usum nostrae diocesis, indigentiam: confugere ad Romanum officium, pontificii diplomatis beneficio adiutos, &c.

Vitae Sanctorum breui elegantique stylo compositae: & ad breuiarii modum ac vsum perquam decenter accommodatae per Ioannem Maldonatum, . . . Venundantur Burgis, apud Lucam de Cannete. 1548.[1]

There are over 132 leaves and the volume is in octavo. Maldonatus professes to have written the lessons for the saints' days in the Burgos breviary, but the description contained in the *Prologus* of his methods of composition takes away all interest from his work: for he tells us they were written *tumultuario stylo*, which he explains to mean writing three or four of these *Lives* over night, and sending them to the printers next day. Lives of the saints written in this modern journalistic fashion would hardly be worth more than the mediæval legends which they supplanted. Indeed Maldonatus keeps in his book some of the most absurd and unhistorical of the stories. Dionysius the Areopagite is the bishop of Paris. Constantine was baptised by Sylvester, who thus cured the Emperor's leprosy. The legends of St. Barbara, the eleven thousand virgins, St. Katherine of Alexandria, of St. Petronilla, are all set out at length, together with the pious fiction of St. Nicholas who, when an infant in arms, only took pap on Wednesdays and Fridays once a day, and even that towards evening. But this strange fable still remains in the Roman breviary of to-day. There can be no doubt that the legends of the saints in the mediæval breviary were a great trial to the clerks who were historically minded, and though this fault was amended in some degree in the reform of Pius V. yet apocryphal stories still remain, as that of St. Nicholas abundantly proves, with others which I have not mentioned.

But the influence of Quignon's breviary in Spain was not to prevail without some protest. In 1551 John de Arze of Pallencia was moved to send a memorandum to the Council of Trent complaining of the confusion which the introduction of Quignon's breviary had caused in the Spanish dioceses. The first in more recent times to notice this memorandum was, I think, Arevalus.[2] Later on, the whole was printed by Roskovány, and from his edition[3] I will quote when giving the following extracts from this *Consultatio de novo Breviario Romano tollendo.* 1551.

Cap. viii. p. 656. Nam et in quibusdam choris etiam Cathedralium Ecclesiarum magna ex parte mutatum vidimus veterem psallendi ritum, et ut interim alios omittam, (multa enim passim narrantur hac de re) in Hispania tres proferre possum Ecclesias, quarum una est Metropolis, duae Cathedrales, nempe Caesaraugustanam, Tyrasonensem, Pallentinam: in quibus Chori officium mutatum est tam in nocturno quam in diurno officio, et adhuc refragante proprio Episcopo Albaracinensi. Ecclesia Cathedralis, quae Secobricensi est coniuncta, eadem novitatis vestigia nuper imitata est. Quod ipsemet Secobricensis Episcopus Caspar Borsa Tridenti nuper conquestus est.

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p. 657. Quum enim psallendi hic ritus communis, in quo consentiunt omnes particulares Ecclesiae

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[1] There is another and later edition in the British Museum [861. e. 1], printed in 1561.

On fo. cxxix. *b.* he prints the letter which was to have been prefixed to the Burgos breviary in the name of Antonio de Rojas, bishop of Burgos and patriarch of the Indies; in which it is said that this breviary was prepared by the immediate predecessor of de Rojas, one John Rodriguez de Fonseca, who according to Gams, died in 1524.

[2] Faustinus Arevalus, *Hymnodia Hispanica*, Romae, 1786. p. 423.

[3] Roskovány, *Coelibatus et Breviarium*, Pestini, 1861. vol. v. p. 635. I have seen the two manuscripts in the Vatican; their numbers are respectively 4878 and 5302.

cum Romana, non sit alicuius privati Episcopi inventum, sed aut totius Ecclesiae, aut Romanae Sedis: satis constat, huiusmodi generalem ritum nullius particularis Episcopi auctoritate posse infirmari. Quot et quanta mala, dissidia, rixas, odia atque contentiones, denique scandala pariat haec mutatio in Ecclesiis, praecipue Cathedralibus et Collegiatis, et noverunt Caesaraugustani, apud quos grave ortum est scandalum hac de causa feria iv. in Officio Tenebrarum et feria v. in Coena Domini, et alias frequenter, et sciunt etiam id optime quotquot resident in Metropolitanis Cathedralibus et Collegiatis Ecclesiis, et graviora proferre possem ego ipse, quae frequenter vidi et multa adhuc alia a fidedignis accepi.

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Cap. xi. p. 664. ipsi etiam tantumdem tentarunt in choro, extraque in publico et privato usu; edita mox sunt in Dioecesibus particularibus nova breviaria, imitatione huius Romani [Quignoniani] frustra quibusdam reclamantibus, Sede etiam Apostolica nulla ex parte consulta, Paulo III. aperte prohibente, qui in Bulla hac de re edita ait: dummodo in choro cum aliis se conforment; usu etiam Romanae Ecclesiae reclamante.

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Postremo quum iam passim et ubique res haec divulgata esset, et videretur actum esse de veteri Romano Breviario, ad Missalia etiam Romana iter patefactum est, editusque est Missalis liber iuxta ritum (sic enim vocant) novi Breviarii Romani, ita enim habet inscriptio: in quo plurima sunt mutata, transformata quaedam, et ablata non pauca, aloquin magni momenti. Ex officio namque Missae in iv. temporibus, in Sabbato Sancto et Vigilia Pentecostes lectiones omnes, quibus hactenus semper usa est Ecclesia, expunctae sunt, unica sola lectione seu Epistola superstite. Adhuc etiam in aliis diebus non pauca mutata sunt in lectionibus, prophetiis, versibus, orationibus et aliis quibusdam, quae si quis per otium consulat, facile deprehendet. Excusa enim sunt huiusmodi Missalia Lugduni in Gallia a. 1550 elegantibus characteribus.[1] Ecce quo proventum est ex tam parvis initiis! nec cessabit adhuc [p. 665.] haec novandi licentia, nisi mature opportuna adhibeantur remedia. Nam et Dioecesani similia iam tentarunt, nescio quam feliciter, magno tamen conatu, multaque et opera et impensa. Adde quod in Missalibus et Breviariis Romanis vulgata versio omnium fidelissima, et si res spectes, aptissima, quam etiam probavit haec S. Synodus Tridentina, utpote quae et ceteris omnibus novis versionibus, et Graecis atque Hebraeis Codicibus, qui vulgo extant, sit longe anteferenda, haec, inquam, versio mutata est multis in locis, qui passim extant, usque adeo, ut iam tutum non sit, in vulgatis Missalibus nuper excusis, et adhuc ante 30 annos missam celebrare, nisi prius lecto et relecto officio; ut nihil hic dicam de corruptis nuper Diurnalibus Romanis, qui instar Breviarii novi editi sunt. Quoties enim de Sanctorum meritis mentio fit, vocabulum meriti in preces et suffragia convertitur per haereticos quosdam, qui merita Sanctorum execrantur; quae utique Diurnalia[2] vulgo circumferuntur non

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[1] There is a copy of this edition in the British Museum [472. c. 18]. It has this title: Missale Romanum ad longum absque ulla requisitione, difficultatibus etiam ubique cessantibus, à communi nunc et ad partem reductum: non solùm pro secularibus, nouum Rom. offic. à S. D. N. Paulo Papa III. nuper reformatum ac approbatum recitantibus: sed etiam pro aliis Sacerdotibus, Missas priuatim dicere, & celebrare volentibus. Lugduni, apud Gulielmum Rouillium, sub scuto veneto, 1550. Dr. Robert Lippe of Aberdeen possesses a later edition, printed at Paris in 1565, by John Le Blanc and published by James Kerver and William Merlin, in quarto. Prefixed to the Lyons edition is the privilege of the Pope and of the King of France.

[2] What these terrible *diurnalia* were I have not been able to find out. There exist Quignonian *Diurnalia* on the same plan as those of any other breviary. I have such a one, (Iunta, 1552) and there is another in the Royal Library at Munich (Stelsius, 1552) and a third in the University Library of the same town. (Stelsius, 1564.) But these are all of later date than J. de Arze's memorandum. And when they are again mentioned in Ch. xvii. [p. 699] of Roskovány (see below, p. 30), they seem to have more to do with the administration of the sacraments, like the modern *Rituale*, than to be parts of a breviary.

sine magno piorum scandalo et infirmorum quorundam et imbecillium periculo, et eorum, qui praesunt, culpabili negligentia.

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Cap. xv. p. 690. Dissidium Caesaraugustanum inter Clerum et populum occasione diminuti officii, quod vocant, Tenebrarum noverunt Hispani omnes, et quod infremuerit populus in Clerum, et eo relicto confugerint omnes ad Monachos veluti pulvere pedum excusso.

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p. 691. Adde quod ridiculis ubique nominibus et infamibus traducitur hoc Breviarium in omnibus regionibus, quae ego honori illius parcens hic non adscribo. Nota enim sunt in Hispania nostra tria aut quatuor epitheta, quibus infamatur magno quorundam risu, quorundam vero indignatione. Quae sane grave scandalum generant in animis multorum tam laicorum quam clericorum. Adhuc exortis novis Breviariis huius imitatione in dioecesibus, trifariam scinditur Clerus aut quadrifariam, aliis Breviario novo Romano utentibus, aliis novo dioccesanorum; sunt, quibus vetus dioecesanorum probatur; quidam propter has turbas confugiunt ad vetus Romanum. Qui omnes inter se saepe dissident, rixantur, mutuo convitiantur, pugnis interdum nedum convitiis decertant, et ex ecclesiasticæ concordia fit cruenta pugna inter Ecclesiae septa, chorique cancellos, pastoribus ecclesiasticis id spectantibus, quorum dissidis crescit interdum eorum fiscus.

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Cap. xv. p. 692. Quum latius haec scandala pateant, quam quispiam initio putasset, et extra fines Romani Breviarii sint progressa, ad Dioecesanorum nempe usum et mores, ut ea plene tollantur, non sat erit, ut e choro et manibus ecclesiasticorum profligetur hoc institutum, sed et illa etiam Breviaria proscribenda sunt, quae particulares aliquot Episcopi precipue in Hispania edidere citra Sedis Apostolicae auctoritatem, temere et contra leges apostolicas, Patrumque traditiones, proprio spiritu, quibus et nunc utuntur, et iam ante aliquot annos in choro extraque usi sunt. Quae sane tentarunt gravi cum incommodo particularium Ecclesiarum et pauperum Clericorum, frustra quibusdam reclamantibus, quum actum videant de ecclesiastico ritu et ceremoniis, quas Gregorius Theologus aptissima voce christianam paedagogiam vocat. Pro uno enim ac simplici Breviario, conformique psallendi ritu, quem Toletana diligenter commendant Concilia, vetus, novum, mixtum, et ex utroque contemperatum Breviaria nuper irrepsisse videmus.

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Cap. xvii. p. 698. Hinc nova missa, novum sacrificium, novus canon, nova lingva in sacris, novi ritus, novae benedictiones, novae consecrationes, novus communionis modus, nova adoratio, novi cantus, novi hymni et sequentiæ†, nova sacramenta, novum baptisma, nova eucharistia, nova poenitentia . . . . nova Missalia, nova Breviaria, nova Diurnalia. Denique vetera transierunt, ecce nova facta sunt omnia.

John de Arze marks out for special reprobation three churches, Saragossa, Tarazona, and Palencia, of which last he seems to have been a minister. He says that, with others, they had made grave changes which were beyond the power of the local bishop to authorise; and that at Saragossa in consequence a tumult had arisen in holy week when the laity had expected to hear their accustomed office of *tenebrae*; but shaking off the dust of their feet against the seculars, the laity betook themselves to the monks. In some dioceses also the clergy were divided into three or four sets: some reciting Quignon; others the new diocesan breviaries; a third set the old diocesan breviaries; and a fourth the old Roman. These all fought and struggled together, even to the effusion of blood, not only within the precincts of the church, but positively inside the screens of the chancel.

Although the presentation of the memorandum of John de Arze to the Council of Trent

in 1551 must have become known in Spain, yet the movement in favour of reform does not seem to have been wholly checked thereby. For in 1555 there was published at Burgo de Osma a new breviary, in which attempts at reform are plainly marked. I have seen this breviary in the Library at Parma.

The title page is:

Breviarium almę Ecclesię *Oxomensis* denuo recognitum mandato Reverendissimi domini domini *Petri à costa* praefatae Ecclesię Episcopi.

The colophon is:

Excussum Burgo almae Oxomensis Ecclesiae, industria et expensis Didaci Ferdinandez à Corduba. Sexto Idus Aprilis. Anno a Christo nato MDLV.

It is in octavo and has ff. 623.

In this breviary the Gregorian distribution of psalms is preserved, and so are *capitula*, anthems, and responds. The seven great Oes of Advent are retained with *O virgo*, *O caelorum domine*, and for St. Thomas *O decus apostolorum* and *O Thoma didyme*. But the old lectionary has been much changed. Although the influence of Quignon is marked, yet the Quignonian lectionary has not been exactly followed. There are three lessons for every day as in Quignon, but the first and second are not invariably from the Old and New Testament as in Quignon; a like feature in the Book of Common Prayer is thought to have been borrowed from Quignon: but the first and second are usually from the same book. The lessons are long like those in Quignon. Isaiah is begun in Advent: of this the fourth week passes into Ezekiel, Micah, Zephaniah, Malachi and Baruch. After Advent Proverbs and other sapiential books are read. At Septuagesima Genesis is begun and read through, and Exodus begun and read up to the fifth chapter, but the reading of this book stops on the Saturday before Passion Sunday. For the last fortnight of Lent a selection is used, but not exactly as that in the second text of Quignon. On Easter day, Jonah, on Easter Monday, the Apocalypse is read; on Low Sunday St. John's Gospel is begun and is continued to the sixth week after Easter, except on Ascension day when the Epistle of St. James is read. At Pentecost, Joel is read for the first lesson; and the second chapter of the Acts of the Apostles for the second lesson, and a homily for the third lesson, all these precisely as in the second text of Quignon. After Pentecost is read the Acts of the Apostles; followed on the second Sunday after by the Kings. On the first Sunday in August begins Ecclesiasticus and after, Job.

This breviary uses the expression *Dominicae vagantes*, borrowed from Quignon; so also *Dominicae post adventum*. The *Sanctorale* begins with Christmas day, which is in Quignon, as in some other breviaries, in the *Sanctorale*. The lessons for the Saints are mainly drawn from Quignon.

In the same year, 1555, there was published a breviary of the church of Ciudad Rodrigo, but I have only seen the notes on the book which I add. It appears to have had an important alteration in the distribution of the psalter; viz. that it was said entirely only once a fortnight.

The title is:

Breviarium iuxta morem alme ecclesie Civitatensis, 1555, Petrus Ponce de Leon . . . episcopus. . . .

Psalterium nanque per spatium duarum hebdomadarum complete legitur. Habet antiphonas, hymnos, responsoria maiora et responsoriola, et versiculos. Habet et aliquem [*sic*] et novem lectiones. . . . Curavimus etiam ut in matutinis lectionibus pars semper aliqua divine scripture ex veteri vel novo testamento decerpta degustetur, non que casu hoc vel illo die legenda occurrerit. (National Library, Madrid, DD. 78, fo. 117.)

Peter Ponce de Leon seems to have been a member of the commission appointed by Paul IV. to revise the Roman breviary.[1]

I have examined in the National Library at Madrid a breviary published in the following year at Cuenca.

The title page bears:

Breviarium secundum morem almae Ecclesiae Conchensis, nunc in breviorem lectionem redactum et excussum.

Conchae apud Ioannen de C[anova]. MDLVIII.

The colophon is:

Explicit breviarium secundum consuetudinem Sanctae Ecclesiae Conchensis iussu . . . Petri de Castro . . . Ioanne de Canova anno Domini MDLVIII. xvi Kalend, Maii.

Peter de Castro was bishop from 1554 to 1561.

The psalter has suffered no such dislocation as to be recited only twice a month; the Gregorian distribution remaining unchanged except at Sunday mattins. The eighteen psalms of Sunday have been long felt a great burden, and many devices have been called into play to be rid of the Sunday recitation of so many psalms. At Cuenca they met the difficulty by saying nine psalms on one Sunday, and nine on the next: thus, on the first Sunday they said,

First nocturn ...	...	...	... 1. 2. 3.
Second „ ..	...	...	... 6. 7. 8.
Third „ ...	...	...	... 9. 10. 11.

On the second Sunday,

First nocturn ...	...	...	... 12. 13. 14.
Second „ ...	...	...	... 15. 16. 17.
Third „ ...	...	...	... 18. 19. 20.

The rest of the distribution seems quite Gregorian. On fo. 54.*b*. there is this remark:

Nota quod Prima longa dicitur dominicis Quadragesimae tantum.

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[1] See S. Bäumer, *Geschichte des Breviers*, Freiburg in Breisgau, 1895, p. 425.

Prima longa: 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. Beati immaculati. Retribue.
In diebus feriis: 53. Beati. Retribue.[1]

The Sunday lessons do not seem to have been influenced by Quignon; but the Saints' day lessons are, some of them, borrowed from him.

In the same manuscript in the National Library at Madrid of which I have already spoken (DD. 78) there are notes of two other breviaries. The notes are very short, and the editors of both breviaries appear to have disliked the Quignonian reform. This may be the more remarkable as one of the churches, Cauria, was held for a short time by Quignon, according to Gams, in 1529–30. The note (fo. 46) is as follows:

Breviarium Cauriense nuper recognitum et pluribus purgatum apocryphis, servata in omnibus antiqua sanctorum Patrum traditione et eiusdem alme ecclesie consuetudine.
Excudebat Franciscus a Canto Tipographus MDLIX.

The bishop was Didacus Enriquez de Almança, who, according to Gams, sat from 1550 to 1566.

The other note (fo. 125) is:

Breviarium secundum morem alme ecclesie Salmaticensis nuper recognitum atque ad breviorem formam facilioremque redactum. Salmanticae apud Ioannem de Canova MDLXII.[2]

In the address to Peter Gonzalez de Mendoza, the bishop, occurs the following sentence, the repetitions of "precum horariarum nauseam quotidie trahebant. Quo fiebat ut relicto vere ecclesie alioqui laudabili usu ad illud trium lectionum quod breviarium Romanum appellant." Thus, though the Salamanca breviary had been revised, and made easier and shorter, yet the authorities could not go the length of adopting the Quignon book with its three lessons, and departure from ancient custom. So also at Cauria. They were prepared to purge the breviary of apocryphal stories, but not to go as far as Quignon in rearrangement. The Bishop of Huesca published afresh his breviary, according to John de Arze, but answered in his preface the arguments by which they sought to change the old state of affairs.[3]

A Barcelona breviary of 1560[4] has lately come into my possession; and it shows a

[1] John de Arze says the number in Spain was commonly four. Prima, in qua numerus quaternarius a nostris, ternarius a Romana Ecclesia, et in Dominicis praecipuis octonarius ab utrisque religiose colitur. (Roskovány, *op. cit.* v. 660.)

[2] In the library of St. Geneviève at Paris there is a very imperfect copy of a sixteenth century edition (Rés. BB. 1298) of a Salamanca breviary. As far as can be judged from the remains of the psalter there is no alteration in the Gregorian distribution, and the rest of the book shows no sign of Quignonian influence. The earlier part of the book has disappeared; and of the psalter, only the Sunday and part of the Monday psalms are left.

[3] Roskovány, *op. cit.* v. 696 & 700.

[4] An earlier edition of this breviary was found by Dreves lying on the floor in the University Library at Barcelona. "Hier entdeckte ich unter andern, aus dem Fussboden liegenden Büchern das Breviarium Barcinonense, gedruckt 1540 bei Johann Rosembach." (G. M. Dreves, *Hymnodia Hiberica, Spanische Hymnen des Mittelalters*, Leipzig, 1894, p. 8.) He also found a breviary following in the steps of Quignon of which I have no further knowledge: "ferner das Brevier von Vicq, Lyon, 1557, gleichfalls editio princeps und auch dadurch merkwurdig, dass es, mit dem Brevier von Quignonez in Kürze wetteifernd, die zweite und dritte Nocturn ein für allemal unterdrückt." This volume of *Analecta Hymnica* contains a number of references to Spanish breviaries which, had I been able to examine them, would doubtless have afforded very interesting additions to this paper. Dreves' account of the state of Spanish libraries is unhappily only too true, and as he recommends, the books should be rescued from Libris or fire, which before long may seize them. To a lover of books the former fate may not seem the worse.

curious refusal to make alterations in two or three of the directions pointed out by Quignon, while his reform of the legends of the saints is in good part accepted.

The title is:

Breviarivm Barcinonense, Nunc denuo confectum, recognitum, ac in lucem editum.

In the middle of the title page is a shield, in which what I take to be the arms of the See of Barcelona impale the family arms of the bishop.

Below the shield is:

Barcinone, apvd Ioannem Trinxer M.D.LX.

The colophon is:

Barcinone, Excvdebat Iacobvs Cortey, 1560.

On the leaf following the title is an address of "Iacobus Cassador Episcopus Barcinonensis" to his clergy, in which he tells them that in preparing this edition he has called to his aid "aliqui viri prudentissimi."

Effecerunt enim totis viribus, vt non solum tam præclarum opus ex vtilitate publica conficeretur, sed etiam vt permultis mutatis, quibusdam additis, omnia diligenter recognoscentes, vestri laboris ratio haberetur.

The calendar follows this address; and, excepting the latter two-thirds of March and the first few days of April, with December 22nd and 23rd, every day is devoted to the commemoration of some saint. After the calendar follow:

Instrutiones (*sic*) sive Regulæ generales quibus docetur quomodo sit celebrandum officium Barcinonense.

Later on the *temporale* begins with this title:

In nomine Iesu Christi ciusque genitricis Mariæ, ac beatæ Eulaliæ patronæ nostræ: incipit Dominicale secundum nouam ordinationem Ecclesiæ Barcinonensis.

It well deserves the title of *Dominicale*, for it contains hardly any offices for ordinary week days. The amount of holy scripture read on these Sundays at Mattins seems reduced to the *minimum* which may be found in editions of the Roman and Dominican breviaries published early in the sixteenth century. It makes us think of the words of the preface to the book of common prayer, which are in fact borrowed from Quignon's preface, that the book of Isaiah was begun in Advent, and the book of Genesis in Septuagesima; so at Barcelona they are begun, but never read through. The lessons in Lent, for example, up to Passiontide, are all composed of homilies from the fathers. It may be noted that the daily lessons from Holy Thursday to Whitsunday are indeed from the Acts of the Apostles; but there are no signs at this season, as in many other breviaries, of readings from the Apocalypse or the Catholic epistles.

The psalter, which in this edition divides the *Dominicale* from the *Sanctorale*, shows no change from the old Gregorian distribution.

The *Sanctorale* has this title:

Sanctorum historiæ ex probatis auctoribus summatim decerptæ.

which is the title, word for word, of Quignon's *Sanctorale*; and this is the only part of the Barcelona breviary in which I can detect the influence of Quignon. Many of the legends of the saints in this breviary have been borrowed from Quignon, though in some they have not been transcribed word for word. This *Sanctorale* begins with the feast of St. Stephen. The Name of Jesus is commemorated on the Sunday within the octave of the Epiphany and the Crown of thorns on the Sunday after the Ascension.

The seven Gregorian great Oes are given with *O virgo virginum*; and for St. Thomas, *O decus apostolicum*. At Easter metrical hymns are sung on Easter day itself: at mattins, *Rex aeterne Domine*; at lauds, *Aurora lucis*; and at vespers the prose *Adsunt enim festa paschalia*.

Some of the hymns I do not find in the *Repertorium Hymnologicum* of Ulysse Chevalier, a collection which stands many a severe test. The three hymns for the sacred name seem to be portions of one, and to be followings of *Jesu dulcis memoria*. For vespers the hymn begins:

Iesum pudicæ virgines Iesum iuuentus integra, Iesum sacrata concio Laudet, sonet, cum iubilo.

At Mattins the hymn begins:

Iesu beate maximi Proles Dei certissima, Hæc vota nostra respice, Vt te amemus puriter.

At Lauds the hymn begins:

Iesu benigne conditor, Lux vera luce præmicans, Accende lumen cordibus, Ignes amoris excitans.

For the Transfiguration this breviary has for Mattins:

O Auctor rerum, Saluatorque Christe, Rex regum, Deus metuende, Censor ad preces nostras, pariterque laudes, Aspice gratis.

For the Lauds of St. Tecla, the hymn begins:

Optatus dies rutilat: In quo Sanctum solemnium, Beatæ Teclæ radiat, Lucis Tarraconensium.

At the Vespers of St. Catherine of Alexandria the hymn begins:

Catharinae collaudemus, virtutum insignia, Cordis ei præsentemus, & oris obsequia: Vt ab ipsa reportemus æqua laudis præmia.

St. Gabriel the Archangel has a feast day on December 12th, a time not ill chosen when, as often in Spain, the Annunciation is kept in this month. At Mattins the hymn is:

Exultet nunc Ecclesia Gabrielis Archangeli, Gratis agens solemnia, Nihil admittens scandali.

Also at Lauds the hymn is:

Cetus gaudet cœlestium, Gabrielis consortio, Plaudat & plebs fidelium, Adsitque iubilatio.

Doubtless these hymns are to be found if properly looked for in the *Repertorium hymnologicum*, and it is my misfortune not to have been able to discover them there.

In another Spanish diocese, Pampeluna, there was published in 1562 a reformed breviary, with a distribution of the psalter in which the whole was recited only once a fortnight. This was not the first introduction of reform into the diocese of Pampeluna; for in 1539 Paul III. had given leave to the Bishop, who seems to have been very infirm, and who died soon after, to say mass sitting in a chair, provided he looked as if he were standing; and farther to say his Divine Service either according to Quignon, or other breviary, as he liked, anticipating, postponing, or accumulating his offices, as seemed good to him.[1]

The reformed Pampeluna breviary may be seen in the National Library at Paris, (B. 4947.) The title page of the book has *Breviarivm Pampilonense*; below this is a shield with four quarters with the motto *Habenti dabitur*. At the bottom of the page is Anno Domini M.D.LXII.

On the verso of the title page is:

Alvarvs Demoscoso Miseratione Diuina Pampilonensis Episcopus ad modum Reuerendis Priori et Capitulo nostræ Ecclesiæ, et vniuerso Clero nostræ Diœcesis, Salutem in Domino.

Quemadmodum nuper, filij in Domino dilectissimi, dedimus vobis libros Missales, variis nominibus locupletatos, & exactiùs quàm potuimus, correctos, ita & nunc eodem paterno affectu damus sanè vobis Breviarium, omni prorsus cura, ac diligentia, & in multis quidem exauctum, & in plurimis emendatum. Quare obsecramus vos, vt hoc nostrum sincerum in vos institutum, non minus placidis quàm gratis animis accipiatis, & nos semper, ac nostros omnes conatus, Deo optimo, maximo commendetis. Valete in Domino.

Pampilonæ, Calendis Aprilis, 1561.

There follow the Calendar and Table of moveable feasts. Then there is a body of *Regulae generales*. The extracts from these *Regulae generales* with the comparative table of the Psalter may help to give an idea of the composition of the breviary.

Regulae Generales ad instructionem divini officii.

* * * * * *

Regula II.

Quo ordine sint dicendi Psalmi singulis diebus cum suis Antiphonis ad omnes Horas.

Ordo et distributio Psalmorum . . . ad Matutinas dicantur singulis diebus tres tantùm Psalmi de Dominica, aut Feria currenti.

. . . . Ad Laudes verò semper erunt quinque Psalmi de Dominica, aut Feria currenti . . . Ad Primam, Tertiam, Sextam, Nonam & Completorium Psalmi nunquam mutantur . . . . Itaque fiet, vt in officio diurno legantur ferè semper iidem Psalmi, & solum ad Matutinas & Laudes mutentur: quo ordine & partitione Psalterium intra duas Hebdomadas penè absoluitur . . . .

* * * * * *

Vt ne antiquam Ecclesiæ consuetudinem omnino reiiciamus, placuit: vt in nostra diœcesi quædam Festa in nouem Psalmis, & nouem lectionibus celebrarentur. Festa autem huiusmodi sunt hæc.

[1] See the letter of Paul III. to this bishop dated June 6. 1533 (? 1539.) in Benedict XIV. *Bullarium*, Romae, 1762. t. iv. p. 279.

Natiuitas Domini nostri Iesu Christi, Circuncisio eiusdem. Epiphania Domini, Purificatio virginis matris, Annunciatio eiusdem, Ascensio Domini, Festum sanctæ Trinitatis, Corporis Christi, Visitationis beatæ Mariæ, Assumptionis, & Natiuitatis eiusdem. Omnium sanctorum, & Conceptionis virginis gloriosæ, quæ relinquuntur celebranda in nouem Psalmis & nouem lectionibus, in ipso die Festi duntaxat . . . . . .

* * * * * *

Regula III.

* * * * * *

Lectiones singulis diebus ad Matutinas erunt tres: nisi in Festis in regula præcedenti explicatis. Hoc modo, vt prima sit veteris testamenti, secunda noui, tertia temporis, vel festi.

The psalter has been redistributed so that the whole is recited only once a fortnight. (See the comparative table accompanying this paper.) As might be expected, the brunt of the changes has fallen upon the psalms of Mattins and Lauds, those of the little hours, vespers, and compline being unaltered. One result of this change is that the Old Testament canticles at Lauds are recited only once a fortnight.

The lessons are arranged on the plan of Quignon somewhat modified, that is three lessons for every day except on some few feasts. In Advent the three lessons are, the first from Isaiah, the second from the gospel of St. Luke, the third a homily from the fathers: thus as in Quignon the greater part of the breviary is taken up by the lessons. The Quignonian innovation of *Dominicæ post Adventum* is followed, Ecclesiastes furnishing the first lesson, St. Luke the second, and a homily the third; but *Dominicæ vagantes* do not appear. In Septuagesima the first lesson is from Genesis, the second from St. John's Gospel, the third a homily from the fathers, and so on to Passion Sunday; when Jeremiah and the gospels of the passion, as in Quignon, begin. Some idea of the amount of Scripture read may be gathered from the following table which appears in the Pampeluna breviary on the verso of fo. ** 1 after the calendar.

Index Librorum veteris Testamenti qui in primis lectionibus sunt legendi: ex quibus Genesis et Ecclesiastes leguntur integré, ex aliis capita quædam.

Genesis	folio lxv.
Exodus magna ex parte... ...	folio clxxxvj.
Primus Regum magna ex parte	folio ccxxvij.
Iob	folio cclxvij.
Tobias	folio cclxxvj.
Ex Iudith capita quædam ...	folio cclxxxj.
Ester	folio cclxxxv.
Ex prouerbiis Salomonis bona pars	folio cclj.
Ecclesiastes	folio xxxij.
Ecclesiasticus magna ex parte ...	folio xlvij.
Isaias magna ex parte	folio ccccxxix.
Ex Ieremia & aliis prophetis cap. quædam	folio cxxij.
Exechiel magna ex parte ...	folio ccciij.
Ex primo Machab. cap. quædam	folio cclxxxviij.

Index Librorum noui Testamenti, qui in secundis lectionibus sunt legendi, quorum Matthæus Acta Apostolorum, & epistolæ Petri leguntur integri.

Ex Actis Apostolorum	folio clxv.
Matthaei Euangelistæ	folio cclxxj.
Ex Marco capita quædam ...	folio cxxxj.
Lucæ Euange.	folio cxxxix.
Ioannis Euang. ferè totum ...	folio lxvij.
Epistola ad Romanos ferè tota ..	folio xlvij.
Epistola Petri prima & secunda	folio clxxxvj.
Iacobi Epistola ferè tota ...	folio clxxxij.
Ex Apoca. capita quædam ...	folio clxxiiij.

The old responds to the lessons have been kept in many cases: so also the anthems to the psalms: the seven Gregorian Great Oes are kept. At Easter the anthem is said before the psalm but not repeated after: in its place is said *halleluia* eight or nine times.

The *Sanctorale*, or, as it is called at Pampeluna, *Historiale*, begins with the vigil of Christmas: many lessons of the saints have been drawn from Quignon.[1]

The year of the publication of the breviary of Pampeluna brings us into the decade that saw also the publication of the reformed breviary of Pius V. This reform appeared in 1568, and was very conservative in its character. It has been much spoken of by ritualists; so that if we are allowed to pass by the reform of Quignon without explaining it at length, we may also pass by the reform of Pius V. The distribution of the psalter underwent very slight changes, mainly at prime. It has been given in the comparative table which accompanies this paper.

Apparently the bull *Quod a nobis* was the death blow to the projects for a further reform of the breviary. After 1568 I do not find that any reformed diocesan breviaries were published in the sixteenth century.[2] Yet one new breviary must not be forgotten, appearing as it did after the time of Pius V. and being approved by Gregory XIII. in 1583. It is the breviary of St. Barbara at Mantua. William Gonzaga, Duke of Mantua, had founded a collegiate church, and he was fortunate enough to obtain papal permission that the priests of this foundation might recite a breviary differing from that of Pius V. There is a copy of this breviary in the British Museum. Its shelf mark is now C. 36. f. 23. It is in two volumes, quarto, the first for the winter, the second for the summer; and the title of the winter half is:

Breviarii S. Barbarae Gregorii XIII. Pont. Max. Auctoritate approbati. Pars Prima. . . . Venetiis, 1583, apud Dominicum Nicolinum.

In the Calendar there is a faint reminiscence of Quignon: for opposite to the day of the saint there is printed the cue of the collect and its page. Putting aside the feasts of our Lord and of the apostles there are but few red letter days. The feasts of the Conversion of St. Paul and St. Joseph are black letter days: so are St. Mark and St. Barnabas and St. Luke; but red letter days are St. Anselm, a bishop of Mantua (March 18.) the Invention of the Cross, with an octave, Osanna a virgin[3] (June 18.) St. Laurence with an octave, St. Martin (November 11.) and St. Barbara, of course with an octave; St. Sylvester, pope, also has an

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[1] According to Roskovány (*op. cit.* v. 1121. § 619.) a breviary for Evora was composed in 1565 by a Portuguese Dominican, Lodovicus Andreas Resendius; but I have been unable to see a copy of this work.

[2] One diocesan breviary after 1568, that of Avranches, retains a sign of the influence of Quignon in its use of the term *Dominicae vagantes*. (*Breviarium Abrincense*, Abrincis, apud Ioann. le Cartel, 1593. die 24 Iulii. 8° in the National Library at Paris B. inv. 4855 Réserve.) After *Dominica xxiii. post Pentecosten* there is a page (fo. 12. *b.*) headed *Dominica prima Vagantium* in which this may be read: Dominicæ à secunda vsque ad quintam post octauam Epiph. inclusivè, dicantur vagantes eo quod interdum post Epiphaniam interdum post Trinitatem celebrentur.

[3] St. Osanna is not to be allied to St. Parasceve or St. Sapientia: but she was a real person, who died in the odour of sanctity in 1505, and became one of the patrons of Mantua. (See Bollandist *Acta*, Paris, 1867. Junii t. iv, p. 552.) I note another Saint Osanna in Northumberland said to be the sister of King Osred, spoken of by Giraldus Cambrensis. (*Itinerarium Cambriae*, Cap. II. ed. David Powell, Lond. 1806, p. 13.)

octave. The feasts of Our Lady, the Apostles and St. John Baptist are naturally red letter days.

But some days are in black letter which we might very reasonably have expected to be in red letter. Such are the feast of the chair of Peter, of which there is only one, and that is in January, the Visitation of our Lady which nevertheless has an octave, St. Anne, the Transfiguration, the Exaltation of the holy Cross. The presentation of Our Lady in November does not even appear. The Conception is a black letter day.

The feasts seem divided into four classes,

duplex maius
duplex minus
semi maius
semi minus

and there are certain peculiarities about the feasts, moveable and fixed, which would take much space to examine at all fully.

The distribution of the psalter is in the main Gregorian; it is given in the comparative table accompanying this paper: the psalms at Mattins and Lauds, Vespers and Compline on week-days are purely Gregorian. So are the little hours, vespers and compline on Sunday. But Sunday Mattins have three nocturns: the first with six psalms; 1, 2, 3, 5, 6, 7: the second with three; 8, 9, 10: the third with three; 11, 17, 21.

On lesser feasts and week-days at prime pss. 12, 13, and 14 are said; at terce 15, 16, 18; at sext 19, 20, 22; at none 23, 24, 25; taken, it will be seen, from the Gregorian Sunday Mattins and prime: different indeed from the invariable 118. psalm of the Gregorian distribution.

As to the lessons at Mattins: Sundays and greater feasts have nine lessons and week-days and lesser feasts three; the first three lessons of Sunday being taken from holy scripture, the other two triplets of lessons are from homilies of the fathers and sermons on the Gospel of the day.

As to the lectionary, Isaiah is begun in Advent; the Christmas lessons are the old. After the octave of the Epiphany appear a number of selections from the first chapters of the epistles, from Romans to Jude; but they are only the first few verses of the epistles and the selections are open to the reproach made by Quignon that holy scripture is not read, but merely tasted. These selections are read from the octave of the Epiphany to Septuagesima, and from Low Sunday to Holy Thursday, when the Apocalypse is begun. At Septuagesima a few verses of the first chapter of Genesis are read; on Sexagesima, the same of Exodus; on Quinquagesima, Leviticus; a short portion from Numbers is given on Quadragesima. There is one great break with the old breviary that Ash Wednesday has a regular service assigned to it, and that the Lenten hymns begin on this day *Ex more docti* and *Audi benigne*. The old breviary took no note of Ash Wednesday; as we know that anciently Lent did not begin till the first Sunday in Lent, and this custom persists at Milan where we see the Carnival going on in our time till the Saturday before the first Sunday in Lent.

On the second Sunday in Lent Deuteronomy is begun, on the third Joshua, the fourth Judges and Ruth. On the week-days in Lent they have homilies from the fathers. On Passion Sunday Jeremiah is begun and the Lamentations on Maundy Thursday.

Hymns are begun again, contrary to tradition, at the first vespers of Easter. *Ponatur*

lacrymis iam modus, et novis[1] ; a lesson from Jonah is read at Mattins, and here perhaps we feel the influence of Quignon. The Acts of the Apostles are begun on Easter Monday, and are read during Easter week. Then are resumed the epistles, and after Holy Thursday the Apocalypse is begun. On Whitsunday Joel is read, as in Quignon, but on Whitsun Monday the reading of the Acts of the Apostles is resumed. The hymn at terce on Whit-Sunday is *Iam Christus astra.*

After Pentecost the traditional order of the books seems kept with tolerable closeness, portions of all four books of Kings, parts of the sapiential books, Ezra, Tobit, Judith, Esther, Job, Chronicles, Maccabees, Baruch, Ezechiel, Daniel, Hosea, Joel, and the rest of the minor prophets are read.

In looking back upon these attempts at reform of the divine service, perhaps the thing that astonishes us nowadays more than anything else is the freedom of the diocesan bishop. He seems to have thought that with his breviary he might do very much as he pleased. After the Council of Trent we know this was all changed, though in the eighteenth century the French bishops recovered much of their liturgical right, finally to be lost in the nineteenth century.

Then if we try to compare the sixteenth century reforms with the French reforms of the breviary in the eighteenth century, we may note certain differences in the plan of the two attempts. To take the distribution of the psalter. In the local reforms of the sixteenth century, the idea seems to have been, not so much to recast the Gregorian distribution, as to lighten the severity of the length of its Mattins, especially on Sunday. Now in the French reform of the eighteenth century the Gregorian distribution was put aside. For a successful reform of the breviary, some modification of the Gregorian distribution appears to me to be one of the very first things to be aimed at. The burden of the recitation of the breviary as it now stands is very great, and it may well be disputed if it should be laid upon the average parish priest ; the title of Roskovány's book *Coelibatus et Breviarium* is some indication of the equal severity of the two obligations which a Roman secular priest now undertakes. The present great length of the office can hardly be mitigated without some rearrangement of the psalter, and I do not understand the grounds on which a certain author has based his statement that the Gregorian distribution of the psalter is to the divine service what the canon of the mass is to the liturgy, and that he who touches this distribution touches the sacred ark.[2] One cannot help remembering that the Ambrosian and Benedictine breviaries still

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[1] This hymn comes from the collection of hymns which appeared under the patronage of this Duke of Mantua. (M. A. Mureti, *Hymnorum Sacrorum Liber*, iussu serenissimi Gulielmi Ducis Mantuae, etc., conscriptus, Lutetiae 1576. fo. 9.) Some other hymns of the collection which celebrate the patrons of Mantua, as SS. Barbara, Sylvester, do not seem to have been placed in this breviary. The hymn at lauds in Eastertide, *O rex eterne domine rerum creator omnium* is an old hymn according to Ulysse Chevalier. (*Repertorium Hymnologicum.*)

[2] "Cette répartition joue dans l'office romain le rôle que le Canon remplit dans la Messe. C'est le pivot autour duquel tout le reste doit converger, c'est l'arche sainte, à laquelle il est defendu de toucher." (Dom Bede Plaine, *Revue Anglo-Romaine*, Paris, 1896, t. iii. p. 645.) But this opinion does not seem to be universally accepted. Several groups of prelates at the Vatican Council in 1870 asked for a fresh distribution of the psalter. (Conrad Martin, *Omnium Concilii Vaticani . . . documentorum collectio*, ed. altera, Paderbornae, 1873, pp. 165, 178, 188, 190, 207.)

have distributions of the psalms different from the Gregorian, and that both possess very high authority. It is hard to see why such importance should be given to a distribution that shows so many defects even on a superficial examination.[1] The daily recitation of the same psalms at lauds, the little hours, and compline is a grave defect, and must after a while prove tedious. Colbert found this to be the case, and in his distribution he broke up the long psalms of Mattins, assigning certain of these to the other hours, and thus avoiding the perpetual recitation of *Beati immaculati* and the like.

Another difference is in the way in which the French reformers approached the use of holy scripture. The French ideal was to have nothing in the anthems and responds but the very words of the bible. The reformers of the sixteenth century do not seem to have aimed at this, but to have kept the old anthems, and responds, and metrical hymns; which last in the eighteenth century were exchanged for the verses of Coffin and Santeuil. Nor do the reformers of the sixteenth century show that wish to read the whole of the bible in the year that we see in the eighteenth.

There is more affinity between themselves in Quignon and Colbert and the Ventimillian reform at Paris than with the local reforms of the sixteenth century, such as are spoken of in this paper. The distribution of the psalter in the Colbertine and Ventimillian breviaries has been placed in the comparative table side by side with the sixteenth century reforms for convenience of comparison.

Of all the reforms of the divine service that appeared in the sixteenth century the most useful and practical to my mind is the reform to be found in the Book of Common Prayer. It serves as well for lay devotion as the primer did; and for public service in the church or for private recitation by clerks it is equally well suited. It is not the burden for the parish priest that the Roman breviary is, the length of which exhausts a man's energies so that when his office and mass are done there is no further time for study or parish work. This system begot the Sir John Mumblemattins of the sixteenth century, and the mass priest of an earlier time, no edifying examples. I am well prepared to be called an obscurantist by that strange outcome of the Oxford movement run to seed which despises all that they call "prayerbooky," and holds itself bound to recite the Roman breviary of to-day. Nor will their contempt be diminished when I confess that I do not greatly regret the disappearance of anthems and responds from our divine service. In the golden days of the Roman *Ordo psallendi* doubtless anthems served a very important purpose. In their present state of atrophied survival in the Roman breviary it is hard to say that they have a right to exist: one, two, or three words said before the psalm cannot give the key-note to its meaning, as we are so often told that they do, or be of the vast importance that their perpetual appearance in all "extra services" seems to indicate. The anthem in some cases, as in the introit, has even made the psalm disappear; and it is the psalm that is of importance, though this fact seems to be forgotten by the modern devisers of "extra" or "fancy services."

[1] The wise author of the Rule of St. Benedict gives leave to anyone to devise a new distribution if he can think of something better. (*Regula S. Benedicti*, cap. xviii. at end.)

Praise of the Divine Service contained in the Book of Common Prayer must be limited to the offices as they were put together in the sixteenth century, before they were destroyed by Convocation and Parliament some thirty years ago. All who are able to judge are agreed that this legislation can only be called disastrous. Yet in spite of this warning of what is certain to happen if the men of our time are allowed to tinker the Prayerbook (this is the expression that describes their acts), there are yet to be found some who advocate "expansion," "enrichment," and "elasticity." Specially do they ask for additions to the services in Holy Week. Who in this age is fit to undertake a task like this? Who is there with the necessary taste, and knowledge, and skill in translation? The blessing of the paschal candle, seen at St. Mary Major at Rome, or at St. Mark's, Venice, is still one of the most delightful of the Holy Week functions abroad. Yet who has ever seen a version of *Exultet* that is not positively ridiculous?

And if we leave the old lines, and strike out new ideas in liturgy for ourselves, the results of these experiments are far from encouraging. The prayers ordered by authority during the war in South Africa are not exactly models to be followed. Episcopal slovenliness and carelessness could hardly go further than in the feat of allowing a chapter of the book of the Revelation of St. John to be read instead of the liturgical Gospel. The Prayerbook certainly has its faults; but they will not be remedied by the men of our time with their haste and thoughtlessness. Whatever the faults may be, they will only be aggravated.

Dr. Swete, the Regius Professor of Divinity in the University of Cambridge, has given me encouragement in the preparation of this paper which I cannot but gratefully remember. Two friends, always friends in need, Mr. Dewick, our Editor, and Mr. H. A. Wilson, of Magdalen College, Oxford, must not be forgotten. And doubtless there may be others, whose help I cannot now remember, being given long ago, to whom I would not willingly seem ungrateful. To them I would offer my best thanks, if they perceive anything in the foregoing pages that I owe them, but have not acknowledged.

A TABLE OF THE DISTRIBUTION OF THE PSALTER IN CERTAIN REFORMS OF THE BREVIARY IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY: ALSO COMPARED WITH THE LATER REFORMS OF COLBERT AND VINTIMILLE.

Breviarium Romanum Pianum = the reformed breviary published by Pius V. in 1568.
Breviarium Arelatense 1549: see p. 22.
Breviarium Pampilonense 1562: see p. 36.
Breviarium Humiliatorum 1548: see p. 24.
Breviarium S. Barbarae 1583: see p. 38.
Breviarium Romanum Quignonianum = reprint at Cambridge in 1888.
Breviarium Colbertinum = British Museum C. 35. f. 21.
Breviarium Parisiense = four volumes, 4°, Paris, 1736, published by the authority of Charles Gaspar William de Vintimille, Archbishop of Paris.

DOMINICA	Breviarium Romanum Pianum	Breviarium Arelatense 1549	Breviarium Pampilonense 1562	Breviarium Humiliatorum 1548	Breviarium S. Barbarae 1583	Breviarium Romanum nuper reformatum (Quignon) 1535	Breviarium Colbertinum circa 1679	Breviarium Parisiense 1736
AD MATUTINUM	Venite	Venite	Venite *hebd. i.*	Venite	Venite	Venite	Venite	Venite
	Primo dierum *vel* Nocte surgentes in I. Nocturno	Primo dierum *vel* Nocte surgentes	Primo dierum	Nocte surgentes *hebd. i.* Beatus vir	Primo dierum	Nocte surgentes	Nocte surgentes	Die dierum
	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
	2	2	7	2	2	9	2	2
	3	3	17	3	3	17	3	3
	6	6		6	5		6	
	7	7		7	6		7	
	8	8		8	7		8	
	9	9					9	
				9				
				10				
				11				
			hebd. ii. Nocte surgentes	*hebd. ii.* Usquequo				
	10	10	6	12				
	11	11	9	13				
	12	12	11 }	14				
	13	13	12 }					
	14	17						
	in II. Nocturno							
	15			15	8			17.a.
	16			16	9			17.b.
	17			17	10			17.c.
	in III. Nocturno							
	18			18	11			27
	19			19	17			29
	20			20	21			65
	Te Deum	Te Deum	Te Deum	Te Deum	Te Deum	Te Deum	Te Deum	Te Deum
AD LAUDES	92	92	*hebd. i.* 92	92	92 *vel* 50 *a* LXX. *usque ad Pascha*	65	92	62
	99	99	99	99 *vel a* LXX. *ad Ramos* 117	117	95	99	69
	62	62	62	62	62			99
	66	66	66	66	66			
	Benedicite	Benedicite	Benedicite	Benedicite	Benedicite	Benedicite	Benedicite	Benedicite
	148	148	148	148	148			148
	149	149	149	149	149			
	150	150	150	150	150			
	Aeterne rerum *vel* Ecce iam noctis	Aeterne rerum *vel* Ecce iam	Aeterne rerum	Ecce iam noctis	Aeterne rerum		Ecce iam noctis	Ad templa
			hebd. ii.					
			13					
			15					
			16					
			19					
			117					
			Ecce iam noctis					
	Benedictus	Benedictus	Benedictus	Benedictus	Benedictus	Benedictus	Benedictus	Benedictus

Dominica	Breviarium Romanum Pianum	Breviarium Arelatense 1549	Breviarium Pampilonense 1562	Breviarium Humiliatorum 1548	Breviarium S. Barbarae 1583	Breviarium Romanum nuper reformatum (Quignon) 1535	Breviarium Colbertinum circa 1679	Breviarium Parisiense 1736
ad Primam	Iam lucis orto	Iam lucis	Iam lucis	Iam lucis	Iam lucis	Iam lucis	Iam lucis	Iam lucis
	53	53	53	53	53	53	53	
	117							117
	Beati immaculati (118 *a*)	Beati immaculati	Beati immaculati	Beati immaculati	Beati immaculati	Beati immaculati	Beati immaculati	Beati immaculati
	Retribue servo (118 *b*)	Retribue	Retribue	Retribue	Retribue	Retribue	Retribue	Retribue
	Quicunque vult	Quicunque	Quicunque	Quicunque	Quicunque	Quicunque	Quicunque	Quicunque
ad Tertiam	Nunc sancte nobis	Nunc sancte	Nunc sancte	Nunc sancte	Nunc sancte	Nunc sancte	Nunc sancte	O Fons
	Legem pone (118 *c*)	Legem pone	Legem pone	Legem pone	Legem pone	Legem pone	Legem pone	Legem pone
	Memor esto (118 *d*)	Memor esto	Memor esto	Memor esto	Memor esto	Memor esto	Memor esto	Memor esto
	Bonitatem (118 *e*)	Bonitatem	Bonitatem	Bonitatem	Bonitatem	Bonitatem	Bonitatem	Bonitatem
ad Sextam	Rector potens	Rector potens	Rector potens	Rector potens	Rector potens	Rector potens	Rector potens	Iam solis
	Defecit in Salutare (118 *f*)	Defecit	Defecit	Defecit	Defecit	Defecit	Defecit	Defecit
	Quomodo dilexi (118 *g*)	Quomodo	Quomodo	Quomodo	Quomodo	Quomodo	Quomodo	Quomodo
	Iniquos odio (118 *h*)	Iniquos	Iniquos	Iniquos	Iniquos	Iniquos	Iniquos	Iniquos
ad Nonam	Rerum deus	Rerum deus	Rerum deus	Rerum deus	Rerum deus	Rerum deus	Rerum deus	Labente iam
	Mirabilia (118 *i*)	Mirabilia	Mirabilia	Mirabilia	Mirabilia	Mirabilia	Mirabilia	Mirabilia
	Clamavi in toto (118 *k*)	Clamavi	Clamavi	Clamavi	Clamavi	Clamavi	Clamavi	Clamavi
	Principes (118 *l*)	Principes	Principes	Principes	Principes	Principes	Principes	Principes
ad Vesperas	109	109	109	109	109		109	109
	110	110	110	110	110	O lux beata	110	110
	111	111	111	111	111	109	111	111
	112	112	112	112	112	110	112	112
	113	113	113	113	113	113	113	113
	Lucis creator	Lucis creator	Lucis creator	Lucis creator	Lucis creator		Iam sol recedit	O Luce qui
	Magnificat	Magnificat	Magnificat	Magnificat	Magnificat	Magnificat	Magnificat	Magnificat
ad Completorium	4	4	4	4	4	Te lucis	4	4
	30		30	30	30	4	30	
	90	90	90	90	90	30	90	90
	133	133	133	133	133	90	133	133
	Te lucis ante	Te lucis	Te lucis	Te lucis	Te lucis		Te lucis	Grates peracto iam
	Nunc dimittis	Nunc dimittis	Nunc dimittis	Nunc dimittis	Nunc dimittis	Nunc dimittis	Nunc dimittis	Nunc dimittis

FERIA II.	Breviarium Romanum Pianum	Breviarium Arelatense 1549	Breviarium Pampilonense 1562	Breviarium Humiliatorum 1548	Breviarium S. Barbarae 1583	Breviarium Romanum nuper reformatum (Quignon) 1535	Breviarium Colbertinum circa 1679	Breviarium Parisiense 1736
AD MATUTINUM.	Venite	Venite	Venite	Venite	Venite	Venite	Venite	Venite
	Somno refectis	Somno refectis	Somno refectis	Nocte surgentes	Somno refectis	Nocte surgentes	Nocte surgentes	Dei canamus
			hebd. i.	*hebd. i.*				
	26	26	26	26	26	30	26	103.a.
	27	27		27	27	34	27	103.b.
	28			28	28	104	28	103.c.
				hebd. ii.				
	29			29	29		29	104.a.
	30	30	30	30	30		30	104.b.
	31	31		31	31		31	104.c.
				hebd. iii.				
	32	32		32	32			105.a
	33	33		33	33			105.b.
	34	34	34	34	34			105.c.
			hebd. ii.	*hebd. iv*				
	35	104	27	35	35			
	36	36	36	36	36			
	37		37	37	37			
		Te Deum				Te Deum		
AD LAUDES	50	50	*hebd. i.*	50	50 *vel in festis* 92	97	5	91
	5	5	5	5	99 *vel a* LXX.	103	62	135.a.
		37	31		*usque ad pascha* 92		66	135.b.
			33					
	62			62	62			
	66			66	66			
	Confitebortibi (Isaiae 12.)	Confitebor	Confitebor	Confitebor	Confitebor	Confitebor	Confitebor	Cantemus domino
			35					
			hebd. ii.					
			8					
			20					
	148		28	148	148			
	149		39	149	149			134
	150		32	150	150			
	Splendor paternae Benedictus	Splendor paternae Benedictus	Splendor paternae Benedictus	Ecce iam noctis Benedictus	Splendor paternae Benedictus	Benedictus	Ecce iam noctis Benedictus	Nil laudibus Benedictus
AD PRIMAM	Iam lucis orto	Iam lucis	Iam lucis	Iam lucis	Iam lucis	Iam lucis	Iam lucis	Iam lucis
	53	53	53	53	12	22	117	8
	23				13	23	23	76.a.
	Beati immaculati	Beati immaculati	Beati immaculati	Beati immaculati	14	24	10	76.b.
	Retribue	Retribue Quicunque	Retribue Quicunque	Retribue				

Feria II.	Breviarium Romanum Pianum	Breviarium Arelatense 1549	Breviarium Pampilonense 1562	Breviarium Humiliatorum 1548	Breviarium S. Barbarae 1583	Breviarium Romanum nuper reformatum Quignon) 1535	Breviarium Colbertinum circa 1679	Breviarium Parisiense 1736
ad Tertiam	Nunc sancte nobis	Nunc sancte	Nunc sancte	Nunc sancte	Nunc sancte	Nunc sancte	Nunc sancte	O fons amoris
	Legem pone	Legem pone	Legem pone	Legem pone	15	13	32	24.a.
	Memor esto	Memor esto	Memor esto	Memor esto	16	18	33	24.b.
	Bonitatem	Bonitatem	Bonitatem	Bonitatem	18	19		95
ad Sextam	Rector potens	Rector potens	Rector potens	Rector potens	Rector potens	Rector potens	Rector potens	Iam solis
	Defecit in Salutare	Defecit	Defecit	Defecit	19	38	34	46
	Quomodo dilexi	Quomodo	Quomodo	Quomodo	20	61	35	97
	Iniquos odio	Iniquos odio	Iniquos odio	Iniquos odio	22	114		98
ad Nonam	Rerum deus	Rerum Deus	Rerum deus	Rerum deus	Rerum deus	Rerum deus	Rerum Deus	Labente
	Mirabilia	Mirabilia	Mirabilia	Mirabilia	23	79	36	52
	Clamavi in toto	Clamavi	Clamavi	Clamavi	24	98		72.a.
								72.b.
	Principes	Principes	Principes	Principes	25	125		
ad Vesperas	114	114	114	114	114	O lux beata	114	114
	115	115	115	115	115	76	115	120
	116	116	116	116	116	115	116	123
	119	119	119	119	119	142	119	125
	120	120	120	120	120		120	136
	Immense caeli	Immense caeli	Immense caeli	Lucis creator	Immense caeli		Iam sol recedit	Iactamur heu
	Magnificat	Magnificat	Magnificat	Magnificat	Magnificat	Magnificat	Magnificat	Magnificat
ad Completorium	4	14	4	4	4	Te lucis		
	30	15	30	30	30	7	11	6
	90	16	90	90	90	14	12	7.a.
	133		133	133	133	124	37	7.b.
	Te lucis	Te lucis	Te lucis	Te lucis	Te lucis		Te lucis	Grates peracto
	Nunc dimittis	Nunc dimittis	Nunc dimittis	Nunc dimittis	Nunc dimittis	Nunc dimittis	Nunc dimittis	Nunc dimittis

FERIA III.	Breviarium Romanum Pianum	Breviarium Arelatense 1549	Breviarium Pampilonense 1562	Breviarium Humiliatorum 1548	Breviarium S. Barbarae 1583	Breviarium Romanum nuper reformatum (Quignon) 1535	Breviarium Colbertinum circa 1679	Breviarium Parisiense 1736
AD MATUTINUM	Venite	Venite	Venite	Venite	Venite	Venite	Venite	Venite
	Consors paterni	Consors	Consors	Nocte surgentes	Consors	Nocte surgentes	Nocte surgentes	Iubes et in
			hebd. i.	*hebd. i.*				
	38	38	38	38	38	36	38	14
	39	39		39	39	43	39	18.a.
	40	40		40	40	108	40	18.b.
	41	41		*hebd. ii.*	41		41	
				41				
				43				
				44				71.a.
	43	43	43	*hebd. iii.*	43		43	71.b
				45				
				46				
				47				
	44	44	44	*hebd. iv. & v.*	44			100
				48				106.a.
				49				106.b.
				51				106.c.
	45	45			45			
	46	46			46			
	47	47	*hebd. ii.*		47			
			41					
			48					
	48				48			
	49	Te Deum	49		49	Te Deum		
	51				51			
AD LAUDES	50	48	*hebd. i.*	50	50 *vel in festis* 92	94	42	23
	42	49	23	42	42	144	148	84
	62	51	39	62	62		149	96
	66		40	66	66		150	
	Ego dixi In dimidio (Cant. Ezechiae)	Ego dixi	Ego dixi 42	Ego dixi	Ego dixi	Ego dixi	Ego dixi	Ego dixi
	148			148	148			
	149		*hebd. ii.*	149	149			150
	150		24	150	150			
			45					
			46					
			47					
			51					
	Ales diei nuntius	Ales diei	Ales diei	Ecce iam noctis	Ales diei		Ecce iam	Te principem
	Benedictus	Benedictus	Benedictus	Benedictus	Benedictus	Benedictus	Benedictus	Benedictus

Feria III.	Breviarium Romanum Pianum	Breviarium Arelatense 1549	Breviarium Pampilonense 1562	Breviarium Humiliatorum 1548	Breviarium S. Barbarae 1583	Breviarium Romanum nuper reformatum (Quignon) 1535	Breviarium Colbertinum circa 1679	Breviarium Parisiense 1736
ad Primam	Iam lucis orto	Iam lucis	Iam lucis	Iam lucis	Iam lucis	Iam lucis	Iam lucis	Iam lucis
	53	53	53	53	12	5	24	34.a.
	24				13	16	44	34.b.
	Beati immaculati	Beati	Beati	Beati	14	25		34.c.
	Retribue	Retribue Quicunque	Retribue Quicunque	Retribue				
ad Tertiam	Nunc sancte nobis	Nunc sancte	Nunc sancte	Nunc sancte	Nunc sancte	Nunc sancte	Nunc sancte	O Fons
	Legem pone	Legem pone	Legem pone	Legem pone	15	20	45	25
	Memor esto	Memor esto	Memor esto	Memor esto	16	28	46	49.a.
	Bonitatem	Bonitatem	Bonitatem	Bonitatem	18	31	47	49.b.
ad Sextam	Rector potens	Rector potens	Rector potens	Rector potens	Rector potens	Rector potens	Rector potens	Iam solis
	Defecit in salutare	Defecit	Defecit	Defecit	19	52	48	36.a.
								36.b.
	Quomodo dilexi	Quomodo	Quomodo	Quomodo	20	71	49	36.c.
					22	120		
	Iniquos odio	Iniquos	Iniquos	Iniquos				
ad Nonam	Rerum deus	Rerum Deus	Rerum deus	Rerum deus	Rerum deus	Rerum deus	Rerum Deus	Labente
	Mirabilia	Mirabilia	Mirabilia	Mirabilia	23	89	51	108.a
	Clamavi in toto	Clamavi	Clamavi	Clamavi	24	96	13	108.b.
	Principes	Principes	Principes	Principes	25	126	14	108.c.
							15	
ad Vesperas	121	121	121	121	121	O lux beata	121	119
	122	122	122	122	122	33	122	121
	123	123	123	123	123	40	123	132
	124	124	124	124	124	112	124	140
	125	125	125	125	125		125	141
	Telluris ingens	Telluris	Telluris	Lucis creator	Telluris		Iam sol	O quam iuvat
	Magnificat	Magnificat	Magnificat	Magnificat	Magnificat	Magnificat	Magnificat	Magnificat
ad Completorium	4	18	4	4	4	Te lucis	16	12
	30	19	30	30	30	10	18	31
	90	20	90	90	90	15	19	78
	133		133	133	133	29		
	Te lucis ante	Te lucis ante	Te lucis ante	Te lucis ante	Te lucis ante		Te lucis	Grates peracto
	Nunc dimittis	Nunc dimittis	Nunc dimittis	Nunc dimittis	Nunc dimittis	Nunc dimittis	Nunc dimittis	Nunc dimittis

FERIA IV.	Breviarium Romanum Pianum	Breviarium Arelatense 1549	Breviarium Pampilonense 1562	Breviarium Humiliatorem 1548	Breviarium S. Barbarae 1583	Breviarium Romanum nuper reformatum (Quignon) 1535	Breviarium Colbertinum circa 1679	Breviarium Parisiense 1736
AD MATUTINUM	Venite	Venite	Venite	Venite	Venite	Venite	Venite	Venite
	Rerum creator	Rerum creator	Rerum creator	Nocte surgentes	Rerum creator	Nocte surgentes	Nocte surgentes	Miramur o Deus
			hebd. i.	*hebd. i.*				
	52	52	52	52	52	48	52	9.a.
	54	54	54	54	54	58	54	9.b.
	55	55	65	55	55	77	55	9.c.
			hebd. ii.	*hebd. ii.*				
	56	56	56	56	56		56	
	57	57	58	57	57		57	77.a.
	58	58	67	58	58		58	77.b.
								77.c.
				hebd. iii.				77.d.
	59	59		59	59			77.e.
	60	60		60	60			77.f.
	61	67		61	61			
	63			*hebd. iv. & v.*	63			
	65			63	65	Te Deum		
	67	Te Deum		65	67			
				67				
AD LAUDES	50	63		50	50 *Vel in festis* 92	80	50	5
	64	64		64	64	134	64	35
			hebd. i.					
	62	65	55	62	62			
	66		57	66	66			
			60					
	Exultavit cor (Canticum annae)	Exultavit	Exultavit	Exultavit	Exultavit	Exultavit	Exultavit	Confitebor
	148		64	148	148			146
	149		*hebd. ii.*					
			2	149	149			Promittis et
			10	150	150			
	150		59					
			61					
			63					
	Nox et tenebrae Benedictus	Nox et tenebræ Benedictus	Nox et tenebrae Benedictus	Ecce iam noctis Benedictus	Nox et tenebrae Benedictus	Benedictus	Benedictus	Benedictus
AD PRIMAM	Iam lucis orto	Iam lucis	Iam lucis	Iam lucis	Iam lucis	Iam lucis	Iam lucis	Iam lucis
	53	53	53	53	12	6	25	30.a.
	25				13	117	59	30.b.
	Beati immaculati	Beati	Beati	Beati	14	130	60	30.c.
	Retribue	Retribue Quicunque	Retribue Quicunque	Retribue				

Feria IV.	Breviarium Romanum Pianum	Breviarium Arelatense 1549	Breviarium Pampilonense 1562	Breviarium Humiliatorum 1548	Breviarium S. Barbarae 1583	Breviarium Romanum nuper reformatum (Quignon) 1535	Breviarium Colbertinum circa 1679	Breviarium Parisiense 1736
ad Tertiam	Nunc sancte nobis	Nunc sancte	Nunc sancte	Nunc sancte	Nunc sancte	Nunc sancte	Nunc sancte	O fons amoris
	Legem pone	Legem pone	Legem pone	Legem pone	15	42	61	41.a.
	Memor esto	Memor esto	Memor esto	Memor esto	16	44	63	41.b.
	Bonitatem	Bonitatem	Bonitatem	Bonitatem	18	59	65	42
ad Sextam	Rector potens	Rector potens	Rector potens	Rector potens	Rector potens	Rector potens	Rector potens	Iam solis
	Defecit in salutare	Defecit	Defecit	Defecit	19	41	67	20
	Quomodo dilexi	Quomodo	Quomodo	Quomodo	20	64		102.a.
	Iniquos odio	Iniquos	Iniquos	Iniquos	22	121		102.b.
ad Nonam	Rerum deus	Rerum Deus	Rerum deus	Rerum deus	Rerum deus	Rerum deus	Rerum Deus	Labente
	Mirabilia	Mirabilia	Mirabilia	Mirabilia	23	81	17	81
	Clamavi in toto	Clamavi	Clamavi	Clamavi	24	86		93.a.
	Principes	Principes	Principes	Principes	25	93		93.b.
ad Vesperas	126	126	126	126	126	O lux beata	126	122
	127	127	127	127	127	32	127	124
	128	128	128	128	128	83	128	126
	129	129	129	129	129	111	129	129
	130	130	130	130	130		130	130
	Caeli Deus	Caeli Deus	Caeli Deus	Lucis creator	Caeli Deus		Iam sol	Horres superbos
	Magnificat	Magnificat	Magnificat	Magnificat	Magnificat	Magnificat	Magnificat	Magnificat
ad Completorium	4	22	4	4	4	Te lucis	20	10
	30	23	30	30	30	39	78	13
	90	24	90	90	90	119	79	15
	133		133	133	133	133		
	Te lucis ante	Te lucis	Te lucis	Te lucis	Te lucis		Te lucis	Grates peracto
	Nunc dimittis	Nunc dimittis	Nunc dimittis	Nunc dimittis	Nunc dimittis	Nunc dimittis	Nunc dimittis	Nunc dimittis

Feria V.	Breviarium Romanum Pianum	Breviarium Arelatense 1549	Breviarium Pampilonense 1562	Breviarium Humiliatorum 1548	Breviarium S. Barbarae 1583	Breviarium Romanum nuper reformatum (Quignon) 1535	Breviarium Colbertinum circa 1679	Breviarium Parisiense 1736
ad Matutinum	Venite Nox atra rerum	Venite Nox atra	Venite Nox atra	Venite Nocte surgentes	Venite Nox atra	Venite Nocte surgentes	Venite Nocte surgentes	Venite Iisdem creati
			hebd. i.	*hebd. i.*				
	68	68	68	68	68	67	68	19
	69	69		69	69	72	69	32.a.
	70	70		70	70	88	77	32.b.
								67.a.
				hebd. ii.				67.b.
	71	71	71	71	71			67.c.
	72	72		72	72			88.a.
	73	73	73	73	73			88.b.
								88.c.
			hebd. ii.	*hebd. iii.*				
	74	74		74	74			
	75	75	72	75	75			
	76	76	76	76	76			
				hebd. iv. & v.				
	77		77	77	77			
	78			78	78			
	79	Te Deum		79	79	Te Deum		
ad Laudes	50			50	50 (*vel in festis* 92)	99	89	80
			hebd. i.					
	89	77	25	89	89	102		107.a.
	62	78	74	62	62			107.b.
	66	79	75	66	66			
	Cantemus domino (Cant. Moys. Ex. 15.)	Cantemus	Cantemus	Cantemus	Cantemus	Cantemus	Cantemus	Exultavit cor
			89					147
			hebd. ii.					
	148		18	148	148			
	149		69	149	149			
	150		71	150	150			
			78					
			79					
	Lux ecce surgit Benedictus	Lux ecce Benedictus	Lux ecce Benedictus	Ecce iam noctis Benedictus	Lux ecce Benedictus	Benedictus	Ecce iam noctis Benedictus	Dignas quis Benedictus

Feria V.	Breviarium Romanum Pianum	Breviarium Arelatense 1540	Breviarium Pampilonense 1562	Breviarium Humiliatorum 1548	Breviarium S. Barbarae 1583	Breviarium Romanum nuper reformatum (Quignon) 1535	Breviarium Colbertinum circa 1679	Breviarium Parisiense 1736
ad Primam	Iam lucis orto	Iam lucis	Iam lucis	Iam lucis	Iam lucis	Iam lucis	Iam lucis	Iam lucis
	53	53	53	53	12	8	22	66
	22				13	26	70	89.a.
	Beati immaculati	Beati	Beati	Beati	14	27		89.b.
	Retribue	Retribue Quicunque	Retribue Quicunque	Retribue				
ad Tertiam	Nunc sancte nobis	Nunc sancte	Nunc sancte	Nunc sancte	Nunc sancte	Nunc sancte	Nunc sancte	O Fons
	Legem pone	Legem pone	Legem pone	Legem pone	15	91	71	26.a.
	Memor esto	Memor esto	Memor esto	Memor esto	16	92	72	26.b.
	Bonitatem	Bonitatem	Bonitatem	Bonitatem	18	107		83
ad Sextam	Rector potens	Rector potens	Rector potens	Rector potens	Rector potens	Rector potens	Rector potens	Iam solis
	Defecit	Defecit	Defecit	Defecit	19	49	73	22
	Quomodo	Quomodo	Quomodo	Quomodo	20	74	74	33.a.
	Iniquos odio	Iniquos	Iniquos	Iniquos	22	122		33.b.
ad Nonam	Rerum deus	Rerum Deus	Rerum deus	Rerum deus	Rerum deus	Rerum deus	Rerum deus	Labente
	Mirabilia	Mirabilia	Mirabilia	Mirabilia	23	35	75	79.a.
	Clamavi	Clamavi	Clamavi	Clamavi	24	82	76	79.b.
	Principes	Principes	Principes	Principes	25	100		92
ad Vesperas	131	131	131	131	131	O lux beata	131	115
	132	132	132	132	132	131	132	137
	134	134	134	134	134	136	134	144.a.
	135	135	135	135	135	145		144.b.
	136	136	136	136	136			144.c.
	Magne deus	Magne Deus	Magne Deus	Lucis creator	Magne deus		Iam sol	O Fortis o clemens
	Magnificat	Magnificat	Magnificat	Magnificat	Magnificat	Magnificat	Magnificat	Magnificat
ad Completorium	4	25	4	4	4	Te lucis 45	135	11
	30	29	30	30	30	46	136	38.a.
	90	35	90	90	90	47		38.b.
	133		133	133	133			
	Te lucis ante	Te lucis	Te lucis	Te lucis	Te lucis		Te lucis	Grates peracto
	Nunc dimittis	Nunc dimittis	Nunc dimittis	Nunc dimittis	Nunc dimittis	Nunc dimittis	Nunc dimittis	Nunc dimittis

Feria VI.	Breviarium Romanum Pianum	Breviarium Arelatense 1549	Breviarium Pampilonense 1562	Breviarium Humiliatorum 1548	Breviarium S. Barbarae 1583	Breviarium Romanum nuper reformatum (Quignon) 1535	Breviarium Colbertinum circa 1679	Breviarium Parisiense 1736
Ad Matutinum	Venite	Venite	Venite	Venite	Venite	Venite	Venite	Venite
	Tu trinitatis	Tu trinitatis	Tu trinitatis	Nocte surgentes	Tu trinitatis	Nocte surgentes	Nocte surgentes	Iam sanctius
			hebd. i.	*hebd. i.*				
	80	21	80	80	80	21	80	51
	81	80	81	81	81	68	81	54.a.
	82	81		82	82	70	82	54.b.
				hebd. ii.				
	83	82		83	83		83	58.a.
	84	83		84	84		84	58.b.
	85	85		85	85		85	60
	86	86			86		86	68.a.
	87	88	88		87			68.b.
								68.c.
			hebd. ii.	*hebd. iii.*				
	88	93	21	86	88			
	93		85	87	93			
			87	88	95			
					96			
				hebd. iv. & v.				
	95			93				
	96			95				
		Te Deum		96		Te Deum		
Ad Laudes			*hebd. i.*					
	50	95	50	50	50	148	142	53
	142	96	82	142	142	149		70.a
	62	142	83	62	62			70.b.
	66			66	66			
	Domine audivi (Cant. Habacuc)	Domine audivi	Domine audivi	Domine audivi	Domine audivi	Domine audivi	Domine audivi	Domine audivi
			142					145
			hebd. ii.					
	148		84	148	148			
	149		86	149	149			
	150		93	150	150			
			95					
			96					
	Aeterna caeli Benedictus	Aeterna caeli Benedictus	Aeterna caeli Benedictus	Ecce iam noctis Benedictus	Aeterna caeli Benedictus	Benedictus	Ecce iam noctis Benedictus	Ultricibus Benedictus

Feria VI.	Breviarium Romanum Pianum	Breviarium Arelatense 1549	Breviarium Pampilonense 1562	Breviarium Humiliatorum 1548	Breviarium S. Barbarae 1583	Breviarium Romanum nuper reformatum (Quignon) 1535	Breviarium Colbertinum circa 1679	Breviarium Parisiense 1736
ad Primam	Iam lucis orto	Iam lucis	Iam lucis	Iam lucis	Iam lucis	Iam lucis	Iam lucis	Iam lucis
	53	53		53	12	2	21	43.a.
	21				13	11	87	43.b.
	Beati immaculati	Beati	Beati	Beati	14	50		43.c.
	Retribue servo	Retribue Quicunque	Retribue Quicunque	Retribue				
ad Tertiam	Nunc sancte	Nunc sancte	Nunc sancte	Nunc sancte	Nunc sancte	Nunc sancte	Nunc sancte	O Fons
	Legem pone	Legem pone	Legem pone	Legem pone	15	3	88	39.a.
	Memor esto	Memor esto	Memor esto	Memor esto	16	37		39.b.
	Bonitatem	Bonitatem	Bonitatem	Bonitatem	18	55		57
ad Sextam	Rector potens	Rector potens	Rector potens	Rector potens	Rector potens	Rector potens	Rector potens	Iam solis
	Defecit	Defecit	Defecit	Defecit	19	56	93	101.a.
	Quomodo	Quomodo	Quomodo	Quomodo	20	63	95	101.b.
	Iniquos odio	Iniquos	Iniquos odio	Iniquos	22	139		101.c.
ad Nonam	Rerum deus	Rerum Deus	Rerum deus	Rerum deus	Rerum deus	Rerum deus	Rerum deus	Labente
	Mirabilia	Mirabilia	Mirabilia	Mirabilia	23	60	96	21.a.
	Clamavi in toto	Clamavi	Clamavi	Clamavi	24	69	108	21.b.
	Principes	Principes	Principes	Principes	25	73		21.c.
adVesperas	137	137	137	137	137	O lex beata	137	128
	138	138	138	138	138	137	138	138.a.
	139	137	139	139	139	138	139	138.b.
	140	140	140	140	140	141		139.a.
	141	141	141	141	141			139.b.
	Plasmator hominis	Plasmator	Plasmator	Lucis creator	Plasmator		Iam sol	Lugete
	Magnificat	Magnificat	Magnificat	Magnificat	Magnificat	Magnificat	Magnificat	Magnificat
ad Comple-torium	4	84	4	4	4	Te lucis	107	37.a.
	30	107	30	30	30	12	140	37.b.
	90	108	90	90	90	85	141	55
	133		133	133	133	140		
	Te lucis ante	Te lucis	Te lucis	Te lucis	Te lucis		Te lucis	Grates peracto
	Nunc dimittis	Nunc dimittis	Nunc dimittis	Nunc dimittis	Nunc dimittis	Nunc dimittis	Nunc dimittis	Nunc dimittis

Sabbato.	Breviarium Romanum Pianum	Breviarium Arelatense 1549	Breviarium Pampilonense 1562	Breviarium Humiliatorum 1548	Breviarium S. Barbarae 1583	Breviarium Romanum nuper reformatum (Quignon) 1535	Breviarium Colbertinum circa 1670	Breviarium Parisiense 1736
ad Matutinum	Venite Summae deus	Venite Summae Deus	Venite Summae Deus	Venite Nocte surgentes	Venite Summae Deus	Venite Nocte surgentes	Venite Nocte surgentes	Venite Tandem peractis
			hebd. i.	*hebd. i.*				
	97	97	97	97	97	54	97	40
	98	98		98	98	105	98	48.a.
	99	87		99	99	106	100	48.b.
				hebd. ii.				
	100	100		100	100		101	61
	101	101	103	101	101		102	63
	102	102	104	102	102			74
			hebd. ii.	*hebd. iii.*				
	103	103	102	103	103			75
	104	104		104	104			82.a.
	105	105	105	105	105			82.b.
				hebd. iv. & v.				
	106	Te Deum	106	106	106	Te Deum		
	107			107	107			
	108			108	108			
			hebd. i.					
ad Laudes	50	106	3	50	50 (*vel in festis* 92)	116	91	16.a.
	91	61	14	91	91	150		16.b.
	62	89	100	62	62			56
	66			66	66			
	Audite caeli (Cant. Moys. Deut. 32)	Audite caeli	Audite caeli	Audite caeli	Audite caeli	Audite caeli	Audite caeli	Audite caeli
			91					
	148		*hebd. ii.*	148	148			116
	149		22	149	149			
	150		98	150	150			
			101					
			107					
			108					
	Aurora iam	Aurora iam	Aurora iam	Ecce iam noctis	Aurora iam		Ecce iam noctis	Rerum creator
	Benedictus	Benedictus	Benedictus	Benedictus	Benedictus	Benedictus	Benedictus	Benedictus

Sabbato.	Breviarium Romanum Pianum	Breviarium Arelatense 1549	Breviarium Pampilonense 1562	Breviarium Humiliatorum 1548	Breviarium S. Barbarae 1583	Breviarium Romanum nuper reformatum (Quignon) 1535	Breviarium Colbertinum circa 1679	Breviarium Parisiense 1736
ad Primam	Iam lucis orto	Iam lucis	Iam lucis	Iam lucis	Iam lucis	Iam lucis	Iam lucis	Iam lucis
	53	53	53	53	12	62	103	87
	Beati	Beati	Beati	Beati	13	66		142.a.
	Retribue	Retribue	Retribue	Retribue	14	135		142.b.
		Quicunque	Quicunque					
ad Tertiam	Nunc sancte nobis	Nunc sancte	Nunc sancte	Nunc sancte	Nunc sancte	Nunc sancte	Nunc sancte	O Fons
	Legem pone	Legem pone	Legem pone	Legem pone	15	51	104	28
	Memor esto	Memor esto	Memor esto	Memor esto	16	57		44
	Bonitatem	Bonitatem	Bonitatem	Bonitatem	18	87		149
ad Sextam	Rector potens	Rector potens	Rector potens	Rector potens	Rector potens	Rector potens	Rector potens	Iam solis
	Defecit	Defecit	Defecit	Defecit	19	75	105	45
	Quomodo	Quomodo	Quomodo	Quomodo	20	78		47
	Iniquos	Iniquos	Iniquos	Iniquos	22	123		86
ad Nonam	Rerum deus	Rerum deus	Rerum deus	Rerum deus	Rerum deus	Rerum deus	Rerum Deus	Labente
	Mirabilia	Mirabilia	Mirabilia	Mirabilia	23	101	106	59
	Clamavi	Clamavi	Clamavi	Clamavi	24	127		73.a.
	Principes	Principes	Principes	Principes	25	132		73.b.
ad Vesperas	143	143	143	143	143	O lux beata	143	127
	144	144	144	144	144	143	144	131.a.
	145	145	145	145.	145	146		131.b.
	146	146	146	146	146	147		143.a.
	147	147	147	147	147			143.b.
	O lux beata	O lux beata	O lux beata	O lux beata	O lux beata		Iam sol	Supreme motor
	Magnificat	Magnificat	[Magnificat]	Magnificat	Magnificat	Magnificat	Magnificat	Magnificat
ad Completorium	4	28	4	4	4	Te lucis		
	30	42	30	30	30	84	145	50
	90	91	90	90	90	128	146	85.a.
	133		133	133	133	129	147	85.b.
	Te lucis ante	Te lucis	Te lucis	Te lucis	Te lucis		Te lucis	Grates peracto
	Nunc dimittis	Nunc dimittis	Nunc dimittis	Nunc dimittis	Nunc dimittis	Nunc dimittis	Nunc dimittis	Nunc dimittis

SOME NOTES ON HARVEST THANKSGIVINGS AND CERTAIN OTHER VOTIVE OFFICES.

BY

E. G. CUTHBERT F. ATCHLEY.

The modern notion that in the Book of Common Prayer "the Church of England puts into the hands of all her members a form of sound words suited for every occasion on which the servants of God join together in acts of combined adoration" was not held by those who drew up the various Acts of Uniformity, whether those of King Edward VI, that of Elizabeth, or that of Charles II. The Book of Common Prayer supplied the forms for the daily and festal quire services and mass, the administration of certain of the Sacraments, and sundry occasional services; but it was not intended to prevent additional or votive services from being held. So much was this so that even in January, 155$\frac{2}{3}$ it was a moot point as to what service should be had at the opening of Parliament then about to sit. Northumberland,[1] writing on the 14th of that month to the Lord Chamberlain, says, "It would also be considered who shall that day preach before the king, and what service shall be said instead of the old service, which was wont to be of the invocation of the Holy Ghost; or whether his majesty will have the Communion for all his lords and prelates to communicate together at the said service in his majesty's presence, or not."

The Act 2 and 3 Edw. VI, cap. 1, and the Act 1 Eliz., cap. 2, insist on the use of the order and form of their several annexed books, and of none other, or otherwise. In spite of the assertions to the contrary, these words do not exclude additional rites and ceremonies. The court of the King's Bench[2] decided long ago, in the first year of King James II, that these words forbade the use of other forms *instead of* those enjoined, but not the use of other forms *in addition to* the same. The Act 2 and 3 Edw. VI, cap. 1, § 7, permits the open use in parish churches, as well as elsewhere, of any psalms or prayer taken out of the Bible, so long as the service of the annexed book was not hindered thereby, nor omitted in consequence, and that they were used at some due time. This was still allowed under the Act 5 and 6 Edw. VI, cap. 1, being included in the "sundry provisions and exceptions contained in" the first Act of Uniformity which were permitted still. The somewhat restricted liberty of these Acts has now been enlarged to the licence of the Act 35 and 36 Vict., cap. 35. There is now no obstacle to the use of votive services, provided that they do not let or hinder the regular services and that the Ordinary gives his permission. Nor is this latter often lacking, unless, perhaps, too much respect for Christian antiquities and the old ways has been shown in the drawing up of the votive forms.

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[1] P. F. Tytler, *England under the Reigns of Edward VI and Mary*, London, 1839; ij, 163.

[2] Edm. Gibson, *Codex Iuris ecclesiastici anglicani*, London, 1713; p. 306.

Of all modern votive services, none has so powerfully affected the public imagination as the annual Harvest Thanksgiving. Intoxicated by the aroma of apples and turnips and seduced by the jingle of a few popular hymn tunes, the people crowd into the church in a way unknown at any of the great festivals such as Easter Day or Ascension Day; satiating their Philistine tastes with visions of Goliath-like cakes, loaves, and marrows, and with a heated atmosphere laden with the sensuous scent of autumn flowers, while the ordinary quire offices for the day are ignored so far as possible. There is only one parallel to this state of things, and that is in the crowded congregations which attend that collection of sermons and sentimental hymns known as "The Three Hours' Agony" by which the liturgical services of Good Friday are very often set aside amongst a certain set of Church-people in this age.

Harvest Thanksgivings, however, have a respectable antiquity and need not be rejected by reasonable folk because sentimental folk have abused them.

"The feast of harvest, the firstfruits of thy labours which thou hast sown in the field: and the feast of ingathering, which is in the end of the year, when thou hast gathered in thy labours out of the field." These are two out of the three great feasts of the Jewish year mentioned in the twenty-third chapter of Exodus—a feast of Firstfruits, and a feast of Tabernacles or thanksgiving after the harvest.

In the Christian Church these two feasts have their parallels (1) in the blessing of New Fruits on various days, and (2) in the mass of Ember Wednesday in September, as well as at a later period by the mass "After the ingathering of the crops," and are amplified by the Rogation Processions in which the blessing of God was sought on the seed lately sown.

It was customary, both before and after the times of Edward VI, for the priest in the course of the Rogation Processions in country districts to "say gospels to the corn in the field . . . that it should the better grow," a custom which did not escape the scoffs of Tindal and other Protestants[1] in the sixteenth century. These gospels, like the "last gospel" at mass, were relics of *missæ siccæ*, or masses without any consecration, a form of service whose origin is often attributed to the Edwardian reformers, but most erroneously. Although processions in general out of the church were prohibited[2] by the Elizabethan injunctions, those at Rogationtide[3] were retained, and the curate was enjoined "at certain convenient places" to "admonish the people to give thanks unto God in the beholding of God's benefits, for the increase and abundance of his fruits upon the face of the earth." And in the so-called

[1] William Tindal, *An Answer to Sir Thomas More's Dialogue*, Parker Society, 1850; p. 62. "What say ye to procession in gangdaies when Sir John saith a gospel to our corne feldes? *Oliver.* As for your latin gospels read to the corne, I am sure the corne understandeth as much as you, and therefore hath as much profit by them as ye have, that is to say, none at all" (Michael Wodde, *A Dialogue or Familiar Talke*, Roane, 1554; sign. D, 8). *Cf.* R. Taverner's "brief Postil" for this season entitled *A Sermon in the Crosse Dayes* (*The Epistles and Gospelles*, R. Bankes, London, 1540; fol. 32). *Cf.* Barnabe Googe's translation of T. Kirchmaier's *Popish Kingdom* in the appendix to Phillip Stubbe's *Anatomy of the Abuses in England*, 1583, ed. F. J. Furnivall, New Shakespeare Society, 1877–79, Series VI, No. 6; pp. 336–7.

[2] Antony Sparrow, *A Collection of Articles, &c.*, London, 1671; p. 72.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 73. *Remains of Edmund Grindal*, Parker Society, 1843; pp. 141, 168. In the sacramentaries and massbooks one finds forms and masses *ad pluviam postulandam*, *ad poscendam serenitatem*, *ad repellandam tempestatem*, and the like (Sancti Gregorij Papæ I. *Opera omnia*, Parisijs, 1705; t. iij, col. 210, 211. *Missal of Robert of Jumièges*, Henry Bradshaw Society, 1896; p. 265. *Missale . . . Sarum*, Burntisland, 1861–83; col. 802*, 804*. *Missale ad usum insignis ecclesiæ Eboracensis*, Surtees Society, 1874; ij, 170, 171. *Missale ad usum percelebris ecclesiæ Herfordensis*, Leeds, 1874; pp. 419, 423, 424), which tend to the same purpose as the Rogation processions.

advertisements[1] of 1564 it was ordered "that in the Rogation days of procession they sing or say in English the two psalms beginning *Benedic anima mea* [Psalms ciii and civ] with the Litany and Suffrages thereunto, with one Homily of Thanksgiving to God already devised and divided into four parts, without the addition of any superstitious ceremonies heretofore used." The practice continued down to the Great Rebellion, survived it, and obtained almost within our own days: indeed, as "beating the bounds" it is not infrequently observed even now.

The gospels were read under some particular tree or trees, or at some well or spring. Aubrey wrote: "In Cheshire when they went in perambulation they did bless the springs, *i.e.*, they did read a gospel at them, and did believe the water was the better," and a pencil-note adds: "On Rogation days gospels were read in the cornfields here[2] in England until the civil wars." Pennant notes in his *Journey from Chester to London* that on Ascension Day the old inhabitants of Nantwich sang a hymn of thanksgiving for the blessing of the brine, and goes on to describe the decoration of an old brine-pit[3] with flowers, boughs, and garlands. An earlier writer[4] on self-examination considered that those parish clergymen sin against the First Commandment who wink at and quietly suffer "any rites wherein hath been apparent superstition, as gadding and ranging about with procession." George Herbert[5] tells us that the country parson particularly "loves Procession, and maintains it because there are contained therein four manifest advantages," of which the first is "a blessing of God for the fruits of the field."

From the custom of reading a gospel under them, certain trees obtained the name of gospel-oaks, or gospel-trees. Herrick[6] asks Anthea to bury him

> "Under that holy Oak, or Gospel-tree,
> Where, though thou see'st me not, thou mayest think upon
> Me, when thou yearly goest in Procession."

At Brewood and Bilbrook, in Staffordshire, Plott observed a custom of adorning the wells with boughs and flowers on Holy Thursday, evidently transferred from the Rogation Days. "This, it seems," he says, "they do too at all gospel-places, whether wells, trees, or hills." He adds[7] that like customs were generally observed all over the county. At Wolverhampton the prebends of the collegiate church, with the singing men and boys, dressed in their sacred vestments, used to chant *Benedicite omnia opera* in procession through the streets.[8] The boundaries of this parish were marked out by a number of large trees called by the inhabitants gospel-trees. The practice of processions at Rogationtide was there

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[1] Sparrow's *Collection of Articles*, 125. J. Strype, *Life and Acts of Matthew Parker*, London, 1711; Appendix, p. 49.

[2] MS. Lansd. 231, quoted in J. Brand, *Observations on the Popular Antiquities of Great Britain*, London, 1849; vol. j, p. 206.

[3] T. Pennant, *The Journey from Chester to London*, London, 1782; p. 30.

[4] Thomas Newton, *The Tryall of a Man's owne selfe*, London, 1602; p. 47.

[5] *A Priest to the Temple*, chapter xxxv.

[6] Canterbury Poets Series, p. 236, or Morley's Universal Library, vol. 13, p. 19.

[7] Robert Plott, *The Natural History of Staffordshire*, Oxford, 1686; p. 318. John Gerarde says that birch "serveth well to the decking up of houses and banqueting rooms, for places of pleasure, and beautifying of streets in the cross or gang week, and such like" (*The Herball*, London, 1633; p. 1478).

[8] Stebbing Shaw, *The History and Antiquities of Staffordshire*, London, 1801; vol. ij; pt. j, p. 165.

discontinued about 1765. A similar ceremony still survived at Ripon[1] at the end of last century. At Tissington in Derbyshire there was a custom,[2] still observed, of dressing the wells and springs in different parts of the village. After service in the church each of the wells is visited, and the three psalms for the day with the epistle and gospel are read at each well, of which there are five. Since the Restoration at any rate this custom has, as in many other places, been transferred to Ascension Day, instead of being used on Rogation Days. At Lichfield,[3] too, they used to repair to the springs and read the gospel for the day on Ascension Day, a custom still kept up.

Amongst other strange places for reading these gospels may be mentioned the cellar of the Chequer Inn, at Stanlake, in Oxfordshire,[4] where the parson used to read a gospel at a barrel's head in the course of the procession. It is supposed that there had formerly been a cross or a hermitage there. In the parish of Cumner, Berkshire,[5] it was usual for the vicar and parishioners to go into the ferry on the boundary of the parish, and crossing over into the Oxfordshire side, to lay hold on the twigs or reeds on the bank, while the vicar read the gospel for the Ascension.

We find that enquiry was frequently made by those in authority concerning the performance of the Rogation processions during the seventeenth century. In the Articles of Enquiry issued by the Archdeacon of Middlesex[6] in 1662 is asked:

> Doth your Minister or Curate in Rogation days go in Perambulation about your Parish, saying and using the Psalms and Suffrages by law appointed, as viz. Psalms 103 and 104, the Letany and Suffrages, together with the Homily set out for that end and purpose? Doth he admonish the people to give thanks to God, if they see any likely hopes of plenty, and to call upon him for his mercy, if there be any fear of scarcity; and do you, the Churchwardens, assist him in it?

The same idea[7] is well brought out in the *Fourth Part of the Sermon for Rogation Week.*

The Archdeacon of Northumberland[8] in the same year made enquiries as to whether the people observed the *three* Rogation Days. Previously to this, in 1637, the Bishop of

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[1] *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1790; lx, 719.

[2] D. and S. Lysons, *Magna Britannia*, London, 1817; vol. v, pp. ccxlj–xlij. *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1823; xciij, 293.

[3] *A short account of . . . the City, and Close, and Cathedral of Lichfield*, printed by T. G. Lomax, Lichfield, 1819; p. 133. Murray's *Handbook for Travellers in . . . Staffordshire*, London, 1892; p. 166.

[4] Robert Plott, *The Natural History of Oxfordshire*, Oxford, 1677; p. 203.

[5] H. V. Tighe, *An Historical Account of Cumner*, Oxford, 1821; p. 41.

[6] Quoted in J. Brand, *Observations on the Popular Antiquities of Great Britain*, Bohn's edition, 1849; vol. i, p. 204. So Laud for London, 1628 (*Works*, Library of Anglo-Catholic Theology, 1853; vol. v, pt. 2, p. 402), Winchester, 1635 (*ibid.*, 425). Wren at Norwich, 1636 (Wilkins, *Concilia*, iv, 526). Grindal forbade the use of surplices and lights in these processions in 1560 (J. Strype, *History of the Life and Acts of Edmund Grindal*, London, 1710; p. 38): but in other parts of the country they carried banners (*Diary of Henry Machyn*, Camden Society, 1848; p. 236).

[7] "We be now assembled together, good Christian people, most principally to laud and thank almighty God for his great benefits, by beholding the fields replenished with all manner of fruit, to the maintenance of our corporal necessities, for our food and sustenance; and partly also to make our humble suits in prayers to his fatherly providence, to conserve the same fruits in sending us seasonable weather, whereby we may gather in the said fruits, to that end for which his fatherly goodness hath provided them."

[8] Brand's *Observations on Antiquities*, j, 204.

Chichester[1] had enquired about the same processions, mentioning for use thereat gospels, epistles, Litany, and other devout prayers, and Psalms 103 and 104.

The custom of combining solemn fasts with processions in times of distress dates from the institution[2] of Rogations, and was general throughout the middle ages. There are two examples which we may quote as bearing on the present subject. In the summer of 1258 it had been abominably cold and wet, and the harvest seemed likely to fail. Whereupon the chapter of St. Alban's Abbey[3] decreed a solemn fast with a general procession on the 5th August to the church of St. Mary *de Pratis*, there to call humbly on God and our Lady that by the merits and prayers of St. Oswald He would vouchsafe them finer weather. And when the Londoners heard of it they did the same; and adds Matthew Paris, "soon the weather improved." A similar state of affairs in 1543 was met with similar measures. Cranmer,[4] at the King's bidding, caused public supplications and prayers in the accustomed manner to be used throughout the whole province, on account of the persistent "rain and other unseasonable weather, whereby is like to ensue great hurt and damage to the corn and fruits now ripe upon the ground." Apparently this had often been done before, as the King's letter asks for "such general rogations and processions to be made incontinently . . . as in like case heretofore hath been accustomed."

But before the crops had progressed so far as this our ancestors usually had asked the blessing of God upon them. In the Sarum Manual,[5] the Exeter Pontifical,[6] the Mass-book of Robert of Jumièges,[7] and elsewhere,[8] we have this form for blessing the seed before it is sown:—

> Almighty,[9] everlasting God, Creator of all mankind, we humbly implore Thy mercy to send Thy heavenly blessing upon the seed which we are about to sow in our fields in Thy name; increase and ripen the same, that the whole earth may praise Thy right hand: through Jesus Christ our Lord.

In some late French massbooks, as, for instance, the Paris book[10] of 1739, there is a special mass *pro fructibus terræ*, to be said after the seeds and corn are sown; and also at other times if the crops are in danger, in which case the *Gloria in excelsis*, every

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[1] Brand's *Observations on Antiquities*, j, 204.

[2] E. Martène, *De Antiquis ecclesiæ ritibus*, Lib. IV: cap. 27: § ij: Antuerpiæ, 1736–8; t. iij, col. 515. 16th Canon of the Council of Clovesho, A.D. 747 (A. W. Haddan and W. Stubbs, *Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents*, Oxford, 1871; vol. iij, p. 368).

[3] Matthew Paris, *Chronica Maiora*, Rolls Series, 1880; v. 711–12.

[4] Thomas Cranmer, *Miscellaneous Writings and Letters*, Parker Society, 1846; p. 493.

[5] *Manuale et Processionale ad usum insignis ecclesiæ Eboracensis*, Surtees Society, 1875; Appendix 30*.

[6] Ralph Barnes, *Liber Pontificalis of Edmund Lacy*, Exeter, 1847; p. 217.

[7] *The Missal of Robert of Jumièges*, Henry Bradshaw Society, 1897; p. 282.

[8] There is a *Benedictio Seminum* for use on the first Sunday in September in *Fasciculus Triplex Exorcismorum et Benedictionum, &c.*, Tyrnaviæ, 1739; p. 72.

[9] *In the Sarum Manual it runs:* Omnipotens sempiterne Deus, creator generis humani, supplici‹ter tuam clementiam exoramus, ut hoc semen quod in tuo nomine saturi sumus in agros nostros, cælesti benedictione benedicere ✠ et multiplicare atque ad maturitatem perducere digneris, ut per universum orbem terrarum collaudetur dextera tua. Per Dominum nostrum.

[10] *Missale Parisiense*, ed. de Ventimille, Parisiis, 1739, p. xcj. The three mass collects are based upon three printed in the *Missale Parisiense*, ed. de Gondy, Parisiis, 1654, p. xci. Many of the missals mentioned below see p. 69) have also this mass.

Alleluia, and the grail are omitted, a tract replacing the *Alleluia* and verse. The collect[1] runs as follows :—

> We beseech thee, O Lord our God, pour down Thy blessing upon Thy people ; that by Thy bountiful kindness the earth may bring forth her increase, and that when the harvest is gathered in, we may ever use the same to the praise and honour of Thy holy name ; through Christ our Lord.

The prophetical lesson is Deut. xj, 13–19 inclusive, and the gospel, St. Matt. vij, 7–11.

The threshing-floor (and sometimes the barn or granary) were blessed according to the following form, which appears in the Jumièges[2] Massbook, the Exeter Pontifical,[3] and the York Manual[4] :—

> O Lord, multiply upon us Thy mercy, and favourably regard our prayers ; and as Thou didst hearken unto Thy servant King David, who appeased and turned aside Thy wrath, and entreated Thy indulgence by offering up burnt sacrifices unto Thee in the threshing-floor [of Ornan], so replenish this threshing-floor, we beseech Thee, with the fulness of Thy blessing, that we, receiving Thy bountiful fruits, may ever glory in Thy mercy : through our Lord Jesus Christ.

In the Massbook of Robert of Jumièges[5] there is a special benediction *in granario*, besides the preceding one *in area*.

From very early times it has been customary to bless the firstfruits of the chief crops of the country, such as corn, grapes, beans, apples, &c. ; and on certain days the holy-bread or *eulogia* was blessed with extra solemnity for some especial object. St. Irenæus[6] insists that the firstfruits of everything ought to be offered to God ; and many other early writers allude to the custom, which is common to East and West alike, and regulated by the so-called "Apostolic Canons" amongst others. The second of these[7] forbids the offering of any substitute for wine in the sacrifice or of any vegetables save what has been ordained, to wit, new ears of corn and grapes at the suitable seasons. All other firstfruits were to be sent home to the bishop and presbyters, and not offered at the altar. And in the so-called "Apostolic Constitutions" there is a long prayer[8] for blessing the firstfruits. Pope Eutychianus (275–283 A.D.) is said[9] to have restricted them to grapes and beans only.

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[1] "Effunde, quæsumus, Domine Deus noster, benedictionem tuam super populum tuum ; ut, et dante te benignitatem terra nostra det fructus suos, et his collectis ad laudem et honorem sancti tui nominis utamur : per." Some other prayers for the growing crops are given in the *Sacerdotale Romanum*, Venetiis, Victor a Rabanio, 1537, p. 274. See also *Rituale Sacramentorum Romanum*, Romæ, 1584, p. 641.

[2] *Edit. cit.*, p. 279, entitled *in area*.

[3] *Edit. cit.*, 218. "Multiplica domine super nos misericordiam tuam et preces nostras propicius exaudire digneris ; et sicut exaudisti famulum David Regem qui tibi in area hostias offerendo placuit, iram avertit et indulgenciam impetravit ; ita veniat, quesumus, super hanc aream sperate benedictio ✠ ubertatis [benedictionis ubertas *Ebor.*], ut repleti frugibus tuis, de tua semper misericordia gloriemur. Per Dominum."

[4] York Manual, *edit. cit.*, 108, entitled *in horrea*, on a barn.

[5] *Edit. cit.*, p. 279.

[6] J. E. Grabe, *Irenæi contra omnes Hæreses Liber*, Lib. IV : cap. 34 : Oxoniæ, 1702 ; p. 326.

[7] W. Beveredge, *Codex Canonum ecclesiæ primitivæ vindicatus*, Amstælodami, 1697 ; p. 374.

[8] J. B. Cotelerius, *SS. Patrum qui temporibus apostolicis floruerunt*, Antverpiæ, 1698 ; vol. j, p. 417.

[9] "Hic constituit ut fruges super altare tantum fabæ et uvæ benedici" (L. Duchesne, *Liber Pontificalis*, Paris, 1886 ; t. j, p. 159 : or Anastasius Bibliothecarius, *Historia de vitis romanorum pontificum*, xxviij, *Corpus Byzantinæ Historia Scriptorum*, Venetiis, 1729 ; t. xix, part ij, p. 6). J. Catalani, *Rituale Romanum*, Patauii, 1760 ; t. ij, p. 34.

The liturgical moment at which the blessings took place in the western rites was in the canon, after the consecration and before the communion,[1] at the place where still the oil for the sick is hallowed in the modern Roman rite on Maundy Thursday.

On Easter Eve and Whitsun Even, milk and honey were at one time blessed and mingled with the contents of the chalice, and the newly baptized were communicated therefrom.[2] On Easter Day,[3] meat, cheese, butter, eggs, and small cakes were blessed, as well as, in some places, a paschal lamb. On Ascension Day[4] it was generally young beans and other leguminous vegetables; and on the 6th of August the new grapes[5] and other fruits, and sometimes new loaves and must. It is thought that the form for blessing the new loaf in Egberht's Pontifical may have been used on the 1st August, Lammas Day; whether Lammas is really a corruption of hlafmaesse is, however, not certain. At Vienne,[6] in France, walnuts were blessed on St. James's Day, 25th July; and a form for blessing apples, nuts, and walnuts appears in the Leofric Massbook of the tenth century,[7] used in the eleventh century at Exeter. These blessings, as was said above, were interpolated into the canon, and the concluding formula, common to all of them, is still retained in the Roman canon in every use, viz., *Per quem haec omnia Domine semper bona creas, &c.*[8] The association of blessed bread and fruits with the Eucharist led to some abuses, and the Council *in Trullo* had to forbid any one to distribute the new grapes[9] with the Eucharist. It was, however, allowed in some places to mingle a few drops of the fresh grape-juice with the chalice[10] at the mass of the Transfiguration or that of St. Xystus.

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[1] Sti. Gregorij Papæ I, *Opera Omnia*, Parisiis, 1705; t. iij, col. 118. Martène, *De Ant. eccl. rit.*, Lib. IV: cap. 33: § xix: t. iij, col. 586. *De Ant. eccl. (monach.) rit.*, Lib. IV: cap. 7: § x; t. iv, col. 573.

[2] This refers really to the promised land, flowing with milk and honey, rather than to new fruits (see John the Deacon's letter to Senarius in Mabillon, *Museum Italicum*, Lutetiæ Parisiorum, 1724; t. j, pars altera p. 75). Martène, *De Ant. eccl. rit.*, Lib. IV; cap. 24: § xxxij; t. iij, col. 423. It was forbidden by the VIth General Council, canon 57 (L. Surius, *Conciliorum omnium tomi*, Coloniæ Agrippinæ, 1567; ij. 1049).

[3] Martène, *De Ant. eccl. rit.*, Lib. IV: cap. 25: § xiv; t. iij, col. 484. Catalani, *Rituale Romanum*, ij, 52 sq.

[4] *Sacr. Gellonense* (?), apud Martène, *De Antiq. eccl. rit.*, Lib. IV: cap. 28: § v: t. iij. col. 541. *Sacr. Gelas.*, Oxford, 1894, pp. 107 and 294.

[5] Sti. Gregorij, *Opera*, iij, 118. Gul. Durandus, *Rationale Divinorum Officiorum*, Lib. VII: cap. 22: n. ij. *The Leofric Missal*, Oxford, 1883; p. 152. *Missal of Robert of Jumièges*, Henry Bradshaw Society, 1896; p. 196. *Missale . . . Sarum*, Burntisland, 1861-83; col. 841. Claude de Vert, *Explication des Cérémonies de l'Église*, Paris, 1706; t. j, p. 71. Martène, *De Ant. eccl. (monachorum) rit.*, Lib. IV: cap. 7: § xj; t. iv, col. 574.

[6] On trouve dans le missel de Vienne le benediction des noix le 25 Juillet, et des raisins le 6 Août au P e r q u e m h a e c o m n i a (De Moleon, *Voyages Liturgiques*, Paris, 1757; p. 425).

[7] F. E. Warren, *The Leofric Missal*, Oxford, 1883; p. 224.

[8] Claude de Vert, *Explication des Cérémonies de l'Église*, Paris, 1706; t. j, pp. 71, 121, 183.

[9] Can. 28: Quoniam in diversis ecclesiis intelleximus uva ad altare allata ex quadam quæ invaluit consuetudine, ministros postquam hanc incruento oblationis sacrificio coniunxerint, utraque simul populo distribuere: simul etiam esse decernendum perspeximus ut nullus sacerdos hoc amplius faciat: sed ad vivificationem et peccatorum remissionem solam oblationem populo impertiat: tanquam primitias autem uvæ allationem existimantes, sacerdotes eam seorsum benedicentes, petentibus impertire ad fructum datoris gratiarum actionem, per quos corpora nostra divina dispositione augentur et aluntur. Siquis autem clericus præter haec decreta fecerit, deponatur (L. Surius, *Conciliorum omnium tomi*, Coloniæ Agrippinæ, 1567; t. ij, p. 1044). Inserted by Gratian in his *Concordia discordantium canonum* (Decreti pars iij, *De consecratione*, Distinct. ij, cap. vj).

[10] At Poictiers, fifteenth century (Martène, *De Ant. eccl. rit.*, Lib. IV: cap. 33: § xix; t. iij, col. 586). At St. Martin, Tours (De Moleon, *Voyages Liturgiques*, Paris, 1757; p. i*). G. Durandus, *Rationale Divinorum Officiorum*, Lib. VII: cap. xxij: § ij. John Beleth, *Explicatio Divinorum Officiorum*, cap. 144.

As time went on, while many churches retained not only the custom of blessing new fruits but also of doing so in the old place in the canon,[1] in others the blessings were retained but transferred to some other part of the mass. Thus at Westminster,[2] Sarum,[3] and[4] Reims and other places apples and other fruits were blessed on St. James's Day after mass, and the Soissons Missal of 1745 orders the same thing.[5] At Salzburg[6] it was during the Corpus Christi procession. On the 6th of August they blessed grapes or some other fruit before the mass of the Transfiguration at Sarum,[7] and after the epistle, at the same mass, at[8] St. Maurice, Angers.

At the Monastery of Ayné, near Lyons,[9] bread was hallowed on St. Agatha's Day with solemnity; and at Rome both on that day for protection against fire,[10] and on the feast of St. Blaise (with wine, fruits, seeds, &c.), *contra malum gutturis*[11] during the canon, just as wine was blessed on the feast of St. John before the Latin Gate, both in Germany and Italy, as protection against poison.[12] At Vienne on Ascension Day they used to bless first a lamb and after that bread,[13] during the *Kyrie* of high mass. At Narbonne and at Châlons-in-Champagne bread was very solemnly blessed[14] on either Ascension Day or Whitsun Day, "according to the local custom," and afterwards distributed to the poor. Several forms were employed in these blessings of bread, some including one or two gospels and several[15] prayers. The two most common prayers are the following:—

Bless,[16] O Lord, this Thy creature of bread, as Thou didst bless the five loaves in the

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[1] De Moleon, *Voyages Liturgiques*, Paris, 1757; pp. 119, 160, 177, 199, 200, 210, 219, and see index.

[2] *Missale ad usum ecclesie Westmonasteriensis*, Henry Bradshaw Society, 1893; ij, 526.

[3] *Manuale et Processionale ad usum insignis ecclesiæ Eboracensis*, Surtees Society, 1875; Appendix 30*.

[4] Martène, *De Ant. eccl. rit.*, Lib. IV: cap. 33: § xj; t. iij, col. 584. *De Ant. eccl. (monachorum) rit.*, Lib. IV: cap. 6: § lj; t. iv, col. 571.

[5] *Missale Suessionense*, Parisiis, 1745, p. 566. But apparently at Soissons the commemoration of St. James on July 25 was displaced by that of St. Christopher.

[6] *Libri Agendorum secundum antiquum usum Metropolitane Salisburgensis Ecclesiæ*, Pars Secunda, Dilingæ, Sebald Mayer, 1575; p. 317.

[7] *Missale Sarum*, 841.

[8] They were placed in two silver basons, which remained on the altar until after A g n u s D e i, when they were distributed by two chaplains to the clergy (De Moleon, *Voyages Liturgiques*, 101).

[9] Edm. Martène, *De Antiquis ecclesiæ ritibus*, Lib. IV; cap. 31: § xvij: Antuerpiæ, 1737; t. iij, col. 566.

[10] *Sacerdotale Romanum*, 1567, quoted in Catalani, *Rituale Romanum*, Patavii, 1760; t. ij, p. 62.

[11] *Ibid.*, ij, 61 (two forms), and p. 64, § xiv.

[12] Catalani, *Rit. Rom.* ij, 63, 64. *Agenda . . . iuxta* Ritum . . . *Diocesis* Brixinensis, Dilinge, Sebald Mayer, no date; on fol. lix *b* sq *Benedictio vini et aque in die Sancte Iohannis Euangelistae* (takes four quarto pages). *Pastorale ad Usum Romanum* (Ep. Argentinen. et Passav.), Monachii, 1608; p. 178, *Benedictio vini S. Ioannis* (no indication of day on which it is to be used). *Fasciculus Triplex Exorcismorum et Benedictionum*, &c., Tyrnaviæ, 1739; p. 82, *Benedictio vini in festo Sancti Ioannis Evangelistæ*, coming immediately after St. Stephen.

[13] Martène, *De Antiq. eccl. rit.*, Lib. IV; cap. 28: § ij: t. iij, col. 539.

[14] *Ibid.*, § iv; col. 540.

[15] Catalani, *Rituale Romanum*, ij, 61, 62.

[16] *Benedictio panis.* Benedic, Domine, creaturam istam panis, sicut benedixisti quinque panes in deserto: ut omnes gustantes ex eo, accipiant tam corporis quam animæ sanitatem. Qui vivis cum Deo Patre in unitate (Sti. Gregorij, *Opera*, t. iij, col. 234. Both are given in the Durandus Pontifical, quoted by Martène, *op. cit.*, Lib. IV: cap. 28: § iv; t. iij, col. 540. Cf. *Leofric Missal*, 224: *R. of Jumièges' Missal*, 281: *Missale Westmonast.*, ij, 524. *Officium Eccles. Abb. sec. usum Eveshamensis Monast.*, Henry Bradshaw Society, 1893; col. 50. Cf. *Missale Herford.*, xlvj; *Manuale*, &c., *Ebor.*, 103; *Missale Sarum*, 33**, 36**).

wilderness; that this year's harvest may be plentiful, and that all who taste thereof may receive health, both of body and mind. In the name of the Father, &c.

O Lord,[1] holy Father, almighty, everlasting God, bless, we beseech Thee, this bread with Thy heavenly benediction; that all who partake of it may be healed in mind and body, and preserved from all disease and the assaults of our enemies; through Jesus Christ, Thy Son, our Lord, the Bread which cometh down from Heaven and giveth life and salvation to the world, and liveth and reigneth with Thee, God, for ever and ever. *Amen.*

The form for blessing grapes (and new fruits) during the mass of St. Xystus on the 6th August in the Gregorian Sacramentary and most mediæval massbooks (for that mass or that of the Transfiguration) runs as follows:—

Bless,[2] O Lord, these new fruits, which Thou, O Lord, hast vouchsafed to ripen by the dew of heaven, the watering of rain, and the calm and quiet season, and hast given for our use, to be received with thanksgiving, in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ; by Whom Thou dost ever create all these good things, hallow, quicken and bless them, and bestow them upon us: through Whom, and with Whom, and in Whom be unto Thee, God the Father Almighty, in the unity of the Holy Ghost, all honour and glory, world without end. *Amen.*

We find this again among the blessings in the Gregorian Sacramentary under the heading "Blessing of Grapes, or Beans," and followed by this "Blessing of New Fruits," which appears under varying titles in many mediæval books.

O Lord,[3] holy Father, almighty, everlasting God, who createdest heaven and earth and all that therein is; we humbly beseech Thee to bless and hallow these firstfruits, and to multiply them abundantly for us who now offer them to Thee: plenteously fulfil our garners with corn and wine, that we, being gladdened with these things, may bring our grateful praises to Thee, O God Almighty; through Christ our Lord, &c.

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[1] "Domine, sancte Pater, omnipotens æterne Deus, benedicere digneris hunc panem tua sancta spirituali benedictione; ut sit omnibus sumentibus salus mentis et corporis, atque contra omnes morbos et universas inimicorum insidias tutamen. Per Dominum nostrum Iesum Christum filium tuum, panem qui de cælo descendit et dat vitam et salutem mundo et tuum vivat et regnat, Deus, per omnia sæcula sæculorum." This Gallican prayer was ordered to be used for blessing the *Eulogiæ* by the 9th Canon of the Council of Nantes, circa 800 A.D. "Vt de oblationibus, quæ offeruntur a populo et consecrationi supersunt, vel de panibus quos offerunt fideles ad Ecclesiam, vel certe de suis presbyteris conuenienter partes incisas habeat in vase nitido, vt post Missarum solennia qui communicari non fuerunt rati, eulogias omni die Dominico et in diebus festis exinde accipiant, et illa unde eulogias presbyter daturus est, ante in haec verba benedicat: *Oratio.* Domine sancte pater omnipotens æterne Deus," &c., as above (L. Surius, *Conciliorum omnium Tomi*, Coloniæ Agrippinæ, 1567; t. iij, p. 170). It is still in the modern Roman Rituale (ed. Catalani, ij, 61). *Missale Sarum*, 34**.

[2] *Benedictio uvæ.* Benedic, Domine, et hos fructus novos uvæ, quos tu, Domine, rore cæli et inundantia pluviarum et temporum serenitate atque tranquillitate, ad maturitatem perducere dignatus es et dedisti eos ad usus nostros cum gratiarum actione percipi, in nomine Domini nostri Jesu Christi. Per quem haec omnia (Sti. Gregorij, *Opera*, t. iij, 118: *Sacr. Bobbiense* in Mabillon, *Museum Italicum*, Lutetiæ Parisiorum, 1724: t. j, p. 390. *Leofric Missal*, 224. *R. of Jumièges' Missal*, 196, 280. *Off. Ab. Evesham.*, 51. *Missale Sarum*, 841. *Missale Ebor.*, ij, 212).

[3] *Benedictio ad fructus novos.* Domine, sancte Pater, omnipotens, æterne Deus, qui cælum et terram et omnia creasti, te supplices quæsumus: ut hunc fructum novum benedicere et sanctificare digneris et multiplicare abundanter offerentibus tibi: ut repleas eorum cellaria cum fortitudine frumenti et vini: ut laetantes in eis referant tibi Deo omnipotenti laudes et gratias. Per (Sti. Gregorij, *Opera*, t. iij, 234: *Leofric Missal*, 224. *R. of Jumièges' Missal*, 280. *Manuale Ebor.*, 107. *Missale Romanum, Mediolani*, 1474, Henry Bradshaw Society, 1899; j, 495).

In some places the forms given above for blessing bread were combined and adapted[1] for the blessing of the new fruits.

Martène[2] notes a custom, *apud nostrates*, of blessing small crosses at the end of high mass on the feast of the Invention of the Holy Cross, which are distributed to the country-folk after the procession that followed this blessing; they put them in their fields and gardens to protect the young flowers and crops. Something analogous used to obtain in England at Rogationtide, and the custom of marking crosses in various places at that time lingered on till the eighteenth century[3] in some localities.

In the northern part of what is now called France, at any rate, the day on which the new fruits were blessed was regarded as a Harvest Festival at an early period: and in the *Lectionary of Luxeuil*[4]—a MS. of the seventh century, of pure Gallican use, that probably belonged to Paris—there is a set of three lessons for the "Mass of the New Fruits," a *Prophecy*, Joel ij, 21–27, an *Epistle*, 1 Cor. ix, 7–15, and a *Gospel*, St. John vj, 49–52. Another feature peculiar (originally) to the Gallican rite was the blessing of the faithful by the bishop just before the Communion. The form used varied with the day; and the Benedictional of St. Theodoric at Reims,[5] a MS. dating from about the year 800 A.D., gives the following blessing for use on the day when the new fruits were hallowed:—

> To Thee, most righteous God, we humbly pour forth our prayers, beseeching Thee to hallow and bless Thy servants, prostrate under the might of Thy right hand. *Amen.*
>
> Increase their faith and humility by the gift of peace; that, keeping by Thy mercy that which Thou dost command, they may obtain that which Thou dost promise. *Amen.*
>
> And hallow them by the enlightening of Thine only Son, our Lord Jesus Christ, and the blessing of the Holy Ghost: that, having escaped from the subtle craft of the ancient foe, they, who approach Thee on this yearly festival with the firstfruits of all which the earth bringeth forth, may take and in Thy holy name partake of everything in turn. *Amen.*

A "Blessing of Apples" that occurs both in the Leofric Massbook, the Exeter Pontifical, and the Sarum Manual, a Gelasian form, is partly built up of this last paragraph.[6] The Westminster form used on St. James's Day[7] has the same introduction as this blessing, but the remainder is quite different: while the Sarum form for the same day[8] differs again, and is much longer.

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[1] Sarum Manual in *Manuale, &c., Ebor.*, 29*. *Lacy's Liber Pontificalis*, 217.

[2] Martène, *De Ant. eccl. rit.*, Lib. IV: cap. 32: § vj: Antuerpiæ, 1737; t. iij, col. 573.

[3] J. Brand, *Popular Antiquities*, London, 1849; j. 200.

[4] J. Mabillon, *De Liturgia Gallicana*, 1685; p. 161.

[5] *Benedictio novi fructus cum sacratur.* Tibi, piissime Deus, supplices fundimus preces, ut familiam tuam sub potentia dexteræ tuæ prostratam benedicendo sanctifices. Amen. Fidem in eis pacem et humilitatem impertiendo multiplica, ut clementiæ tuæ dono custodientes quæ precipis, mereantur obtinere quæ promittis. Amen. Ac per illustrationem unici Filii tui Domini nostri Jesu Christi, et Spiritus sancti benedictionem sanctifica, ut depulsis atque abiectis vetusti hostis insidiis, salubriter ex huius diei anniversaria solemnitate de universis terræ edendis germinibus, primitias tibi offerentes sumant atque in tuo sancto nomine cuncta deinceps edant. Amen. Quod ipse præstare, &c. (Sancti Gregorij Papæ I *Opera Omnia*, Parisijs, 1705; t. iij, col. 645).

[6] *Leofric Missal*, 224. *Lacy's Liber Pontificalis*, 217. Sarum Manual in *Manuale Ebor.*, 30*.

[7] *Missale Westmonast.*, ij, 526.

[8] In *Manuale Ebor.*, 30*.

In the early sacramentaries the mass for Ember Wednesday in September is, to a certain extent, a Harvest Thanksgiving. The Gelasian[1] and Sarum[2] secret is:

> O God, Who hast been pleased to ordain this Sacrament out of these fruits of the earth; vouchsafe, we pray Thee, to help us through the same, both in this present world and in the life to come: through Christ our Lord, &c.[3]

Previously to the twelfth century, there were very many proper prefaces, but in 1175 these were reduced to ten in England.[4] That for this day in the Gregorian sacramentaries runs:

> It is very meet . . . everlasting God[5]: Who hast so willed that we should give thanks unto Thee for the ingathering of the crops with fasting, that from such devout practices we might know that these good things have been given us to sustain our weakness, and not for the indulgence of our appetites; that the food, of which we have partaken more sparingly, might contribute to the relief of the needy; that this healthful discipline might subdue our mortal pride; that we might be entrusted to Thy mercy by Thy righteousness, Who hast given us these things; and that we might so use these temporal gifts that we learn to desire heartily gifts eternal; through Christ our Lord, &c.

This idea of Harvest Thanksgiving can be traced also in the lesson, Amos ix, 13 to end; the pro-epistle, Neh. viii, 1–10, the last verse of which is in most uses employed as the Communion anthem.[6] In that curious liturgical collection known as the Leonine Sacramentary, there are several forms which have in view the Ember Harvest Thanksgiving. I am not at all sure that I have always grasped the meaning of the following prefaces, but there is no doubt about the allusions to the harvest. This occurs among the forms for the month of September, under the heading *Invitatio plebis in ieiunio mensis decimi*:—

> It is very meet, etc. Because[7] Thou dost not cease both to support with human resources the likeness of Thy Word set in earthly places, and to renew it with divine aid. It was meet indeed that, after the earthly harvest was completed, the heavenly seed should spring up; that,

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[1] *Gelasian Sacramentary*, ed. H. A. Wilson, Oxford, 1894, p. 200.

[2] *Missale Sarum*, 540.

[3] Deus, qui de his terræ fructibus tua sacramenta constare voluisti; præsta, quæsumus, ut per haec opem nobis et præsentis vitæ conferas et æternæ. Per.

[4] D. Wilkins, *Concilia*, j, 477. John Johnson, *A Collection of the Laws and Canons of the Church of England*, Oxford, 1851; ij, 63.

[5] Vere dignum et iustum est . . . omnipotens æterne Deus u nos ideo collectis terræ fructibus, per abstinentiam tibi gratias agere voluisti, ut ex ipso devotionis genere nosceremus, non haec ad exuberantiam corporalem, sed ad fragilitatis sustentationem nos percepisse. ut quod ex his parcius sumeremus, egentium proficeret alimentis: Et salutaris castigatio mortalitatis insolentiam mitigaret: Et pietas largitoris nos tuæ benignitati commendatos efficeret: sicque donis uteremur transitoriis, ut disceremus inhiare perpetuis. Per Christum Dominum nostrum (Sancti Gregorij, *Opera Omnia*, Parisijs, 1705; t. iij, col. 132). There is no Gelasian preface.

[6] Sti. Gregorij, *Opera*, iij, 721.

[7] Vere dignum. Quia tuæ ationis imaginem mundanis regionibus constitutam et humanis non desinis fovere subsidiis et reformare Divinis. Consequens enim fuit ut transactis terræ fructibus celeste semen oreretur et alimonia vitæ mortalis expleta germen inmortalitatis exsisteret atque escis carnalibus expeditis cibus nasceretur mirabiliter animarum ac tempore frumenti vini et olei mox peracto ineffabiliter ederetur qui filiis Dei ad similitudinem proficientibus angelorum hoc totum non solum de cælo substantia deferret et nomine sed panem præberet æternum per (C. L. Feltoe, *Sacramentarium Leonianum*, Cambridge, 1896; p. 117)

when the needs of our mortal life had been satisfied, the germ of immortality should be brought to light; that, after food for the body had been made ready, sustenance for the soul should wondrously be born; and that, the season of corn and wine and oil having just past, He might be ineffably set forth, who should bring down from heaven, to the sons of God that are progressing toward the likeness of angels, all this, not only in essence and in name, but should offer eternal bread: through, &c.

And among the masses for the December fast in this ill-arranged collection are some forms more appropriate to the September Embertide than the winter season. This collect for instance:—

We[1] humbly beseech Thee, O Lord, that, being helped by the supplies of earthly fruits, we may set forth to Thee, the Author of them all; through, &c.

The preface in the same mass is:—

It is very meet, &c. For[2] we obtain what is needful for our healing by means of a healthgiving fast; and duly giving thanks, by corresponding reverence, for the gifts which we have received, we are made more thankful for those things which are meet to be received; so that we may not only rejoice in the fertility of the soil, but acknowledge the birth of the eternal Bread, and honour Him with purified minds: through, &c.

The earliest mention of a votive mass as a thanksgiving for the harvest which I can find is in the Ceremonial of the Casaline Black-monks[3] of 1531. In cap. 25 of this book it is appointed that a votive mass *de Sancta Trinitate*, with a procession, should be celebrated every year in each monastery, on some day to be fixed by the prelate of the same, as an act of thanksgiving after the crops had been gathered in. In most French massbooks of the eighteenth century we find a proper votive mass *post collectas terræ fructus*. The anthems vary somewhat in the different uses, but the collect, epistle, and gospel are the same in all.[4]

Collect. O God, Who dost shower upon us the abundance of Thy mercy; grant, we beseech Thee, that we, pressing onward to our Fatherland, may so use the good things of this

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[1] Supplices Domine te rogamus ut fructuum terrenorum commodis sufficienter adiuti ad te omnium proficiamus Auctorem per (*Sacram. Leonian.*, 169).

[2] Vere dignum. Quoniam salubri meditante ieiunio necessaria curatione tractamus et per observantiæ competentis obsequium de perceptis grati muneribus de percipiendis efficimur gratiores ut non solum terrena fertilitate laetemur sed nativitatem panis æterni purificatis suscipiamus mentibus honorandum per (*Sacrament. Leonian.*, 170).

[3] Duplicia festa maiora sunt haec . . . cum missa pro gratiarum actione, quæ post collectionem omnium fructuum celebratur de SS. Trinitate in unoquoque Monasterio cum processiona singulis annis, die a prælato monasterii constituta (Martène, *De Ant. eccl. (monach.) rit.*, Lib. IV: cap. 1: *Ex Ceremoniali Casalis Benedicti*, cap. 25, § 1; t. iv, col. 519).

[4] Deus qui misericordiæ tuæ super nos dona diffundis; tribue nobis, quæsumus, sic temporalibus uti subsidiis ut ad patrium redire properantibus solatia sint itineris et non illecebræ mansionis; per Dominum Jesum Christum (Missale Parisiense, 1777, p. lxxxii. Cf. *Missale Cadurcense*, Parisiis, 1760, p. 574 *Missale Suessionense*, Parisiis, 1745, p. xxxiij. *Missale Convenarum*, Tolosæ, 1773, p. xcix. *Missale Sanctæ Ambianensis Ecclesiæ*, Ambiani, 1752, p. cv. *Missale Sanctæ Autissiodorensis Ecclesiæ*, Trecis, 1738, p. liij. *Missale Sanctæ Lugdunensis Ecclesiæ*, Lugduni, 1825, p. ciii *Missale ad usum Provinciæ Viennensis*, Gratianopoli, 1840, p. xciij. *Missale Ebroicense*, Parisiis, 1740, p. lxix).

world that they may comfort and sustain us on our journey, and not be an enticement to tarry by the way; through Jesus Christ our Lord, &c.

Pro-epistle. Deut. xvj, 13–15 inclusive.

Gospel. St. Luke, xij, 15–21 inclusive.

The liturgical colour[1] appointed for this mass is generally, though not always, white.

It does not appear to be generally known that at one time ancient precedents were more carefully considered by those who had the drawing up of additional services than is at all usual at the present day: and amongst a set of occasional services presented for the consideration of Convocation on 25th January, 1860, was a form for a Harvest Thanksgiving which besides proper psalms and lessons for mattins and evensong (a piece of ritual utterly contrary to the Principles of the Blessed Reformation, by the way), contains[2] the two following collects and mass-lessons:—

O almighty and everlasting God, Who has given unto us the fruits of the earth in their season; Grant us grace so to use them that we may be preserved in health both of body and soul; through Jesus Christ, Thy Son, our Lord, Who is the living Bread which cometh down from heaven and giveth life unto the world; to Whom, with Thee and the Holy Ghost, be all honour and glory, world without end. *Amen.*

O most merciful Father, Who of Thy gracious goodness hast heard the devout prayers of Thy Church, and hast granted us to gather in the kindly fruits of the earth in their season; we give Thee humble thanks for this Thy bounty, beseeching Thee to continue Thy loving-kindness unto us that our land may yield her increase to Thy glory and our comfort; through Jesus Christ our Lord, &c.

Epistle.—1 Thess. v, 14–24.

Gospel.—St. John, vj, 5.

Neither is an exact translation of any particular Latin collect, but the first is largely indebted to the second of the two forms for blessing bread which have been quoted above, and the other is a slightly altered form of the *Thanksgiving for Plenty* in the Book of Common Prayer. It appears that my lords the bishops did not sanction these forms, however, so that the reputation which the authorities have made for themselves during the nineteenth century remains undamaged by any symptoms of respect for liturgical antiquity.

Harvest Thanksgivings may, then, if conducted with temperance and sobriety, claim a very considerable antiquity; and if we are in search of a precedent for such a service for adoption now, we may find one either in the old service for Ember Wednesday in September, or in the later *missa post collectas terræ fructus.* The Rogation processions are preparatory offices, which are too much neglected at the present time; there is not the opportunity for pretty tunes and indecorous display with them, as with the Harvest Festival. Nevertheless, a good harvest is surely a matter of sufficient importance to the country to be worth praying for. It is also to be regretted that we have not retained those ancient forms for blessing the firstfruits of the earth's produce. Some folk are apt to forget that every creature of God

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[1] White in the mass *post collectas terræ fructus* at Auxerre 1738, Paris 1777, Nancy and Toul 1838, Luçon 1828, Amiens 1751, Besançon 1766. Red in masses *pro gratiarum actione*, except those *post mulieris partum* at Paris 1666 (*Fulva* or Red in 1777) Evreux 1740, Mende 1766, Missale Molinense, 1821. I owe most of the references in this and the preceding note to Dr. J. Wickham Legg.

[2] *The Chronicle of Convocation*, London, 1861; p. 102.

is good, and nothing is to be refused if it be received with thanksgiving, for it is sanctified by the word of God and prayer. To such an extent has a subtle form of the Manichæan heresy infected the Catholic Church in this country, that a serious attempt has been made, and for all one knows is still being made, to abolish the use of wine in the Sacrament of the Altar, on account of the supposed evils attendant upon partaking therein of that creature of God,[1] even in the minute quantity usual on such an occasion.

Two years ago the English bishops announced that they knew of nothing to prevent the dilution of the wine used in making the chalice, to any extent that may be necessary. One need say nothing of the strange ignorance of the canons and common law of the Church shown by such a proclamation; unfortunately that excited and excites no amazement. But such a concession to these modern Manichees is intolerable, consisting as they do partly of fanatics, and partly of remorseful sinners who, having for a long time failed to govern themselves and keep within the bounds of decency and reason, are now determined to govern the rest of mankind which has never had any inclination to transgress either. Such things might not have happened had we retained the *Benedictio Vini*, and prayed formally every year that on the wine of which we are going to drink, wherever it may be, the blessing of Christ might fall, Who turned the water into wine at Cana of Galilee, and is the very true Vine.

To return to Harvest Thanksgivings. If we follow the precedent of the "mass after the ingathering of the crops," the question arises next as to the most suitable day on which to keep the festival. It may of course be taken for granted that monstrosities like harvest evensongs are out of the question. The daily services of evensong, mattins, and mass must always be said, but there may be more than one mass, and both need not be "of the Sunday," or "of the day." There seems to be no doubt that Sunday is a more popular if not a more convenient day for this votive mass. Are there any precedents for a votive Eucharist superseding the ordinary Sunday high mass? The rules appear to be opposed to such a practice[2]; but precedents there are, of a sort. For instance, there was held on the 7th of June, 1539, being Saturday after Corpus Christi Day, at St. Paul's Cathedral Church, a solemn obit for the late Empress of Germany,[3] and on the morrow, being Sunday within the octaves of Corpus Christi, there was a solemn mass of *Requiem eternam*. On the 29th of June, 1547, a similar function took place for the French King,[4] with mass of *Requiem* on the 30th. In both cases the whole church was hung in black, with scutcheons of arms everywhere; and in the midst of the quire was a large hearse all done up with black and full of wax tapers. Moreover, in both cases there was in every parish church in London a herse made, with tapers burning, and a dirge sung, with a knell, and bells ringing, and a mass of *Requiem eternam* kept on the morrow. On the 14th and 15th September, 1539, the funeral

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[1] One cannot refrain from quoting in this connection Edward Fitzgerald's *rubâ'i*, No. 61 of his 5th edition of his paraphrase of the *Rubâ'iyât* of 'Omar Khayyâm:—

Why, be this Juice the growth of God, who dare
Blaspheme the twisted tendril as a snare?
A Blessing, we should use it, should we not?
And if a Curse—why, then, Who set it there?

[2] *Prouincialis* Guillermi Lindewode, Liber III: tit. *De celebratione missarum:* cap. *Ad excitendos:* verb. *De die:* Antwerpie, 1525; fol. clxv.

[3] Charles Wriothesley, *Chronicle of England*, Camden Society, 1875; j, 97, 99.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 184.

of Dr. J. Stokesley[1] was celebrated with great pomp at St. Paul's, the church being hung with black and his body resting under a hearse in the quire; but the value of this precedent is somewhat lessened by the fact that he was Bishop of London, and that the body was present for burial. In all three instances, however, the service "of the day" must have been completely[2] overshadowed by the solemn requiems.

In places where there is more than one celebration of the Holy Eucharist on the Sunday, there need be no difficulty. The early masses and choir offices will be as usual while the mass that follows mattins and litany will be the Harvest Eucharist. After evensong, the ancient rite of sermon, procession, and *Te Deum* may fitly be added. But it must be pointed out that the mere wearing of different coloured vestments and the decoration of the church with apples and marrows and so on (even till the building be in peril of being mistaken for the vegetable market) do not convert a service *de dominica* or *de festo* into a votive Eucharist for the harvest. This scheme agrees with Lindewode's dictum[3] that mass of the day should precede mass for the departed, and that the same is to be understood of other masses where there is only one priest.

In the determined and sustained attack upon the Church in the reign of Edward VI there was small room for constructive work. The story of that reign is one of defacing and pulling down; of plundering for the benefit of the rich, rather than helping and feeding the poor. There was no thought of the need of fresh churches, but they in power rather pulled down those that were up. Consequently, the then rulers saw no need for a form for the consecration of new churches (even supposing that they had any belief in such a rite), preferring rather to render such increase unnecessary by slaughtering Englishmen by means of foreign mercenaries.[4] The Book of Common Prayer of 1549 did not contain every service, and certainly not every ceremony, which was in use during the period in which that book was enforced by Act of Parliament. As is usual, ceremonies and rites connected with funerals tended to persist. Thus Judge Hynde was buried[5] in St. Dunstan's-in-the-West on the 18th October, 1550, 4 Edw. VI: and there was a month's mind held for him, "in the country," away from the pernicious influence of the court. Again, on the 22nd September of the following year was held the month's mind of the two boy Dukes of Suffolk,[6] at Cambridge. This was an additional service not in the Prayer-book: whether it was held in English or Latin does not appear; but it was quite in accord with St. Paul's injunction[7] to let our requests be made known unto God by prayer and supplication, with a Eucharist. And indeed, the Church, bearing in mind the same apostle's exhortation[8] to offer the Eucharist for

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[1] Charles Wriothesley, *Chronicle of England*, Camden Society, 1875; pp. 106–107.

[2] Both the 29th and 30th June were red letter days at St. Paul's, being the feast of SS. Peter and Paul, App., and the Commemoration of St. Paul respectively (W. S. Simpson, *Documents illustrating the History of St. Paul's Cathedral*, Camden Society, 1880; p. 67).

[3] *Prouincialis* Guillermi Lindewode, Liber III: tit. *De celebratione missarum:* cap. *Ad excitendos*, verb. *Prima missa:* Antwerpie, 1525; fol. clxv.

[4] R. W. Dixon, *History of the Church of England*, London, 1878–1891; vol. iij, pp. 49, 67, 93.

[5] *The Diary of Henry Machyn*, Camden Society, 1848; p. 2.

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 9.

[7] Philipp. iv, 6.

[8] 1 Timothy ij, 1, 2. Nero was the Roman Emperor at the time, so that *thanksgiving* in a general sense cannot possibly be intended. "Thank God we have a Nero!" could hardly have been expected even from the most devout.

all men, for kings, and for those in authority, has always associated that Holy Sacrament with the public expression of her joy[1] or sorrow; believing that "the sacrament of the Eucharist[2] (that is to say, the body and blood of Christ crucified there present by virtue of the consecration) is a propitiatory and impetratory sacrifice there present, for their relations, and for the Church," and that its virtue "doth not only extend itself[3] to the living and those that are present, but likewise to them that are absent, and them that be already departed, or shall in time to come live and die in the faith of Christ." And so we find that Dr. Parker, Archbishop of Canterbury, when it was proposed to have a thanksgiving service for the lessening of the Plague (as soon as the number of victims should be under 100 a week), on being consulted with the Bishop of Ely by Dr. Grindal, Bishop of London in January, 156$\frac{3}{4}$, sent his judgment in writing,[4] and advised them, "seeing it was an *Eucharistick* office, to have the Holy Eucharist then celebrated, that those of the Church, the Magistrates of the City, that were then to be present, and other well-disposed Persons might receive the Communion."

The Act of Parliament 12 Carol. II, cap. 14, orders that there shall be annually for ever on the 29th May "public praises and thanksgivings unto Almighty God" for the restoration of the King and the deliverance of the people from the Sectaries. The only way that this law can be lawfully obeyed now is by having a solemn *Te Deum*, or other hymn of praise, with a votive offering of the Holy Eucharist; for by the Acts of Uniformity of 13 and 14 Carol. II and 1 Eliz., the ordinary evensong, mattins, and Communion service must be said and not replaced. Consequently the forms of occasional services drawn up by Convocation and licensed by royal order are illegal, and no one can be forced to use them, being "other prayers and otherwise" than, and *instead of*, the prayers appointed by the Book of Common Prayer for those days. The celebrated Mr. Johnson,[5] vicar of Cranbrook, was summoned before the Archdeacon of Canterbury in November, 1715, for refusing to read these occasional services; and, defending himself on these grounds, the whole affair was laid before the Archbishop, with the result that the plea was accepted, for he never heard more of the matter.

Although the vernacular Elizabethan prayer-book[6] contained no form of service for the "pious commemoration" for departed Christians, yet on three occasions at least, by order of

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[1] As for instance, the votive-communions of the London Clerks, 27 May, 1560, and 11 May, 1562 (Machyn's *Diary*, 236, 282, *cf.* p. 271, at St. Paul's).

[2] Herbert Thorndike, *Theological Works*, Oxford, 1852; vol. iv, pp. 121 sq. *Cf. Works*, Oxford, 1844; vol. j, pp. 860, 861.

[3] John Cosin, *Works*, Oxford, 1855; vol. v, pp. 352 sq.; and *cf.* p. 171.

[4] John Strype, *History of the Life and Acts of . . . Edmund Grindal*, London, 1710; p. 82. Grindal, of course, objected (*Correspondence of Matthew Parker*, Parker Society, 1853; p. 201).

[5] John Johnson, *Clergyman's Vade Mecum*, 5th edition, London, 1723; Appendix, *Case of Occasional Days, &c.*, pp. 71 sq.

[6] There was one in the Latin prayer-book set forth by royal proclamation in 1560, 6th April, 2 Eliz., for use at funerals, should the friends and relations desire to communicate, as well as a form for the Commendation of Benefactors (A. Sparrow, *A Collection of Articles, &c.*, London, 1671; pp. 204, 203. *Liturgies and occasional Forms of Prayer set forth in the Reign of Elizabeth*, Parker Society, 1847; pp. 432, 433). Apparently such services were held for other folk than foreign royalties on occasions; Matching notes that "the 18th day of July [1561] was the obsequy of my lady Hamptun, the wife of sir ——, with a pennon of arms and a 4 dozen and a half of buckram" (*Diary of Henry Machyn*, Camden Society, 1848; p. 264).

the Crown, solemn obsequies were celebrated for the benefit of foreign sovereigns; and, at any rate in the earlier years of Elizabeth's reign, the Holy Eucharist was often celebrated at funerals, and additional rites and ceremonies to those in the Prayer-book were used.

These three solemn obsequies were for Henry II of France, the Emperor Ferdinand, and Charles IX of France. Policy, no doubt, dictated the performance of these services; though the two French kings had been particularly zealous in persecuting Protestants.

On the 8th and 9th of September, 1559, the chronicles and records relate,[1] and a few months after the Elizabethan Act of Uniformity came into force, a solemn obsequy was kept in St. Paul's Cathedral Church at London, for Henry, the second of that name, King of France, standing in the quire was a rich herse made like an imperial crown, sustained with eight pillars and covered with black velvet, with a valance fringed with gold, and richly hanged with scutcheons, pennons, and banners of the French King's arms, but without any herse-lights. And on the bier was laid a pall of cloth-of-gold, with a coat-armour of the arms of France, and a crest with an imperial crown standing on the bier. This herse was hired for the sum of £6, and cost £80 13*s.* 3*d.* in garnishing; the banners and pensels (small flags, of which there were thirty dozen) cost altogether £168 8*s.* 2*d.* The whole quire was hanged with black and with arms, the cost of the hangings being £48 4*s.* 4*d.* The evensong and dirge was sung in English, by Dr. Parker, Archbishop of Canterbury elect, Dr. Barlow, Bishop of Chester elect, and Dr. Scory, Bishop of Hereford elect, they sitting in the Bishop of London's seat in the upper quire in their surplices, with doctors' hoods about their shoulders; and they were assisted by two prebendaries of St. Paul's in their grey amesses. The chief mourner was the Marquis of Winchester, Lord Treasurer, assisted with ten other lords mourners, with all the heralds in black and their coat-armours uppermost.

It is not clear from Strype's account of the service whether the Dirge in the Primer of 1559 was used on this occasion; if it was, it was altered more in accordance with the old offices, for both *Magnificat* and *Benedictus* were sung.[2] At certain places, instead of the usual bidding of the bedes of those present for the soul of the departed, York Herald, standing at the upper choir door, called out, "Blessed be the King of eternal glory, Who through His divine mercy hath translated the most high, puissant, and victorious prince, Henry II, late the French King, from this earthly to His heavenly kingdom."

On the morrow, the 9th September, there was a celebration of the Holy Eucharist in which the three bishops-elect took part, wearing copes over their surplices; being again assisted by two prebendaries in grey amesses. Scory preached the sermon and explained the

[1] Charles Wriothesley, *A Chronicle of England*, Camden Society, 1875–77; ij, 146. *Diary of Henry Machyn*, Camden Society, 1848; pp. 209–210. John Strype, *Annals of the Reformation*, London, 1725: j, 126 sq. John Stow, *Annales*, Londini, 1631; p. 640. Raphael Holinshed, *Chronicles of England*, London, 1587: p. 1185. *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series*, 1547–1580, Rolls Series, 1856; pp. 136, 138.

[2] John Strype, *Annals of the Reformation*, London, 1725; j, 127. I have very grave doubts whether the Dirge of the Primer was used. Scory said that the service was to give praise to God for taking away their brother in the faith of Christ, as it was used in the Primitive Church: and that the rest of the ceremonies observed were rather to continue amity betwixt both Princes. John Foxe called Henry "a bloudy persecuter of Gods people" in the *Table* of the 1583 of his *Actes and Monuments*. There is a strong likeness between Strype's account of this service and the fuller account of the funeral service for William, Lord Grey of Wilton, K.G., on 22 December, 1562 (*Commentary of the Services and Charges of William, Lord Grey of Wilton, K.G.*, Camden Society, 1847; pp. 58 sq.). Note the identity of the so-called bidding. It is a pity that some one does not publish the original account as preserved at the Office of Arms.

service to the people, and at the Eucharist six of the lords mourners communicated besides the clergy.

A similar dirge was sung for the Emperor Ferdinand[1] on the afternoon of the 2nd of October, 1564, at St. Paul's. A richly garnished herse was erected in the quire, which was hung throughout with coarse black cotton cloth and adorned with scutcheons of the Emperor's arms of sundry sorts, on the next day there was a celebration of the Holy Eucharist in the forenoon, and Dr. Grindal,[2] Bishop of London, preached the sermon.

On the 7th of August, 1574, a solemn dirge was again sung at St. Paul's; this time for Charles IX of France.[3] As before, there was a herse with banners in the quire.[4] On the next day, the 8th, there was the usual solemn Eucharist, celebrated by the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishops of Hereford and Chichester assisting. The sermon was preached by Dr. Sandys, Bishop of Hereford.[5]

In all three cases the old ceremonies of offering on behalf of the deceased and of a dole for the poor seem to have been retained. Although there were no herse-lights and no torches held by bedesmen at these obsequies, yet these were used on other occasions. Thus there were herse-lights at Sir Fulke Greville's funeral[6] on 11th December, 1559, and torches held at the funeral of the son and heir of one John Lyons,[7] 23rd November, and of Lady Copley,[8] 31st December, both in the same year. The use of lights at funerals was general throughout the reign of Elizabeth, indeed, up to the end of the last century. Wheatley[9] mentions them and gives a symbolical reason for their use. Parkhurst, Bishop of Norwich,[10] wrote to Josiah Simler on the 17th February, 156$\frac{4}{5}$, of the funeral of the Duchess of Norfolk, that there were no funeral ceremonies, no tapers, nor lanterns; except the sun, nothing shone. Such a thing had never been seen in England before, especially at the funeral of a peer or a peeress.

Common Prayer on All Souls' Eve, and month's and year's minds, &c., were forbidden by Grindal's injunctions[11] to the Northern Province in 1571. They were not very general in the southern province when he set out to make his metropolitical visitation[12] in 1576, if we may judge from the Articles of Enquiry. But in the Visitation Articles of Dr. Barnes, Bishop of Durham,[13] he forbids communions or commemorations (as some call them) to be said for the

[1] Stow's *Annales*, 658. Holinshed's *Chronicles*, 1208. Strype's *Annales*, i, 455. *Calendar of State Papers, Simancas*, 1558–67, Rolls Series, 1892; i, 380. *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series*, 1547–80, Rolls Series, 1856; p. 245.

[2] Strype's *Life of Grindal*, 99. The sermon is given in full in Edmund Grindal's *Remains*, Parker Society, 1843; pp. 3 sq. For the way in which Grindal interpreted the purpose of the service, see pp. 23 sq.

[3] Stow's *Annales*, 678. Holinshed's *Chronicles*, 1259. *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series*, 1547–80, Rolls Series, 1856; p. 485.

[4] J. P. Malcolm, *Londinium Redivivum*, London, 1803; vol. iii, p. 139, from a MS. in the Cotton Library.

[5] The sermon is given in full in Edwin Sandys, *Sermons, &c.*, Parker Society, 1841; p. 161.

[6] *Diary of Henry Machyn*, Camden Society, 1848; p. 219.

[7] *Ibid.*, 218.

[8] *Ibid.*, 221.

[9] Charles Wheatley, *A Rational Illustration of the Book of Common Prayer*, chap. xii, sect. ii, Oxford, 1802; p. 483.

[10] *Zurich Letters*, Parker Society, 1842; p. 137 and Appendix, p. 82.

[11] *The Remains of Edmund Grindal*, Parker Society, 1843; pp. 136, 140.

[12] *Ibid.*, 160.

[13] *Injunctions and other Ecclesiastical Proceedings of Richard Barnes, Bishop of Durham*, Surtees Society, 1850; p. 16.

dead, or at burials of the dead; nor might anniversaries or month's minds be used for the dead. It was to matters of this sort that his predecessor, Dr. Pilkington,[1] pathetically referred in his will, when he asked "to be buried with as few popish ceremonies as may be."

A communion service at funerals was by no means infrequent even in the south of England in the earlier years of Elizabeth. Henry Matching has mentioned a few in his diary,[2] and in the Latin Prayer-book of Elizabeth a form was provided for use on such occasions. Dr. Anthony Sparrow, Bishop of Exeter, thought, at first hearing of the existence of this office,[3] that it was "a translation of some private pen, not licensed by authority," for "communions, by the direction of our service are joined with morning prayers; burials are mostly in the afternoon; offertories at burials did last to be frequent (if they were considerable funerals) to the middle of King James [I] his reign." Actually, however, these customs persisted very much longer in some parts of this country. At the beginning of the eighteenth century in the diocese of St. Asaph[4] the dole of bread to the poor, before the funeral procession left the house, was kept up; and the Lord's Prayer was repeated just before starting, at every crossway between the house and the church, and on entering the churchyard, the bier being set down the while, and all kneeling. On the way psalms were sung in many places and a bell was rung before the corpse, as far as the churchyard, at the church evensong was said with the burial office, as formerly *Placebo* was said before *Dirige*, and after the burial the priest went up to the altar, and there said the Lord's Prayer, with one of the prayers appointed to be said at the grave; and then the congregation offered small sums of money either on the altar or upon a little board for that purpose fixed to the altar rails. This was all that remained of the mass of *Requiem eternam*, but still it shows that some had not forgotten the old ways a century and a half after the accession of Elizabeth, in spite of the Puritan influences of her reign, and the time of the great rebellion. At which latter time a great English theologian,[5] who assisted in the revision of the Book of Common Prayer, taught that we "offer up the sacrifice of the Church unto God, to apply the effect of Christ's sacrifice unto the party deceased for his resurrection again at the last day, and for his receiving his perfect consummation of bliss, both in soul and body, in the Kingdom of Heaven." And he was not alone in so doing.

It is evident, therefore, that the votive offering of the Eucharistic Sacrifice, though much neglected during the last three hundred years, is a lawful and laudable practice, sanctioned by the Catholic Church in this country, both as a thanksgiving for benefits conferred upon us by Almighty God, such, for instance, as a plentiful harvest, and as a propitiatory sacrifice for obtaining the needs of the Church and the members thereof, living or departed, which we recommend to God at the celebration of it.

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[1] *The Works of James Pilkington*, Parker Society, 1842; p. xj.

[2] Machyn's *Diary*, 221 (Lady Copley), 222 (Lady D'Arcy), 297–8 (Lord Grey of Wilton). See also *Commentary of the Services and Charges of William, Lord Grey of Wilton, K.G.*, Camden Society, 1847; p. 63.

[3] Anthony Sparrow, *A Rationale upon the Book of Common-Prayer*, Oxford, 1843; p. 340.

[4] *British Magazine*, 1825; vij, 399–400. Thomas Pennant, *A Tour in Wales*, London, 1778–83; vol. ij, p. 338, 339.

[5] John Cosin, *Works*, Oxford, 1885; v, 171.

ON THE RIGHT OF THE ARCHBISHOP OF YORK TO CROWN THE QUEEN-CONSORT.

BY

LEOPOLD G. WICKHAM LEGG, B.A.

In his dictionary of *Sacred Archæology*, Mr. Mackenzie Walcott has committed himself to the statement that "the Archbishop of York always crowns the Queen-Consort";[1] and Dean Stanley has said that "the Archbishop of York has been obliged to remain content with the inferior and accidental office of crowning the Queen-Consort."[2] This duty has also been ascribed to the Archbishop of York by so great an authority as Sir William Anson in his *Law and Custom of the Constitution*, where he says that "the Archbishop of York may crown the Queen-Consort."[3]

Now it must be owned that it is very difficult to find any authority to support this opinion. One seventeenth century translation into English of the *Forma et modus coronationis Regis Angliae* does indeed contain the sentence that "the Archb: of Yorke hathe vsed to Crowne the Queenes of Englande, the kinges wyves."[4] If, however, reference be made to the original Latin, it will be found that no mention is made of the Archbishop of York; and the same is the case with the very large number of translations of this *Forma et modus* which have been preserved. It is perhaps worth while to quote the original Latin:

"Item, memorandum quod Archiepiscopus Cantuariensis unget Regem *et Reginam*. "et capitibus eorum coronas imponet et deponet, ad quem pertinet, de iure ecclesiae suae, "coronatio et unctio Regum *et Reginarum* Angliae, vel episcopus suffraganeus ecclesiae "Cantuariensis cui dictus Archiepiscopus, ipso absente, huiusmodi officium committet per "litteras suas patentes, vel ipse episcopus cui capitulum Cantuariense, sede vacante, officium "commiserit."

The rule then of the *Forma et modus* is clear: the Queen-Consort is to be crowned, like the King, by the Archbishop of Canterbury; failing whom, by one of the Bishops of the province of Canterbury, any one of whom, therefore, has a claim prior to that of the Archbishop of York.

It should be noted that the *Forma et modus* was drawn up probably in the fifteenth century, just previous to the time when, as some allege, the privilege of the Archbishop of

[1] London, 1868. p. 198, *s.v.* Crown.

[2] *Historical Memorials of Westminster Abbey*, London, 1882. 5th edit. p. 41.

[3] Oxford, 1896. 2nd edition, vol. ii. p. 416.

[4] Bodleian Library, MS. Rawl. B. 102. fo. 50*b*. Moreover, against this entry, a later hand has written in the margin, *quod dubito*.

York to crown the Queen was forgotten, and ceased to be exercised.[1] At the end of the fourteenth century, the *Liber regalis* was drawn up with the long rubrics, and it is interesting to notice that this book, which must have the highest authority, since it is said that one copy was held in the King's hand and another was placed on the altar for the Archbishop's use, contains this rubric :

" Ungere enim et coronare reges Angliae *atque reginas*, ex antiqua consuetudine et " hactenus usitata, principaliter competit Archiepiscopo Cantuariensi."

Here again the rule is no less clear : it is the Archbishop of Canterbury that is to crown the Queen.

But it might possibly be argued that the rule was a dead letter. If this is so, it will be well to examine each particular case.

Previous to the Conquest our knowledge is so scanty with regard to the coronation of Queen-Consorts that the consideration of these may be omitted. The first coronation of a Queen-Consort after the conquest was that of the Conqueror's wife, Matilda of Flanders. It is probable that here the *fons et origo mali* may be found. William I. had been crowned by the Archbishop of York, Aldred, probably on account of the unsatisfactory character of Stigand, the Archbishop of Canterbury. When, eighteen months later, Matilda was crowned, Stigand was still in possession of the see of Canterbury, and the same Archbishop of York was summoned to perform the ceremony. " Adelredus Eboracorum metropolitanus " qui maritum inunxerat, Matildem ad consortium regii honoris die Pentecostes anno ii. regni " praefati regis inunxit."[2]

William II. was not married, so the next Queen-Consort is the first queen of Henry I. Matilda, or Edith, of Scotland. She was crowned by St. Anselm on St. Martin's day, 1100. at Westminster. Florence of Worcester, who is our authority, says : " Heinricus . . . " Mahtildem . . . in coniugem accepit, quam Dorubernensis archiepiscopus Anselmus " . . . reginam consecravit et coronavit."[3]

Henry's first wife died in 1118., and in 1121. Henry married a second time. The new queen was Adelis of Louvain ; and her coronation was marked by a most extraordinary scene. The Archbishop of Canterbury was Ralph d'Escures, who at the time was in bad health. The King had wished to be married by the Bishop of Salisbury, but the Archbishop had opposed this measure. The Bishop of Salisbury tried to crown the queen ; but the Archbishop again interfered. When he entered the church, he found the King wearing his crown. He called to the King, and asked who had placed the crown on his head, and said that whoever had done so had no right to do it. Accordingly he untied the band which passed under the King's chin to keep the crown on his head (*ipso dissolvente ansulam qua sub mento innodata erat* [*corona*] *ne capiti insidens vacillaret*) and lifted off the crown. Speed makes the improbable assertion that this " choleric prelate " desired to strike the crown off the King's head[4] ; but whatever happened, Henry appears to have behaved with great forbearance. He told the Archbishop to do what he thought best ; and the Archbishop,

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[1] " It is stated that the privilege is of ancient date, though it has never been exercised since the reign of Henry VII." (*Guardian*, Jan. 22. 1902. p. 110. col. 2.)

[2] Ordericus Vitalis. (Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, vol. 188.) 1855. Pars. ii. Lib. iv. cap. v. col. 313. C.

[3] *Florentii Wigornensis . . . Chronicon*, ed. Benjamin Thorpe, London, English Historical Society, 1849. p. 47.

[4] *The Historie of Great Britaine*, by John Speed, London, 1632. p. 459.

in deference to the desires of the people, replaced the crown on the King's head. Eadmer, who describes the scene, does not expressly say who crowned the queen;[1] but Florence of Worcester's language is express to the effect that it was the Archbishop of Canterbury who crowned Adelis, for he says she was crowned "ab eodem archipraesule."[2]

Of King Stephen's wife, Matilda, we are not told by whom she was crowned. Gervase of Canterbury[3] says she was crowned on March 22. 1136. but says no more. Henry II.'s queen, Eleanor of Anjou, was crowned with Henry, on December 19. 1154. at Westminster.[4] The Archbishop of Canterbury was the consecrator, and though the Archbishop of York was present, yet he seems to have taken no part in the service.[5]

After Queen Eleanor, the wife of Henry II., the next Queen-Consort who was crowned in England, was Isabella of Angoulême, the wife of King John. Berengaria, Richard I.'s queen, it appears, was never crowned in England. Of Isabella's coronation, mention is made by Hoveden in these words: "Ipse [King John] et Ysabel uxor eius coronati sunt Lundoniis "apud Westmonasterium ab Huberto Cantuariensi Archiepiscopo."[6] Nor is there any doubt about the consecrator of Queen Eleanor of Provence. The Red Book of the Exchequer, in the well-known account of her coronation in 1236 says that the Archbishop of Canterbury, known later as St. Edmund Rich, "diadema Reginae imposuit."[7] So again Edward I.'s queen was crowned, on the same day as her husband, by Kilwarby, Archbishop o Canterbury. "Anno gratiae supradicto in ecclesia Westmonasterii Edwardus in regem et "Alianora, soror regis Hyspaniae, in reginam, a Roberto Archiepiscopo Cantuariensi xiv° "kal. Septembris pariter coronantur."[8] Edward II. and his queen, Isabella of France, were crowned by the Bishop of Winchester acting under a commission from the Archbishop of Canterbury who was abroad, "Adveniente die coronationi praefixo, de manibus venerabilis "patris domini Henrici episcopi Wyntoniensi illud officium solempnizantis vice domini "Roberti Cantuariensis archiepiscopi, rex et regina sanctam unxionem et coronas regales "devote susceperunt."[9] And Matthew Parker in his work *De antiquitate Britannicae Ecclesiae* says that the Archbishop of York not only did not crown the Queen, but was not even allowed to come to the coronation, because he insisted on carrying his cross erect in the province of Canterbury.[10]

No queen was crowned on the same day as her husband after Queen Isabel of France, the wife of Edward II., until Queen Anne, the wife of Richard III. All the other queens were crowned on a separate occasion. Who crowned the first of these, Queen Philippa of

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[1] Eadmer, *Historia Novorum*, ed. Martin Rule (Rolls Series, 81.) 1884. p. 292. 293.

[2] *Florentii Wigornensis Chronicon, ut sup.* p. 75.

[3] Gervase of Canterbury, *Opera Historica*, ed. Stubbs (Rolls Series, 73.) 1879. vol. i. p. 96.

[4] Gervase of Canterbury, *ut sup.* pp. 159. 160. "Igitur xvi. kal. Januarii coronatus est Rex Henricus filius Matildis imperatricis a Theodbaldo Cantuariensi Archiepiscopo . . . Regina quoque Alienor . . . cum ipso coronata est."

[5] Ralph de Diceto, *Ymagines Historiarum*, ed. W. Stubbs (Rolls, 68.) 1876. p. 299. "Rogerus Archiepiscopus Eboracensis manum non apposuit."

[6] *Chronicon Magistri Rogeri de Houeden*, ed. W. Stubbs (Rolls 51.), 1871. vol. iv. p. 139.

[7] *Red Book of the Exchequer*, ed. Hubert Hall (Rolls Series, 99.) vol. ii. p. 755.

[8] *Flores Historiarum* (Rolls Series, 95.) ed. Luard, vol. iii. 1890. p. 44.

[9] *Flores Historiarum*, ed. Luard (Rolls Series, 95.) vol. iii. p. 142.

[10] Edition of 1572. p. 218. "Archiepiscopo vero Eboracensi quia sine sua cruce venire noluit, non est permissum huic solemnitati interesse."

Hainault, we do not know. She was crowned at Westminster on the 1st Sunday in Lent, 1330.[1] Matthew Parker, indeed, in his *De antiquitate Britannicae Ecclesiae*, says that she was crowned by Simon de Meopham, the Archbishop of Canterbury[2]; but his authority is somewhat late. Anne of Bohemia was certainly crowned on January 22. 1381–2. by Archbishop Courtenay of Canterbury. This is asserted by Walsingham[3]; and is confirmed by Archbishop Courtenay's register at Lambeth, in a very interesting item. On the 20th of January, 1381–2, Courtenay took counsel at Lambeth with the Bishops of Ely, Sarum, Exeter, Rochester, and Bangor, and with certain lawyers, and inquired "an coronacio domine "anne Regine Anglie que tunc imminebat facienda. fieri deberet. per eum et ipsorum "concors consilium fuit quod dictus reuerendus pater. pro iure et consuetudine. ac prerogatiua "ecclesie sue Cantuariensis conseruandis. ipsam coronaret pro eo quod actus ille siue "solempnitas non erat sibi aliquo iure inhibitus, et eciam ante recepcionem pallei per eum "poterat expediri."[4]

Now it will be remembered that Pope Nicholas I. in 866. had laid down the rule that Archbishops were not to consecrate anything except the Eucharist, or be enthroned, before they had received the pall.[5] It is interesting, therefore, to find that an assembly of English Bishops of the province of Canterbury, and of canon lawyers, gave it as their unanimous opinion that, in order that the rights of the church of Canterbury may be preserved, the papal rules are to be set aside.

Richard's second queen was certainly crowned at Westminster on January 7. 1397.[6] But who consecrated her is not mentioned by contemporary historians. Dean Hook says she was crowned by Arundel, but he gives no reference to any authority for this statement.[7] Now Arundel was translated from York to Canterbury by a bull dated September 25. 1396, but which was only received by Arundel three days after the Queen's coronation. It would seem that, if Arundel crowned the Queen, he followed the example of Courtenay, and officiated before he had received his pall, for he only received it on February 10.; and even before he had actually received the Pope's bull of appointment to Canterbury.

We are in doubt also about the consecrator of Queen Joan of Navarre. The earliest authority known to the writer is Dr. Matthew Parker, who says she was crowned by Arundel.[8] Katharine of France was probably crowned in 1421. by Chichele. Fabyan in his well-known account of her coronation, mentions the two most prominent prelates present, the Archbishop of Canterbury, and Cardinal Beaufort.[9] But no mention is made of any Archbishop of York being present, although, had he crowned the Queen, we might expect that so prominent a person would have been mentioned. The ill-starred marriage of Henry VI. and Margaret of

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[1] T. Walsingham, *Historia Anglicana*, ed. Riley (Rolls Series, 28.) vol. i. p. 192.

[2] p. 232. "Postea Londini Reginam Philippam Edwardi 3. coniugem coronauit."

[3] T. Walsingham, *Historia Angl.* (Rolls, 28.) vol. ii. p. 48. "A Domino Cantuariensi Archiepiscopo in Reginam cum gloria et honore coronatur."

[4] Lambeth Library, Courtenay's Register, vol. i. fo. 3.

[5] Labbe, *Sacrorum Conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio*, Venice, 1780. vol. xv. col. 426. c. "sed hunc episcopi . . . simul congregati constituant; sane interim in throno non sedentem, et praeter corpus Christi non consecrantem, priusquam pallium a sede Romana percipiat."

[6] Rymer, *Fœdera*, 1740. vol. iii. pars. iv. p. 125.

[7] W. F. Hook, *Lives of the Archbishops of Canterbury*, London, 1865. vol. iv. p. 434.

[8] *Op. cit.* p. 307.

[9] Fabyan, *New Chronicles*, ed. Henry Ellis, London, 1811. p. 586.

Anjou was followed very rapidly by the coronation of the new Queen. This was performed at Westminster on May 30. 1445. The *Chronicle of John Stone* says very distinctly that Queen Margaret was crowned by Archbishop Stafford of Canterbury. "Anno Domini "M° CCCC° XLV° coronata fuit Margareta regina Anglie vxor Henrici regis vj^ti^ apud West- "monasterium penultimo die mensis Maii, videlicet in octava Trinitatis, ab archi- "episcopo Cantuariensi Johanni Stafford."[1] I must express my obligation to our Secretary, Mr. Wells, for calling my attention to this passage. It makes clear what had hitherto been a matter of some doubt, from a want of contemporary evidence.

But if we are left in doubt about the Lancastrian Queens, there is no doubt whatever about the Yorkist Consorts. Elizabeth Woodville "coronata fuit in reginam Angliae a "Domino Thoma Boughcher Cantuariae Archiepiscopo."[2] Richard III. and his queen, Anne, were crowned by Bourchier.[3]

We now come to the last occasion on which it is alleged that the Archbishop of York has crowned the Queen-Consort. This is the coronation of Henry VII.'s queen, Elizabeth of York, which took place in 1487. The account given in Leland's *Collectanea* makes it clear that this Queen was crowned by the Archbishop of Canterbury[4]; for it describes how the "Archebishop of Canterbury ther being present and revested as "apperteyneth to the Celebration of the Masse, receyved the Quene comyng from her Royall "Sege," &c. And this is also confirmed by a similar account of this ceremony, found in MS. Harl. 5111. fo. 82. in the British Museum. There can be no doubt that Queen Elizabeth of York was crowned by Cardinal Morton, the Archbishop of Canterbury.

Queen Katharine of Aragon, we are told by Hollinshed, was crowned by the Archbishop of Canterbury,[5] and Queen Anne Boleyn at her coronation "descended downe to the high "altar and there prostrate hirselfe while the archbishop of Canterburie said certeine collects: "then she rose, and the bishop annointed hir on the head and on the brest, and then she was "led vp againe, where after diuerse orisons said, the archbishop set the crowne of saint "Edward [*sic*] on hir head, and then deliuered hir the scepter of gold in hir right hand, and "the rod of iuorie with the doue in the left hand, and then all the quære soong *Te Deum, &c.*"[6]

Anne Boleyn appears to have been the last Queen-Consort who was crowned according to the Latin rite. James I.'s queen, Anne of Denmark, was crowned on the same day as her husband. The order drawn up for her coronation gives no hint that any change of officiant is to take place, and Sir Richard Baker's statement that "the King and Queen were together "crown'd and anointed at *Westminster* by the hands of *John Whitgift*, Archbishop of "*Canterbury*," seems to leave no doubt in the matter.[7]

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[1] *Chronicle of John Stone*, ed. W. G. Searle, (Cambridge Antiquarian Society), 1902. p. 36.

[2] *Liber niger scaccarii necnon Wilhelmi Worcestrii annales*, ed. Thomas Hearne, London, editio altera, 1771. vol. ii. p. 503.

[3] Grafton's Chronicle, London, 1809. vol. ii. p. 115. "The Cardinall beyng accompanied with all the Byshops, crowned the King and Queene with great solempnity."

[4] *Editio altera*, London, 1770. vol. iv. p. 223.

[5] Hollinshed: *Chronicles*, vol. iii. p. 801. (Henrie the eight *a.° regni* 1.°)

[6] *Ibid.* vol. iii. p. 933. *a.° regni* 25.

[7] *A Chronicle of the Kings of England . . . to the death of King James the First* by Sir Richard Baker, kt. London, 1730. p. 404.

Neither Henrietta Maria nor Catharine of Braganza was crowned, though preparations were made for the coronation of the former. After James I.'s queen therefore, no queen-consort was crowned until 1685. when Mary of Modena was crowned with James II. Apart from Sancroft's note at the beginning of the service that "the person that is to anoint & crown the King (& so the Queen also) is the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury," we have an epigram written in Sancroft's hand which tells us that

> "Their sacred Heads received th' Imperial Crown,
> By Canterburie's happy Hand set on.
> Blest Man! What Bliss hast thou receiv'd this Hour!
> What could'st thou Wish, or could Heav'n give thee mor[e?]"[1]

Under the Hanoverian dynasty there were three coronations of a Queen-Consort. In 1727. Caroline of Anspach was crowned with her husband George II. Unfortunately the Coronation Roll and the account in the *Gazette* talk only of "the Archbishop." "The Archbishop" has hitherto in these accounts meant the Archbishop of Canterbury, and there is no record of any innovation being made on this occasion. Had there been any change in the person who was to perform the service, this would have been mentioned. We may reasonably conclude, therefore, that Queen Caroline was crowned by the Archbishop of Canterbury.

There can be no doubt either who anointed Queen Charlotte: again the official records talk only of "the Archbishop": but as the King had only three days before his coronation issued a *congé d'élire* and letters missive to the chapter of York, there can scarcely have been any Archbishop of York present at this coronation. And at the last coronation of a Queen-Consort, that of Queen Adelaide, the anointing and crowning were performed by the Archbishop of Canterbury, William Howley, as is shown by the Coronation Roll of William IV. in the Record Office: "After which the said Archbishop Anointed and Crowned Her "Majesty Queen Adelaide with the usual solemnities."

It will be seen therefore, that although in every case there is not sufficient contemporary evidence to decide definitely the person of the consecrator, yet there is sufficient evidence to show that the statement that the Archbishop of York always crowns the Queen-Consort does not quite represent the facts of the case. Indeed there is no evidence that the Queen-Consort has ever been crowned by an Archbishop of York since the year 1068. All the evidence that we have would point to the coronation of the queen having been performed by a bishop of the southern province. If however it be argued that the rights of the province of Canterbury have been taken away by I. Will. and Mary c. 6. it may be well to point out that this act concerns only the administering of the oath. The words are as follows:—

"May it please Your Majesties That it may be Enacted And bee it Enacted. &c. That "the Oath herein Mentioned and hereafter Expressed shall and may be Administred to their "most Excellent Majestyes King William and Queene Mary (whome God long preserve) at "the time of Their Coronation in the presence of all Persons that shall be then and there "present at the Solemnizeing thereof by the Archbishop of Canterbury or the Archbishop of

[1] Bodleian Library, Tanner MS. 31. pinned on to fo. 83.

"Yorke or either of them or any other Bishop of this Realme whome the King's Majesty shall "thereunto appoint &c."

Now, in the absence of punctuation there is a doubt whether it is "may be Administred" or "Solemnizeing" that is connected with the words "by the Archbishop &c." Even if the meaning be taken to be that the whole service is to be solemnized by a bishop appointed by the King, thus depriving the province of Canterbury of all rights in the matter, it is to be noted that this clause of the act refers only to the coronation of William and Mary, which was, as a matter of fact, solemnized by the Bishop of London, although the Archbishop of York was present and had taken the oaths. The next clause, which refers to future coronations, makes no reference to the anointing and crowning or even to the "solemnizing" of the coronation, but speaks only of the administration of the oath. It runs as follows :—

"And bee it further Enacted That the said Oath shall be in like manner Administred to "every King or Queene who shall Succeede to the Imperiall Crowne of this Realme at their "respective Coronations by one of the Archbishops or Bishops of this Realme of England for "the time being to be thereunto appointed by such King or Queene respectively and in the "Presence of all Persons that shall be Attending Assisting or otherwise present at such their "respective Coronations Any Law Statute or Usage to the contrary notwithstanding."

It may be possible to argue that the right to anoint and crown the Kings and Queens of England has not been taken away from the Province of Canterbury, and that the Sovereign is only empowered by this act to appoint a Bishop to minister the oath. If this be so, the old rule still holds good, that the Archbishop of Canterbury has the right to anoint and crown the Kings and Queens-Consort, or in his absence, to appoint a bishop of the province of Canterbury to perform that office, or, in case of a vacancy in the see, the Dean and Chapter of Canterbury are to appoin a Bishop to crown the King and Queen.

TABLE SHOWING THE PRELATES WHO HAVE CROWNED THE QUEENS-CONSORT OF ENGLAND SINCE THE CONQUEST.

King.	Queen-Consort.	Crowned by
William I.	Matilda of Flanders...	Archbishop of York.
William II.	Unmarried.	
Henry I.	Matilda of Scotland...	Archbishop of Canterbury.
	Adelis of Louvain	Archbishop of Canterbury.
Stephen	Matilda of Boulogne	?
Henry II.	Eleanor of Anjou	Archbishop of Canterbury.
Richard I.	Berengaria of Navarre	Not crowned in England.
John	Isabella of Angoulême	Archbishop of Canterbury.
Henry III.	Eleanor of Provence	Archbishop of Canterbury.
Edward I.	Eleanor of Navarre	Archbishop of Canterbury.

King or Queen-Regnant.	Queen-Consort.	Crowned by
Edward II.	Isabella of France	Bishop of Winchester.
Edward III.	Philippa of Hainault	? Archbishop of Canterbury.
Richard II.	Anne of Bohemia	Archbishop of Canterbury.
	Isabella of France	? Archbishop of Canterbury.
Henry IV.	Joan of Navarre	? Archbishop of Canterbury.
Henry V.	Katharine of France	Archbishop of Canterbury.
Henry VI.	Margaret of Anjou	Archbishop of Canterbury.
Edward IV....	Elizabeth Woodville...	Archbishop of Canterbury.
Edward V.	Unmarried.	
Richard III.	Anne Nevill	Archbishop of Canterbury.
Henry VII....	Elizabeth of York	Archbishop of Canterbury.
Henry VIII. ...	Katharine of Aragon	Archbishop of Canterbury.
	Anne Boleyn...	Archbishop of Canterbury.
	Jane Seymour	Not crowned.
	Anne of Cleves	Not crowned.
	Katharine Howard	Not crowned.
	Katharine Parr	Not crowned.
Edward VI....	Unmarried.	
Philip and Mary I. ...	——	
Elizabeth	——	
James I.	Anne of Denmark	Archbishop of Canterbury.
Charles I.	Henrietta Maria of France	Not crowned.
Charles II.	Catharine of Braganza	Not crowned.
James II.	Mary of Modena	Archbishop of Canterbury.
William III. and Mary II....	——	
Anne	——	
George I.	Sophia Dorothea of Celle	Not crowned.
George II.	Caroline of Anspach...	Archbishop of Canterbury.
George III....	Charlotte of Mecklenburg	Archbishop of Canterbury.
George IV.	Caroline of Brunswick	Not crowned.
William IV....	Adelaide of Meiningen	Archbishop of Canterbury.
Victoria	——	

JOHN WESLEY IN LONDON CHURCHES.

BY

H. C. RICHARDS, K.C., M.P., F.S.A.

In an old book shop in Cornwall known to many, that of John Burton, the famous dealer of Falmouth, I secured a few odd volumes of John Wesley's diary, and so interested was I in the two or three, that I visited the Free Library there to peruse the remainder, for there are seventeen of them ; but judge of my surprise that not one of the Free Libraries in Cornwall, nor, so I was informed, even at Plymouth, had they a complete set of John Wesley's Diaries. I wrote to Mr. R. W. Perks, M.P., a colleague, but I regret to say an opponent, for information, instead of which I had a complete set sent to me with a very friendly letter ; and in perusing in my railway journeys (my only time for quiet study) these interesting records, I was astonished to find how numerous, how steady, and how constant were John Wesley's sermons in City churches from 1738 to 1790. He was a false prophet in one respect, for in 1738 and 1739 he constantly recorded what proved to be untrue—" I am not to preach again."

Like every other great reformer in the Church of England, he found respectability at first against him, but towards the close of his ministry he is bound to admit :—" So are the tables turned that I have more invitations to preach in the churches than I can accept of."[1]

His first sermons in the City are after his return from Georgia and his visit to the Moravian Community at Herrnhuth, and it will be only fair to point out that it was in an Aldersgate Street meeting he found peace with God and the assurance of forgiveness. Canon Liddon once wrote :—" It is fashionable in the world to sneer at conversion, especially among educated men." " But so much the worse for educated men," was the rejoinder of the greatest preacher in the pulpit of St. Paul's of the nineteenth century.

On Wesley's return to England from Herrnhuth, where he had been so much impressed with the Moravian settlement and brotherhood, he waited first upon Mr. Oglethorpe, one of the Trustees of Georgia, and on Sunday, February 5th, 1738, he preached his first sermon at St. John the Evangelist, though he does not more directly specify it in his diary ; but the following Sunday, February 12th, he is preaching at St. Andrew's, Holborn, and sets out that week to Oxford with Peter Bohler, and on Sunday, March 26th, he is at St. Lawrence Jewry at 6, at St. Catherine Cree at 10, and in the afternoon at St. John's, Wapping.

It was in Aldersgate Street within the City of London that John Wesley received that assurance of forgiveness which, both to him and to his followers, has been a matter of the deepest religious interest and acutest controversy, viz., the doctrine of conversion.

[1] Vol. iv., p. 458. The references are to *The Journals of the Rev. John Wesley*, 4 vols., Wesleyan Conference Office, 1895. It will be seen throughout this paper that to avoid all controversy, and to pursue what, as a lover of history, I believe to be the more excellent way, whenever I give an extract, in every case I give also the date and the reference.

"In the evening I went very unwillingly to a society in Aldersgate Street, where one was reading Luther's preface to the Epistle to the Romans. About a quarter before nine, while he was describing the change which God works in the heart through faith in Christ, I felt my heart strangely warmed. I felt I did trust in Christ—Christ alone for salvation, and an assurance was given me that He had taken away my sin—even mine—and saved me from the land of sin and death. I then testified openly to all there what I now just felt in my heart."

Wednesday, May 24th, 1738. Vol. i., p. 97.

On this memorable day of his visit to the Aldersgate meeting he records :—

"In the afternoon I was asked to go to St. Paul's. The anthem was 'Out of the deep have I cried unto Thee, O Lord'"; and he sets out in full in his diary the words of the *De Profundis*.

Wednesday, May 24th, 1738. Vol. i., p. 97.

The very next day he goes again to the Cathedral. "The moment I awaked 'Jesus, Master,' was in my heart and in my mouth, and I found all my strength lay in keeping my eye fixed upon Him." As in his trouble so in his joy, he went to St. Paul's again, and found in the services of the day the representation of his own feelings. "Being again at St. Paul's in the afternoon, I could taste the good Word of God in the anthem, 'My song shall be alway of the loving kindness of the Lord; with my mouth will I ever be shewing forth Thy truth from one generation to another.' But this I know, 'I have now peace with God.'"

Thursday, May 25th, 1738. Vol. i.

In September of the same year, after visiting the condemned felons in Newgate, we find that "the next evening I spoke the Truth in love at a society in Aldersgate Street. Some contradicted at first, but not long. I went to a society in Gutter Lane, but I could not declare the mighty works of God there as I did afterwards at the Savoy in all simplicity."

Sept. 21st, 1738. Vol. i., p. 149.

We find him preaching later on at the Savoy Chapel, but on the Saturday he spoke "strong words" at Newgate, and the next day at St. Anne's, and twice at St. John's, Clerkenwell, "so that I fear they will bear me no longer."

Sept. 23rd, 1738. Vol. i., p. 149.

There is the following entry which shows that he was then in 1738 preaching frequently in the City in spite of all his unfulfilled prophecies that he would be asked to preach no more. "I preached at St. Antholin's *once more*. . . . We speak of an assurance of present pardon not as the Rev. Mr. Bedford does of our final perseverance."

Friday, Oct. 6th. Vol. iv., p. 51.

Just as the anthem at St. Paul's had comforted him, so after a sermon which he feared would cause the lame to be turned out of the way "God answered the thoughts of my heart in a manner I did not expect," even by the words of Thomas Sternhold, the respected predecessor of Tate and Brady :

"Thy mercy is above all things,
O God, it doth excel
In trust whereof as in Thy wings
The sons of men shall dwell."[1]

"On Sunday I preached at the Savoy Chapel (I suppose for the last time) on the parable (or the history rather) of the Pharisee and Publican praying in the Temple."

Oct. 8th, 1738. Vol. iv., p. 153.

[1] Vol. i., p. 150.

"I preached at St. Antholin, and on Sunday, November 5th, in the morning at St. Botolph's, Bishopsgate, in the afternoon at Islington, and in the evening to such a company at St. Clement's in the Strand as I never saw before, as this was the first time of my preaching here. I suppose it is to be the last."

Friday, Nov. 3rd. Sunday, Nov. 5th. p. 153.

Whilst he quotes Sternhold's psalmody he was well acquainted with George Herbert, and thus quotes his wise advice :[1]

"Let thy mind still be bent, still plotting where,
And when, and how the business may be done."

His work at Newgate must have been of a voluntary character, and of course with the permission of the ordinary of Newgate, for in the next year (April, 1739) there is this entry :[2] "At seven I began expounding the Acts of the Apostles to a society meeting in Baldwin Street, and the next day the Gospel of St. John in the chapel at Newgate, where I also daily read the morning service of the Church."

I now propose to give chronologically, as far as I can, John Wesley's visits to each City Church.

"I preached in the morning at St. Anne's, Aldersgate, and in the afternoon at the Savoy Chapel, free salvation by faith in the blood of Christ. I was quickly apprized that at St. Anne's, likewise, I am to preach no more." [Fortunately quite unjustified by events.]

St. Anne's, Sunday, May 19th, 1738. Vol. i., p. 89.

"I was enabled to speak strong words both at Newgate and at Mr. E.'s Society, and the next day at St. Anne's." [Whether St. Anne's, Blackfriars, or St. Anne's, Aldersgate, I am not quite certain ; but I think the latter, because of the earlier reference to Aldersgate.]

St. Anne's, Saturday, Oct. 23rd, 1738. Vol. i., p. 150.

"I preached at St. Antholin's." [This church stood at the corner of Budge Row. Then the early morning lecture was given first at 5, then 5.30, degenerating to 6, and finally the early morning lecture on the destruction of St. Antholin died out at the late hour of 6.30. It was followed in my time at St. Swithin's, London Stone, by the Eucharist. Mr. Deputy White, the brother of the late gifted Chaplain of the House of Commons, has given his reminiscences of its closing years.]

St. Antholin, Friday, Dec. 15th, 1738. Vol. i., p. 159.

"At St. Antholin's I preached on the Thursday following."[3]

"I preached at St. Antholin's."[4]

After a long interval there appears this visit :—

"Having promised to preach in the evening at St. Antholin's Church, I had desired one to have a coach ready at the door when the service at the new Chapel [in the City Road (?)] was ended. But he had forgot ; so that after preaching and meeting the Society I was obliged to walk as fast as I could to the Church. The people were so wedged together that it was with difficulty I got in. The Church was extremely hot, but this I soon forgot, for it pleased God to send a gracious rain upon His inheritance." [This and several other entries prove that there were evening services and sermons in the eighteenth century even in our City Churches, whilst of the City of

Sunday, Nov. 15th, 1778. Vol. iv., p. 133.

[1] Vol. i., p. 168. [2] Vol. i., p. 176. [3] Thursday, May 19th, 1738. Vol. i., p. 90.
[4] Friday, November 3rd, 1738. Vol. i., p. 153.

Norwich Wesley records that in only two churches besides the Cathedral was there any Sunday preaching at all.]

"My brother, Mr. Richardson, and Mr. Buckingham being ill, I went through the service at Spitalfields alone. The congregation was much larger than usual; but my strength was as my day, both here, the new Chapel, and afterwards at St. Antholin's Church. The service lasted till near 9, but I was no more tired than at 9 in the morning."

St. Antholin, Sunday, March 25th, 1781. Vol. iv., p. 187.

"I preached to many thousands in St. George's, Spitalfields."[1]

"This day I preached in the morning at St. George's, Bloomsbury, on 'This is the victory that overcometh the world, even our Faith.'"[2]

"I preached at Bloomsbury in the morning."[3]

"On Tuesday I preached at Great St. Helen's on 'If any man will come after Me, let him deny himself, and take up his cross daily and follow Me.'"[4]

"I preached at Great St. Helen's to a very numerous congregation on 'He that spared not His own Son, but delivered Him up for us all, shall He not with Him also freely give us all things?' My heart was now so enlarged to declare the love of God to all that were oppressed by the devil, that I did not wonder in the least when I was afterwards told, 'Sir, you must preach here no more.'" [But he did.]

Tuesday, May 9th, 1738. Vol. i., p. 88.

"I preached at 6 at St. Lawrence."[5]

"I preached at St. Lawrence in the morning."[6]

"I preached at St. John's, Wapping, at 3, and at St. Bennet's, Paul's Wharf, in the evening. At these churches likewise I am to preach no more."

St. Bennet's Church, May 19th, 1738. Vol. i., p. 91.

"I preached in the morning at St. Botolph's, Bishopsgate."[7]

"I preached at 10 at St. Catherine Cree Church."[8]

"I preached at St. Lawrence (Jewry) in the morning, and afterwards at St. Catherine Cree Church. I was enabled to speak strong words at both, and was therefore the less surprised at being informed I was not to preach any more in either of those churches."

Sunday, May 7th, 1738. Vol. i., p. 88.

"I preached in the evening to such a congregation as I never saw before at St. Clement's, in the Strand. As this was the first time of my preaching here, I suppose it is to be the last."

St. Clement Danes, Sunday, Nov. 5th, 1738. Vol. i., p. 154.

"I preached at St. Clement's, in the Strand the largest church I ever preached in at London, except, perhaps, St. Sepulchre's), to an immense congregation. I fully discharged my soul."

Sunday, Dec. 24th, 1782. Vol. iv., p. 231.

"I preached at St. Giles on 'Whosoever believeth on Me, out of his belly shall flow rivers of living water.' How was the power of God present with us! I am content to preach here no more."

St. Giles, Cripplegate, Sunday, Feb. 4th, 1739.

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[1] Sunday, Dec. 31st, 1738. Vol. i., p. 160. Though Spitalfields and Bloomsbury are of course outside the City boundaries, I include them to show his constant pulpit work in London.

[2] Sunday, May 28th, 1738. Vol. i., p. 98. [3] Sunday, Nov. 15th, 1738. Vol. i., p. 153. [4] Monday, Mar. 20th, 1738. Vol. i., p. 80. [5] Sunday, Mar. 26th, 1738. Vol. i., p. 80. [6] Sunday, May 7th, 1738. Vol i., p. 88. [7] Sunday, Nov. 5th, 1738. Vol. i., p. 153. [8] Sunday, Mar. 26th, 1738. Vol. i., p. 80.

"After preaching at West Street I went directly to St. Giles, where I preached before I went abroad, two or three and fifty years ago. And are they not passed as a watch in the night? My subject was the joy in heaven over one sinner that repenteth, and truly God confirmed His word. Many seemed to be partakers of that joy; and a solemn awe sat on the whole congregation."

St. Giles, Sunday, Nov. 29th, 1786. Vol. iv., p. 339.

"I preached at Great St. Bartholomew's in the morning."[1]

"Mr. Bateman desired me to preach a charity sermon at his church, St. Bartholomew the Great, in the afternoon, but it was with much difficulty I got in; not only the church itself, but all the entrances to it, being so thronged with people ready to tread upon one another. The great noise made me afraid at first that my labour would be in vain; but that fear was soon over, for all was still as soon as the service began. I hope God gave us this day a token for good. If He will work, who shall stay His hand?"

Sunday, June 31st, 1747. Vol. ii., p. 57.

"I preached once more at St. Bartholomew's on the gospel for the day—the story of Dives and Lazarus. I was constrained to speak very plain and strong words. But God gave the audience ears to hear, so that they appeared as far from anger on the one hand, as from sleepiness on the other."

Sunday, 21st June, 1747. Vol. ii., p. 58.

"I preached in the evening at St. Swithin's for the last time."[2]

"I preached at St. Swithin's Church in the evening."[3]

"I preached at St. Swithin's in the evening. The tide is now turned, so that I have more invitations to preach in churches than I can accept of."[4]

"I preached at St. Swithin's Church to a numerous and serious congregation."[5]

"I preached at St. Swithin's Church in the evening."[6]

"I was desired to step into the little church behind the Mansion House, commonly called St. Stephen's, Walbrook. It is nothing grand, but neat and elegant beyond expression, so that I do not wonder at the speech of the famous Italian architect who met Lord Burlington in Italy—'My lord, go back and see St. Stephen's, in London. We have not so fine a piece of architecture in Rome.'"

St. Stephen's, Walbrook, Monday, Dec. 4th, 1758. Vol. ii., p. 441.

All Hallows, Lombard Street, first produced from him an extempore sermon, yet he realized the necessity at Oxford and elsewhere of committing his more important ones to writing, for in 1775 we find this entry: "I was desired to preach in Bethnal Green Church a charity sermon for the widows and orphans of the soldiers that were killed in America. Knowing how many would seek occasion of offence, I wrote down my sermon."[7]

"In the year 1735 I preached in the church, at the earnest request of the Churchwardens, to a numerous congregation, who came, like me, to hear Dr. Heylyn. This was the first time that, having no sermon about me, I preached extempore."

All Hallows Church, Lombard Street, Sunday, Jan. 28th, 1776. Vol. iv., pp. 63, 64.

"I preached again at All Hallows Church morning and afternoon. I found great liberty of spirit, and the congregation seemed to be much affected. How is this? Do I please men? Is the offence of the cross excused? It seems, after being scandalous nearly fifty years, I am at length growing into an honourable man."

Sunday, Feb. 26th, 1777. Vol. iv., p. 87.

[1] Sunday, Jan. 24th, 1739. Vol. i., p. 160. [2] Sunday, Jan. 17th, 1739. Vol. i., p. 160. [3] Sunday Dec. 2nd, 1782. Vol. iv., p. 209. [4] Sunday, Feb. 19th, 1783. Vol. iv., p. 232. [5] Sunday, Feb. 21st, 1787. Vol. iv., p. 343. [6] Sunday, Oct. 14th, 1787. Vol. iv., p. 385. [7] Vol. iv., p. 55

Sunday, Oct. 22nd, 1786. Vol. iv., p. 338.

"I preached at West Street morning and afternoon, and at All Hallows Church in the evening. It was much crowded, and God gave us so remarkable a blessing as I scarce ever found at that church."

St. Vedast, Foster Lane, Sunday, Nov. 10th, 1776. Vol. iv., p. 83.

"I was desired to preach at St. Vedast's Church, Foster Lane, which contained the congregation tolerably well. I preached on those words in the gospel for the day (how little regarded even by men that fear God!)—'Render to Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, and unto God the things that are God's.'"

"I preached in the afternoon at St. Ethelburga's."[1]

"I preached at St. Paul's, Shadwell, in the afternoon."[2]

Sunday, Nov. 24th, 1779. Vol. iv., p. 102.

"I preached a charity sermon in Shadwell Church. I spoke with all possible plainness. And surely some out of an immense multitude will receive the truth and bring forth fruit with patience."

"I preached at Shadwell Church, which was exceedingly crowded with rich and poor, who all seemed to receive the truth in love."[3]

Sunday, Oct. 24th, 1790. Vol. iv., p. 478.

"St. Paul's, Shadwell, was still more crowded in the afternoon, while I enforced that important truth: 'One thing is needful'; and I hope many, even then, resolved to choose the better part." [This is the very last entry penned in the Diary of his life and work.]

St. Peter's, Cornhill, Sunday, Feb. 28th, 1779. Vol. iv., p. 136.

"Immediately after preaching at Spitalfields I hasted away to St. Peter's, Cornhill, and declared to a crowded congregation 'God hath given us His Holy Spirit.'"

"I preached a charity sermon at St. Peter's, Cornhill."[4]

Friday, Feb. 4th, 1780. Vol. iv., p. 166.

"Being the National Fast, I preached first at the new chapel and then at St. Peter's, Cornhill. What a difference in the congregation! Yet out of these stones God can raise up children to Abraham."

St. Sepulchre's, Friday, Dec. 25th, 1779. Vol. iv., p. 135.

"And in the evening at St. Sepulchre's, one of the largest parish churches in London. It was warm enough, being sufficiently filled, yet I felt no weakness or weariness, but was stronger after I had preached my FOURTH sermon than I was after the first."

St. Margaret, Rood Lane, Sunday, Nov. 16th, 1777. Vol. iv., p. 106.

"I was desired to preach a charity sermon at St. Margaret, Rood Lane. In the morning I desired my friends not to come in the afternoon, but it was crowded sufficiently, and I believe many of them felt the word of God sharper than any two-edged sword."

St. Paul's, Covent Garden, Sunday, Dec. 28th, 1784. Vol. iv., p. 280.

"I preached a charity sermon at St. Paul's, Covent Garden. It is the largest and the best constructed parish church that I have preached in for several years; yet some hundreds were obliged to go away, not being able to get in. I strongly enforced the necessity of humble, gentle, patient love, which is the very essence of true religion."

"I preached at St. Thomas's Church, Southwark, in the afternoon."[5]

John Wesley's comments on the statuary in the Abbey are interesting. He says nothing of the services.

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[1] Sunday, March 20th, 1785. Vol. iv., p. 284. [2] Sunday, Dec. 14th, 1777. Vol. iv., p. 107 [3] Sunday, Oct. 24th, 1784. Vol. iv., p. 278. [4] Sunday, Nov. 28th, 1779. Vol. iv., p. 163. [5] Sunday, Jan. 19th, 1783. Vol. iv., p. 232.

"I once more took a serious walk through the tombs in Westminster Abbey. What heaps of unmeaning stone and marble! But there was one tomb which showed common sense—that beautiful figure of Mr. Nightingale, endeavouring to screen his lovely wife from death. Here indeed the marble seems to speak, and the statues appear only not alive."

Westminster Abbey, Thursday, Feb. 16th, 1764. Vol. iii., p. 152.

"I showed a friend coming out of the country the tombs in Westminster Abbey. The two with which I still think none of the others worthy to be compared are that of Mrs. Nightingale, and that of the Admiral rising out of his tomb at the resurrection. But the vile flattery inscribed on many of them reminded me of that just reflection:

Monday, Feb. 25th, 1771. Vol. iii., p. 402.

'If on the sculptured marble you rely,
Pity that worth like his should ever die.
If credit to the real life you give,
Pity a wretch like him should ever live!'"

No paper on John Wesley in the City would be complete which did not mention the chapel in the City Road, which, though outside the City boundary, is bound up with so much of his work, and where his place of death and burial are carefully and religiously preserved.[1]

"We made our first subscription toward building a new chapel, and at this and two following meetings above a thousand pounds were cheerfully subscribed."

City Road Chapel, Aug. 4th. Vol. iv., p. 77.

"Monday, 21st May, 1777, was the day appointed for the laying the foundation stone of the new chapel. The rain befriended us much by keeping away thousands who proposed to be there. But there were still such multitudes that it was with great difficulty I got through them to lay the first stone. Upon this was a plate of brass covered with another stone, on which was engraved: 'This was laid by John Wesley, on April 1st, 1777.' Probably this will be seen no more by any human eye, but will remain there till the earth and works thereof are burned up."

"All Saints' Day [a festival which Wesley records he always loved] was the day appointed for the opening of the new chapel in the City Road. It is perfectly neat but not fine, and contains far more people than the Foundling; I believe, together with the morning chapel, as many as at the Tabernacle. Many were afraid that the multitudes coming from all parts would have occasioned much disturbance. But they were happily disappointed. There was none at all; all was quietness, decency, and order. I preached on part of Solomon's prayer at the dedication of the Temple, and both in the morning and afternoon, when I preached on the one hundred and forty and four thousand standing with the Lamb on Mount Zion, God was evidently present in the midst of the congregation."

Sunday, Nov. 1st, 1778. Vol. iv., p. 133.

The object of this paper has been twofold. First of all to illustrate John Wesley's connection with City churches as a preacher, and to show by his own diary and in his own words, how from 1738 to 1790 he was constantly working with and for the Church of England. Next, I desired to prove that the bishops did not drive him out of the Church,

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[1] Wesley House is due to the zeal of Mr. Westerdale, the Minister of the Circuit, whose invitation to Mr. Chamberlain to attend one of the annual gatherings led to so great a storm and the abandonment of the meeting.

and but one bishop ever inhibited him, viz., the Bishop of Sodor and Man. His interviews with the Bishops of London, Exeter and Bristol prove that how many were the complaints they had about his preaching and his divine enthusiasm, they never silenced him or threatened with ecclesiastical penalties. He was, of course, a stumbling block to respectability and dulness in the Church of England in the eighteenth century, as the Church Revival and its workers were in the nineteenth, and are quietly disliked and less actively opposed in the twentieth.

John Wesley's love for his mother never waned. His belief in Primitive Catholicity never faltered, and on the one point of Church order on which many of us think he erred, he was led astray by the pleading of a Lord Chancellor that there were two orders only in the Primitive Church.

If the Wesley Guild of Service would go somewhat further than requiring decorum in divine service, but the preservation of the rules which to the end John Wesley insisted upon in West Street and the City Road, there would be a greater attention to his rules and orders than at present prevails in the administration of the Sacraments and the question of ordination by presbyters or ministers only.

ST. OLAVE'S, HART STREET.

BY

PHILIP NORMAN, F.S.A.[1]

St. Olave's, Hart Street, is at the corner of Hart Street and Seething Lane. It was dedicated to the Norwegian King Olaf who helped Ethelred the Unready to drive the Danes from London and in so doing destroyed London Bridge. Hence perhaps the church of St. Olave, Southwark, close to the river, was also dedicated to him; as were those of St. Olave, Jewry, and St. Olave, Silver Street.

A church was standing on this site in 1303, and no doubt long before, but most of the present building dates it is thought from the fifteenth century. The ground plan follows more or less the lines of the normal church of old London in its final development; a nave with side aisles prolonged to the extreme east end, and a tower at the west end of the south aisle, like those of the churches of St. Andrew Undershaft, and St. Catherine Cree, in Leadenhall Street. The upper part of St. Olave's tower is of brick, having been rebuilt in 1731–32. It contains six bells, the oldest dating from 1662, and a small clock-bell in the cupola. It may be remarked that in the Baptistery under the tower is a hatchment, of which few examples remain in City churches.

The most ancient portions visible inside the church are the arcades of Purbeck or Sussex marble dividing the nave from the two aisles, of which the northern one is larger and loftier than that on the south. The arcades are Perpendicular, as are also the windows, with the exception of the east window, which has Decorated tracery, inserted in 1823, according to Godwin and Britton's *Churches of London*, vol. i, 1838. The tracery of the Perpendicular windows has been renewed. Above the arches is a clerestory with obtusely pointed windows having three lights. The ceiling of the nave is composed of arched tie-beams with intermediate moulded ribs and oak panelling. The beams rest upon stone corbels having shields attached to them. The junctions of the ribs of the ceiling are most of them ornamented with shields, but sometimes a rose is substituted, and sometimes foliage. In 1632–33, as Strype tells us, the church was repaired and the timbering of the nave roof renewed but apparently after the old model. The aisle ceilings similar in style *may be* original; if so, they probably date from the time of Richard and Robert Cely, fellmongers, who in the fifteenth century to a great extent rebuilt the

[1] Read at the visit of the Society to St. Olave's, Hart Street, June 28, 1902.

church. These ceilings are thickly studded with small leaden stars which were formerly painted a different colour to the beams on which they are fixed, or perhaps gilt.

At the east end of the south side is the vestry, built 1661-62, being about two centuries later than the doorway by which one enters it from the church. Here the ceiling is finished with panelling and ornaments of plaster in relief; the central part of the design is the figure of an angel within a foliated border, having in one hand the gospel, in the other a palm branch. Over the mantelpiece there is a painting in chiaroscuro representing Faith, Hope, and Charity.

In the course of this century the church has been again and again restored, and what with the removal of plaster, the disappearance of most of the fine seventeenth century woodwork, new windows, cathedral glass, and a general scraping and redecorating in the modern church furnishers' style, it now presents a far from venerable appearance. In one of the restorations part of an arch was discovered on the north side of the tower, suggesting that the nave may originally have extended further west. The well carved pulpit, which has lost its sounding board, and has been placed on a modern stone pedestal, is from the destroyed church of St. Benet, Gracechurch. Two of the handsome sword-rests have always belonged to this parish. That now placed on the south side of the chancel is thus referred to in the Vestry Minutes of November 2, 1715: "Ordered, that a Branch be put up on the pew of the Right Hon. Sr Charles Peers, knight, Lord Manor of this City, for the Sword, at the charge of the Parish." Also November 9: "That the Branch agreed on in ye last Vestry for the Lord Mayor to fix the Sword on, be made after the Pattern of that in St. Katherine Cree Church, which was made for Sr Samuel Stanier." The sword-rest at the end of a bench in the south aisle is thus mentioned in a Vestry Minute, of March 30, 1741:—"Ordered that R^t^. Honble Danl Lambert, Esq. the present Lord Mayor have Pew fitted up suitable for his Lordship." Two other sword-rests came from All Hallows Staining. In the organ gallery are two old wrought-iron hat-stands; that on the south side is prettily ornamented with sunflowers.

The monuments inside St. Olave's, Hart Street, are many and interesting. Near the vestry door is the earliest now existing in the church—a Purbeck marble slab inlaid with brass: it was formerly on the north side of the sanctuary, hidden under oak panelling and was discovered about 1846. No doubt this is the monument to Sir Richard Haddon, Mercer, and Lord Mayor of London in 1506, showing his two wives kneeling, with two sons and three daughters. In the fourth edition of Stow (1633) it is spoken of as already defaced: the arms there given, namely a single hose, still appear on the monument. At the east end of the south aisle there is a memorial brass to John and Ellyne Orgone, dated 1584. Between the figures is shown a woolpack having on it a merchant's mark; over them are scrolls with the words:—"Learne to dye—ys ye waye to life"; and beneath are the following lines:—

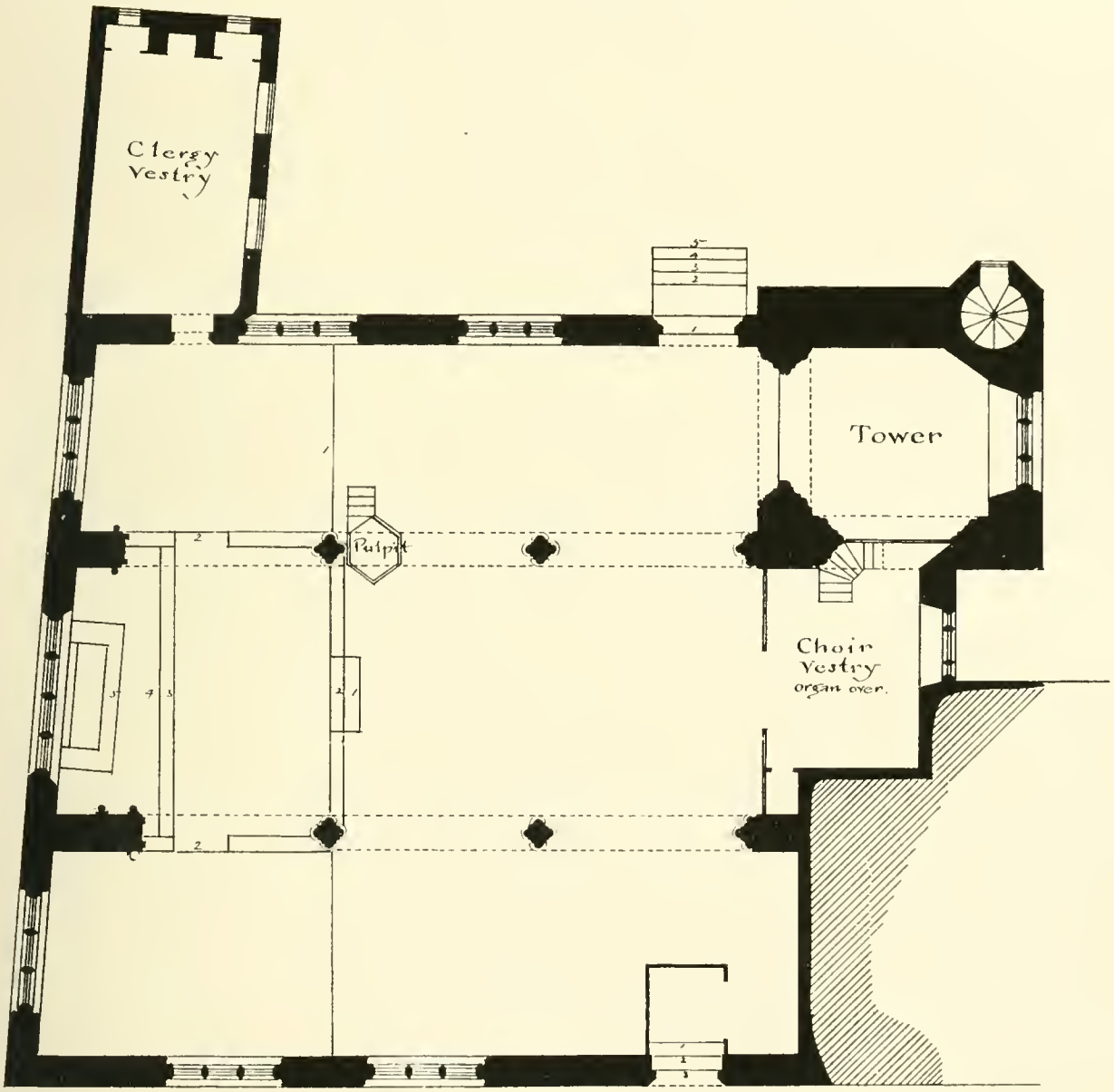
"As I was so be ye
As I am you shall be
That I gave that I have
That I spent that I had
Thus I ende all my coste
That I leffte that I loste.

At the east end of the north aisle under the window to the left is a brass plate

St: Olaves' Ch: Hart St:

Scale

10 5 0 10 20 30 40 50 Feet



C. F. HILL & SON PHOTO-LITHO. 6, FURNIVAL ST. HOLBORN, E.C.

set in Purbeck marble, in memory of Thomas Morley, who was "Clarke of y^e^ quenes Maiesties storehowse of Deptford and one of ye officers of ye quenes M^ties^ Navye, deceassed ye 20 daye of July 1566." The rhymed epitaph is full of quaint conceits and allusions. Two other brasses without figures are worthy of remark. That to George Schrader on the floor near the vestry door has coats of arms and Latin inscriptions. He was a young man of good family, from Brunswick, and seems to have been travelling about to complete his education. The entry in the register is:—"1605, October 5, George Shraddier stranger out of Mr. Howell's howse buried in the Chancell." There is also a brass with armorial bearings to Sir Andrew Riccard, in the passage from the chancel to the vestry. Not content with this, his successors commemorated him by a marble statue in the north aisle with a long inscription. From this and from other sources we learn that he was a rich and able merchant, that he was frequently chosen Chairman of the East India Company, and was for eighteen successive years chairman of the Turkey Company. He served the office of sheriff in 1651 and died in September 1672, "having nobly left the Advowson of St. Olave's which he had purchased, in trust to five of its principal inhabitants." His daughter and heiress, Christian Riccard, was married to Sir John Berkeley, created Lord Berkeley of Stratton.

On the south wall of the south aisle near the east end, and over the vestry door, there is a fine Jacobean monument to Sir James Deane, who amassed a large fortune as "merchant adventurer," and belonged to the Drapers' Company, but refused to become an alderman, preferring to pay the customary fine. He was Lord of the Manor of Basingstoke, and, dying in 1608, left various sums of money for charitable purposes, among the rest to St. Olave's, Hart Street, an annual charge of £5 4*s.* 0*d.* upon Ash Farm near Basingstoke, to be given to the poor in bread every Sunday. The monument shows Sir James in armour, with his third wife, kneeling; the two who predeceased him, kneeling on each side with skulls in their hands, and three children who died in infancy, lying, one below the figure of the first wife and two below that of the third. These infants are "swathed in their chrysomes, *i.e.* with the white vesture which the minister placed upon them immediately after baptism, and before they were anointed with the 'chrism' or baptismal oil."

On the east wall of the south aisle is a tablet with Latin inscription, to William Turner, Dean of Wells, whose "Herbal" marks perhaps the earliest stage of the science of Botany in England. A man of considerable learning, he died at his house in Crutched Friars, July 7, 1568. Near this is a monument, dated 1614, to his son, Dr. Peter Turner, with a portrait bust, or as described in the fourth edition of Stow's Survey, "with half the lively figure of the party it concerneth." He represented Bridport in several of Elizabeth's parliaments, where he is said to have zealously advocated the cause of the Puritans. In 1606 he attended Sir Walter Raleigh in the Tower, and was author of a pamphlet, *The Opinion of Peter Turner, Doct. in Physicke, concerning Amulets, or Plague Cakes.*

On the south side of the sanctuary fronting westward is a large black and white marble monument to Sir John Mennes, Chief Comptroller of the Navy, Master of the Trinity House, and in part compiler of the book of verses called *Musarum Deliciæ.* Pepys, the diarist, often refers to him in somewhat contradictory terms of praise and blame.

In a niche, on the south side of the altar, is the figure in alabaster of Lady Anne Radcliffe kneeling at a desk. She died in 1585. Her husband, Sir John Radcliffe, son of Robert, Earl of Sussex, is commemorated by a tablet with armorial bearings on the east wall of the north

aisle, and perhaps by a neighbouring figure truncated at the knees, of a knight in armour, with hands clasped in prayer.

North of the chancel is a kneeling figure of alabaster, clad in armour, which represents Peter Capone, a Florentine gentleman, who died of the plague in 1582. Another foreigner is commemorated (by an alabaster tablet with a long Latin inscription and armorial bearings), namely, Ludolph de Werder, of Anhalt, a student from various German universities, who died in 1628, aged 29. In the register he is described as Ludolf Lander Werder, from Tower Hill. Jefferie Kerby, some time alderman and member of the Grocers' Company, who died in 1623, has an alabaster tablet to his memory; and there is a large white marble monument surmounted by two sculptured cherubs with a shield between them, to Jane, wife of Matthew Humberstone, and second daughter of James Hoste, of Sandringham in Norfolk, now belonging to His Majesty the King. She died in 1694.

One of the most important and picturesque monuments in the church is that to the Baynings. Standing partly against the north wall of the sanctuary and partly against the adjoining column, it is composed of alabaster and has two kneeling statues, coloured to resemble life, which represent Andrew Bayning, alderman, who died in 1610, and Paul, his brother, who was sheriff and alderman and died in 1616. Beneath the latter are some doggerel lines which conclude with the comforting assurance that—

"The happy summe & end of their affaires
Provided well both for their soules and heires."

Paul's son, created Viscount Bayning of Sudbury, who was possessed of a large fortune, left £3,500 for the purpose of buying land and building and keeping in repair a hospital or almshouse in the parish. Among the State Papers are the household bills (1632–4) of the widow of Lord Bayning and of his son, the last who held the title; they were living together at their house in Mark Lane. Dr. Harvey says, in the *City Remembrancer*, 1769 (vol. ii, p. 28) that after the Great Fire "the affairs of the custom-house were transacted in Mark Lane, at a house called Lord Bayning's, till the custom-house was rebuilt."

The connection of the famous Samuel Pepys with the church of St. Olave deserves at least a paragraph to itself. He was Clerk of the Acts during the nine years over which his Diary extends, and (except for the first few months) resided in Seething Lane, in a house next the Navy Office and belonging to it. His Diary contains frequent references to St. Olave's Church and to the people who frequented it, indeed all the neighbourhood is teeming with memories of him. The death of his wife, Elizabeth Pepys, occurred November 10, 1669, and high up against the north wall of the chancel he placed her monument. It is of white marble, with a portrait bust of the lady in the same material, on a darker marble background. She is represented as a pretty young woman with a smiling expression apparently looking towards the pew set apart for the officers of the Navy Board, which was in a small gallery in the south aisle; Pepys mentions sitting in it, Nov. 11, 1660, the first time it was used, and it remained until the "restoration" of 1870–71. He himself, June 4th, 1703, was finally laid to rest in a vault constructed for him, just beneath his wife's monument. For generations there was no tablet to him at St. Olave's, but in 1884 one, from the design of the late Sir Arthur Blomfield, was put up to his memory, being unveiled by the Hon. J. Russell Lowell, then United States Minister, who delivered an admirable address on the occasion. It is affixed to the south wall below the site of the pew set apart for the officers of the Navy Board.

In 1870, on the union of the parishes, sixteen monuments were removed to this church from All Hallows Staining. One is placed in the baptistery and the others at the west end of the north aisle, but there is no special interest attaching to them, unless it be of interest to note that William Frithe who died in 1648 is described in a long Latin inscription as *Symbolicographus*, which may mean heraldic painter and may mean notary.

1665 was the year of the Great Plague. It was on the 17th of June that Pepys saw for the first time the red cross with the words, "Lord, have mercy us!" marked upon the doors of two or three houses. The parish of St. Olave, Hart Street, suffered terribly, whole families being swept away. A summary of the deaths from this cause was extracted from the register by the Rev. C. Murray, and printed in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, October, 1845. In July, 4; August, 22; September, 63; October, 54; November, 18; December, 5. Of these there were buried in the churchyard, 98; in the new churchyard, 42; in vaults, 12; in the church, 7; in the chancel, 1. Buried, places of interment not specified, 166. Total, 326. During the worst of the visitation Pepys was living with his clerks at Greenwich, but he stuck to his business and the chief management of the Navy Office devolved upon him. On January 30th, 1665-6, he makes the following entry in his diary:—"This is the first time I have been in this (St. Olave's) church since I left London for the plague, and it frighted me indeed to go through the church, more than I thought it could have done, to see so many graves lie so high upon the churchyards where people have been buried of the plague."

There are at present two disused burial grounds in the parish. The smaller one, on the east side of Seething Lane, is only 36 feet in length by 22 feet, and was consecrated in 1680; it is concealed by houses. That through which the diarist often passed lies to the south and south-west of the church and is approached, from Seething Lane, by means of a gateway which, although forbidding, has a certain element of picturesqueness, with its iron spikes and carved emblems of mortality. Above the keystone one can decipher the inscription, from Philippians i, 21; "*Mihi vivere Christus et mori lucrum.*" Charles Dickens must have had a depressing recollection when he wrote about it in *The Uncommercial Traveller*, chapter xxi:—"One of my best beloved churchyards I call the churchyard of Saint Ghastly Grim. It is a small, small churchyard, with a ferocious strong spiked iron gate like a gaol."

The advowson of the living belonged to the Nevill family during the fourteenth century; it afterwards came to Richard Cely and their successors, remaining in their hands, as Newcourt tells us, "for near four-score years; and after that, in the noble family of Windsor, for near four-score years more." Afterwards, as we have seen, it was bought by Sir Andrew Riccard, who gave it in trust to five inhabitant householders of the parish. The trustees have exercised their privileges ever since, with one exception, viz. in 1857, when they were unable to agree, and the presentation for that time lapsed to Dr. Tait, the Bishop of London.

The registers begin in 1563. Here is recorded the baptism of Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex, commander of the Parliamentary forces 1642-6, and son of Elizabeth's ill-starred favourite. It runs thus:—"1590-1, Jan. 22. Robert Lord Deaveraux Viscount hereford, sonne and heyre of Robart Earl of Essex, in my lady Wallsingham's howse,[1] mother to the Countis, sir francis Knolls and the lord rich with the countesse of leicester wittnesses, Doctor Andrewes preached and babtized the child." This was Dr. Lancelot Andrewes, born

[1] Lady Walsingham's house was in Seething Lane; she was widow of Sir Francis.

in the neighbouring parish of Allhallows, who was at this time vicar of St. Giles, Cripplegate, and afterwards Bishop of Winchester. On June 13th, 1619, is recorded the christening of "William, son of Sir Thomas Savadge." This Sir Thomas was created Viscount in 1626. He had a house on Tower Hill, the site of which is marked by Savage Gardens.

In 1870 the parishes of St. Olave, Hart Street, and All Hallows Staining, were united, and the church of the latter parish was pulled down with the exception of the tower, the site being bought by the Clothworkers' Company. The body of All Hallows Staining Church, which was spared by the Great Fire, had been rebuilt after 1671, but this tower, which belonged to the previous structure, is still standing, in a remnant of the churchyard now thrown open to the public. It has been, however, so drastically "restored" that not much charm now attaches to it; the approaches are, from Mark Lane by Star Alley, and from Fenchurch Street by a passage on the west side of the London Tavern. Stow calls this, Stane Church, "for a difference from other churches of that name in this city, which of old were built of Timber and since were built of stone." Mr. F. C. Eeles kindly informs me that the oldest church bell in the City of London is that from the church of All Hallows Staining, now in Grocers' Hall, Prince's Street. It has on it in black letter what appears to be an old Flemish inscription, and the date 1458, diameter 27½ inches.

The churchwardens' accounts, which go back as far as 1491, abound with curious information. Here are one or two specimens:—

"1492. Itm̄ p^d to John Bulbeck for makīg of the beme light weyng in olde wax XL pound at j*d* the pound iij*s* iiij*d*. Itm̄ p^d for ij iij q̄ of new wax at viij*d* a pound, xxij*d*.

"1582. P^d for an howre glass xij*d*.

"1587. P^d to the ringers the 9th of Feby for joye of ye execution of ye Queene of Scotts 00.01.00.

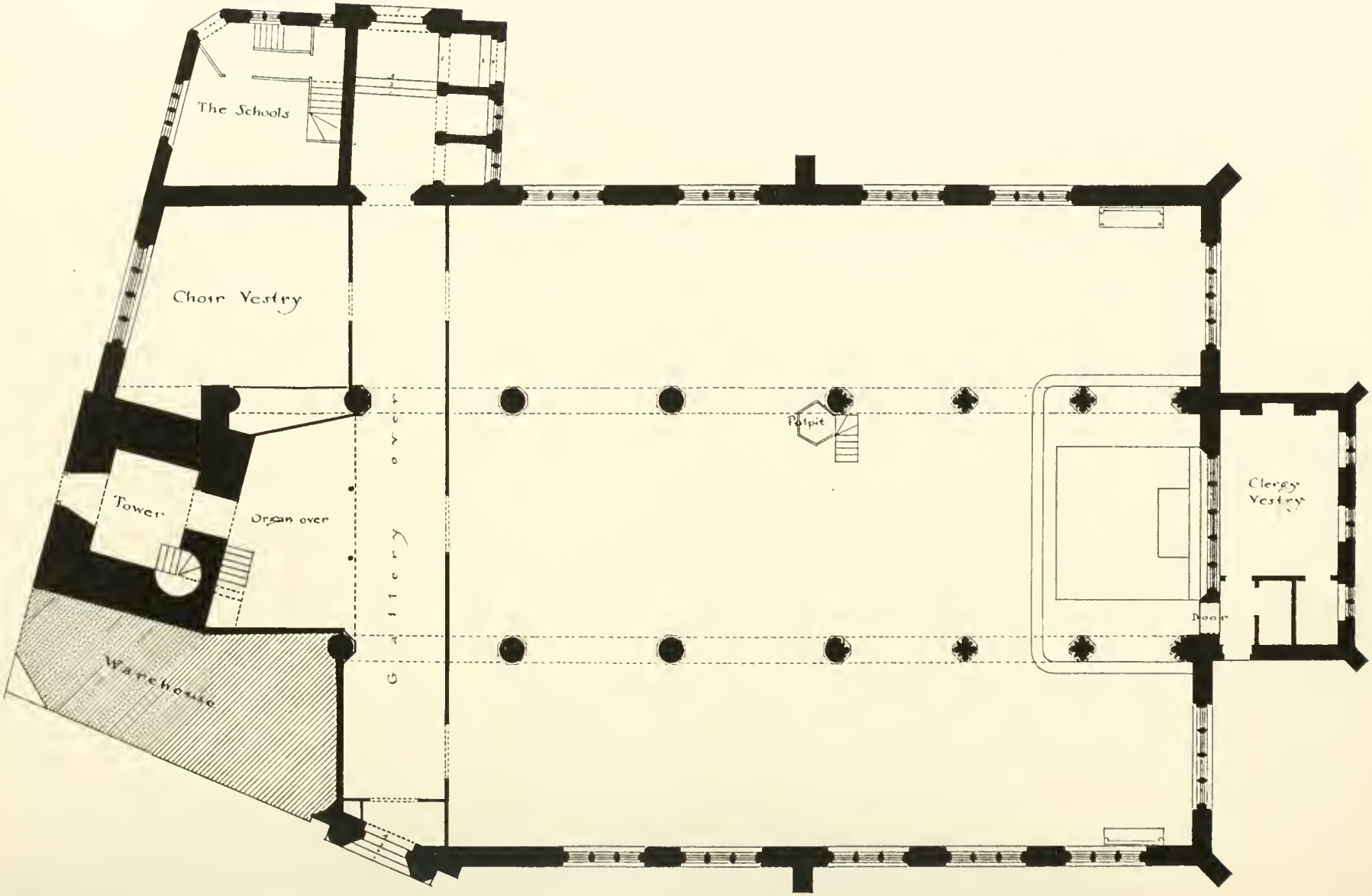
"1606. P^d for makeinge of three Red Crosses vppon the doors of the houses 00.01.00, that were infected with the plague."

The last rector, the Rev. A. Povah, D.D., wrote an interesting book on the church and parish of St. Olave, Hart Street, and on the parish of All Hallows Staining, to which I have frequently referred while compiling the above notice.

Allhallows Ch: Barking:

Scale

10 5 0 10 20 30 40 50 Feet



ALL HALLOWS BARKING.

BY

PHILIP NORMAN, F.S.A.[1]

All Hallows Barking, at the north-east corner of Great Tower Street opposite Seething Lane, is dedicated to All Hallows (or All Saints) and St. Mary, and seems to have derived the additional name of Barking from the fact that it belonged originally to the Abbess and Convent of Barking in Essex. The first known mention of it occurs in the *Registrum Roffense*, as early as the reign of Stephen, when the advowson was given by Riculphus and Brichtwen his wife, to the cathedral church of Rochester. Later, the patronage passed into the hands of the convent; as, however, the church is called Berkingechyrche in this first reference, one may conclude that the subsequent transfer was merely a restoration of original rights. The vicarage was not established till the year 1387. Richard I added the chapel of St. Mary, which became famous for a statue of the Virgin placed there by Edward I, who obtained an indulgence of forty days for all true penitents worshipping there, who should contribute towards the repair and ornaments of the chapel and pray for the soul of its founder. In the instrument which sets this forth, prayer is specially enjoined on behalf of the soul of Richard I, "whose heart is buried beneath the high altar." Hence a belief that the "lion heart" is buried beneath the communion table of the existing church. But it is on record that the king left his body to be buried at the feet of his father at Fontevrault, and his heart to the Canons of Rouen, to whom in his life-time he had been a benefactor. They gratefully enshrined the relic in a sumptuous receptacle, and it is now under the recumbent effigy of him in the south choir aisle of the cathedral at Rouen. Particulars of the vicissitudes which have occurred to these relics will be found in *Archaeologia*, vol. xxix, p. 202. The Chapel of our Lady of Barking did not adjoin the church, but stood in the cemetery about a hundred yards to the north; that at least was the opinion of the late Rev. Joseph Maskell,[2] a good authority. Peter Cunningham says that the Navy Office in Seething Lane afterwards occupied the site. This chapel was greatly enriched by John Tiptoft, Earl of Worcester, who, in 1461 or 1462, was appointed Constable of the Tower, and thus came into close connection with the neighbourhood. Here he founded a guild or brotherhood for "a master and brethren" and endowed it with various gifts, as set forth in Maskell's account of All Hallows. During the short-lived triumph of

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[1] Read at the visit of the Society to All Hallows Barking, June 28th, 1902.

[2] Given not in his larger history of the church and parish published in 1864, under the chief title of *Berkyngechirche juxta Turrim*, but in a brief work, embodying his subsequent notes and corrections, which appeared about 1889.

the Lancastrians, the Earl, who had attached himself to the fortunes of Edward IV, was seized and, after a brief imprisonment, suffered death on Tower Hill. Baker in his Chronicle mentions that Richard III rebuilt the chapel of St. Mary, and added to the original foundation a collegiate establishment consisting of a dean and six canons. It was destroyed in 1547 by Edward VI under the Act for the dissolution of Chantries, Colleges and Guilds.

Let us now turn to a consideration of the existing structure of All Hallows, Barking. To quote from Godwin,[1] "the body of the church consists of a nave with aisles, and the pillars and arches which divide these, support a clere-story containing on either side seven flat-pointed windows, each of which is divided by mullions into three lights with cinquefoil heads. The south aisle is lighted from five large windows (divided like those in the clere-story) the heads of which are apparently segments of a circle, while in the north aisle there are four windows of a similar kind, but terminating in obtuse angles. This same difference in the heads of the windows appears in those of the east end of the two aisles; the one in the south aisle being apparently a segment of a circle while the other is obtusely pointed." The large centre window at the east end is sharply pointed and has flowing tracery. Perhaps the most suggestive portions of the interior, as it now stands, are the pillars dividing the nave from the north and the south aisle. Those to the west have an early character, they are "circular and massive, with capitals formed by a few simple mouldings." The sharply pointed arches which spring from them are perhaps alterations of a later date. On the south side there are three of these old pillars, to the north there are or should be five, for the aisle really extends further westward, as no doubt did the nave originally. The extra length, however, is partly concealed by a gallery with a passage beneath, divided from the rest of the church by a glazed screen; while the most western part has been altogether shut off and has been used at different times as an engine house and a coal hole, but is now the choir vestry.[2] The two western pillars with their ancient capitals can there be seen, the rest have been tampered with, as have the arches above. The eastern or chancel arches, three in number on each side, are obtusely pointed, and are considerably narrower than those to the west; therefore although their crowns are more or less of the same height they spring from capitals on a much higher level, being supported by tall and slender clustered columns. These arches in their present form cannot be earlier than the late fifteenth century; but the form and tracery of the centre east window already referred to, are probably imitations of what existed here in the fourteenth century.[3] The masonry also of the chancel east wall is ancient, being in part formed of unshaped flints, the rest including that of the aisles, which has been to a great extent renewed, is chiefly of Kentish rag. Hatton, in his *New View of London* (1708), says, "Some think the church has been much enlarged eastward, for I am told that the foundation of a wall is found to run across at a considerable depth near the pulpit." Hence it has been said that the eastern part was added in the fourteenth century and that the arcades were subsequently rebuilt.

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[1] *The Churches of London*, by George Godwin and John Britton, 1838, vol. i, p. 7.

[2] Here, by the way, is a fine carving of the Royal Arms formerly at the east end of the church.

[3] The tracery of this window was renewed in the restoration of 1814. See letter from J. Carter, the well known architectural draughtsman, to the *Gentlemen's Magazine*, dated January 20th, 1815.

The opinion, however, seems more probable that this foundation marks the site of a former chancel arch, the chancel aisles indicating the positions of former chantry chapels, several of which are known to have existed.[1]

In 1634–35 there was much repair and rebuilding of the fabric generally, upwards of £1,400 being expended. The parishioners employed a Mr. Goodwin, described as "the mathemitician," to do the work, and he was told to visit several other churches for information and guidance. The principal items in his expenditure were as follows :—

	£
"Making newe all the upper windowes and severall side windowes and painting the steeple	400
Painting and guilding the nave	230
A new roofe throughout	200
Plumber's work and lead for roof	80
Tyles and timber for chancel roof	40
Glazier for taking down and setting up again coloured glass in E. window ...	10"

Two curious entries in this account run as follows :—"Expended at the Rose Tavern meeting Mr. Stone King's surveyor, concerning his advice about the repairs £0 2*s.* 9*d.*; and, To Mr. H. Davye, for a rondlett of Canarie wine given to Mr. Stone in recompence of his advice, £1 8*s.* 0*d.*"

It is evident from their form that none of the windows in the church, except the large one at the east end, dates from before the time of this rebuilding.

Shortly afterwards, namely, in 1639, a petition was presented either to the Bishop or to Parliament against Dr. Layfield, vicar of All Hallows (and Archbishop Laud's nephew), complaining of various innovations made by him in the church service tending to the encouragement of Popery. Among the rest the chancel had been adorned with ten statues of Saints. In consequence he was ordered to appear before the House of Commons as a delinquent, but the matter appears to have been afterwards arranged amicably.

In 1649 the south-west portion of the church was severely damaged by an explosion of gunpowder at a ship chandler's hard by, which caused the detruction of over fifty houses and great loss of life. In Strype's edition of Stow, we are told how the next morning a female infant was found in her cradle on the leads of the church, and that she grew to be "a proper maiden." The then existing tower (shown in several old views and plans), which had a spire, and was at the west end of the south aisle, was so much shaken that nine years afterwards it had to be taken down. A brick tower was then built at the west end of the nave. That is the existing tower surmounted by a cupola, which, although very plain, has rather a grand quality of massiveness, and some value as a rare example of church architecture at the time of the Commonwealth.[2] Its western front is not square with the body of the church, but with Seething Lane. When this tower was built in 1659, the Wardens then in office placed over the clock, "a great carved gilded image" of St. Michael the Archangel, "between two

[1] In the absence of further documentary evidence it is impossible to trace the early structural changes of this church. See a paper by J. T. Micklethwaite, F.S.A., "On the growth of English Parish Churches," *Archæological Journal*, vol. xxxvii.

[2] In this tower is a lead cistern with the date 1705.

fretwork figures of Death and Time." The figure held a trumpet to its mouth, and in the left hand was a leaden scroll having on it the words, "Arise ye dead and come to judgment." In 1675 Mr. Clements, then churchwarden, removed the figures, placing that of St. Michael over the Commandments at the east end of the church, and the others over the organ then being erected. No complaint was made until after the death of the vicar, Layfield. In the following year, 1681, the churchwardens were indicted by several parishioners at the Old Bailey under the statute of the time of Edward VI against images. The senior churchwarden supported the parishioners, and on his own responsibility destroyed the image, which occasioned a war of words between him and the lecturer, by name Jonathan Saunders. Maskell on pp. 26–28 of his larger work gives all the circumstances connected with this affair in detail. There was formerly a turret containing a staircase leading on to the roof, towards the west end of the south aisle. It is shown in the view of the church published by West and Toms, 1736, and disappeared in 1862, when the old porch on the south side was also shorn away; Tower Street being then widened, to the detriment of the church and burial ground. The doorway of it, I am told, still remains, but is now concealed by panelling. I would add that one enters the church from the north side through a pretty late Gothic doorway of Reigate stone. In the Great Fire the church narrowly escaped; the vicar's house adjoining, and part of the porch, being destroyed. Pepys, the diarist, afterwards went up into the tower and viewed the surrounding desolation.

In 1814 the church was "restored" at a cost of no less than £5,313, when the high pitched roof over the nave disappeared, the old ceiling being replaced by a very inferior one of "fir and stucco," and the battlements were removed. Subsequent repairs and alterations took place in 1836, in 1860 and 1870.

Among the glories of All Hallows are its two altar tombs and its rich series of memorial brasses. The canopied altar tomb in the north-east corner of the chancel has the arms of John Croke, skinner and alderman, who dwelt in Mark Lane and whose will, dated 1477, was proved in 1484. The name and date are gone, but it is he, doubtless, who is represented on a finely engraved brass at the back, in his alderman's mantle, kneeling at a desk; behind him are the smaller figures of his sons. Opposite, his wife Margaret appears, as a widow, with her daughters behind her. From the mouth of each of the principal figures an inscribed scroll issues, of which only a few letters remain. The tomb on the south side, of Purbeck marble like the one just described, appears to be somewhat older. There is at the back, beneath the canopy, a brass plate, gilt and engraved with a representation of the Resurrection of Christ. In Munday's edition of Stow (1618) we are told that there were then two other brasses on the tomb, which represented figures kneeling, with inscriptions, but no names. It is impossible now to identify this monument; Maskell thought that it belonged to one of the founders of a Chantry Chapel here.

The earliest of the brasses on the floor of the church, namely, that to William de Tonge, in the south chancel aisle, dating from 1389, is of small size and circular in form, consisting of a shield surrounded by this inscription:—"Pries p' l'alme Will. Tonge g'gyt ycy ky Dieu de sonn alm eyt mercy." Tonge was member for the City in 1388, and left ten marks, not as Mr. Maskell supposes for the repair of the church, but for the purchase of a Legend for the use of the parishioners. His will is preserved. Not far off, a brass to John Rusche, 1498, affords a late instance of the practice of placing animals at the feet, in this case a dog of uncertain breed. On the same side of the church, a little west, there is a small brass to

Christofer Rawson, mercer and merchant of the Staple of Calais, with his two wives: an inscription appears at their feet and small scrolls issue from their mouths. By his will dated September 30th, 1518, a short time before his death, which occurred January 18th following, he directs his body to be buried "in the chapell of our blessed Lady sett on the south side of the parish churche of Alhalowen Berkyng, on the wey ledynge out of the quere." He concludes thus:—"And I will that a marble stone shal be ordenyed by myn executors, and laid upon my grave, with the ymages of me and my two wyfes and children, and with an ymage of the Holy Trinitie and this scripture, 'Libera nos, Salva nos, Sanctifica nos,' for which I bequeth xi.*s.*" The prayer clauses originally on the plate have been erased. Rawson's daughters became co-heiresses. Margaret was wife of Henry Goodricke, an eminent lawyer, brother of Henry Thomas Goodricke, Bishop of Ely and Lord Chancellor *temp.* Henry VIII. A brass near that of Rawson, to William Thynne and his wife, 1546, should not be overlooked. Henry VIII showed him much favour, but he is chiefly famous for editing the first edition complete more or less of Chaucer's works. It was printed by Thomas Godfrey in 1532, being dedicated to the king, in whose household Thynne then held the office of "chefe clerk of the kechyn." In a bookseller's catalogue for 1890 I observed that an imperfect copy of it was priced at £63. When this brass was restored, in 1861, it was found to be a palimpsest, the reverse side being part of an old brass of English workmanship; on it could be traced the figure of an ecclesiastic holding a chalice. Another official is commemorated on a brass now fixed to a pillar in the south aisle, namely William Armar, servant for 51 years to Henry VIII, Edward VI, Mary and Elizabeth, and governor of the pages of honour. He died in 1560, his monument was restored by the Clothworkers' Company in 1846.

The fine memorial brass in the centre of the nave to "Andrew Evyngar, Citizen and Salter, and Ellyn his wife," with their son and six daughters, is from its style clearly of Flemish origin. Above the figures is a composition known as Our Lady of Pity, a dead Christ on the knees of the Virgin Mother. At the feet of the figures is a merchant's mark. A somewhat similar example is in the church of St. Mary Quay, Ipswich, dated July 14th, 1525. Evyngar's will was proved in the Commissary Court of London, July 18th, 1533. Among its clauses is the following:—"I am bounde by obligacion in XXX^{li} sterlyng to kepe an abett yerly after the decese of Jacomyn my moder, late the wife of John Evyngar my fader." The last named had been a Flemish brewer, and this gives a reason for the fact that the monument came from abroad.

On the floor of the north chancel aisle is a small brass to John Bacon and his wife, Joan, 1437, the earliest and most beautiful of its kind in the county of Middlesex. He was a wool merchant, who is represented standing on a wool sack; his tunic has full sleeves and his legs are clothed in tight hose. His wife wears a veil head-dress, and a high-waisted gown with sleeves. Above the figures is a heart inscribed "Mercy," and encircled by two scrolls. Bacon's will was proved and enrolled in the Court of Husting.

Not far off there are some remains of a memorial brass to Thomas Virby, seventh vicar, 1434–53, whose toleration of heretics is said to have brought him to prison for a time in the Tower. Maskell, quoting from an English chronicle edited for the Camden Society, gives the peculiar circumstances of the case. There is another brass, also dilapidated, to Thomas Gilbert, "civis et draper Lond ac merc(ator) Staple Callis et Agnes

ux ejus." He died in 1483. His brothers-in-law Sir Robert and Sir John Tate, both Mayors of London, were executors of his will. The former, as Stow tells us, was buried in the chapel of St. Mary. Between the modern choir stalls is a brass of late date, 1591, to Roger James, ancestor of Lord Northbourne; he came from near Utrecht in the Duchy of Cleve, during the reign of Henry VIII, and established a brewery at Clare's Quay, Lower Thames Street. Yet another brass plate near the one to James is in memory of Mary, wife of John Burnell, merchant; she died in 1612, aged 20 years.

On the walls are interesting monuments; among them one against the east wall, on the south side, by the door of the clergy vestry, to Kettlewell the pious non-juror. He asked that his body might be laid in the grave where Laud had been buried for a time, and his request was granted. On the north wall is a tablet to Jerome Bonalio (d. 1583), who is mentioned by Strype among the Roman Catholic agents for foreign princes, and was probably connected with the Venetian embassy. Further westward on the same wall is a monument to Baldwin Hamey, who, after taking the highest degree in medicine at the University of Leyden, had been for five years physician to the Muscovite Czar. Returning, he married at Amsterdam and then settled in London, where he died in 1640. On the floor of the nave is a monument to Joseph Taylor and Mary, his wife, with a Latin inscription setting forth that after more than thirty-five years of married life they both died of the same disease (dropsy) on the same day, January 23rd, 1732.

The church fittings, all of post-Reformation times, should be carefully studied. Among them I would mention the Communion table given by John Burnell in 1613, and the handsome carved pulpit of the same date, with an equally fine sounding board placed here 25 years afterwards, which has on it the motto, "Xpm pdicam crucifixum." The vestry minutes of 1638 record an injunction to the churchwardens to "take care that a new pulpett hedde be made in regarde the old one is too small." This, perhaps, was thought advisable owing to a change in the acoustic qualities of the church caused by the new roof. In the vestry minutes we are told that it was made by Mr. Laine, and that it cost £19. The wrought iron work of floreated design, which supports the rail of the steps leading to the pulpit, is no doubt more modern, and there is nothing better of the kind in the city. Note also the decorative iron frame with hat pegs, affixed to the column at the back of the pulpit, where perhaps was the pew of some rich citizen. The sword rests, now on the modern chancel screen, were erected in honour of Sir John Eyles, Bart., Lord Mayor in 1727, of Slingsby Bethell, M.P. for London, and Lord Mayor in 1755, and of Sir Thomas Chitty, Lord Mayor in 1760. In the vestry minutes of October 23rd, 1755, occurs the following entry:— "Ordered that it be left to the churchwardens to alter the Corporation Pew in the Church for the reception of Slingsby Bethel, Esq, Lord Mayor elect, in the same manner as it was done in the mayoralty of Sir John Eyles, and to provide a handsome sword-iron with proper arms and decorations." In the London Directory of 1738, Bethel is described as "Merchant of Tower Hill" and Chitty as "Grocer opposite the Custom House." The carved altar piece with pictures of Moses and Aaron was presented by a parishioner in 1685. The grey marble font, near the east end of the south aisle, has an elaborate carved wooden cover formerly obscured by repeated coats of paint. A fine example of the style of Grinling Gibbons has been now revealed by the removal of the paint.[1]

[1] The pea pod carved on a conspicuous part of it is by some thought to be the mark of Grinling Gibbons.

Other church fittings of value should be noticed, for example the case of the organ originally built by Renatus Harris in 1676[1]; some carving on the screen which separates the body of the church from the passage under the organ gallery, and the row of old-fashioned pews in front of it, which date probably from 1704–5. At that time the church was also wainscotted, a south gallery (erected in 1657) was taken down, and the organ gallery enlarged, the fittings of St. Giles, Cripplegate, serving as a pattern. The brass altar rails, put up in 1750, are of a type that is original and uncommon. In a window of the north aisle appear the painted arms of Sir Samuel Starling, elected Lord Mayor in 1669. They date from the year of the Great Fire, when he was living near Pepys in Seething Lane, who remarks on September 8th, 1666, that "Alderman Starling, a very rich man without children, the fire at next door to him in our lane, after our men had saved his house did give *2s. 6d.* among thirty of them, and did quarrel with some that would remove the rubbish out of the way of the fire, saying that they come to steal."

Many stirring events have happened at the church of All Hallows. Here Kings with their retinues, on the way to the Tower of London, used to stop and do homage at the high altar and at the shrine of Our Lady; here the Mayor, Aldermen, and Council met to discuss their rights before proceeding to the King's Courts in the Tower. Here, in 1285, occurred a most dramatic incident when Gregory de Rokesly, then Mayor of London, having been summoned by the Lord Treasurer to wait upon him at the Tower, went to the church of All Hallows, where he stripped himself of his robes and insignia of office, and proceeded to the Tower as a mere private citizen. For this conduct he was deprived of his office, he and about eighty other leading citizens being committed to prison; and the King appointed Ralph de Sandwich Custos of the city and its liberties, the office of Mayor remaining in abeyance for many years. To this church in 1311 the Knights Templars were brought from the neighbouring prison to be tried for heresy and condemned to torture.

From its nearness to the Tower, All Hallows was a ready receptacle for the remains of those who rightly or wrongly were condemned as traitors and executed on Tower Hill. The headless bodies of Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey (the poet), of Archbishop Laud, and of Bishop Fisher, were buried in the churchyard, but were afterwards removed, and that of Archbishop Laud was from 1645 to 1663 in a vault beneath the Communion Table. The entry of Laud's burial in the parish register book runs as follows:—"January 11, 1645, William Laud, ArchBishop of Canterbery, Beheaded." A brass plate on the floor of the north aisle is in memory of George Snayth, sometime auditor to Laud and one of the witnesses of his will. The Archbishop bequeathed to him £50. He died in 1651 and was buried in this church at his own request, to be near his old master. On January 10th, 1895, a ceremony took place in Trinity Square, which marked a curious change of public opinion. The choirs of St. Nicholas Cole Abbey and All Hallows Barking went in procession to the spot where, 250 years before, Laud met his fate on the scaffold; *Te Deum* was sung, and the story of the Archbishop's death was read by one of the clergymen in attendance.

[1] There had been an organ here as early as the year 1519, built by Anthony Duddyngton, of the parish of St. Stephen, Walbrook, at a cost of £50. The original contract or agreement still exists. Harris's organ was repaired and enlarged in 1720 by Gerard Smith, nephew of the famous Bernard Schmidt called sometimes "Father Smith," and was repaired again in 1813. Having been injured by fire in 1880, it was shortly afterwards restored by Gray and Davidson.

A few years ago, in spite of its many vicissitudes, All Hallows still preserved a peculiar old world charm, which hardly survives the latest and most costly "restoration" begun about 1893, from the designs of the late Mr. J. L. Pearson. A high pitched timber roof has intruded itself over the nave and chancel; the florid north porch with a chamber above has been added, in place of a smaller fabric which had at least the negative merit of being unpretentious. Outside, the plaster has been picked off the walls, which have again been battlemented, and are now pointed with that projecting ridge of dark cement so dear to most modern architects. A trench has been dug along three sides of the building, so large and deep that it might serve for purposes of defence. It has been paved with tombstones from the disused burial ground.

Among the old vestry minutes there is an order, December 16th, 1657, for the erection of "stocks and whipping post required by the statute, at the Churchy[d] corner in Tower Street against Mr. Lowe's the draper's, with a convenient shed over them." The parish register books begin in 1558. We have seen that the eldest son of Robert Earl of Essex, Queen Elizabeth's favourite, was baptized at St. Olave's, Hart Street; the burials of his younger children at All Hallows are recorded thus:—

"1592, February 19th. Mr. Walter Deverox sonne to the Right Ho. Earle of Essex.
1596, May 7th. Henry Deueraux sonne to the right honourable Erle of Essex.
1599, June 27th. Penelope Devoraux daughter to the honorable the Earle of Essex."

The two first named had been baptized at St. Olave's.

The Rev. J. Maskell prints a slightly different version of these entries. They were copied as here given by Colonel J. L. Chester.

William Penn, Quaker, who founded Pennsylvania, was baptized at All Hallows, October 23rd, 1644, and J. Quincy Adams, sixth President of the United States, was married here July 26th, 1797, to Louisa Catherine Johnson of this parish.

Repeated allusion has been made in this paper to the Rev. Joseph Maskell, sometime curate of All Hallows, who did so much to elucidate its history. He was latterly Chaplain of Emanuel Hospital, that picturesque building in James Street, Westminster, now alas! destroyed. Besides his writings on the subject, there are in the second volume of the *Transactions of the London and Middlesex Archæological Society* (1864) some useful notes on the sepulchral monuments of the church by G. R. Corner and J. Gough Nichols. In 1899 a little volume called "Berkyngechurche by the Tower—the story and work of All Hallows, Barking," was compiled by the Rev. C. R. D. Biggs, one of the curates. He gives particulars of a mission college in connection with this church, established in 1883. It has at present no official status, merely consisting of the vicar and four curates of All Hallows Barking.

MEDIÆVAL PARISH-CLERKS IN BRISTOL.

BY

E. G. CUTHBERT F. ATCHLEY.

There is preserved at St. Nicholas' Church, Bristol, an interesting old book bound in leather and made up of leaves of vellum, containing inventories, wills, and memoranda of vestry agreements, benefactions, etc. On fol. 32 and the following leaves is written the below-printed account of the duties of the two clerks.

The duties of the parish-clerks of St. Nicholas, Bristol, were agreed upon by "the worshipful of the parish"—an early form of the Vestry—in the year 1481, and drawn up by one Richard Blewet, probably a notary public. They show an interesting picture of church life in the fifteenth century: the clerks had many and varied duties to perform, under divers penalties, generally fixed, but occasionally undetermined, to be fixed when need arose by the Vestry. Similar regulations were drawn up for the two clerks of Holy Trinity, Coventry, in 1462, for the clerks and the sexton of Faversham in 1506, and those of St. Stephen's, Coleman Street, London.

From the ninth century onwards the duties of the clerk are principally defined to be (1) singing the psalms—*i.e.* reciting the breviary—with the priest, (2) answering the responses and reading the epistle at mass, and (3) teaching the children of the congregation in what became the parish-school. From that time until the end of Elizabeth's reign these three duties were always allotted to the parish-clerk, but later on, chiefly owing, no doubt, to Laud, the right of reading the epistle was withdrawn from him in practice.

It will be seen, however, from the appended regulations for the clerk and the suffragan (or assistant clerk) of St. Nicholas, that these officials had many other duties to perform besides the three mentioned above; in fact, they were expected to be the handy men of the place.

They were in Order, though not necessarily holy Order; and often we meet with the parish-clerk's wife in wills and churchwarden's accounts as taking in the church-mending or the washing.

The appointment of the clerk properly pertains to the rector or vicar, according to the canon law; and not to the parishioners. John of Athon, D.U.J., canon of Lincoln, in commenting on the Legatine Constitutions, tells a story of two clerks, of whom one had been appointed by the parishioners in defiance of the parish priest, and the other by the rector. The latter clerk was deputed by the parish-priest to read the epistle at mass one day, but, just as he was about to begin, the other one rushed up, snatched the book out of his hand, knocked him flying over and made him bleed (gloss. on Constitut. Dom. Othoboni Apost.

Sed. Legati, Tit. *De residentia archiep. et episc.*: cap. *Pastor bonus*: verb. *Sancte obedientie*). The 91st canon of 1603 reiterates the old law concerning the right of the priest, and not of the parish, to choose the clerk.

At the present time the power of conferring both the two holy orders, viz., the diaconate and the priesthood (including under the latter term the two hierarchical orders of the presbyterate and the episcopate), is restricted entirely to the episcopate; and they are bestowed after general fasting and collective prayer by the laying on of hands. But with the anhierarchical orders—the minor orders, as they are often called—from the subdiaconate downwards there was in the West no laying on of hands, nor was the bishop considered their sole and essential minister. All canonists are agreed that any parish-priest may admit a man to the order of *psalmist* or singer without any reference whatever to the bishop. Most are agreed that he can ordain all other minor orders, some even going so far as to maintain that a presbyter can even ordain a deacon if properly authorized so to do. Any priest who appoints a man to act as server at mass, makes him a deacon in function for the time: and the 91st canon of 1603, in requiring the minister to elect the parish-clerk, and to signify his choice to the people on the Sunday next following, in the time of divine service, thereby authorizes every parish-priest and curate-in-charge to ordain a suitable person to the office of parish-clerk. There being then no question of the authority to institute a proper person into this order, let us turn to the question of the matter and form. Door-keepers, readers, and exorcists were admitted in the early Roman church without any ceremony, simply by word of mouth; and even collets and subdeacons were instituted to their office after the communion at any private mass, merely by the delivery of their symbols of office, accompanied by a short prayer.

The Latin word used in the canons of 1603 for parish-clerk is *ostiarius*, door-keeper, and the 91st canon simply follows the old Roman rule and custom for ordaining to that order. And since this contains the essentials of the matter and form for conferring that order, it follows that a parish-clerk so ordained is as much a *clerk* (as distinct from a *layman*) as one ordained with the more elaborate ceremonial of the middle ages. Any objection to this will tell equally against the validity of our higher orders. We have, since 1550, used a rite in which there are very considerable outward and ceremonial differences from the more elaborate use of the middle ages, but one which, nevertheless, has retained all the essentials of both form and matter, and accords well with early forms in other countries.

At the time when the present document was drawn up there were at the church a clerk, a suffragan, and an under-suffragan named Lymner. There is no mention of a sexton, though no doubt there was someone who undertook the duties that that official at a later period performed. In the sixteenth century we meet with two, sometimes three, or even four clerks, besides the sexton. The accounts for the seven or eight annual obits from 1520 (when the churchwardens' accounts begin) to 1524 inclusive mention the clerk (or high clerk), the suffragan (or secondary clerk), and the bellman. After 1524 the term suffragan seems to disappear. The sexton first appears in 1527, in the accounts for Robert Thorne's obit, when he laid out the vestments and candlesticks. He does not appear again until 1533–34, when the obits of Robert Thorne, Margaret Rice, and All Good-doers (put together) give us Richard Mowlde the high clerk, Robert Say the other or secondary clerk, the sexton and the bellman. Three clerks are named in 1534–35, in 1539–40, and in 1543–44 besides the sexton. In 1542–43 four obits mention the high clerk, the secondary clerk, George the clerk, and

Humphry his servant, two with and two without the addition of the sexton. In 1548 only the high clerk and the sexton remain.

At St. Nicholas we find the three ancient duties of the clerk still recognized. Both clerks are required to "sing with the priest" (§§ 31, 34). The senior clerk is not allowed to take any book out of the choir from which to teach the children (§ 33); and he is required to sing in reading the epistle daily (§ 23) under a penalty of 2*d.*

But besides these, there were many other duties of a more menial character. They were answerable for opening the church (§ 2), seeing to its safeguard during the day (§ 22), and making sure that there were no vagrants sleeping in the church before shutting it up at night (§ 1). Every Saturday the church was sprinkled with water and brushed (§ 6) by the suffragan, and when necessary the pews or seats in the church (§ 39), the crypt, the staircase leading to it, and the church doors were cleaned by one or both of them (§ 7); while once a quarter they swept the windows, walls, and pillars of the church (§ 12), and before every principal feast it was their duty to clean out the cobwebs and dust from the altars and images (§ 10).

Curfew was rung for the whole of Bristol at St. Nicholas, usually at 9 p.m., with one bell, for full $7\frac{1}{2}$ minutes (§ 13); but on principal feasts the clerk rang it at 8 p.m. (§ 27).

After opening the church, the suffragan attended to the lamps, filling them with oil, and put clean water in the holy water stocks (§ 3). No bells seem to have been rung for the early masses, but the first peal to mattins was rung by the suffragan with one bell, the second by the clerk, while the last peal was rung by both together with two bells (§ 4). After the second peal they laid out the books in quire, replacing them after service (§ 8): and on principal feasts before both mattins and evensong they brought out the cope to be worn by the priest at censing the altar and reading the collect (§ 28), and laid it on the high altar ready for him (§ 9). The suffragan seems to have brought it into the quire, after warning the churchwardens—who have the custody of the ornaments of the church—to get ready the censers, candlesticks, and ship (§ 28). Perhaps the clerk carried it up to the high altar and laid it thereon. At *Benedictus* and *Magnificat* the suffragan fetched the coals for the censer in the firepan, or saw that they were brought in; and then went up with the priest to the altar, where he assisted him to put on his cope and cense the altars and images (§ 11).

Mattins over, he put out the wine and water cruets, and set the massbook and the chalice on the altar in readiness for the high mass (§ 17). The epistle was read by the clerk (§ 23), and on Sundays and feasts he had to see that the bells were rung solemnly at the high mass sacring. On ferial days he had to knell himself (§ 19). On Sundays the two sacring torches were got ready by the under-suffragan, but on ferial days the suffragan saw to them (§ 30), as well as to those for all the daily private masses (§ 35). After mass on workdays the two clerks waited on the vicar in their surplices and helped him to divest himself of his chasuble and other ornaments, and folded them up (§ 18).

On St. Nicholas' night the clerks and others went round the parish (or, perhaps, the town) singing the prose sung at mattins on that day, *Sospitati dedit egros olei perfusio*, after the fashion of modern carol singers (*Avails*, 2). Before Palm Sunday the suffragan had to find, at his own cost, sufficient palm and flowers for the parish (§ 38). Palm, *Salix caprea*, is the sallow so common everywhere that is full of bright yellow catkins just upon that date

Becon,[1] in the reign of Henry VIII, wrote: "That which they bear indeed in their hands is not properly called a palm, for they are the boughs of a sallow-tree." Just before Good Friday they made ready the "Sepulchre" (§ 15), an erection near the north end of the high altar, in which the Eucharist and the Crucifix were "buried" until Easter Morn, for which they received *6d.* to get their supper: and on Easter Even they tended the lights that burned there, getting *4d.* for their dinner (§ 16).

Lest anything should have been omitted, the Vestry comprehensively determined that of all other things the curate or his deputy, with the churchwardens, should tell them when necessary (§ 40); and all the penalties or fines went to the weal of the church (§ 41).

At the end comes an agreement concerning the "casual avails," or perquisites, of the two clerks, of a later date than the rest of these regulations.

All contractions except thorns have been expanded into italics, the eccentricities of punctuation have not been touched, and any additions are enclosed in square brackets. The various sections, unnumbered in the original, have been numbered for convenience of reference.

Howe the Clerke[2] And the Suffrigan*n* of Seynt Nicholas Churche Aught to do

[Fol. 32.]

In the sayde Church After the vse laudable of yeris paste & the Agrement nowe of all the worshypfull of the paryshe the yere of owre lorde M[l] CCCC lxxxj°

[1] The suffeygan*n* Avgh to fasten*n* the Churche Dorys w*ith* a Dewe serche in the sayde Churche for fere of Slepers |

[2] And at a dewe Season*n* in the mornynge to set Opyn the Dores and the entre-close Dore vndyr payne[3] of such Damage as shal-be leveyde of his s-me*r*ites[4]

[3] The sayde suffrygan*n* to se Oyle in the .ij. lampes.[5] And also that they be brennynge and cleane Water in the holy water Stokkes vnd*er* the payne of ij[d] as ofte as he is fownde fauty in Any of this.

[4] The sayde suffrygan*n* to Rynge the ffurste Pele to Mateyns of co*n*uenient lenght and to Euensonges.[6] The Clerke the seconde Pele And bothe at the Ryngyng of the [s *struck out*] laste pele With ij Bellys th*e* payne of the firste eu*er* | ij[d]. | The seconde | iij[d]. | And at the thyrde whoo th*at* fayles | iiij[d]. |

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[1] Thomas Becon, *Early Works*, Parker Society, 1843, p. 112. On p. 114, he adds that "in some places also they bear green herbs in the stead of olives."

[2] In Bristol the first parish-clerk was called the clerk, high clerk, principal clerk, deacon, or aquebaiulus: the second, the suffragan, or secondary clerk. The subdeacon seems to have been a third clerk, and perhaps was sometimes the same as the sexton (See Wadley's *Notes . . of the Wills . . . at Bristol*, Bristol, 1886; pp. 8, 10, 11 *bis*, 67, 98, 137 for St. Nicholas: pp. 15, 39, 50, 78, 83 for St. Werburgh: pp. 14, 17, 32, 34, 52, 76, for St. Thomas M.: etc., etc.

[3] Pain, *i.e.* penalty.

[4] The "s" of "his" has been reduplicated and one carried forward to the next word, "merits," *i.e.* deserts, what is due to him.

[5] These would be the lamp before the Rood, mentioned in the accounts for 1521-22, 1534, and 1539-40; in 1547-48 it is "the lampe th*at* dyd brene befor th*e* Rodlofft": and that "w*ith*in the ynterclows" (1523), *i.e.* in the quire before the high altar. The lamp before the Lady-altar was bought in 1532.

[6] This is the word used by our English forbears, and not "Vespers."

[5] The Satyrday the Clerke and the suffrygan*n* to Ryng None *with* ij Belles A pele of leyneth Convenient *with*-owte Any fayle excepte Dowbyll ffeste*s* vndyr payne of iiij^{d} to eche that fayles in this same

[6] The sayde suffrygan*n* eue*r*y Satorday to spring[1] the churche *with* water for Resyng of Dowste And so to streke hit vndyr payne of vj^{d} tociens quociens as he fayles [no*tandum in different ink in the margin*].

[7] The sayde suffrygan*n* to pare[2] the Crowde[3] [the *in blacker ink*] Steyre and the Church Dores and so to be had a-weye as ofte as nedyth [under] payne of | iiij^{d} | tociens quociens

[8] The Clerke and the suffrygan*n* bothe to leye furthe The Bokes in the quere at the second pele both a-fore Mateyns and also A-fore Evensonges and the se*r*uyee so ended and don*n* to sette the sayde Bokes Clapsed and seurely in there place [under] payne of ij^{d} to eche that fayles tociens quociens

[9] The Clerke and the suffrygan to see in principall fest-is that the Copys to be borne at the sensyng[4] Auters be Redy/ Apon the awtere by-fore the [byg *struck out*] begynnyng of [fol. 32 *verso*] Evensonges And in lyke wyse at Matenys And second Evynsonge And they bothe to se the foldyng vppe vndyr payne of iiij^{d} tociens quociens

[10] The Clerke and the suffrygan*n* to se in pryncipall feste*s* the Avters Dressyd[5] in the Churche above . at there Charge. And to se . Coppeweste[6] avoyded and Duste fro Auters and ymagery[7] . vndur payne of vj^{d}. to*ciens* quociens.

[11] The suffrigan*n* to goo *with* the Curate and to wayte opon*n* His koope[8] and sensor . at all his sensynge*s* vndyr payne of j^{d} to*ciens* q*uociens* [no*tandum in different ink in the margin*].

[12] The Clerke and suffrygan*n* to Swope the Glasyn*n* wyndowys Churche wallys and Pillars . eue*r*y quar*ter* ooneys vndyr payne of | iiij^{d} | to eche of them as ofte as they fayle

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[1] Sprinkle.

[2] Prepare, make tidy.

[3] Crowd is the usual name for what we now call a crypt.

[4] It is evident that incense was not burned at evensong and mattins except on the principal feasts of the year :—Christmas, Epiphany, Easter, Ascension, Pentecost, Assumption, the saint to which the church was dedicated, and the Dedication. In the Milleres Tale Chaucer relates how Absolon, the parish clerk who had such a nice white surplice, went "with a censer on the holy day, censing the wives of the parish." At Trinity Church, Coventry, in 1462, the people were only censed at first evensong by the clerks : the second's duty was "every principal feast at the first evensong" to "cense the people in the south side of the church." It seems to have been usual at this period, and in the lesser provincial churches, not to use incense except on "high days." In the English rites the cope was only worn at evensong and mattins for censing the altars and reading the collects.

[5] The "dressing" of the altars meant putting on the front and overfront, and the ridells, and displaying the "Jewels" on the reredos. "Jewels" included all such things as images, caskets, monstrances, etc. The practice is still retained in royal chapels. Besides the high altar the accounts mention our Lady altar and St. John's altar. In 1556 the accounts mention the "four altars" : and there were four in 1432 (*Vestry-book*, fol. 12).

[6] Cobwebs.

[7] They were paid in later times for this : 1527, for Brusshyng of the highe aulter and the Rode loffte, xx^{s}. There was begun in 1468 a notable new work over the high altar in the quire, called a "Reredors." It contained an image of St. Nicholas on the north side of the altar, one of St. Blaise on the south, and in the middle an image of the Trinity above and of our Lady below ; all gilt (*Vellum-leaved Vestry-book*, fol. 24). In 1542–43 are payments for makyng and gilding the images of Adam and Eve and the Angel, and a mitre for an image of St. Clement.

[8] Cope.

[13] The suffrygan to Rynge Curfew . *with* on*n* Bell at . ix . of the Clokke A conuenyent pele . the Mowntnanc*e* of halfe a qu*arter* of An owre large[1] . vndyr payne of | ij^{d} |

[14] The Clerke and the suffrygan*n* to Dresse vppe the Bysshopes Sete[2] A-yeniste . Seynte Nicholas Daye vndyr payne of | vj^{d} | a-pece.

[15] The Clerke and the suffrygan*n* to Dress vpp*e* the sepulcur*e*[3] takyng for a Sop*er* | vj^{d} |

[16] The Clerke and the suffrygan*n* to se the lyght[4] ou*er* Ester*e* evyn*n* a-boute the Sepulcur*e* takyng for ther dyn*er*——iiij^{d}.

[17] The suffrygan*n* to se dayle . for the hight Awt*er* when*n* Maten*n*s y*s* Don*n* that there be Redy . A-yenste the hight masse wyne and water and to set on*n* the Awt*er*[5] bothe Boke and Chalice [under] the payne of ij^{d} toc*iens* *quociens*

[18] The Clerke and suffrygan*n* in ther*e* Surples to Resseve of the Vicary [his] Chiseple . and other of his ornamentys . and they to fold hit when Mas ys don*n* the workyn-dayes [under] the payne of a . j^{d}. toc*iens* quoc*iens*.

[19] The Clerke to ordeyne the Sonday . and ffest*es* the Belles . at the Hight Masse Sacrynge[6] to be Ronge solempnely and eu*er*[y] fferyall day to knoll . to Sacrynge [under] the payne of [iiij^{d}. *written over an erasure*] tociens quociens.

[20] The suffrygan*n* to be charged . *with* Ryngyng . for Dundour*e*[7] vndyr payne of vj^{d} tociens quociens | [Also vppon*n* the same payne to Rynge to Oowre lady masse in lente season*n*[8] a computante Pele . *in blacker ink*]

[21] /The Clerke to ordeyn*n* Spryng*a*ls[9] for the Churche. And for hym . that visiteth the [fol. 33.] Sondayes . and dewly . to ber*e* his holywater. To eu*er*y howse[10] Abydyng soo conuenient a space that eu*er*y man*n* may Receyue . hys Holywater [under] payne of | iiij^{d} | toc*iens* *quociens*

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[1] To the amount of a full half of quarter of an hour. Curfew seems to have been rung at St. Nicholas for the whole town.

[2] For the boy-bishop. The Mayor and Corporation attended both evensongs and mass of St. Nicholas, 6th December, listened to the boy-bishop's sermon, and received his blessing. After dinner they waited his coming at the Gildhall, playing dice the while ; and when he arrived, his chapel (*i.e.* choir) sang, and he and they were served with bread and wine (*The maire of Bristow is Kalendar by Robert Ricart*, Camden Society, 1872 ; p. 80). In 1528, Pd. to the clarke for dressyng vp the byshop*es* stale, viij^{d}.

[3] The Host and a Crucifix were buried in the Sepulchre from Good Friday till Easter morning. 1530 : Pd. to the Clerkes to sett uppe the sepulcur, x^{d}. Similarly in 1520.

[4] The accounts have the following references : 1521–22, ffor a borde to worke the sepulcur light a-pon, iiij^{s} xj^{d}. 1532, Payd for pynnys & the mendyng of that the sepulcre lyght hangyth on ij^{d}. 1534, Pd. at the makyng of the Sepulcre lyght in the Crowde ffor wood and Collys, v^{d}. 1540–41, Pd. ffor vj yard*es* can*n*was to make a clothe to covyr*e* the sepullker*e* lyght, xxj^{d}.

[5] The solemn entry with the sacred vessels had disappeared from the St. Nicholas' rite at this period, and possible elsewhere as well.

[6] "Sacring" originally meant consecration, but before this time had become restricted to one ceremony connected therewith, viz., the elevation of the Host.

[7] Durandus says that bells are rung during processions to put demons to flight, as they are afraid of them : and that they are rung for the same cause when a tempest is about to arise, that the devils may be frightened away and calm restored, and to provoke the people to prayer (*Rationale Divinorum Officiorum*, Lib. i : cap. iiij. n. 14, 15).

[8] There is an annual payment for "our lady mass in lent" in the accounts, but in those for 1548–49 it runs "p^{d} to the p*r*eyst & clarke*s* & chylderne th*at* Sowng the last of ow*r* lady mas, iiij^{d}." There was an annual collection for the Lady mass ; in 1534 it was on Palm Sunday.

[9] Springals are bunches of twigs or other arrangement for sprinkling holy water.

[10] The benefice of holy water pertained to poor clerks, by order of Boniface, archbishop of Canterbury That, however, was ordained in 1260, but by the fifteenth century it formed part of the perquisites of the senior parish-clerk.

[22] And the Suffryganⁿ to weyte vpponⁿ the preeste in visitacionⁿ of seke beryng *with* hym . the Surples . Boke oile-fate[1] and stole. And in daye-time . in the suffrygans Absence abowte suche sayde occupacionⁿs The Clerke to se for the saue-garde of the Churche |

[23] The Clerke to synge in Redynge the Epistele Dayly[2] . vndyr . payne of | ij[d] | [and vpponⁿ the same payne to Ring the complene pele in lente[3] seasonⁿ | . *in blacker ink*]

[24] The suffryganⁿ to vette[4] fire or do to[5] be vette for the Sensores in the fire-plate And not in the sensoure vndyr payne of j[d].

[25] The suffryganⁿ to vette oyle for the lampes in the church above as oftenⁿ-times as nedith . [under] the payne of a . j[d].

[26] The suffryganⁿ to se that Awbes Amys Towels[6] And awter Clothis . be had to wesshyng . The procurators[7] payeng there-fore And to be Redye . a-yenste ffestys [under] the payne of ij[d]

[27] The Clerke to be chargyd *with* Ryngyng of None[8] . and Curfewe in principall festes And others . Acordyng *with* a . solempne and a . conuenient pele in lenght . At viij of the Clokke . vndire payne of vj[d]. tociens quociens

[28] The suffryganⁿ to warne the procuratours that the sensours . Candylstykkys And Shippe[9] be Redye sette fourth be-fore the last pele the peyne of a . j[d]. the koope[10] also before euery euynsong whanⁿ hit shall be vsid the sayd sofryganⁿ shall se Redy . in the Quere vndyr payne . of . j[d]. tociens quociens

[29] Hit was so accostemyd . And nowe agreed . of olde that the Clerke shold take for Ryngyng of A parrosshyng[11] there [fore. *struck out*] fro None in-to viij. And a morowe fro viij in-to None *with* . v. Belles iij[s]. iiij[d]. And no more . from hens-forward . vndyre the payne of vj[s]. viij[d]. tociens quociens.

[30] Jtem the vndirsofreganⁿ[12] whiche at the ordynaunce Here-of his Callyd lymner shall se that .

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[1] The oil-vat or chrismatory, containing the oil for aneling the sick person. Besides these ornaments the canon-law required a bell and a light to be carried : 1532, Pd. for a lytyll bell to go a vysytyng, iij[d]. 1539, for makeyng of vesetyng torche, j[s]. See Lindewode, *Provinciale*, Lib. III. : Tit. *De reliquiis et veneracione sanctorum* : Cap. *Dignissimum*.

[2] Lindewode says that it was part of the duties of the clerk to serve the presbyter at the altar, to sing with him, and to read the epistle (*Provinciale*, Lib. III : Tit. *De concessione prebende* : Cap. *A nostris maioribus* : Verb. *Clericis*, et *Sciant*).

[3] Usually complin was sung immediately after evensong ; but in Lent, evensong was sung at an earlier hour to enable the fast (which was kept until after evensong) to be broken as early as possible. Complin was still said at the later hour and so an extra peal was necessary. None was anticipated in the same way, so that what used to be 3.0 p.m. now means mid-day.

[4] Fetch.

[5] Cause to be fetched.

[6] Albs, amices, towels. The latter term was usually applied to the linen cloths that lie upon the altar at mass, rarely to what we call towels. *Altar cloths* generally signifies the upper and lower fronts, but here seems to mean the under linen cloths lying on the altar.

[7] Churchwardens.

[8] None or noon means the canonical "Hour" sung at 3.0 p.m.

[9] The vessel to hold the incense.

[10] Cope. It would be used by the priest when the altar was to be censed, and put on immediately before going up to the altar for that purpose and worn until after he had read the collects. See Lindewode *Provinciale* Lib. III : tit. *De ecclesijs edificandis* : cap. *Vt parrochiani* : verb. *In choro*.

[11] A parishioner. It was agreed by the Vestry on the 4th Sunday in Lent, 1489, that from henceforward "the Belles of Seint Nicholas Shall not be dayly Rongen for no maner person pareschen or other duryng the Moneth After the bereyng As hit hath be late begone And vsed" (*Vellum-leaved Vestry-book*, fol. 34 *verso*).

[12] The under-suffragan, at this date called Lymner, appears to be a different person from the suffragan ; probably a third clerk.

ij . Torches in the Sondaye be brennyng at the hygh Masse sacryng[1] And for all other [fol. 33 *verso*] lyghtes save the quyre lyghtes a-cordyng to every feste and in the feriall . Dayes . the suffryganⁿ to be chargid with the same . and with the quere lyght[2] . at all tymes vpponⁿ the payne of | ij[d] |

[31] The suffryganⁿ and the Clerke to weyte vpponⁿ the quere Dayly[3] . and [The | *over an erasure and in a later hand*] Clerke at Cesonys . accordyng to kepe . the Organs[4] . vndyr payne of iiij[d]. to*ciens* quo*ciens*.

[32] The Clerke and the suffryganⁿ Aught to vette to Churche the Crosse[5] . as well the poore as the Riche vndire the payne of . ij[d]. to*ciens* quo*ciens*

[33] The Clerke aught not to take no Boke oute of the quere . for Childerynⁿ to lerne In[6] with-owte lisence of the procu[ra]tours vndyr payne . that the Curate . and the procu[ra]tours Assignⁿ hem

[34] The Clerke and the suffryganⁿ in seruyce tyme Aught not to absente them from the Quere . with-owte licence of the Curate . or his debite And nether of hem . to be . absent from . ony Euynsong . Masse Mateyns or eny othyr devyne seruice with-owte licence bothe of the Curate and of the procurators vndyr payne of iiij[d] to*ciens* quo*ciens*.

[35] The suffryganⁿ to se that there be a torche Redy for the Masses that ys sayde in the Churche . Dayly. And the Torches . to put owte fro all maner Awterys And the quere [under the] payne of a [p *struck out*] . j[d]. to*ciens* quo*ciens*

[36] The Clerke to fynd Ryngars and Ropys for the Bellys with Dewe serche of the Bawderykys[7] and Claperys . at all tymys. And suffyciently to warne the procurators whenn nede ys . to a-mende the sayde Bawderykes . Claperys . or Whelys vndyr such payne as the Curate or His Debite . with the proctors and . ij . or . iij . of the Whorshipfull[8] of the parroche Woll assignⁿ as ofte as nede ys.

[37] The Clerke and the suffryganⁿ to Ryng Dayly to Hyght Masse at the Custenable owre [under the] payne of | ij[d] | eche of Hem tociens quociens |

[38] Also the suffrygann to fynde palme[9] . and flourys A-yenste palme-sonday at his Coste . vppon payne of | xx[d] |

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[1] What the modern books call the elevation of the Host.

[2] The quire-light is the lamp before the Eucharist over the high altar, hanging in the upper part of the quire.

[3] Waiting upon the quire daily means what is thus expressed in the duties of the first deacon at Coventry, 1462 : 6. *Item*, the said deacon shall sing evensong on the south side in the quire ; and if it be holy day or double feast, the said deacon shall be rector (*i.e.* ruler or chaunter) in the quire for the south side of the quire. He had to do similarly at mattins and mass, and his fellow the same on the north side.

[4] The organ, generally situated in the rood-loft, was not used in the general and continuous manner of the present day. New organs were purchased about the year 1470 (*Vellum-leaved Vestry-book*, fol. 24 *verso*), and again in 1539 (*Accounts*). 1540–41, Pd. ffor a new Iere ffor onⁿ of the stopes of the new organs yⁿ the quyere, vj[d]. 1542–43, Pd. ffor mendyng of the helews of the Smale organs ynⁿ the quyere, j[d].

[5] The canon law requires every parish to have a cross for funerals as well as one for processions. Rich persons would give the clerk a larger "tip" than poorer folk for carrying the cross in the procession from the house to the church. Hence this rule.

[6] The canon law requires that every rector shall have a parish clerk, capable of keeping school and teaching the children. There was a house called "le Scole hous" in St. Nicholas Street in 1407 (Wadley's *Wills*, 82).

[7] Baldricks are the leathern bands to fasten the clappers on to the bells.

[8] This gathering of the worshipful of the parishioners is the germ of what we now call the Vestry.

[9] Palm was (and is still, in country places) the name given to one of the sallows, *Salix caprea*, whose bright yellow catkins are in full blossom just about Palm Sunday. It did not mean the real Eastern palm. The following excerpts from the accounts show that at a later period the churchwardens paid for it : 1528, Payde for getheryng of palme, ij[d]. 1532, for fettyng of palme, iij.[d] 1534, Pd. to Robert [Say, the suffragan

[39] And also the Clerke and the suffryganⁿ to make Clene the segys in the churche[1] whanⁿ they be callyd vpponⁿ

[40] /All othyr thynges longyng to eny of there seruice. the Curate or his debite[2]. with th [fol. 34.] proctors[3] shall certyfye hem whenⁿ eny nede shall Happynⁿ in tyme Comyng [

[41] And all theys sayde Paynes oonly to Returne
To the Wele off Seynte Nicholas Churche.

DEO GRACIAS. Ricardus [*notarial mark*] Blewet.[4]

In a different hand, and in black instead of rusty coloured ink.

Thys ben the Caswell Avaylis[5] longgyng to the Clerke & the Suffrygan

[1] In primis the Clerke [to haue the *over an erasure*] vaylys of the bellis the Banys[6] And of euery Pardoner[7] for the Surplyse &c.

[2] Also the Clerke [to haue the *over an erasure*] vaylys on Seynt Nicholas nyghth goenge wyth Sospitati[8]

[3] Also the Clerk to haue the herse cloth when Any such fall that is kept vppon the graue Durynge the month with ij lampis on at the fete the tothir At the hed of graue As the vsage ys||

[4] Jtem the Suffrygan to haue the vantage of the Crossis[9]. that is to sey for euery Corse that decessith in the parysh —— iiij[d].

[5] All-so the Suffrygan to haue the vantage of the virgyn on Alhallon day.[10] Wherefore he muste se dayly that the westmentes of the hy Auter be foldyd when masse is do. & so y-put upp &c||

[6] Also where hit was of old vsage that the vantage of weddynges was longgynge to the Clerke. There-fore to put A-way Al varyans in tyme to come. Hyt is ordeynyd by the Agrement of the

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ffor ffechyng off the palme, iiij[d]. 1535, Pd. to the Sexten for feachyng of palme, iiij[d]. And in 1527, to the Clerck for makyng of the palmes, ij[d] [? into crosses].

[1] There were not only seats on the floor of the nave, but also, at any rate in the sixteenth century, there were some in a gallery: *e.g.*, the accounts for 1520 record two receipts of 12*d.* "for hys pew in the lofte." In 1528 there are eight for the same.

[2] Deputy.

[3] Churchwardens.

[4] Richard Blewet would be the notary public who drew up this list of duties.

[5] Casual avails, or perquisites.

[6] The fees for ringing the bells, and publishing banns.

[7] So too at Coventry where the senior "deacon" was allowed to "have of every pardoner that cometh ij[d]., and the said deacon shall lend to him a surplice to go with the priest into the pulpit."

[8] *Sospitati dedit aegros olei perfusio: Nicholaus naufragantum affuit praesidio* is the beginning of the prose that used to be sung in the Sarum use after the ninth respond at mattins on the feast of St. Nicholas, 6th December. Evidently the clerks went round the parish singing this hymn after the fashion of the Waits and Carol-singers of later days, and the "avails" or "tips" obtained on that occasion went to the parish-clerk.

[9] That is, for carrying the cross before the funeral procession.

[10] I do not know what this was, and the churchwardens' accounts throw no light on the matter. At Coventry the two deacons made a collection, one on either side of the church, on All Hallows day at even, "for the ringers that ring for all christian souls."

p*ary*sshons *with* the will And consent of the Clerke and Suff*r*ygan. That the Suffrygan hens-forward shuld haue the Awaylys of Weddyngg*es*. And the Clerke to haue for A knowlegge of the same. Halfe the A-vantagge for the leyenge of Al man*er* Herses[1] th*at* shal-be leyde on the Church Except for Al such herses th*at* is yerely kepte[2] of olde fundac*i*on longyth to the Suffrygan only &c.

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[1] A herse was an erection of drapery and lights, ornamented with shields, scutcheons, flags and banners, according to the position and rank of the deceased. In France it is called a catafalque.

[2] The Obits kept at St. Nicholas church in the sixteenth century were the following:—Thomas Johns, cofferer (died 1464) on 3rd July; Henry Gildeney (died 1420) on Tuesday in Easter week; Neil Fisher (died 8 Ric. II) on 20 October; Robert (? John) Palmer (died 1433) on the feast of the Conception B.M.V.; William Spenser (died 1481) Monday after Trinity Sunday; Richard Johns (died 1444) on Wednesday in Easter week; Robert Thorne (died 1515) on 25th May; Margaret Ryse (died 1529) on 14th March; All Good Doers (date determined in 1446, *Vestry-book*, fol. 22 *verso*) on Martinmas eve and day. Besides these in the high church, there was kept in the Crowd those of Geoffrey Griffith, on St. Gregory's day or eve (*sic*); Thomas Johns, cofferer, on 1st May; and All Good Doers on Holyrood eve in May. There was also a chauntry founded at the altar of St. Mary by Richard Spicer who died in 1377: and an annual obit was kept for him. The "Composition" or foundation deed of this chauntry is printed by Mr. Francis B. Bickley in his edition of *The Little Red Book of Bristol*, Bristol and London, 1900; vol. i, pp. 215 sq. Cf. *Vestry Book*, foll. 13 sq.

ON AN INVENTORY OF CHURCH GOODS BELONGING TO THE PARISH OF ST. MARTIN LUDGATE.

BY

REV. E. S. DEWICK, M.A., F.S.A.

By the kindness of the Rev. E. Hoskins, Rector of St. Martin Ludgate, I have the privilege of describing an inventory of church goods belonging to that church. The inventory is contained in a Vestry Book, which is bound in rough calf and lettered, "St. Martin's Ludgate Vestry Book for the years 1568–1715."[1] But the book contains some matter which is earlier than the first date on the binding.

The inventory is written on vellum and commences on fo. 4 of the present numbering of the leaves. Unfortunately it is not dated, but the evidence of the writing points to the end of the fourteenth century, or the beginning of the fifteenth.[2] It cannot be earlier than 1380, for it is immediately followed in the Vestry Book by a copy of an indenture with reference to the lease of a tenement in the parish of St. Martin Ludgate, granted by the prioress of Dartford ("Derteford"), to Robert Howneres. This indenture was apparently copied by the same hand as the inventory, and is dated the 45th year of Edward III., which is equivalent to 1371–2. The reason for copying this indenture into the Vestry Book is shown by the next entry, which is a copy of the will of the said Robert Howners (or Houneres) dated 1380, and proved in the fourth year of Richard II. (1380–1). By this will he left sundry legacies to the Rector (who is not mentioned by name), to Thomas, the principal clerk (*Thome principali clerico*), to the *subclericus*, to Robert, chaplain of our Lady's chantry (*Roberto capellano beate marie*), to the Rector and Churchwardens jointly, and to the Fraternity of our Lady in the said church of St. Martin.

The date of the inventory is also shown to be certainly later than 1395 by the fact that one of the vestments was given to the church by Sir John Norton, who was Rector from 1395–1403. Another donor mentioned in the list is "old Sir Robert" (*veill sieur Robert*), whom I take to be Sir Robert Ravendale, Rector from 1392–1395.[3]

The mention of a cloth, painted with the image of St. John of Bridlington, who died in 1379, and whose body was translated in 1404,[4] is a further proof that the inventory is not earlier than the end of the fourteenth century.

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[1] On the fly-leaves at the beginning the first entry is :—"(I)nn these vestre metenges it is moste (m)ete we have the fere of god (i)n ouere hartes that ouere actes may prosper to us and oures to come." This is followed by collects and prayers, presumably to be said at vestry meetings.

[2] Mr. F. B. Bickley, of Department of MSS. in the British Museum, has kindly examined the writing and has expressed his opinion that its date is not far from 1400.

[3] These dates are on the authority of Hennessey's *Novum Repertorium Ecclesiasticum Londinense* 1898, p. 292.

[4] See below p. 122, *note*.

The inventory is written in French, and not in English or Latin, as was usually the case with inventories of church goods. But the French is not exactly "French of Paris." I am not sure that it is even quite up to the mark of the French of "the scole Stratford atte Bowe," spoken by Chaucer's Prioress; but it is fairly intelligible. The writer never scrupled to make use of English words, when at a loss for the proper French equivalent. For purposes of comparison, as regards language, reference may be made to a nearly contemporary inventory of Goods and Chattels belonging to Thomas, Duke of Gloucester in 1397, which is also in French.[1]

The St. Martin's inventory is not only of value as giving a detailed picture of the furniture of a church in the City of London about the year 1400. but it also has a special interest for the members of the St. Paul's Ecclesiological Society, because the church is familiar to all of us, on account of its close vicinity to the place in which we are privileged to hold our meetings.

The contents of the St. Martin's inventory are arranged under the following headings, which, in the original, are written in the margin:—

(1) Les livres.
(2) Les vestiments.
(3) Copes.
(4) Les Corporalx ove les Cases.
(5) Les frountelx.
(6) Les towayles.
(7) Chalisses.
(8) Joyalx dargent.
(9) Les Ornements de cupre laton peauter et dautre metall.
(10) Les Ornements dor,[2] soy, satyn, taffata, Esteinerie, et de autres tresoures.

The books are the first things noted. By the constitutions of Archbishop Winchelsey passed in 1305, parishioners were bound to provide the following books, "legenda, antiphonarium, gradale, psalterium, troperium, ordinale, missale, manuale."[3] All of these are mentioned in the inventory of St. Martin's except the troper and ordinale, but three or four words have been scraped out from the list of the books, and one or both of the missing books may have been duly recorded before the obliteration. In addition to the books legally required, the parish of St. Martin was provided with an *invitatorium*. This contained the invitatories to be sung at different seasons of the year at *Venite*, which itself was sung with varied intonations, according to the ecclesiastical season.[4] The list of books also includes a *catholicon*, presumably the well-known work by Johannes de Janua, which comprised a treatise on grammar and a Latin dictionary.[5] The last book which requires

[1] Edited by Viscount Dillon and Mr. W. H. St. John Hope, in the *Archaeological Journal*, vol. liv, p. 275.

[2] *i.e.*, drap d'or.

[3] Lyndewode's *Provinciale*, Liber III. Tit. *De Ecclesiis edificandis*, Cap. *Ut parrochiani*.

[4] The book containing these intonations was called *Venitare* or *Venitarium* (see Maskell's *Monumenta Ritualia*, 2nd edition, Oxford, 1882, vol. i, p. cii), and, as this would naturally include the invitatories, I am inclined to think that *venitare* and *invitatorium* are different names for the same book. The colloquial English for the latter was "vitetory book." (Brit. Mus. Stowe MS., 871, fo. 2*b*.)

[5] Another instance of a *catholicon* kept with church goods for the use of priests is found in the Wycombe Inventories, edited by Mr. W. H. St. John Hope (*Records of Buckinghamshire*, 1899, pp. 10, 19). The copy of

notice is a "quayr of St. Anne," which was probably an unbound booklet containing the new office of St. Anne, which was adopted in England in 1383 (Wilkins' *Concilia*, iii, 178).[1]

The next group to be considered is the "vestments." By the word "vestment" is meant the complete mass gear for a priest, and sometimes also for the deacon, and sub-deacon assisting him, viz., chasuble with amice, stole, and fanon (or maniple) for the priest, and tunicles for the deacon and sub-deacon. Of the vestments two are described as "principal," and there are thirteen others mostly described as "sengle." The two "principal" vestments were respectively of blue velvet embroidered with gold stars, and of gold and red silk. From entries below we learn that both of them had copes of the same suit, which would be worn by the priest for the procession; and the first of the suits had an altar frontal to match.

At the end of the list of vestments we find, "j. cope pur seynt Nicolace," and in a later hand, "j. Miter garnise ove lettres de Jhc̃ & Marie de perill." These were doubtless for the boy bishop.[2]

Eight corporases, with their corresponding cases, are enumerated. With regard to three of the cases it is specially noticed that they belonged to particular suits of vestments. One of the cases was enriched with the "Crucifix between SS. Mary and John, and SS. Peter and Paul on the other side." Others were severally embroidered with Tristram knots,[3] and the head of St. John the Baptist.[4]

Of altar frontals, St. Martin's originally possessed six, and two were afterwards added. Three belonged to particular suits of vestments. The ornaments upon them consisted, in one case, of the vernicle with gold stars, in another of the heads of the twelve apostles, whilst the sacred monogram Ihc̃, and the letter M crowned were embroidered upon two others.

There were four houseling cloths, which are spoken of as being used for the Easter communion of the people. They varied in length from seven to nine *verges*, by four quarters

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the *catholicon* ("Liber Grammaticalis qui dicitur Catholicon") belonging to the cathedral church of Exeter, was valued at 100*s*., being of equal value with the great Portiforium which was chained in the church. These two were the most valuable books belonging to the church. (Oliver's *Lives of the Bishops of Exeter*, Exeter, 1861, p. 309.) The word *catholicon* afterwards became a general term for a dictionary, and was adopted by the compiler of the *Catholicum Anglicum*, edited in 1881 for the Early English Text Society.

[1] For this use of the word "quire," compare the following from an inventory of St. Lawrence, Reading, "Item ij quaires in prent of the visitation of our lady the ij^de^ lefe begynning (decacordo)." Kerry's *History of the Municipal Church of St. Lawrence, Reading*, 1883, p. 102. The festival of the Visitation was adopted in England in 1480, and the office was printed separately as a supplement to the service books then in use.

[2] Similar entries may be found in the inventories of other parish churches. Thus in an inventory of goods at Faversham Church, Kent, in 1502, we find "Item, ij lytell vestyments for seynt Nicholas with ij course myters." (*Archaeologia Cantiana*, vol. xviii, p. 108.) At St. Olave's, Southwark, in 1552, we have, "Item sainte Nicholas croiser staffe coper and gylt." (J. R. Daniel-Tyssen, *Inventories of the Goods and Ornaments in the Churches of Surrey*, London, 1869, p. 81.) Some account of the part which the boy bishop took in the service on Holy Innocents' Day will be found in the Sarum Processional (ed. Henderson, pp. 17–21), and also in the Sarum Breviary (ed. Procter and Wordsworth, vol. i, pp. 243–245). A brief description of the ceremony of the Boy-Bishop at St. Paul's is given in Dr. Sparrow Simpson's *Chapters on the History of Old St. Paul's*, London, 1881, pp. 53–55. See also Poulson's *Beverlac*, ii, pp. 657–659.

[3] In Heraldry we are familiar with the Bouchier, the Bowen, the Harrington, the Lacy knot and others, but I have not been able to find a Tristram knot.

[4] On the connection of the Head of St. John with the sacrament of the altar, see Mr. W. H. St. John Hope's paper "On the sculptured alabaster tablets called St. John's Heads." (*Archaeologia*, lii, p. 705.)

in width. For drying the priests' hands at the lavatories (or *piscinæ*), there were provided some half-dozen small towels.[1]

The chalices were five in number; each had its corresponding paten. The ornaments on the latter consisted severally of the letters ihc̃ xp̃c, the Majesty, the Vernicle, and St. John (probably the head of St. John the Baptist). In addition to the chalices, there was also a silver cup for "the honourable sacrament," which may have been used like a ciborium, for the houseling bread, when the sacrament was administered to the parishioners at Easter.

The silver ornaments included a cross weighing 54 oz., a censer, an incense boat, and a chrismatory. Among the vessels of baser metal were offering dishes, a paxbrede (the instrument for giving the kiss of peace), cruets for wine and water, and several pairs of candlesticks. Of the two candlesticks at the altar of our Lady, one before the image of our Lady had six burners, and that before the image of St. Anne had three burners.

At the altar of our Lady there was a picture, probably in the form of what we now call a triptych, painted with the Coronation of our Lady on the inside, and on the outside with the "Salutation," which was the usual name for the subject now generally known as the "Annunciation."

Four bells are mentioned. One is described as "handebelle pur soner en la paroche deuant les corps qui sont a Dieu commandez."[2] The other bells are two small sacring bells, and a small houseling bell. The sacring bells were doubtless the bells used for ringing at the mass, while the houseling bell was probably the bell borne before the priest, when he took the sacrament to the sick, and was the same thing as the "tintinabulum ad deferendum coram corpore Christi in visitatione infirmorum," which parishioners were required to provide by the constitution of Archbishop Winchelsea in 1305. According to the Lincolnshire inventories of 1566, most churches seem to have possessed a "sacring bell" and a "hand bell," and the latter is probably the same thing as the houseling bell of the St. Martin's inventory.[3]

The canopy to be carried on Corpus Christi Day could probably be taken to pieces for convenience of storage when not in use. It consisted of four gilt "crests" which fitted together to form the roof of the canopy, which was supported by four poles. On the top were eight pennons or small flags, no doubt one for each corner, and one for the middle of each side, and fringes of cloth of gold hung from the crests.

Among the less common entries may be noticed "iij fliewariels." Two were made of peacock's feathers and the third of parchment ("de parchemyn"), arranged so that when not in use it could be drawn back into a case, for it is described as being "enclosez en un staff." I have not been able to find the word "fliewariel" in any dictionary, but there can be no doubt that the word has the same meaning as "flee-flape," which is found in the *Catholicon Anglicum* (E.E.T.S., p. 134). A later hand has reduced the number of these "fliewariels," to

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[1] In many churches we find in the niche containing the piscina a shelf, which in some cases may have served as a credence table. But in other cases there is a space of only a few inches above the shelf, which may then have been used to lay a towel upon.

[2] In some inventories this is called the "corse bell." "Item a sacring bell and a corse bell." Inventory of West Horsley Church, *Surrey Inventories*, p. 19. *Cf. Ibid.*, p. 21.

[3] See Peacock's *English Church Furniture*, London, 1866, pp. 33, 36, 50, etc., and *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of London*, 2nd Series, v. 25.

one and scored out the "peacocks," so we learn that the peacock's feathers had become moth-eaten, but that the fly-flap of parchment lasted on.

Fans to keep off flies from the sacred elements are often recorded in the inventories of great churches, but they are not often found in parish churches. In an Inventory of Westminster Abbey of 1388[1] we find:—"Muscarium ad fugandum muscas est unum argento in manubrio laminatum." And as late as the year 1500 there was in the cathedral church of York, "Unum manubrium flabelli argenti deaurati . . . cum ymagine Episcopi in fine, enamelyd, ponderis v unc." (*York Fabric Rolls*, Surtees Society, p. 223.)

The St. Martin's inventory has few indications of the liturgical colours used at St. Martin's. Probably the best and newest was used at principal feasts, and this seems to have been a suit of blue velvet embroidered with stars of gold. The next suit was of gold and red, and another was of cloth of gold with red and blue. There is an interesting example of the way in which a festival suit when worn out was used for every-day wear in a vestment of cloth of gold (*drap d'or*). This was doubtless used at one time for high festivals, but a later hand has written against it "ferial," which suggests that the vestment had become shabby, and was consequently degraded to ferial use. One of black "baudekin" was for Requiem masses; and another was of old russet silk (*de veill soi russet*) striped with gold. Apparently the stole and fanon did not always match the chasuble in colour, for there is one instance of a chasuble of white and gold being used with stole and maniple of cloth of gold with red and green.

For Lent there was a veil of blue and "glauke" to be hung before the high altar, and a white cloth with the image of St. Martin is specifically mentioned as being used for Lent.[2] The Rood was covered in Lent with a white cloth stained with the symbols of the Passion.

A white cloth for covering the font may have been used for Lent in particular,[3] or perhaps at other times when the font was not in use.

For the use of the rulers of the choir on principal feasts there was provided a small "form" with two blue cushions, and a blue carpet, or piece of tapestry, with a duck (?) worked in it (*un banker*[4] *bloy ove un doke overe; en icelle*).

Concerning the altars and images of St. Martin's Church, the inventory supplies us with a good deal of information. Three altars are mentioned by name,—the high or "principal" altar, the altar of our Lady, and that of St. James. The last entry, which is an addition to the original inventory, speaks of four altars, but the dedication of the fourth is not disclosed.

Of images there was, of course, that of St. Martin, the patron saint of the church, in the chancel, and we may surmise that the white cloth painted with an effigy of St. Martin for use in Lent was intended to cover this image. This entry was afterwards struck out, and

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[1] Edited by Dr. Wickham Legg in *Archaeologia*, lii, p. 238.

[2] On the subject of Lenten colours see Mr. W. H. St. John Hope's paper on the English Liturgical Colours in *Trans. S.P.E.S.*, ii, pp. 233–272.

[3] At Wycombe, in 1518–19, there was "a fontecloth with fyve crosses," which is entered immediately after "a vayle Cloth for lent with a blewe Crosse." (W. H. St. John Hope in *Records of Buckinghamshire*, 1899, p. 21.)

[4] A "banker" or "banquer" was a piece of tapestry for covering a bench or seat. See *Inventories of Christchurch, Canterbury*, edited by J. Wickham Legg and W. H. St. John Hope, Westminster, 1902, pp. 98, 96 *note*.

the penultimate entry in the list, which has been added by a later hand, records a new cloth with St. Martin on his horse. The Lady altar had images of St. Mary and St. Anne. The last entry speaks of eight cloths for covering eight images at the four altars, and three others for the images of St. Christopher, St. Loy, and St. John of Bridlington.[1]

Mention is made of a small reliquary (*vn Berile*[2] *garnise*ȝ *ove argent* ȝ *enuore*ȝ) to contain relics of saints. As it only weighed a little more than 3 oz., it must have been of small size, and capable only of holding small fragments of bone or perhaps a tooth. It is not said if it contained relics. The late Dr. Sparrow Simpson has noticed that in the twenty-three churches in the City of London, included in visitations between 1138 and 1250, there are only three examples of relics, viz.: "Feretrum cum reliquiis," "crux cum reliquiis," "crux argentea deaurata in qua est de ligno Domini." The scarcity of relics in parish churches stands in strong contrast with the wealth of them in the treasuries of cathedral churches.

Among the miscellaneous items towards the end of the list, we find two striped cushions for the priest and his deacon in their seat near the high altar ("pur seruir au prestre et soun deakne en leur see ioust lautier principal"). The seat here referred to must be what we now call the "sedilia," and we may perhaps infer that at St. Martin's Ludgate the sedilia were double and not triple as was usually the case. The subdeacon, for whom no place was provided on the sedilia, may perhaps have been accommodated with a stool. Mr. Micklethwaite[3] has pointed out that the old name for the sedilia was "presbytery," as in the following extracts from an inventory of St. Stephen's, Coleman Street, 1466, printed in *Archaeologia*, 1887, l. 30; "j cloth of grene bokrame lyned for the presbetory." But they are also merely called "sittings" in the following entry of goods given to a chapel in Somerby Church, Lincolnshire, in 1440:—"Item a steyned Clothe with byrdes of gold for the rood loft. Item three peces of the same for sitting of the priest deken and subdecon."[4] In the *Chronicle of the Grey Friars of London* (Camden Society, p. 75) we read

[1] The cult of St. John of Bridlington seems to have spread with great rapidity about the beginning of the fifteenth century. He was a canon, and afterwards prior of the Augustinian house of Bridlington in Yorkshire. He was distinguished for the sanctity of his life, and after his death in 1379 the miracles supposed to be wrought at his tomb caused his cult to spread throughout England. His body is said to have been translated in 1404 by order of Pope Boniface IX., but he does not appear to have been formally canonized. His name is not found in the calendars of the printed York or Sarum books, but it is found on October 9 in the calendar of a manuscript Missal of York Use, preserved in the Library of Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge, and there is a mass in his honour in the Sanctorale of this book. (*The York Missal*, ed. Henderson, Surtees Society, vol. ii, p. 113.) At the end of a manuscript Sarum Missal in the Bodleian Library [Rawlinson C 142 (12007)] there is a *Commemoratio de S. Johanne de Byrdlyngton* (W. H. Frere's *Bibliotheca Musico-Liturgica*, 1901, vol. i, p. 91). In 1414 the sacrist of the Cathedral Church of Norwich paid 26*s.* 8*d.* for making an image of St. John of Bridlington, and a corbel inscribed with his name has recently been found in that church by Mr. W. H. St. John Hope (*Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries*, 1899, 2nd Series, vol. xvii, p. 359). The life of St. John of Bridlington is in the *Nova Legenda Angliæ*, ed. Horstmann, vol. ii, p. 64, and in Surius *De Vitis Sanctorum*, Venetiis, 1581, vol. v, p. 245.

[2] Beril is here not a variety of the precious stone emerald, but rock crystal or artificial glass resembling it, as in the following:—"Dix paires de lunettes . . . dont y en avoit trois paires de cristal et les autres de béril." (Comptes des Ducs de Lorraine, quoted by Laborde, *Notice des Émaux*, Paris, 1853, ii 164.)

At the Cathedral Church of Lincoln in the fifteenth century there was: "unum Jocale de Bireℍ ornatum in finibus cum argento ad modum manubrii et continens reliquias ignotas." (*Archaeologia*, liii, p. 16.)

At the Cathedral Church of York about 1500, there was "unus morsus cum passione Sancti Thome Cantuar. depicta sub berill." (*York Fabric Rolls*, Surtees Society, p. 222.)

[3] *The Ornaments of the Rubric*, Alcuin Club, 1897, p. 41.

[4] Peacock's *English Church Furniture*, London, 1866, p. 184.

of the "pluckynge downe" of "the place for prest, dekyne, and subdekeyne," at St. Paul's on October 25th, 1552.

Of the numerous and costly objects mentioned in this inventory, I am not aware that a single one is now in existence. But the church still retains a portion of one piece of its pre-Reformation plate, which, however, being of later date than this inventory, does not appear in it. I refer, of course, to the silver parcel-gilt communion cup, which has been already exhibited before the Society. The bowl of this cup bears the date 1559-60, and it has been placed upon the foot of a monstrance or standing pyx, which still bears an inscription recording the gift of the vessel "in worship of the sacrament." This foot bears the London date-letter of 1507–8. The cup has been figured in the *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries*, 2nd Series, xvii, 330, where a full description is given and its history is traced.

In printing the text of the inventory the spelling of the original has been closely followed, but for the convenience of the reader the abbreviations have been expanded, and the expanded letters are shown by italics. A few have been left when the exact form which the word should take admitted of doubt. Square brackets have been used to distinguish the additions to the original inventory, and have been used also to enclose letters which seem to have been accidentally dropped by the scribe. Round brackets have been used for letters or words which were probably originally in the MS., but have been cut away by the binder's shears. In order to make the reading easier, each item has been allowed to commence a line, instead of being "run on" as has often been the case in the original. On the other hand the paragraph marks have been dispensed with as being no longer wanted. The MS. has been closely followed in the use of *u* and *v*, the former being used in the middle of words and the latter at the beginning.

In conclusion, I desire to express my sincere thanks to the Rev. E. Hoskins for his kindness in giving me facilities for studying the MS., by depositing it temporarily at the British Museum. My thanks are also due to Mr. F. B. Bickley, of the Department of MSS. of the British Museum, for kindly undertaking the custody of it, and also for assistance in solving some difficulties. To Dr. Wickham Legg, and Mr. W. H. St. John Hope, I am indebted for much help and encouragement whilst engaged in preparing this paper.

/**Leȝ liures.** En *p*rimes .j. grand legende. iij. antiphon*ers* [1][j. porthors][1] veil . ij . Greyles [fo. 4. .ij. processionles .iiij. messale .j. liure p*ur* jnuitatoirs .j. manuel .ij Sauters .j. collectare. [2].ij. . . . . de papier [?] .j. Catholicon .j. quayer de seinte Anne[2] ꝛc̃. [3][Item j graunde entier portoys le queH fuist Johñ Beue*r*ley Chapileyñ][3]

Leȝ vestime[n]tȝ. Item vn vestiment principaH entier noueH de bloy velvet con*tenant* .iij. aubeȝ .iij. amett*es* ouecque stoles ꝛ Fanons oue .j. chesuble ꝛ .ij. tonacleȝ ou*ereȝ* oue sterreȝ dor embroudeȝ.

Item vn vestiment p*r*incipaH dor ꝛ rouge soy cestassavoir .iij. aubes .iij. amettes .ij. tonycles .j. Chesible .j. stole .j. phanoñ.

Item .vn vestiment sengle oue Griffons[4] de draꝑ dor du douñ Will*i*am Powe.

Item vn vestiment sengle de draꝑ dor du douñ Johñ P*ar*ker Esquier.

Item vn vestiment de drap dor rouge ꝛ bloy oue Griffons Cestassauoir vn aube amycte stole phanoñ Chesible ꝛ deux tonycles.

Item vn vestiment de rouge satyñ Cestassauoir vn aube amyte [5] stole [5] phanoñ Chesible ꝛ deux tonycles.

Item vn vestiment de Inde les Rayes de blank say Cestassauoir .ij. aubeȝ amycte stole phanoñ Chesible ꝛ tonycle.

Item vn vestiment sengle de draꝑ dor ꝛ le chamꝑ bloy.

Item vn vestiment sengle de noir baudekyn du douñ de s*ieur* William Nortoñ.

Item vn vestiment sengle de draꝑ dor le champe rouge du douñ de mons*ieur* Symond' Burley.

Item vn vestiment sengle de draꝑ dor. [3][feriaH][3]

Item vn vestiment sengle de baudekyn oue Roses et vn sengle /amicte de mesme la suyte. [fo. 4*b*.

Item vn vestiment sengle de draꝑ blank dor [3][oue stole ꝛ phanon de draꝑ dor rouge ꝛ vert.][3]

Item vn vestiment feriaH sengle [3][de veiH soi russet leȝ Raieȝ dor.][3]

Item vn Chesible de vert satyñ raieȝ oue .ij. apparures pur vn aube ꝛ vn apparure p*ur* vn amycte ꝛ stole ꝛ phanoñ de mesme la suyte.

Item .iiij. amyctes sengles.

Item .ij. aubes ꝛ .ij. amyctes. ꝛ .j. cope p*ur* seynt Nicholace.

[3][j. Miter garnise ove l*ett*res de Jhc̃ ꝛ Marie de periH][3]

(C)opes. Item .j. fyñ noueH Cope de draꝑ dor.

Item .j. noueH Cope de bloy veluet de la suyt du dit bloy veluet vestiment ou*ereȝ* oue sterreȝ dor.

Item .j. Cope de draꝑ dor le champe rouge soy de la suyt du principal vestiment.

Item deux quere Copes dune suyt de draꝑ dor du douñ de Johñ Burgh.

(Leȝ C)orporalx (oue) leȝ Caseȝ. Item vn corporalx oue le cas de la suyte du vestiment quel Will*i*am Powe dona.

Item vn corporalx oue le cas de la suyte du vestiment quel Johñ Parker dona.

/Item vn corporalx oue le cas de la suyte de vestiment quel s*ieur* Will*i*am Nortoñ dona. [fo. 5.

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[1]—[1] Interlined by a later hand.

[2]—[2] These words have been scraped out, and only the last can now be read.

[3]—[3] Added by a later hand.

[4] *A later hand has written over this word* pecokkes.

[5]—[5] *A later hand has inserted* ij *in these places.*

Item vn corporalx oue le cas de drap̃ dor oue crucifix Marie ⁊ Johñ a lune *par*t ⁊ a lautre les ymages de Petir ⁊ Paule.

Item vn autre corporalx oue le cas embroudez oue Tristra*m* Knott*es* ⁊ le test de seint Johñ le Baptistre.

Item .iij. autres corporalx ferialez oue les .iij. cas a ycelles.

Lez frountelx. Item vn Frounteꝉ *pur* vn autier de la suyte de vestiment *quel* Will*iam* Powe dona.

Item vn Frounteꝉ de la suyte du vestiment q*uel* Will*iam* Norton dona.

Item vn Frounteꝉ de bloy veluet oue vernicle ⁊ sterres dor.

Item vn Frounteꝉ esteyne oue les testes de xij. Apostres.

[1]Item vn Frounteꝉ de bloy veluet ⁊ Rayes dor.[1]

Item vn drap̃ dor p*ur* pendre a la frount de lautier [principaꝉ][2] p*ar* bas de la suyte du d*icte* vestiment [3][que William Powe dona].[3]

Item vn[4] Frounteꝉ de rouge satyñ embroudez oue Jhc̃ dor du doun de Will*iam* Haneweꝉ ⁊ sa femme.

[3][Item vn Frounteꝉ de satin rouge embroudez oue .M. dor coronez.][3]

[3][Item vn Frounteꝉ de blank satyñ oue .iij. croises rougez p*ur* le hault auti(er).][3]

Lez towaylez. Item quinse[5] towailles pur se*r*uier sur les altiers de leglise.

Item .iiij. towailles de bloy pur cou*er*er les altiers.

Item .v. towailles longez p*ur* se*r*uir a les p*ar*ochiens le io*ur* de Pasq*ue* quant ils receiuont lonurable sacrement Cestassauoir vn towaile de ix. ver*g*es le ver*g*e p*ar* quart quart*ier*s. /Le second' [fo. 5*b*. towaille de .ix. ver*g*es le ver*g*e par quatre quart*ier*s. Le tierz towaille de viij. ver*g*es le ver*g*e p*ar* iiij. qua[r]t*ier*s. Le quart towaille de vij ver*g*es ⁊ dī le ver*g*e p*ar* iiij. quart*ier*s. Le quint towaille de vj. ver*g*es p*ar* iiij. quart*ier*s come auant est dit.

Item viij[6] petitz towailles ⁊ courtez p*ur* lez lauatories en leglise.

(Chal)issez. Item vn Chalice oue vn patyñ oue*re*z oue ihc̃ xp̃c dargent susorrez du pois de xxiiij. vnces.

Item vn autre Chalice oue vn patyñ dargent susorrez le pee chasid' ⁊ le patin oue le magistee . du pois de xiiij vnces forsp*r*is vn denier maiꝉ.

Item vn autre Chalice oue vn patyñ dargent ⁊ en p*ar*cell susorrez ⁊ en le patyñ vn ver*n*icle de pois de xiiij. vnces ⁊ dī quartroñ.

Item vn autre chalice oue vn patyñ dargent [7]⁊ en tout[7] susorrez du pois de [8][xxij. vnc*es* ⁊ j. quartr*on* dun vnc*e*.][8]

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[1]—[1] Struck out by a line drawn through the entry.

[2] Interlined by a later hand.

[3]—[3] Added by a later hand.

[4] *Struck out, and* ij *written over.*

[5] *Struck out, and* xvij written over.

[6] *The original figure has been altered to* viij, *which in turn has been struck out, and* vj *written over.*

[7]—[7] *Over an erasure probably of* parcell.

[8]—[8] Written by a later hand over an erasure.

[1][Item vn autre chalice oue vn patyñ dargent ꝛ en tout susorre3 et en le patyñ vn ymage de Seint Johñ du pois de xviij vnc*es* ꝛ j q*uar*tr*on.*][1]

(Jo)yalx (darg)ent. Item vn Coupe p*ur* lon*ur*able sacrement dargent ꝛ enorre3 du pois de xx vnces.

Item vn Crois dargent ꝛ susorre3 oue vn Crucifix de pois de liij. vnces oue le staf' de cupre argente3 ꝛ deux iointures enorres.

Item vn Senser dargent p*ar*cell enorre3 du pois de xxxj. /vnces. [fo. 6.

Item vn nef[2] dargent pur ensense du pois de ix. vnces ꝛ dī ꝛ dī quartroñ.

Item vn Crismatorie dargent p*ar*cell enorres du pois de xiij vnces ꝛ di.

Item vn Berile garnise3 oue argent ꝛ enorre3 p*ur* en iceꝑ mettre reliquyes de seint3 du pois de iij. vnces ꝛ quartroñ.

Item vn tabernacle dargent enamelle3 oue ymage de seint Martyñ . en iceꝑ . du pois de vj vnces ꝛ di ꝛ dī quatroñ.

[3]**Le3 Ornement3 de cupre latoñ peauter ꝛ dautre metaꝑ.**[3]

[4][Item ij disshes de latoñ susorres pur resceiuer le3 offerendes.][4]

Item iij paire chaundello*ur*s de latoñ noueꝑ cestassauoir j. g*ra*nt paire standerde3 ij petit3 paire.

Item iij crois de latoñ.

Item vn coupe de latoñ enorre3 pur lonurable sacrement.

[5]Item vn paire Candelstikkes de latoñ.[5]

Item vn senser de latoñ.

Item vn haliwater stoppe oue le strengle[6] de latoñ.

Item vn[7] paxbrede de cupre enorre3.

Item vn[7] table enorre3 pur le principaꝑ autier.

Item iij.[8] peautre disshes pur receiure le3 offerendes.

Item vij.[9] Cruetes de peautre p*ur* vin ꝛ eawe a se*r*uir a le3 autiers.

Item ij petit3 belles p*ur* sakeringes ꝛ vn petit housely[n]gbelle.

Item vn handebeꝑ p*ur* soner en la p*ar*oche deuant le3 corps q*ui* sont a dieu co*m*mande3.

Item iij[10] fliewariel(s) [11]deux de pecok*es* ꝛ la tier3[11] de p*ar*chemyñ enclose3 en vn staff.

[12]Item vn beꝑ du doun de veiꝑ s*ieur* Robert.[12]

[13]Item deux Candelstikkes de ferre Tynne3 ꝛ remuables au[14] voluntee ch*ac*un oue trois lumeo[r]s lun deu*an*t lymage de n*ot*re dam̃e ꝛ lautre deuant lymage de seint Martin en la Chauncelꝑ.[13]

Item iiij. crestes enorre3 .iiij shafte3 pur eux supporter .viij. pencelles rouges p*ur* iceles oue le3 frenges dor p*ur* le io*ur* de corps xp̃i.

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[1]—[1] Added by a later hand.

[2] mef, MS.

[3]—[3] *This marginal entry in the MS. is lower down and opposite to* Item vn handebeꝑ.

[4]—[4] Interlined by a later hand.

[5]—[5] Struck out.

[6] *leg.* sprengle.

[7] *Altered by a later hand to* ij.

[8] *First written* vij?

[9] *Altered by a later hand to* viij.

[10] *Altered to* j.

[11]—[11] *These words have been struck out, probably by the hand which altered* iij *to* j.

[12]—[12] Struck out.

[13]—[13] Struck out.

[14] an, MS.

Item ento*ur* lautier de seint Jame .ij. Candelstikkes de ferre Tynne3 & remuables au[1] voluntee cha*cun* oue v lumers.

Item a lautier de no*tre* dañe .ij. Candelstikkes de ferre tynne3 & remuables Cestassauoir lun de deuaunt lymage de no*tre* dame oue vj lumers et lautre de/uant lymage de seint Anne oue iij. lumers. [fo. 6*b*.

Item a lautier de no*tre* dañe vn table peint3 oue la coronacioñ de no*tre* dañe dedein3 & dehors oue la salutacioñ.

[2][Item j pot de bras du doun de William Muller poiś. l. lb.][2]

[3](Le3) Ornement3 dor (soy) satyn (taf)fata Estei(ne)rie et de (au)tres (tre)soures.[3]

Item vn draꝑ dor et deux de soy oue vn pulluwe de soy p*ur* mettre sur les corps quant ils sont portes a leglise.

Item deux draꝑs de satyñ rouge enbroude3 oue la coronacioñ oue deux Rydelles de Taffata rouge.

Item vn draꝑ esteine3 et enorre3 oue*re*3 de la trinitee & ix ordres des angels & archangels.

Item vn autre draꝑ esteine3 & enorre3 oue*re*s de la coronacioñ de no*tre* dañe pur le p*rincipal* Altier.

Item vn draꝑ esteine3 oue*re*3 du Crucifix Marie & Johñ.

Item vn autre draꝑ de mesme la suyte oue*re*3 desteynerie oue les ymages des seint3 Martin Esmoñ & Nicholas eveques et deux Rideles oue pellicanes oue deux peces de [4]ferre Tynne3[4] p*ur* les dit3 Ridelles. pendre sur icelles au p*rincipal* Altier susdit.

Item a lautier de seint Jañe vn draꝑ esteine3 p*ar* desuys come le Crucifix Marie & Johñ & vn autre draꝑ deuant lautre p*ar* bas oue le3 ymages de3 seint3 James maior & minor & Symond' oue deux Rydell3 de pellicanes & deux pieces de ferre tynne3 p*ur* le3 pendre s*ur* ice[illegible].

Item a mesme lautiere de seint Jame vn draꝑ esteine3 oue*re*3 de pietee no*tre* s*eigneur* & vn autre draꝑ esteine3 oue Joachim & Anna sa femme oue deux Rydelles oue*re*s de/ angels. [fo. 7.

Item a lautier de no*tre* dañe vn draꝑ esteine3 p*ar* desuys oue le Crucifix Marie & Johñ et vn autre draꝑ deuant lautier p*ar* bas esteine3 oué les ymages de trois Maries oue deux Rydelles de pellicanes & deux pices de ferre pur icelles.

Item vn banker bloy oue vn doke oue*re*s en icelle & deux quisshones de bloy ouesq*ue* vn petit forme p*ur* se*r*uier a[u]s Recto*ur*s du quyeres io*ur*s p*rincipal*s.

Item deux autres quisshones de blank Rayes pur se*r*uir au prestre & souñ deakne en leur see ioust lautier p*rincipal*.

[5]Item vn veyell de Coloures de bloy & glauke ordene3 p*ur* pendre en quaresme deuant le p*rincipal* altier.[5]

[6]Item vn draꝑ blank esteine oue lemage de seint Martin p*ur* quaresme.[6]

[7]Item vn Coue*r*tour p*ur* le fount de draꝑ lynge.[7]

Item vn surplus pur le preste p*ar*ochiel qui quil soit.

Item iiij Croisbaners. et vij baners pendant3 ouesq*ue* vij poles pur porter icelles des quelx poles sis sou*n*t noirs & j rouge.

[8]Item vn draꝑ esteine oue vn ymage de seint John de Bridelyngtoñ.[8]

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[1] an, MS.

[2]—[2] Inserted by a later hand, and afterwards struck out.

[3]—[3] *This marginal entry in the MS. is lower down and opposite to* Item a lautier de seint Jañe.

[4]—[4] *Struck out, and* latoñ oue angels surrorres *written over.*

[5]—[5] Struck out.

[6]—[6] Struck out.

[7]—[7] Struck out.

[8]—[8] Struck out.

[1]Item j. draꝑ esteyne del Resurrectioñ pur lautier de *no*tre dame.[1]

[2][*Item* j rouge draps de Tapic*er*ie gisant deuant le p*r*incipall autier desoubz les pees oue*r*es oue iiij roses ⁊ j belt.]

[Item vn draꝑ esteinez oue la natiuitee de *no*tre *seigneur*.]

[Item j draꝑ blanc esteinez oue les signes du passion p*ur* pendre en quaresme deuant le Crucifix en leglise.]

[Item .j. autre draꝑ esteyne oue lymage de *no*tre dame.]

[Item .j. petit drap esteynez oue seint Martin sur son Chiuaſt.]

[Item viij draps steinez p*ur* cou*er*er lez viij seintz estosaitz (?)[3] a lez iiij Autie[r]s et iij autres pur seint Cristofre seint Loie ⁊ seint Johñ de Bridlyngtoñ.]

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[1]—[1] Struck out.

[2] From here to the end the entries ar in later hands, and the last five are inserted in a blank space on fo. *6b*.

[3] *Perhaps for* estant.

NOTES ON THE MONUMENTAL BRASSES OF KENT.

BY

MILL STEPHENSON, F.S.A.

The large and important county of Kent contains many fine examples of this class of memorial. Although the floors of the great cathedral churches of Canterbury and Rochester are now devoid of any trace of metal, numerous slabs still remain to tell of their past glory. In the collegiate church of Cobham is the finest series of brasses in the kingdom, perhaps in the world, and the churches of the once flourishing towns of Biddenden, Dartford, Faversham, Lydd, and Sandwich still contain evidence of their former prosperity in the shape of brasses and monuments to the old merchants and their families. The number of brasses remaining in the county is roughly about seven hundred, comprising about four hundred figures and about three hundred inscriptions. These are contained in about two hundred and twenty churches. As a matter of convenience it is proposed to treat the series under five headings, viz., military figures, ecclesiastics, civilians, ladies, and miscellaneous.

Military. Of armed figures there are about ninety examples, of which fifty-one are single figures, thirty-seven are accompanied by their ladies, and one by his father-in-law. Ten belong to the fourteenth century, thirty-four to the sixteenth, and six to the seventeenth. Thirteen are represented under canopies and five wear heraldic dresses. The curious seventeenth-century reproductions or restorations of the armed figures of the Dering family at Pluckley will be noted under the miscellaneous section. The earliest figure is the well known one of Sir Robert de Setvans or Septvans, 1306, at Chartham, and is interesting in many points. It formerly lay in the centre of the chancel, of which Sir Robert may have been the builder, but in recent years it has been shifted into the north transept. Sir Robert, who is represented cross-legged, is clad in complete mail with the exception of his knee-pieces, which are probably of the material known as "cuir-bouilli." The figure differs from all other brasses of this period in that the mail hood and gloves are slipped from the head and hands respectively, the former reposing on the neck, the latter hanging from the wrists. Several stone effigies show this peculiarity, the well known one to a member of the De Roos family in the Temple church, and a lesser known one in Bedale church, Yorkshire, to Sir Brian Fitzalan, 1301, may be cited as examples. Under the hawberk appears the quilted under-garment termed the haqueton, the closely buttoned sleeves of which show at the wrists. This garment also appears at the knees. Over his armour Sir Robert wears a long surcoat fastened round the waist by a cord and charged with winnowing fans, a device taken from the family arms. The shield charged with his arms, *viz., three winnowing fans or*, is

supported by a narrow belt passing over the left shoulder, and from the shoulders rise the ailettes or little wings each charged with a single winnowing fan. A broad richly ornamented belt lying loosely round the hips supports the sword, the scabbard of which is elaborately ornamented. The feet, with single or "pryck" spurs, rest upon a lion, the head of which is lost. It may be noticed that the mail is unfinished, a small portion on the right ankle alone showing the links complete. Sir Robert saw much active service in Wales and Scotland but took no part in the third crusade. His last appearance in the field seems to have been at the famous siege of Caerlaverock in 1300, and about six years afterwards he died at the age of fifty-seven, leaving a son William as his successor.



SIR ROBERT DE SETVANS, 1306. CHARTHAM, KENT.

In the church of Minster in the Isle of Sheppey is the curious figure of Sir John de Northwode, 1320, who is now accompanied by his lady, though probably they were originally separate monuments. The treatment of the figures and especially some details of the lady's costume point to a foreign, probably French origin for the brass. Sir John purports to be cross-legged but all below the knees is a sixteenth century restoration. The original part of the figure shows the gradual addition of plate defences, the head is protected by a curious globular shaped bascinet which is attached to the camail by laces. The elbows and shoulders are covered by small escalloped plates which may possibly have been of "cuir-bouilli" like the knee pieces. The camail and hawberk are of banded ring mail, the latter slit up at the front and sides and having short sleeves, below is the haqueton with an escalloped edge, this garment again shows at the wrists, where it assumes a curious laminated or feather pattern. Over the hawberk is worn the cyclas, long behind but short in front. The shield, supported by a long narrow belt passing over the right shoulder, rests upon the left hip, an unusual position in English but not uncommon in foreign work. The sword is suspended from a broad belt encircling the waist and on the left breast is a small plate to which is attached a chain for securing the tilting helmet. The lower part of the figure is an early restoration and is thus decribed by Mr. Waller[1] through whose hands the figure passed for a final restoration in 1881, "At a visitation (see Abp. Warham's register at Lambeth) held at Sittingbourne, 1st October, 1511, the churchwardens of Minster presented that 'It is desyred that where, of long tyme agoo, in the said chapel, a knight and his wife (were) buried, and their pictures upon theym very sore worne and broken, that they may take away the pictures, and lay in the place a playn stone, with an epitaphy who is there buried, that the people may make setts and pewys, where they may more quietly serve God, and that it may less cowmber the rowme.' The commissary admonished the churchwardens and parishioners to present themselves before the Lord Archbishop and to implore his

[1] *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries*, 2nd Series, Vol. viii, p. 442, and *Archæologia Cantiana*, Vol. ix, p. 148.

paternity for help in the matter. It is a natural assumption, therefore, that at this time a reparation of the figures took place, and that the enlightened Archbishop Warham may have enjoyned this preservation, instead of acceding to the very churchwarden-like request of putting "a playn stone with an epitaphy." By turning over the legs of the knight we now see in what way our churchwardens set about the work. The artist employed was not an archæologist, yet he evidently assumed that the figure must be that of a crusader, and so, according to the notion that arose about this time, that a cross-legged effigy denoted one who had served in the Holy Land, he thought it the proper thing so to restore the brass. Unhappily he seemed to have forgotten that, when the legs are crossed, the knees must be close to each other, and that the original, preserving this part of the figure, shows them wide apart; so in this he erred. Then he follows nearly the costume of his own time, though not exactly in respect to the sollerets, which have the aspect of belonging to the armour worn a few years earlier. As regards the recumbent lion, it has all the character of that used in brasses of the early part of the sixteenth century, at which time this work was evidently done. The reverse shows that an old brass, either from the same or some other church, was robbed for the metal by which to do this repair. It is the base of a female figure having had two dogs at her feet, and the date of this may be assigned to the close of the fourteenth century." A piece of the figure measuring five inches across was however not restored by the sixteenth century repairer; he simply joined up the two pieces, thus reducing Sir John to the same height as his wife. Mr. Waller in 1881 re-inserted a new plate and restored the figure to its original size.



LEGS OF SIR JOHN DE NORTHWODE.
MINSTER, ISLE OF SHEPPEY, KENT.

The figures of Sir John de Cobham, second Baron Cobham, 1354, Sir John, the third Baron, generally known as "the Founder," died 1407, but brass engraved *c.* 1365, Sir Thomas Cobham, brother of the second Baron, 1367, all at Cobham, and the mutilated figure of Sir John de Mereworth, *c.* 1370, at Mereworth, form an interesting group owing to the similarity of their design and treatment, and may be regarded as the work of one hand. The general design shows an armed figure standing under a single canopy enclosed within a marginal inscription, in all four cases in French. All are similarly equipped, their armour showing the gradual addition of steel plates. They wear pointed bascinets, camails, the laces of which are very clearly shown, hawberks of mail almost entirely covered by close-fitting jupons, steel plates on the shoulders and arms, gauntlets divided into fingers, the backs

ornamented with studs, thigh-pieces also decorated in a similar manner, knee-pieces of curious shape and somewhat resembling pot lids, the shins are entirely defended by plate, as are also the feet, and the spurs are of the ordinary rowel form. The swords hang from richly ornamented belts, but with the exception of Sir John "the Founder" none of the figures have misericordes or daggers. There are, of course, small differences in the details of the figures and accessories, as for instance in the ornamentation of the sword belts. Sir John de Cobham "the Founder" holds in his hands a small model of the church which he either rebuilt or enlarged, and his brass was in all probability laid down on the completion of this work. As is well known he also founded the college at Cobham. Nine other figures in similar armour complete the series of the mixed mail and plate period. The finest examples are the figures of Sir William de Bryene, 1395, at Seal, a brass from which no single detail is lost, of Sir Reginald Braybroke, 1405, and Sir Nicholas Hawberk, 1407, at Cobham, both from the same workshop. Other examples are at Addington, an imperfect figure to Richard Charlis, 1387; at Graveney, to Richard de Feversham, 1381, originally accompanied by his father-in-law, Robert Dodde, but his figure is now lost; at Sheldwich, to Sir Richard at Leese, 1394, a fine brass with the knight and his wife under a double canopy; at Cobham, a half effigy holding an inscription, to Rauf de Cobham, 1402, a cadet of the great house of Cobham; at Otterden, to Thomas St. Leger, 1408; and at Addington, to William Snaith, 1409, who is accompanied by his wife. In not a single instance is the jupon charged with the armorial bearings of its wearer. The figures of Sir Reginald Braybroke and Sir Nicholas Hawberk repose under stately canopies both terminating with representations of the Holy Trinity above the centre finial, and in the latter case small figures of the Blessed Virgin Mary and Child, and of St. George are added. Sir Reginald Braybroke's two sons are represented one on each side of his father, standing on little pedestals inscribed with their names. Sir Nicholas Hawberk's only son is treated in a similar manner.



JOHN BEDGEBURY, 1424, GOUDHURST, KENT.

The earliest example of plate armour is a figure at Addington, probably John Northwood, 1416, who save for a small fringe of mail at the bottom of the taces, is in complete plate. The bascinet is globular in form, and has cheek pieces. The camail is superseded by the plate gorget, the armpits and elbows are defended by roundels, the gauntlets are plain with cuffs, to the breast plate is attached a long skirt of taces, and the legs and feet are completely enveloped in plate. The chief characteristic of this period is the extreme simplicity of the armour. Similar examples are at Ulcombe, to William Maydeston, 1419, at Bobbing, to

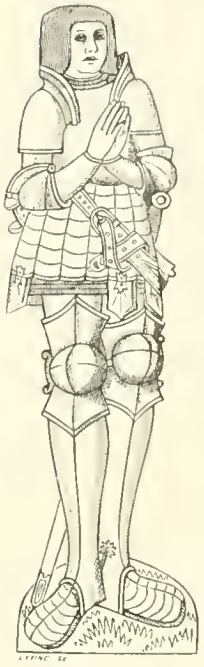
Sir Arnold Savage, dec. 1410, and wife, but brass engraved *c.* 1420 at the same time as that to his son, Sir Arnold, who died in 1420. To Mr. J. Challenor Smith, F.S.A., the writer is indebted for the following interesting extract from the son's will, in which precise directions are given for his parents' brass. Sir Arnold himself desires to be buried "in capella beate Marie in ecclesia parochiali de Bobbyng," and leaves "viginti marc ad construendum sive faciendum unam petram cum duabus ymaginibus de laton suprajacent' admodum hoīmis armati cum armis . . . patris mei supra corpus patris mei p'dict' simul cum epitaph tempis obitus sui scriptum in circuitu petre p'dcē ac eciam cum una ymagine ad similitudinem matris mee jacent' in forma unius kertell de armis dīni Willmi de Echinghm patris prefate domine in uno mantell de armis patris mei." These instructions were not accurately carried out; the son doubtless intended his parents to appear in heraldic dresses, his father in a jupon or tabard emblazoned with the Savage arms, his mother in a kirtle showing her paternal arms and a mantle with those of her husband. The brass shows Sir Arnold in armour without any jupon or tabard, and his wife in the ordinary widow's costume, whilst the inscription instead of being "in circuitu petre" is below the feet. The figure of Sir Arnold the elder has a small fringe of mail attached to the gorget. The elbow-pieces are fan-shaped, but the armpits are still defended by roundels. John Bedgebury, 1424, at Goudhurst, is very similar, but devoid of any trace of mail and is singularly plain in detail.



PETER HALLE AND WIFE, *c.* 1430. HERNE, KENT.

The figures of John Cosyngton, 1426, at Aylesford, and of John Cely, also 1426, at Sheldwich, are again similar, but in the latter case the head rests on the tilting helmet, which is adorned with the wearer's crest. The figure of Roger Isly, 1429, at Sundridge, so closely resembles the Bobbing figures as to suggest a common origin; in this case also a small fringe of mail appears on the edge of the gorget. Very similar to John Cely, 1426, at Sheldwich, is the figure of Peter Halle, *c.* 1430, at Herne, who is represented holding his wife's hand and so shows the mail gusset in the inner joint of the arm. Other examples may be found at Brabourne, to William Scott, 1433, and at Northfleet, an imperfect figure to

William Rickhill, 1433. In the figure of Thomas Brokhill, 1437, at Saltwood, the palettes become elongated, and the gauntlets are no longer divided into fingers but have shell backs and peaked cuffs. Other figures with trifling variations are at Pluckley, to Richard Malemayns, 1440; Preston-next-Faversham, to Valentine Baret, 1442; Halstead, to William Burys, 1444; Teynham, to John Frogenhall, 1444; and St. Laurence Thanet, to Nicholas Manston, 1444, the two latter wearing collars of SS. The gradual addition of more cumbrous armour is well illustrated in the figures of Robert Watton, 1444, at Addington; John Daundelyon, 1445, at Margate; and two mutilated and nameless examples at Luddesdown and Ulcombe, *c.* 1450. The shoulder pieces now differ in shape, that on the right or sword arm being much lighter than that on the left or bridle arm, the elbow-pieces have also increased in size and generally differ in shape, the skirt of taces is much shorter, and attached to the bottom are two small tonleteis, the knee pieces have plates above and below, and the spurs are now guarded. About the year 1460 the shoulder, elbow, and knee pieces reach their greatest size, and the tonleteis also increase in size, standards of mail take the place of the plate gorget, and a fringe of mail again appears between the tonleteis, the breast-plate is strengthened by the addition of demi-placcates, and all the various pieces have invecked and serrated edges. Helmets of the form known as salades are also worn. Good examples occur at Preston-next-Faversham, to William Mareys, 1459, who is represented bareheaded, and stands on a marsh or morass, in old English a "mareys," a quaint conceit on his name; at Hoo St. Werburgh, to Thomas Cobham, 1465; at Milton-next-Sittingbourne, to a member of the Northwood family, *c.* 1470, who is bareheaded and whose shoulder pieces consist of many tiers of plate; at Addington, to Robert Watton, 1470, a good typical example with a salade. About the year 1480 the armour becomes less cumbrous, the shoulder pieces although still of fair size, are simpler in form, and are now provided with an upright guard to protect the neck, the elbow pieces become smaller, and are again similar in shape, the skirt of taces gradually dwindles away and is replaced by one of mail, over which are small tonleteis, and the sabbatons become very round and broad-toed. The figures are mostly bareheaded with very long hair. Capital examples occur at Thanington, to Thomas Halle, 1485; Lullingstone, to Sir William Pecché, 1487, the scabbard of whose sword is richly ornamented with peach foliage in allusion to his name; Murston, to John Eveas, 1488; and Goudhurst, to a member of the Culpeper family, *c.* 1490. The period from 1500 to 1530 presents very similar features. The figures now begin to be represented sideways, and in a few instances wear tabards. Examples are common as at Milton-next-Sittingbourne, to a member of the Northwood family, *c.* 1500, in tabard; Otterden, to John, 1502, and James Aucher, 1508; Wrotham, to Thomas Peckham, 1512; Great Chart, to John Toke, 1513; Rainham, to William Aucher, 1514; Goudhurst, to a member of the Culpeper family, *c.* 1520; Sundridge, to Thomas Isley, *c.* 1520, a very clumsy figure; Brabourne, to Sir William Scott, 1524; Wrotham, to Reginald Peckham, 1525, in tabard; Ightham, a mutilated figure in tabard to Sir Richard Clement, 1528; and Boughton Malherbe, to Sir Edward Watton, 1529. At Cobham is a curious figure to Sir Thomas Brooke, Baron of Cobham, who died in 1529, representing him in many pieces of



JAMES PECKHAM, 1533. WROTHAM, KENT.

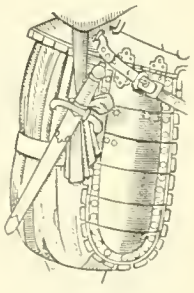
armour and much shaded by the use of cross-hatching. The ungainly figure of an unnamed man at Wrotham, but probably James Peckham, 1533, is chiefly noticeable for his peculiar skirt of small oblong plates, probably intended for a skirt of lamboys imitated in armour, and for the enormous length of his legs and the size of his knee pieces. Sir Thomas Bullen, K.G., Earl of Ormond and Wiltshire, 1538, at Hever, is in armour, but except for his legs it is entirely covered by his robes as a knight of the Garter.

After this date armour again becomes complicated by the addition of numerous small plates, the mail skirt increases in size and the tonletеis give way to the larger tassets. The figures are nearly always bareheaded and have long peaked beards. Examples may be found at Beckenham, to Sir Humphrey Style, 1552, a kneeling figure in tabard; at Goodnestone-next-Wingham, to Thomas Engeham, 1558; Woodchurch, to William Harlakynden, 1558, a kneeling figure; Upper Deal, to Thomas Boys, 1562, also kneeling; Great Chart, to John Toke, 1565; Biddenden, to John Mayne, 1566; Boxley, to Richard Tomynew, 1576, with curious shaped knee pieces; and Kingsnorth, to Humphrey Clarke, 1579.

After this period the use of armour gradually declined, but between this date and *c.* 1620 there are good examples at Boughton-under-the-Blean, to Thomas Hawkins, 1587, who lived to the age of 101 years; at Margate, an armed figure, *c.* 1590, which a modern inscription attributes to William Claybroke, 1638; Eastry, to Thomas Nevynson, provost-marshall, scoutmaster of East Kent and captain of the light horses of the lathe of St. Augustine, 1590; Canterbury, St. Martin, to Thomas Stoughton, 1591; Lee, St. Margaret, to Nicholas Ansley, 1593, a kneeling figure; Hoo, All Hallows, to William Copinger, 1594; Ash-next-Sandwich, to Christopher Septvans, alias Harflete, 1602; and Wrotham, to William Clerke, 1611. All are represented bareheaded with beards and moustaches, and wear ruffs. The breastplate is now long-waisted and peaked. The shoulder pieces are large and fastened by arming points which are generally very clearly shown on the shoulders, the tassets are large and are strapped round the trunk hose; the edges of the various pieces are fringed with the escalloped border of the lining below and all the rivets and fastenings are carefully shown. The sword has the modern guard-hilt, and to the dagger is attached a small scarf which may be clearly seen on the brass to William Clerke, 1611, at Wrotham, and in other examples. The very interesting and well-engraved brass to Sir Edward Filmer, 1629, at East Sutton, additionally interesting in that the plate bears the maker's name, "Ed Marshàll sculpsit," shows the knight with a highly ornamental ruff encircling his neck, his body armour richly ornamented along the edges, and his legs protected by long heavy top boots. The face has much character and may be intended for a portrait. At Newington-next-Hythe is a good figure to Henry Brockman, 1630, and the last of the series is a curious kneeling figure at Great Chart to Nicholas Toke, of Godington, who died in 1680. He is said to have outlived five wives and to have died at the age of ninety-three when on an expedition in search of a sixth.



A MAN IN ARMOUR, *c.* 1590. MARGATE, KENT.



WILLIAM CLERKE 1611. WROTHAM, KENT.

Ecclesiastics. Considering that within the boundaries of the county

there are two cathedral cities the number of brasses to ecclesiastics is very small. The great cathedral churches of Canterbury and Rochester contain many casements but not a single brass has been spared, in fact there is no brass in existence either to an Archbishop of Canterbury or to a Bishop of Rochester. In the whole county there are only about fifty-five figures of priests; of these twenty-nine are in mass vestments, fourteen in processional vestments, eight in academical costume, and four are post-Reformation clerics. In addition to these there is one chalice brass at Shorne, a heart and scrolls at Margate, and the remains of a crucifix with figures of SS. Mary and John at Chelsfield, all memorials of either rectors or vicars of the parishes. Fine cross brasses remain at Stone and Woodchurch, and at Cobham is the stem of another. Bracket brasses occur at Upper Hardres, and at Cobham.

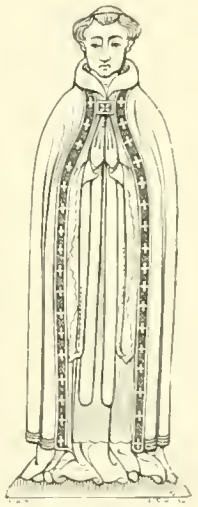
There are twenty-nine examples of priests in mass vestments, nineteen being full length figures, nine half effigies, and one a head only, this latter is at Ashford and was probably once in the head of a cross. Three of the full length figures and one of the half effigies hold the chalice and wafer. The figure of Master Nichol de Gore, *c.* 1330, at Woodchurch, occupies the centre of a cross composed of a quatre-foiled circle bearing a French inscription in Lombardic characters. The figure is poor but is noticeable for the curious pall-shaped orphrey of the chasuble. The fine half effigy of Thomas de Hop, rector of Kemsing from 1341 to his death in 1348, seems to have been engraved some years earlier, the style pointing to a date between 1320 and 1330, possibly it was prepared during his lifetime. The curious figure of Henry de Grofhurst, rector of Horsmonden from 1311 to 1362, was probably engraved and laid down about the year 1340, soon after his gift, in 1338, of the manor of Leveshothe to the monastery of Bayham for a chaplain for the church of Horsmonden and the chapel of Leveshothe. This benefaction is set out on a large scroll running across his breast. The canopy, which was much mutilated, has been restored in recent years and a new marginal inscription added. The inscription accompanying the half effigy of John Vericu, rector of Sandhurst, who died in 1370, and was buried in Saltwood church, terminates with the words "cujus anime propicietur omnium rector deus," a curious variation of the common form. The fine figure of Peter de Lacy, prebendary of Swerdes in the cathedral church of Dublin, and rector of Northfleet, 1375, has also suffered a restoration in recent years, and has been relaid in a new stone. Originally there was a canopy over the figure, and of this canopy some fragments remained, including a portion of the pediment. The new stone shows no trace of a canopy, but the portion of the pediment is now in the British Museum.



NICHOL DE GORE, *c.* 1330. WOODCHURCH, KENT.

Perhaps the finest of the Kent brasses is the beautiful floriated cross at Stone which encloses in its head the small figure of John Lumbarde, a former rector who died in 1408. The head of the cross is inscribed with the words "Credo quod redemptor, etc.," and the commemorative inscription runs down the stem. The remainder of the series of priests in mass vestments calls for no special comment. There are half-effigies at Northfleet, to William Lyc, 1391; Hoo, St. Werburgh, to John Brown, 1406; Farningham, to William Gisborne, 1451; Hayes, to John Osteler, *c.* 1460; Ash-by-Wrotham, to Richard Galon, 1465; Addington, to Thomas Chaworth, *c.* 1470, with chalice and wafer; and Chislehurst, to Alan Porter, 1482. Full length figures may be found at West Wickham, to William de Thorp, 1407; Hoo, St. Werburgh, to Richard Bayly, 1412; Stoke, to William Cardiff, 1415, the upper portion of the figure gone; Chelsfield, *c.* 1420, small, and William Robroke, 1420, without stole; Monkton, Thanet, a good figure, probably John Spycer, rector, 1460; Hayes, to John Andrew, *c.* 1470; Newington-next-Hythe, John Clerk, 1501, with chalice and wafer; Cheriton, to Thomas Fogg, 1502, with date in arabic numerals; West Wickham, to John Stokton, 1515; Birchington, to John Heynys, 1523, with chalice and wafer; Hayes, to John Heygge, 1523; Tunstall, to Ralph Wulf, 1525; and Faversham, to John Redborne, 1531, with chalice and wafer.

Of priests in processional vestments there are fourteen examples. Eight, including one half effigy, are vested in cassock, surplice, almuce and cope. They occur at Cobham, Reginald de Cobham, canon of Salisbury, rector of Cowling, Northfleet and Chartham, 1402, on a bracket under a small triple canopy; Chartham, Robert London, rector, 1416; Cobham, John Gladwyn, master of the college, 1450; Chartham, Robert Arthur, rector, 1454; Southfleet, John Tubney, rector, archdeacon of St. Asaph, and chaplain to John Lowe, Bishop of Rochester, 1457, a half effigy; Faversham, William Thornbury, vicar from 1459 to 1481, who for eight years lived an anchorite in his chapel and parvise in the corner of the churchyard; Cobham, John Sprotte, master of the college, 1498; and Orpington, Thomas Wylkynson, prebendary of Ripon, rector of Harrow and of Orpington, 1511, a common type of figure. John Lovelle, rector of the church of St. George, Canterbury, 1438, wears a surplice and cope only. Four figures, including one half effigy, wear the cassock, surplice and almuce. The earliest is the half effigy to William Tanner, 1418, the first master of the college of Cobham who died in office; the small brooch fastening the almuce is very clearly shown on this brass. Others are at Borden, to William Fordmell, vicar, 1490; Chartham, to Robert Sheffelde, M.A., rector, who died in 1508 "secundum computacionem ecclesie Anglicane" as the inscription states; and at East Malling, to Richard Adams, prebendary "magne misse in monasterio de West Mawlyng" and perpetual vicar of the church of East Malling, 1522, with chalice and wafer. The curious palimpsest half effigy to Thomas Cod, vicar of St. Margaret's, Rochester, 1465, shows on the obverse side a figure vested in cassock, surplice, cope and amice, but on the reverse the almuce takes the place of the amice; the reason for this change is not obvious, but it would appear that there was some good reason for the alteration.



ROBERT LONDON, 1416. CHARTHAM, KENT.

Of priests in academicals there are eight examples, the earliest being the kneeling figure

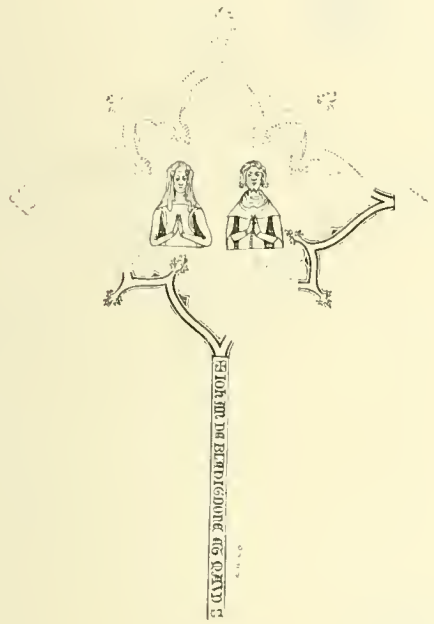
of John Street, rector of Upper Hardres, 1405, apparently in the dress of a doctor of one of the faculties, probably divinity. He wears a cassock, overgown, tippet, hood, and doctor's cap. The whole memorial is a fine example of a "bracket" brass, at the side is the kneeling figure of the rector, from whose hands proceeds a long scroll addressed to the figures of SS. Peter and Paul, who are represented standing on the head of the bracket. The figure of John Motesfont, 1420, at Lydd, gives the dress of a bachelor of laws, for so he is termed in the inscription. John Darley, *c.* 1450, at Herne, appears as a bachelor of divinity; he is styled "flos philosophorum," and has the unusual feature of a lion at his feet. The figure at Boxley to William Snell, of All Souls' College, Oxford, and vicar of Boxley, 1451, appears to be in the dress of a master of arts, as is also the fine figure of William Mareys, rector of Stourmouth, 1472. John Child, rector of Cheriton, 1474, in similar costume is styled master of arts in his inscription. Thomas Coly, warden of the college of Holy Trinity, at Bredgar, 1518, is in somewhat similar dress but in addition holds a chalice and wafer. Robert Gosebourne, 1523, in the church of St. Alphege, Canterbury, appears to have been not only a master of arts but also a schoolmaster, as the inscription styles him "artibus instructor." He was also rector of Penshurst, and by will, left £4 10*s.* for a marble slab to be placed over his body.

The post-Reformation priests are four in number, the most interesting being the figure of William Dye, parson of Tatsfield, 1567, in Westerham church. He is represented in cassock and surplice with a stole or scarf round his neck. The other three wear the preaching gown, which hardly differs from the ordinary gown of the civilian. They are at Dover, St. James, to Vincent Huffam, *c.* 1590; Chevening, to Griffin Lloyd, 1596; and High Halstow, to William Palke, 1618. In all three cases they are accompanied by their wives.

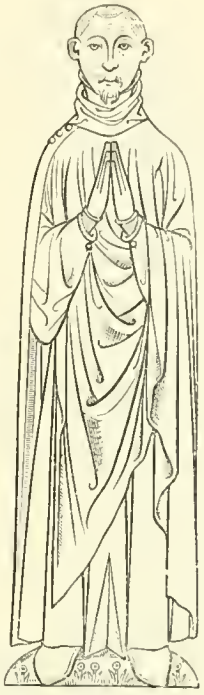
Civilians. Figures of civilians are very numerous but for the most part uninteresting. In all there are about one hundred and seventy examples; of these about one hundred are accompanied by their wives, one by his mother and one by his sister. One man has no fewer than five wives, another four, six have three, and fifteen have two. In one case a wife is represented with her two husbands, and in another case the second husband of a second wife has been added to the original brass. Two brothers appear at Hoo, St. Werburgh, and at Newington-next-Sittingbourne is a large male figure accompanied by a smaller one, but the relationship is not given. Half effigies are rare; there are three early ones, and one other in the middle of the fifteenth century. The figures easily divide into groups, and the types vary very little. Some half dozen figures in the early part of the sixteenth century may be attributed to a local school of engravers.

The half effigies at East Wickham, to John de Bladigdone, *c.* 1325; at Upchurch, to an unknown civilian, *c.* 1350; and Graveney, to John de Faversham, *c.* 1360, the two former with their wives, the latter with his mother, are the earliest examples. These figures have long hair, moustaches, and forked beards, all wear close-fitting, tight-sleeved tunics with hoods. At the beginning of the next century the hair is worn very close, the tunic is long with full sleeves, and over all is a mantle buttoned on the right shoulder and gathered up under the left arm, and round the neck is the hood. The fine figure of Richard Martin, 1402, at Dartford, is a good example of the dress of a merchant of this period. About the year 1420 the hair is worn longer, the mantle is laid aside, and the sleeves of the tunic assume the balloon shape as in the case of John Urban, 1420, at Southfleet. Between 1420 and 1450

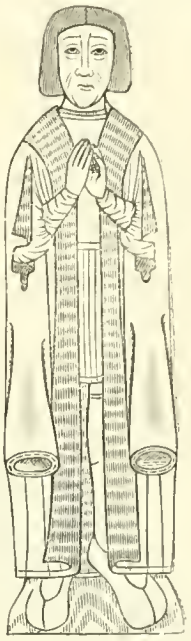
there is little variety in the costume, the tunic is slightly shorter and the hood disappears. Examples may be found at Erith, to Roger Sincler, a servant of the abbey of Lesnes, 1425; Lydd, to John Thomas, 1429; Hoo, St. Werburgh, an unknown civilian, *c.* 1430; Lydd, to Thomas Godefray, 1430; Margate, to Nicholas Canteys, 1431, with beard, anelace and embroidered boots; Birchington, to John Quek, 1449, with a small figure of his son; and at Shorne, two small half effigies to John Smith and his wife Marion, 1457, with a very large scroll over their heads. About 1460 the hair is worn longer, the sleeves of the tunic are closer, and the tunic itself is longer, again reaching to the ankles. Examples are plentiful



JOHN DE BLADIGDONE AND WIFE, *c.* 1325. EAST WICKHAM, KENT.



RICHARD MARTIN, 1402. DARTFORD, KENT.



THOMAS POTTER, 1531. WESTERHAM, KENT.

and may be found at Bethersden, Birchington, Sundridge, Canterbury, St. Margaret, East Malling, Mereworth, Great Chart, St. Peter's Thanet, Snodland, with cap on shoulder, and Newington-next-Sittingbourne, two figures, one large and one small, the former with cap. From 1500 to 1540 is a period during which the long fur-lined gown is much in evidence, and of which examples are extremely common. Typical figures may be seen at West Malling, Great Chart, St. Peter's Thanet, St. Mary Cray, Dartford, Westerham, and numerous other places.

William Bloor, 1529, at Rainham, is a well-engraved figure showing the doublet with an ornamental collar, the inscription also contains the King's title as Defender of the Faith. At Faversham the quatrefoils at the corners of the marginal inscription to Richard Colwell, 1533, contain a rebus on his name, a well with the letters C O L beneath. At Mereworth is a

good kneeling figure of Sir Thomas Nevell, 1542, with a small standing figure of Our Lord in the upper corner. From this date to the close of the century, the costume varies but little, but in the commencement of the seventeenth century knee-breeches with doublets and short cloaks were generally worn as at Hoo, St. Werburgh, to James Plumley, 1640, and Ash-next-Sandwich, to Walter Septvans alias Harflet, 1642.



SIR THOMAS NEVELL, 1542. MEREWORTH, KENT.

Ladies. The various fashions in vogue between the fourteenth and the seventeenth centuries are all represented in the Kentish series. Of single figures of ladies there are about sixty-five examples. Thirty-seven more accompany armed figures and about one hundred are with civilians. In all there are about two hundred figures. For these notes it will, as a rule, be sufficient to take the single figures as types for the whole series. The earliest example is that of Dame Joan de Cobham, a daughter of Sir Robert Septvans and first wife of Sir John de Cobham, who died in 1300. Dame Joan died before 1298, but the brass may be dated about 1320, and was probably laid down by her son Sir Henry, first Baron Cobham. It is also interesting as having the earliest existing example of a canopy. Dame Joan is respresented with veil head-dress and wimple, a close-fitting kirtle with tight sleeves and numerous buttons, and a loose gown with close sleeves reaching to a little below the elbow. The canopy is straight-sided with large finials, crockets and pinnacles, it is trefoliated and springs from slender shafts with corbels of foliage. The figure of Dame Joan de Northwood, 1320, at Minster in the Isle of Sheppey, is one of unusual interest, as many of the details of the costume conform more to the French than to the English fashion, and most probably the brass is the work of a French engraver. The head rests on a richly diapered cushion, and as

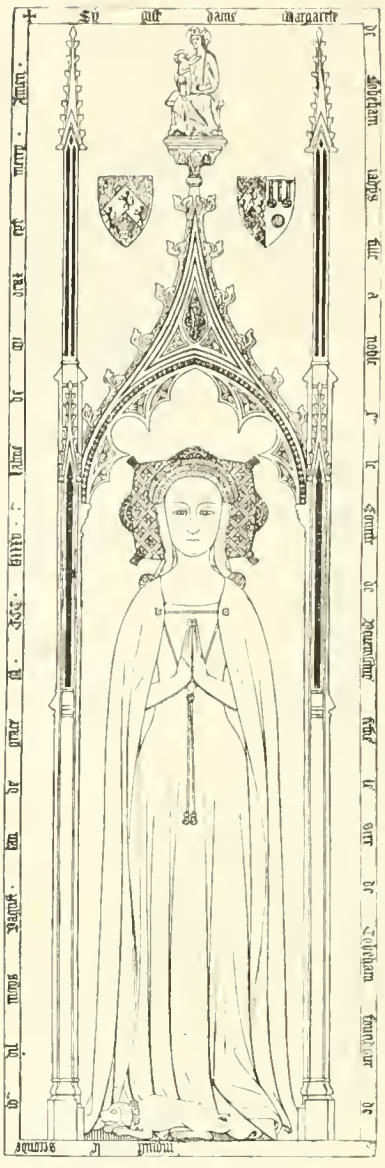
no veil is worn the arrangement of the hair is well seen; it is parted in the centre and carried round the sides of the face in plaits. The wimple is of remarkable shape and ample proportions, it stands up like a plate gorget and has every appearance of discomfort. The tight sleeves of the kirtle appear on the fore-arms and the over-gown has two curious V-shaped lappets lined with fur hanging in front of the body. The figure of Elizabeth daughter of Henry, Lord Ferrers of Groby, and wife first to David de Strabolgie, Earl of Athol, and secondly of John Maleweyn, of Kent, who died and was buried at Ashford in 1375, is now much mutilated. In 1628 the brass was perfect and is so sketched in the Surrenden MSS.; this sketch shows the lady standing under a circular headed canopy and grasping the side shafts which terminate in banners respectively bearing the arms of Ferrers and Athol, with a small banner of England over the centre of the arch. The lady is represented in a nebule head-dress with the ends of her hair in round knobs on the shoulders, and wears a close-fitting kirtle and curious sideless bodice buttoned down the front. Dame Margaret de Cobham, daughter of Sir Henry, the first baron, and wife successively to Sir Matthew Fitz-herbert and Sir William Pympe, 1375, at Cobham, wears a similar costume, but the ends of the hair are not shown on the shoulders. Dame Maud de Cobham, a daughter or sister of Sir William Pympe and wife of Sir Thomas Cobham of Roundall, 1380, also at Cobham, wears the nebule head-dress with the knobs on the shoulders, a tight-fitting kirtle lined with fur at the bottom, and a mantle fastened across the breasts by a cord attached to two round brooches. Somewhat similar but plainer in detail is the costume of Dame Margaret de Cobham, daughter of Hugh de Courtenay, second Earl of Devon, and wife of Sir John de Cobham "the founder," 1395, also at Cobham. Her head rests upon a cushion, the head-dress is of the reticulated form, but still retains the knobs on the shoulders, the kirtle and mantle are quite plain, the latter being fastened by a cord with long hanging tassels. The beautiful "bracket" brass at Southfleet to Joan, wife of John Urban, 1414, shows the lady in kirtle and mantle, but the style of head-dress has completely changed for one of simpler design termed the "crespine," in which the hair is enclosed in a netted caul having two small bunches exposed above the ears, over this is thrown a veil or kerchief which hangs down on the shoulders. Joan Urban is again depicted a few years later on the brass of her husband in the same church, but in a different costume, the head-dress is similar but the kirtle has given way to an over-gown with large open collar and full surplice sleeves. The mantle still appears on the fine figure of Margaret, wife of William Cheyne, 1419, at Hever, but the



DAME JOAN DE COBHAM, *c.* 1320. COBHAM, KENT.



THE COUNTESS OF ATHOL, 1375. ASHFORD, KENT.



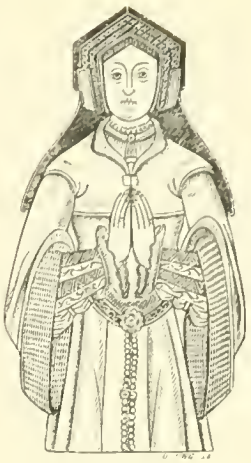
DAME MARGARET DE COBHAM, 1395. COBHAM, KENT.

head-dress is now of the form known as the "horned" and is covered by an ample veil. The figure of Joan, "Lady of Cobham," as the inscription styles her, 1433, at Cobham, is apparently in the costume of a widow but without the barbe. This lady, the richest heiress of her time, was the only child and consequently sole heiress of Sir John de la Pole who had married Joan, only daughter and sole heiress of Sir John de Cobham, the founder. She had five husbands, Sir Robert de Hemenhale, Sir Reginald Braybrook, Sir Nicholas Hawberk, Sir John Oldcastle, burnt as a Lollard in 1419, and Sir John Harpenden, who survived her. Three of her husbands are commemorated by brasses, Sir Reginald Braybrook and Sir Nicholas Hawberk at Cobham, and Sir John Harpenden in Westminster Abbey. A good example of widow's costume is preserved in the mutilated figure of Maud Clitherow, at Ash-next-Sandwich; she died in 1457, but the brass was laid down on the death of her husband about 1440. Another good figure of a widow is at Dartford, to Agnes Molyngton, 1454. Jane Keriell, 1454, at Ash-next-Sandwich, has, so far as brasses are concerned, an unique head-dress, the points of the horns being carried upwards in the form of a horse-shoe. The over-gown is now worn looser and has wider sleeves as in this instance, but a fine figure at Horton Kirby, *c.* 1460, still retains the tight sleeves and the mantle. The high-waisted gown with large balloon sleeves is well shown on the figure of Joan Rothele, 1464, at Dartford. This is a very common type of figure. About the year 1480 the large wired or butterfly head-dress came into fashion, and with this was generally worn a close-fitting gown cut very low at the neck and trimmed with fur: examples occur at East Malling, 1479; St. Laurence, Thanet, 1499, and other places. Between the years 1500 and 1540 all sorts of varieties of the pedimental or kennel-shaped head-dress may be found, the gowns are generally loose with fur cuffs and edging, and are fastened round the waist by girdles with long pendent ends sometimes terminating in pomanders or scent cases. Examples are very common, as at Cobham, 1506, and 1529, both with mantles; Chelsfield, to Alice Bray, 1510; Birchington, to Alice Crispe, 1518, with a small figure of her daughter standing by her side; Milton-next-Sittingbourne, to Margaret Alefe, 1529, a kneeling figure; West Malling, to Elizabeth Perepoynt, 1543, and many others. Sometimes a small circular cap was worn in the place of the pedimental head-

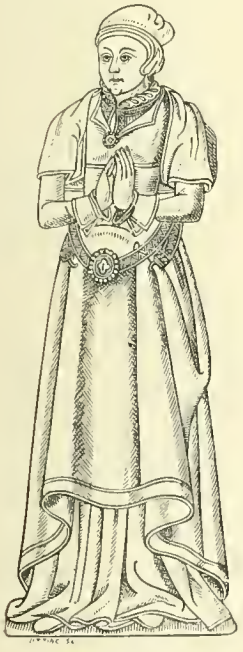


JANE KERIELL, *c.* 1460. ASH-NEXT-SANDWICH, KENT.

dress as in the figure of Malyn Harte, 1557, at Lydd. About the year 1560 the over-gowns begin to be open in front in order to display the richly embroidered skirt of the under-gown, the sleeves of which are puffed and slashed on the forearms, the over-gown is similarly treated at the shoulders and has in addition long, false sleeves also slashed and striped. The head-dress is now of the type known as the "Paris hede" or French hood. Good examples occur at Beckenham, to Margaret Dansell, 1563; Newington-next-Sittingbourne, to the wife of John Cobham, 1580; and Staplehurst, *c.* 1580. The small kneeling figure of Susan Partheriche, 1603, at Harrietsham, and the figures of Aphra Hawkins, 1605, at Fordwich, and Bennet Finch, 1612, at Preston-next-Faversham, have a flat-topped variety of the "Paris hede" with a lappet thrown forward over the top of the head; with this was sometimes worn a broad-brimmed hat as at Ightham, on the figure of Jane Cradock, 1626, and Biddenden, on that of Judith Seyliard, 1602. Elizabeth Crispe, 1615, at Wrotham, wears a large calash or hood which covers the shoulders and falls nearly to the ground. A similar hood appears on the figure of Lady Filmer, 1629, at East Sutton. Small figures of maiden ladies with long flowing hair occur at Brabourne, to Denis Finch or Harbard, 1450; Bobbing, to Joan Bourne,



ELIZABETH PEREPOYNT, 1543.
WEST MALLING, KENT.



MALYN HARTE, 1557.
LYDD, KENT.



A LADY, *c.* 1580.
STAPLEHURST, KENT.



APHRA HAWKINS, 1605.
FORDWICH, KENT.



JUDITH SEYLIARD, 1602. BIDDENDEN, KENT.

1496; Lee, St. Margaret, to Elizabeth Couhill or Conhill, 1513; and Leeds, to Katherine Lambe, 1514.

Miscellaneous. The cross brasses at Woodchurch (see illustration p. 136) and Stone have already been described under the heading of ecclesiastics. The one at East Wickham (see illustration p. 139) consists of a series of eight foliated ogee arches, alternately large and small, and encloses two very tiny half-effigies of a civilian and wife. The inscription, in French, runs down the stem, and simply gives the names of the persons commemorated, John de Bladigdone and his wife Maud. The date of the original pieces is about 1325, the remainder dates from 1887, when it was restored as a memorial of the first jubilee of Queen Victoria. The stem and one finial of a somewhat similar cross remains at Cobham; it is to the memory of John Gerrye, 1447, a fellow of the college, and another example was at Gillingham to William Beaufitz, priest, 1433, but of this only the foot inscription remains. A much mutilated example of a plain Latin cross with the arms inscribed with the words "Ihū mercy—Lady helpe," was found buried in the churchyard at Southfleet some few years ago, and may be dated in the first half of the fifteenth century. At Hever and Penshurst are small plain crosses but both much restored. The bracket brasses at Cobham, Upper Hardres and Southfleet have also been already noticed under the respective headings of ecclesiastics and ladies. Of canopies there is a good series at Cobham ranging from the earliest known example, that to Dame Joan de Cobham, *c.* 1320, to that to Sir John Brook and wife, 1506, all have been more or less restored. Other good examples are at Horsmonden, *c.* 1340, Ashford, 1375, Sheldwich, 1394, Dartford, 1402, Addington, 1409, Faversham, 1414 and 1533, Bobbing, 1420, Graveney, 1436, and Ash-next-Sandwich, *c.* 1440.



ELIZABETH CRISPE, 1615. WROTHAM, KENT.

Heart brasses occur at Margate, where a heart inscribed "Credo quod," with three scrolls carrying on the quotation, together with a commemorative inscription, forms the memorial of Thomas Smyth, vicar, 1433. At Saltwood an angel rising from clouds bears a heart or heart case, whilst the inscription records that "here lyeth the bowells of Dame Anne Muston."



MARGATE, KENT, 1433.



SALTWOOD, KENT, 1496.

The date is 1496. The shrouded demi-figure of Joan Mareys, 1431, at Sheldwich, and the figure of Judge Martin, 1436, at Graveney, hold hearts inscribed with the words "Ihū mercy."

Shrouded figures may be found at Sheldwich, 1431; Newington-next-Hythe, where Thomas Chylton, who died in 1541, is represented in shroud, whilst his wife, who survived him, is in ordinary costume; Southfleet, *c.* 1520; and Leigh, *c.* 1580. Richard Notfeld, 1446, at Margate, is represented as a skeleton. Children in swaddling clothes or chrysoms occur at Cranbrook, *c.* 1520; Teynham, 1509; Dartford, 1590, held in the mother's arms; Birchington, 1533, marked on the breast with a cross; and Stockbury, 1617, a posthumous child who, the inscription says, died fourteen days after birth.

Representations of the Trinity occur at Cobham, three examples; Faversham, and Goodnestone-next-Wingham. At Chelsfield is a much damaged crucifixion on the side of a coped tomb to Robert de Brun, rector, 1417. A small figure of Our Lord appears on the brass to Sir Thomas Nevell, 1542, at Mereworth (see illustration, p. 140); the Blessed Virgin Mary and Child occurs twice at Cobham, where there is also a good figure of St. George. At Halling is fine shield bearing the five wounds, and a similar shield together with one bearing the instruments of the passion occurs in the pediments of the canopy of the Brook brass at Cobham. One chalice brass alone remains; it is at Shorne, and is to the memory of Thomas Elys, vicar, 1529.

Collars of SS. appear at Bobbing, 1420; St. Laurence, Thanet, and Teynham, both dated 1444. Sir Thomas Bullen, 1538, at Hever, wears the full robes and insignia of the Order of the Garter. Merchants' marks may be found at Faversham and Hawkhurst. The arms of the Cinque Ports occur twice at Faversham, where are also those of the City of London and of the Merchant Adventurers' Company and the Haberdashers. The Merchant Adventurers and the Drapers are also at Stone, and the Skinners at Mereworth Two curious shields, one bearing a bull, the other a ram, and each inscribed with the words "A graciar," are the only remains of a brass at Kingstone At Hayes the inscription to Robert Garrett, rector and public notary, 1566, contains a representation of his notarial mark.

Amongst the curious brasses may be noted a pretty device at Bexley which consists of a hunting horn suspended from a baldrick, the latter enclosing a shield with the arms of Castelyn. A square plate at Halling with a representation of a lady in a four-post bedstead surrounded by her family; this is the memorial of Silvester Lambarde, who died in 1587 Another square plate at Maidstone contains the genealogy of the Beale family from 1399 to 1593, and another at Margate, dated 1615, has a representation of a man-of-war under full sail. Two others at St. Mary Cray contain the figures of Benjamin and Philadelphia Greenwood, 1773, the latest figure brasses in the kingdom.

Although there is no evidence of any large school of local engravers, such as is found in East Anglia, Warwickshire and Yorkshire, there are some few



JOHN UPTON, 1530. RINGWOULD, KENT.

brasses, which from their peculiar features may be safely assigned to a local origin. Their principal peculiarities are in the treatment of the hair, which is generally long and wavy, of the fur linings of the gowns, and in the shading, which is very coarse. All the figures, principally representing civilians or ladies, are small and badly proportioned. Examples have been noticed at Ash-next-Sandwich, to William Leus, and wife, 1525; Capel-le-Ferne, to John Gybbis, and wife, 1526; Ringwould, to John Upton, 1530; Selling, an unnamed civilian, *c.* 1530; Chartham, to Jane Eveas, 1530; and Canterbury, St. Paul, to George Windbourne and wife, 1531. It is also of some interest to find at least four examples of the work of the Norfolk school of engravers. In all cases the brasses commemorate members of well-known Norfolk families. The curious figure at Herne, to Dame Elizabeth Fyneux, 1539, is of a regular Norfolk type, as is the lettering of the inscription. The lady was also of a well known Norfolk family, being a daughter of Sir John Paston; she was the widow of another Norfolk man, Robert Clere, and finally wife of Sir John Fyneux, chief justice of the king's bench. Another lady of the same family, Dorothy, also a daughter of Sir John Paston, married into the Hardres family, and dying in 1533, is commemorated at Upper Hardres by an inscription which is the work of a Norfolk artist. Two small crosses, or rather the inscriptions below, the crosses being almost entirely modern reproductions, at Hever and Penshurst, to children of Sir Thomas Bullen, are also from Norfolk, as is proved by the peculiar style of lettering.



DAME CRISTINE PHELIP, 1470. HERNE, KENT.

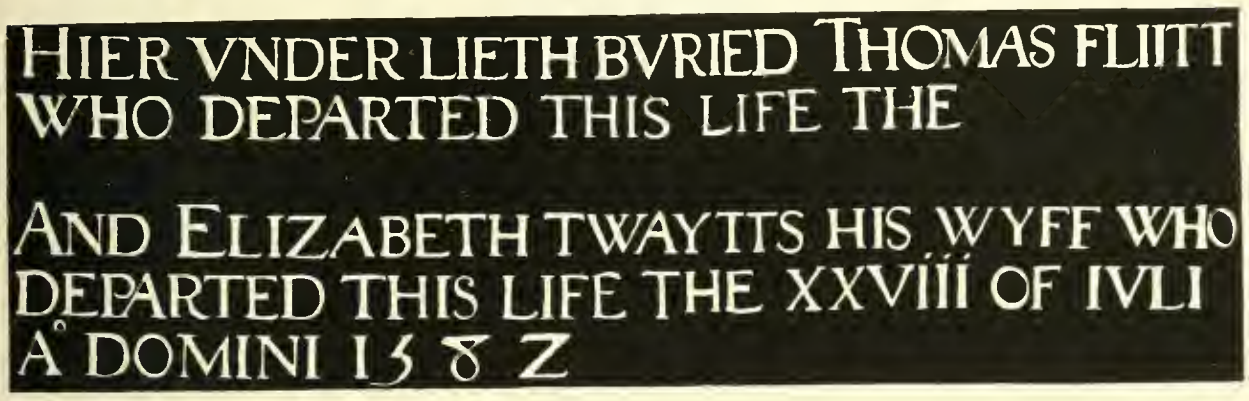
Brasses, it is known, were occasionally engraved in goldsmiths' shops, and it is very probable that the singular example at Herne to Dame Cristine, wife of Sir Matthew Phelip, citizen and goldsmith of London, 1470, was executed in her husband's workshops. The detail is finely finished, especially in the network covering the hair, which is worked in a pattern of suns and roses.

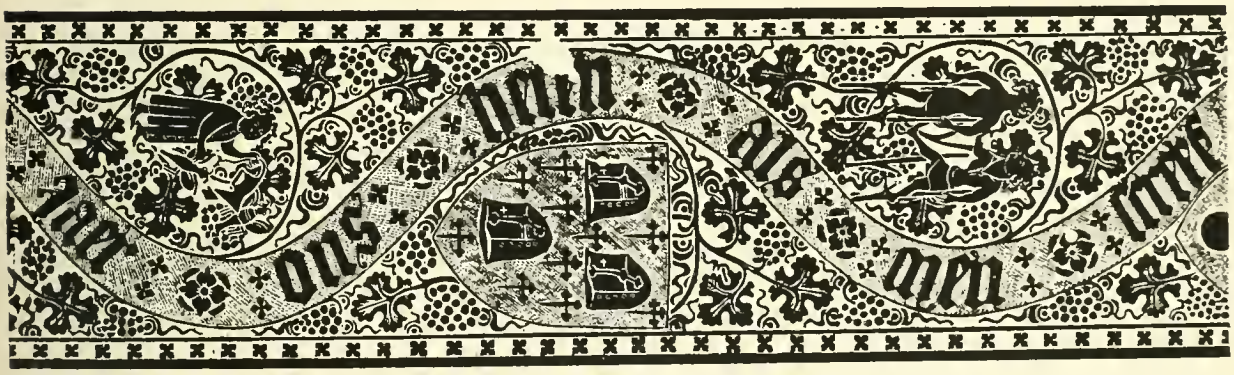
The restoration of the lower portion of the figure of Sir John de Northwode at Minster has already been noticed under the military section. At Pluckley a regular scheme of restoration or a laying down of ancestors was carried out during the early part of the seventeenth century by some member of the Dering family, probably Sir Edward

Dering, the antiquary, who flourished between 1598 and 1644. Three brasses were entirely renewed, viz., those to John Dering, 1425, John Dering, 1517, and Richard Dering, 1545, whilst two others were partly renewed, viz., Nicholas Dering and his wife Alice, 1517, and John Dering, 1550. In connexion with these Pluckley restorations mention should be made of a palimpsest plate at Sibertswould which seems to belong to the series although now doing duty as a memorial for one Philemon Powndall, who died in 1660. On its reverse it bears an inscription to James Dering, 1532, but from the style of lettering it must have been cut about the same time as the Pluckley examples.



PALIMPSEST INSCRIPTION. SIBERTSWOULD, KENT.





PALIMPSEST INSCRIPTION. MARGATE, KENT.

Of palimpsest or re-used brasses there are so far as is at present known some twenty examples, the finest being the fragment of the border of a large Flemish brass, *c.* 1400, on the reverse of the inscription to Thomas and Elizabeth Fliitt, 1582, at Margate. Other Flemish fragments are at Aylesford, Erith, and Westerham. The remainder consist either of workshop "wasters" or spoil from the destruction of our own monasteries and chantries, and occur at Downe, Margate, Rochester, Cuxton, Faversham, West Malling, Godmersham, and Westerham.

**** The Society is indebted to the Society of Antiquaries of London for permission to reproduce the brasses at Cobham, Goudhurst and Ilerne, from blocks in the Society's possession. The remainder of the illustrations are contributed by the writer of the paper. Further illustrations of Kent brasses will be found in W. D. Belcher's *Kentish Brasses; Archæologia Cantiana*, and the Rev. C. Boutell's *Monumental Brasses* and *Monumental Brasses and Slabs.*



DEVICE FROM TOMB OF SIR JOHN FOGGE, 1499.
ASHFORD, KENT.

THE REFORMATION AND THE INNS OF COURT.

BY

REV. REGINALD J. FLETCHER, M.A.

Taking their origin in the fourteenth century, the four Inns of Court had already, at the accession of Henry VIII., been long established under their present names on the sites which they still occupy. Their constitution and methods of education had been based upon the same ideas as those of the mediæval universities, and had, by the beginning of the sixteenth century, become sanctioned by ancient tradition. Their primary business was, of course, the teaching of the common law, but for half a century at least they had been known, not merely as legal seminaries and as the head-quarters of the legal gild, but also as finishing schools wherein the sons of the nobility and gentry might learn good manners and accomplishments as well as history and other matters reckoned useful in a public career. They had begun humbly; they were now advancing rapidly in importance.[1] The social position of the practitioners of the common law had improved and was improving. The Tudor policy was conducive to this, and so, we may suppose, was the gild-system, which maintained the exclusive privilege then, and now, attaching to the members of the four Societies. Moreover, the increasing laxity of the moral discipline exercised by the Church was creating in English society a demand for some secular force which should make for order. English law was becoming a more important factor in English life, and with the importance of English law grew the importance of English lawyers and English law schools. Taking into account the position of the professional students, and also the quality of those students who frequented the Inns without any intention of practising before the Courts, we may say that at the beginning of the Reformation struggle it would have been recognized among the dominant classes that the future of the country would be largely in the hands of the youthful fellows of Lincoln's Inn, Gray's Inn, and the Inner and Middle Temples. At any rate, so it turned out to be. Consequently the attitude of the four Societies towards the great religious change should serve to illustrate the sentiments of a section of the laity whose sentiments are well worth knowing.

At the time when Henry VIII. began his ecclesiastical exploits, the four Societies were but tenants of their Inns, and did not own, as they do at present, the places of worship round

[1] The materials for a scientific study of the history of the Inns have of late years been given to the world by the publication of the *Calendar of Records of the Inner Temple*, the *Black Books of Lincoln's Inn*, and the *Pension Book of Gray's Inn*. The Inner Temple book begins at the year 1505; that of Lincoln's Inn at 1422; in the case of Gray's Inn, most unfortunately, all that remains of the entries between 1509 and 1569 is a series of extracts from MSS. now lost. The earliest complete MS. now in the possession of this Society starts at the year 1569.

which their chambers clustered. The beautiful Church of the Knights Templars had been since 1324 in the possession of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem. Of its appointments we may gain an idea from the inventory taken by the Sheriffs at the expulsion of the Templars.[1] It appears from this, that besides the high altar there were an altar of St. John and an altar of St. Nicholas. The document also mentions a "Church of the Blessed Mary" as being "outside the door of the hall," an item wherein, I take it, the Sheriffs blundered. The building which they call "the great Church" had been dedicated in 1185 to St. Mary,[2] and we may safely accept the statement in the Close Roll of 12 Edw. III. (pt. 2 m. 34), that the chapel outside the hall door was dedicated to St. Thomas. There was a plentiful supply of vestments, altar vessels and other accessories.[3] As for relics, the Templars professed to have the sword with which St Thomas of Canterbury was killed. Whether the goods in the inventory all came into the hands of the Hospitallers we do not know, but one need not doubt that the Knights maintained all things handsomely. In place of the six chaplains[4] who had officiated for the Templars, they appointed a Master and four chaplains. These priests were housed in certain buildings near the church—buildings which were not included in the lease granted at some time in the fourteenth century to the lawyers—and were maintained by the Order of St. John down to its dissolution in 1540.

Among the Cotton MSS.[5] is a description of the orders and customs prevailing at the Middle Temple, from which I take the following account of the services held in the church during the later days of the Hospitallers' control.

"Ther man^{9} of devyne s^{9}vyces in the Churche. Item that they have ev^{9}y day iii masses saide one after the other & the first mass dothe begyn in the mornyng at seven a clok or therabouts. The festivall dayes they have matyns & masse solemply songe and durynge the matyns singyng, they have iii masses saide."

I see no reason to doubt that these services were for the exclusive benefit of the two legal societies, the members of which had eighteen offering days in the year for the benefit of the church.

The original Chapel of Lincoln's Inn[6] had been the manorial chapel of the Bishops of Chichester, whose town-house formed the earliest home of the Honourable Society. There are references in the Black Books of Lincoln's Inn, to "the Chapel of St. Richard," and to "the Chapel of our Lady," from which I gather that the main chapel was dedicated to

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[1] Exchequer L. T. R. Misc. Roll 20, *m.* 3. A translation is given in Baylis' *Temple Church*

[2] The following inscription was to be found up to 1695 on the wall of the round, the oldest, portion: "Anno ab incarnatione Domini MCLXXXV dedicata hec ecclesia in honore Beãe Marie a dño Eraclio Dei grã Sc̃e Resurrectionis ecclesie Patriarcha IIII Idus Februarii qui eã annatim petentibus de ĩjunta s̃ penitẽtia ix dies indulsit."

[3] At each side altar an ivory comb was included among the accessories; by which we are reminded that the priest vested himself at the altar, and that there was a time when after putting the alb over his head he had required to adjust his hair. No doubt the use of the comb eventually become purely ceremonial.

[4] The inventory mentions that each chaplain was paid 15½ pence a week.

[5] Cotton MSS. Vitellius C. 9. The MS. has suffered by fire, but Dugdale gives a transcription taken previous to the injury. See *Origines Juridiciales*, p. 196.

[6] An account of this chapel was given by Mr. Paley Baildon, F.S.A., *Transactions S.P.E.S.*, vol. iv, part iv. The writer of the present paper had not, however, seen it when he had the honour of addressing the Society.

St. Richard of Chichester, and that in, or annexed to it, there was a Lady Chapel. The officiating priest seems from the first to have been the Chaplain of the Society, appointed and paid by the Benchers. In 1517 a second chaplaincy was instituted, Sir Robert Drury having promised to find the stipend in return for the admission to the Inn of his son William. This additional priest had the duty of praying in perpetuity for Sir Robert's soul, and Sir Robert's son kept up the payment after his father's death.

The Society of Gray's Inn made use of the Chapel of the manor of Portpool, which was held of the Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's[1] by the Greys of Wilton. In 1315 John de Grey had founded a chaplaincy there, the stipend being provided by an annual charge laid upon the property of St. Bartholomew's Priory, Smithfield, in return for a grant of de Grey's land. The original condition was that the priest should say mass for the soul of the founder, his ancestors and all the faithful departed, but by 1539 it had been "tyme out of mynde" the said priest's duty to "synge and saye masse and other divine service every day yerely . . . for the studyent gentilmen & felowes of" the Inn. The Greys held the advowson of the chantry, and when they sold the manor in 1506 this went with the property to Hugh Denys, a courtier of Henry VII., and from his executors, a few years later, to the prior and convent of the Carthusian monastery at Shene, who retained it till 1539. There is no trace of any dedication.

Both Lincoln's Inn and Gray's Inn would seem to have maintained private chapels in the neighbouring parish church of St. Andrew's, Holborn, and they contributed, upon occasion, to the repair of the church. The two Societies, as well as various individual members, are mentioned as benefactors in the abstract of old records of St. Andrew's drawn up by Thomas Bentley, churchwarden, in the time of Elizabeth.[2]

The earliest sign of the coming changes which appears in the records of the Inns is to be found in an extract made by Dugdale from a lost MS. relating to Gray's Inn. It will be remembered that in November, 1538, Henry VIII. decided on striking at the ideal of what may conveniently be called the anti-Erastian party through their especial saint, and issued his proclamation that Thomas Becket, "Rebel and Traitor to his Prince," should not from henceforth be called a saint, and that his images and pictures should be put down and avoided out of all churches, chapels and other places.[3] Six months later steps were taken at Gray's Inn to give effect to this order. On May 16th, 1539, the Benchers ordered "that Edward Hall, one of the Readers (*i.e.*, Benchers) of this house should take out a certain window in the chapel of this house, wherein the picture of the said Archbishop was gloriously painted; & place another instead thereof in memory of our Lord praying in the

[1] The *servicium* rendered by Reginald de Grey, who died in 1308, to the Dean and Chapter had been 42*s.* 2*d.* a year. On the death of Henry de Grey in 1396 the Manor of Portpool was again described in the *Inquisitio post mortem* as being held of the Dean and Chapter, but "on what terms the jurors did not know." A family named Chigwell seems also to have had an interest in the manor. Perhaps, however, any ownership superior to that of the Greys was a legal fiction, designed for the protection of the property. The license for the sale of Portpool in 1516 to the Convent of Shene makes no mention of the Dean and Chapter, but describes the manor as held of the Crown as an escheat, for that Robert Chigwell, of whom it was formerly held had died without heir.

[2] This interesting MS. is preserved in the vestry of St. Andrew's Church.

[3] Burnet gives the proclamation (*History of the Reformation*, vol. iii, part 2, No. lxi), but the reference he gives to the Cotton Library is not now correct.

Mount." This Edward Hall was the chronicler,[1] and we may imagine that the task was quite to his taste. From the delay of obedience to the proclamation I conjecture that the Carthusians, who still owned the chapel, had refused, or deliberately neglected, to take down the window, and that the work was done at a time when they dared not assert themselves and the lawyers had become virtually masters of a property which was formally surrendered with the monastery in the ensuing August.

In October, 1539, St. Bartholomew's, Smithfield, shared the fate of Shene, and the Court of Augmentation had to deal at the same time with two charges affecting Gray's Inn—the annual payment of £7 13*s.* 4*d.* due from St. Bartholomew's for the chaplaincy founded by John de Grey, and with the rent of £6 13*s.* 4*d.* payable by the Society of Gray's Inn to the Priory of Shene. The result was that the king's liability, taken over from St. Bartholomew's, was reduced by £1 a year, and so balanced exactly against the asset of rent taken over from Shene. Gray's Inn became Crown property, but though the Crown paid the chaplain's stipend, the Society seems from this time forward to have held the advowson of the chapel.[2]

Lincoln's Inn also passed out of ecclesiastical hands at this period. In 1536 Bishop Sampson of Chichester had sold the freehold of his estate there to William and Eustace Sulyard. In 1539 the rest of the site, which had been rented by the Society from the Hospital of St. Lazarus at Burton, was granted, on the suppression of the Hospital, to John Dudley, Lord Lisle. These changes, however, did not affect the position of the Society in any way.

The anti-monastic movement brought at the Temple a change somewhat similar to that which occurred at Gray's Inn. By a special Act of Parliament in 1540, the Order of the Knights Hospitallers was suppressed, their possessions seized, and themselves dismissed with pensions. The two societies of the Inner and Middle Temple thereupon became Crown tenants and were henceforth responsible for the repair of the church. The Master and four chaplains, however, continued to receive their stipends from the Crown out of the revenues of the Hospitallers. Stow, in his *Survey* (ed. of 1598) speaks as if in that year this was still the state of affairs, but he was probably mistaken. I gather from the records that as early as 1571 the reduction of the number of clergy to two, the Master and the Reader, or Lecturer, had taken place. Of these the Reader was at first paid by the Master: afterwards by the two Societies.

The references to Liturgical changes in the next reign are slighter than one would wish, but still not uninteresting. At Lincoln's Inn we hear in 1547 of 15*s.* being paid for a Bible, the "Homyles" & a desk in the chapel; in 1550 7*s.* was paid for a new table in the chapel called the "Communyon Tabyll," and in 1552 4*s.* was paid for the new Book of Common Prayer. The orders of the government were, it would seem, obediently, but quite quietly, carried out. In view of what was happening in regard to chantries, however, it is perhaps

[1] His well-known Chronicle was originally called *The Union of the two noble and illustre famelies of Lancastre & Yorke*. It began at the reign of Henry IV., and was intended to cover that of Henry VIII., but Hall did not complete his work and the chapters relating to the later years of Henry VIII. were compiled from his notes by Richard Grafton, the printer. The first edition was published in 1548, and dedicated to Edward VI.

[2] At any rate in Elizabeth's time the Benchers appointed the Chaplain.

worth noting that towards the end of 1550 the Bench of this Inn received 20*s.* from the executors of Sir John Hynde, one of the King's Justices of the Bench, lately deceased, bequeathed with the condition that prayers should be said in the chapel for his soul.

The Visitation which was ordered in 1552, for the retrieving on behalf of the Crown of such Church plate and vestments as were considered superfluous after the second reform of the Service Book, evidently suggested to the Benchers of Gray's Inn the idea of disposing of some of their ecclesiastical goods, for the augmentation, not of the king's revenues, but of their own. At any rate, in November, 1552, their Pensioner sold "for the behoof of the Society" "one vestment with a cross of red velvet, a holywater stock of brass, two candlesticks, a little bell of brass, a vestment of silk spect with gold, & a pair of organs." After the sale, we are told, there remained in the chapel the articles which were elsewhere spared by the royal commissioners, viz.: "a chales, a surpless, a Bible of the largest volume, a Psalter, a Book of service, an Aulter-cloth, a Table, a lanthorne of glass & a chist." One notices that the new "Communion Table" was still covered by an "Aulter Cloth."

The Inner Temple records are silent as to any similar changes. Perhaps these matters were in the hands of the Master of the Temple Church, and did not come before either company of Benchers.

The Act passed soon after the accession of Mary for restoring the Latin service and the Church furniture appropriate to it, was evidently obeyed with promptitude both at Lincoln's Inn and Gray's Inn. In the first year of the reign a new altar was set up at Gray's Inn, with a painted cloth to hang before it, and three altar cloths, a super-altar, an alb, an ephod, a corporas and a girdle were bought. Sir Nicholas Bacon was Treasurer at the time, and Sir Gilbert Gerrard was a prominent Bencher. Perhaps, therefore, we may conclude that Protestant sympathies account for the rather meagre outlay (£1 18*s.* 7*d.*) which was held sufficient. In Lent, 1554, we find a priest engaged at Lincoln's Inn in saying masses for the departed, and in the accounts for that year we have the following items of expenditure:—20*s.* for two books called in English "ii great portuasses," and a missal for the chapel; 7*s.* for a canopy for the pyx; 4*s.* 8*d.* for iron for the pyx; 4*s.* 4*d.* for the pyx itself; 2*d.* for the cord and 3*d.* for the leaden weight by which it hung; 4*s.* for the "hollywater stocke"; 14*d.* for "satteyn of brygges" (Bruges?), and 16*d.* for a taiior to mend the vestments. Later in the same year painted images, with tabernacles, of St. Richard and St. Mary were set up—perhaps in places from which they had been ejected—at a cost of 25*s.* 4*d.* The following items also appear:—"Three qrs. of locarum[1] for an amis 7½*d.*; to the suffragan's servaunt for bringing the vest[t]. and albe to be halloed 4*d.*; for thapparelling of ii albes 4*d.*; for taking downe the dexe in the Chappell 1*d.*" If the old Liturgy was grudgingly restored at Gray's Inn, the Treasurer of the sister Society carried out the work with enthusiasm. This official was William Rastell, the son of John Rastell, a brother-in-law of Sir Thomas More, and an ally of his in the defence of the doctrine of Purgatory. He (William) had left England shortly after the accession of Edward VI., and had been fined £10 in that, being Treasurer, he had done so without leave of the Governors of the Inn. Now he returned and, besides aiding the

[1] *I.e.*, lockram, a cheap and coarse kind of linen, taking its name from Locrenan in Brittany (*Century Dictionary*). See also a note by Mr. Cuthbert Atchley in *Transactions of N.P.E.S.*, vol. iv, p. 149.

changes officially ordered, he made provision for the commemoration of the wife whom he had lost during his exile thus :—

"In this Ester terme anno primo Marie Regine, Mr. William Rastell, one of the Benchers of this howse of Lyncolne's Inne gave towards the furnyshing of the alter in the Chappell in the howse, a greate image or pycture in a Table of the takyng downe of Cryste from the crosse & too curtens of greane & yellowe sarcenett for to hang at the endes of the same alter & also a clothe of greane & yellow sarcenett, lyned with canvas, to hang befor the said altar; which thynges the said Mr. Rastell gave to have the prayers herunder written for the sowles herunder specyfied."

The souls were those of Winefred Rastell, wife to William, and of the parents, kinsfolk and friends of both husband and wife. It is added that—

"Also the said Mr. Rastell dyd then at his costes for his sayd wivys soule gylde the v knoppys of the canape for the sacrament which cost him iiii shillings."

Rastell, perhaps for his zeal, was shortly afterwards called to be Serjeant, and a little before Mary's death was made a Judge of the Common Pleas—a post which he retained for four or five years after Elizabeth's accession. Any changes which were made at the Temple are unrecorded, except for the following :—

"Memorandum that I, Anthony Stapleton, now Treasurer, have delivered two pair of silver censers, belonging to the Church, to Dr. Armested, Master of the Temple, to keep safely to the use of the Church: & this was by the assent & agreement of the Bench, as appeareth by a bill of his hand bearing date the last day of November anno 1555."

The Elizabethan changes at Lincoln's Inn included the taking down of the altar and the provision, in June, 1559, of "suche bokes as shalbe requysite for the chaplayn of this House to say suche service in the chappell as of late is appointed by the Statute in that behalf made and provided." The books cost 15*s*. The altar stone was sold some years later for 5*s*. We may be sure that the altars at Gray's Inn and the Temple were similarly taken down. By 1560 the two silver censers already referred to had been removed from the Temple Church by William Hone, Treasurer of the Middle Temple, and the restoration of Communion in both kinds, as well as the current prejudice against the use of vessels which had been associated with the old rite, is reflected in an order of 1563 at the Inner Temple "that conference shall be had with the company of the Middle Temple touching the provision of some convenient cup to minister the Communion withal in the Church." Communion cups were bought at Lincoln's Inn in 1571, and at Gray's Inn in 1584.[1]

The Marian persecution does not seem to have affected the members of the Inns. It will be remembered that one of the characteristics of those who directed it was the cowardice with which they refrained from molesting the more influential class of laity. But partly, perhaps, this immunity was due to the fact that many of the lawyers were in sympathy with the old learning, and that among the rest there would be a strong disposition to conform to whatever happened at the moment to be the law of the land. At any rate there were notable Protestants at the Inns who were unmolested. During the first ten years of the next reign there is a similar absence of any signs of compulsion in regard to religion. On the other hand the struggle which Elizabeth was compelled to wage for her crown from 1568 onwards

[1] The cup then bought at Gray's Inn is still in use. The Communion plate now used at the Temple and Lincoln's Inn is of a slightly later date.

is clearly marked in measures taken to secure at the Inns that orthodoxy which spelt loyalty. The wave of feeling which culminated in the Northern rising of October, 1569, connected as it was with projects for seating the fair Papist Mary, Queen of Scots, on Elizabeth's throne, was carefully watched and dealt with before it became a rebellion, and among other steps taken by the Council was the examination of certain members of the Inns of Court as to whether they went to Church, whether they had received the Communion three times a year, and whether they had heard "masse, matyns or evensonge in Latten, or have been shreven or houselid after the popish mañer." The State paper which records their replies is endorsed by Burleigh—

"Putt out of coñons & lodgyns in ye house.

Forbeare to gyve counsill to any ye Q. subjects as coñon pledors.

Forb: also to resort to any barr of any Court to pleade by any mañer wise.

And thus to cõtynew [till] they shall recõcile themselves to obsve ye laws ecclesiasticall, & theroff shall have ye testimony frõ ye B. of London."

A letter embodying these notes was sent to each of the four Inns in May, 1569, and appears to have been acted upon to some extent.

The Benchers, however, proved themselves persistently reluctant to have any hand in religious persecution. In 1572 the Council wrote to the Judges to complain of this attitude. In 1574 they sent an order that "none are to be suffered to have anie chambres or to be in coñens in anie of the Houses of Court which, upon publique admonition once given by anie Reader, Bencher, or Utterbarrester, dothe not come and remayn att the usuall coñon Prayers att the Churche or Chappell of the same House." In 1577 they wrote to the Lord Keeper that the Inns were "greatly infected with popery," in consequence of which they desired him to appoint some well-affected members of each Society to draw up a list of recusants, and accordingly two returns were made, one containing the Benchers, classified as "pa" or "pro," and the other the junior members who absented themselves from Church. It was noted that at Gray's Inn four out of the sixteen Benchers, and at the Middle Temple seven out of fifteen, were suspected of papistry, while of the whole number of members of the four Inns taken together about one in four were more or less open to the charge of being opposed to the principles of the Reformation. Under pressure the Benchers issued orders from time to time as to the reception of the Holy Communion, and now and then expelled a recusant or two. But they were still unminded to play the Inquisitor, and in 1585 we find the Council complaining in sorrow and some anger to the Society of Gray's Inn that "not onely some seminarie popishe priests have bene heretofore harboured in Graies Inne, but alsoe have had their assemblies and masses . . . the fault whereof wee cannot but in some sort impute unto youe the Readers who having received heretofore divers lres from us to that purpose have not bene soe carefull to look unto this inconvenience as you ought to have bene." Partly, I expect, this tolerant attitude was due to knowledge that, in the case of the members of the Inns, nonconformity did not mean disloyalty, partly to the sense of fellowship developed by community life. We need not wonder if men who lived and worked around the same courts, read and mooted and dined and revelled in the same halls, were reluctant to set in motion any proceeding which might end in the death of a fellow member on the scaffold. It is interesting also to note in this connection that the changes of ritual and doctrine brought about successively under Edward VI., Mary

and Elizabeth do not appear to have involved in any one case the dismissal of a chaplain. At the Temple Dr. Ermested, the Master appointed by the Hospitallers before the dissolution of 1539, continued to hold office till his death in 1560. At Lincoln's Inn, though the chaplains were constantly changing, the changes do not synchronise with the openings of new reigns or the promulgation of new religious ordinances. Sir Robert Fellowe, who was appointed before the death of Henry VIII., held office till 1551; his successor, Sir Thomas Tudball, officiated from that year till 1557; Sir Henry Alleyn, the next chaplain, continued in his post till 1564.

To preaching, as a means of spreading the new learning, the Societies had, on the other hand, no sort of objection. In 1569 a pulpit was set up in the chapel of Gray's Inn, and in the next year Lincoln's Inn followed suit. No doubt the homilies were duly read, and we find that occasionally in the next few years a fee of 10*s.* was paid to a Minister for a discourse. That Gray's Inn chapel might be a more convenient auditorium for sermons, the screen was removed in 1569 from the middle to the west end of the building, and stalls were made wherein the members might sit out the discourse in comfort. At the Temple there was from 1571 onwards a Divinity Reader in addition to the Master of the Temple, himself a Preaching Minister. Regular Preacherships, such as exist to-day, were created at Gray's Inn in 1576, and at Lincoln's Inn in 1581. Nor was Burleigh's endeavour to tune these pulpits thwarted. The first Preacher in Burleigh's own Society of Gray's Inn was William Cherke, who had been expelled from Cambridge for his militant Presbyterianism, and on Cherke's retirement the Puritan statesman secured the election of Dr. Thomas Crookes. At the same time the Benchers of Lincoln's Inn, by express permission of the Council, elected Cherke to *their* Preachership. At the Temple Church Walter Travers, who had been Burleigh's chaplain, was preaching as deputy to Dr. Alvey, the Master, for some years previous to 1584, when Alvey died. It was due to the Queen's disbelief in the validity of his orders, and not to the lawyers of the Temple, that Travers was disappointed of the Mastership, and that Alvey's successor was Richard Hooker.

The materials for any generalization as to the way in which the Reformation affected the members of the Inns are less complete than one would wish. One fact, however, seems established by the records, namely, that the four Societies took the great religious struggle much more quietly than an ordinary student of the general history of the time would be inclined to suppose. Lawyers have not as a rule avoided religious controversy, and indeed we find that in the earlier stage of this contention Simon Fishe of Gray's Inn made an attack in his *Supplication of Beggars*, to which Sir Thomas More of Lincoln's Inn replied in his *Supplication of the Souls*. On the other hand, there were circumstances which would tend to lull in this case their controversial impulses. The anti-clerical policy of Henry VIII. had not only gratified the natural desire of a common-law practitioner to see the legal machinery with which he himself was connected sustained and triumphant as against a rival system; it had also put money in the pockets of the lawyers and generally of the class from which the Inns of Court were recruited. It is easy to understand how the lawyers as a body should have been well satisfied to see the clergy forced into acknowledging the Supreme Head of the State as Supreme Head of the Church.. It is not difficult to find reasons why they should have acquiesced in the spoliation of the monasteries, though the four Societies were not, in their corporate capacity, great gainers thereby. We may take it that the bias of a practitioner of the common law would have been all in favour of doctrines and

institutions supported by ancient authority and precedent, all against new departures. And in fact there was evidently among them (as among the country gentry who were so largely educated at the Inns) a tolerably general reluctance to change the doctrines of purgatory and the mass.

As the Tudor theory of jurisdiction became more fully associated with ritual embodying new doctrine, we find more traces of a disposition in some members of the Inns to resist and in their fellows to wink at their "backwardness in religion." Yet even so, acquiescence, or at least submission, to the English Church was very general among them. Their tendency to popery has been exaggerated. I have shown that those suspected of it were about one in four of the members of the Inns, and of these a considerable number were reconciled after conference. Very few quitted the country. And those who conformed are not all to be dismissed as time-servers. Partly you may explain their conformity as the result of a conviction that the supreme question of the time was not so much one of doctrine (in regard to which they were conservative) as one of jurisdiction (in regard to which they were for national independence), and to an expectation that in doctrine the pendulum might swing back again. But partly, at least, it was due to a gradual perception that none of the changes that were ordered were changes in anything that was really fundamental. We may say, I think, that taking the history as a whole, the attitude of these men—trained, let us remember, to look always and everywhere for precedent, and to abhor discontinuity as Nature abhors a vacuum, unlikely, therefore, to have viewed with tolerance any process which could correctly be described as the foundation of a new Church—amounts to a verdict by experts and eyewitnesses that the often alleged foundation of a new Church in England in the sixteenth century did not happen; that there was not in the Reformation of our Church in that century any break in matters essential with the Church of Aidan and Chad, that there is an historical organic unity, as well as a unity of faith and practice, between the Society which expresses its spirit in the Book of Common Prayer, and the Society founded at the beginning of our era upon the foundation of the Apostles and Prophets.

WHICH ST. VALENTINE IS COMMEMORATED IN THE PRAYER BOOK KALENDAR?

BY

F. C. EELES,

Hon. Secretary of the Alcuin Club.

It can scarcely be maintained that the Prayer Book kalendar is perfect in all respects. The red-letter days are on the whole satisfactory, and include practically all the festivals which have been of anything like universal observance in the Church.[1] With the black-letter days the case is different. Important names are among them, but equally important names are omitted. A kalendar which is intended for practical use in regulating the services of the Church is not a martyrology, and should not be overcrowded. But there are many English saints one would like to see in our kalendar instead of some of the foreign names which it contains at present. Indeed one must freely admit that the selection of black-letter days might have been more suitable.

On the other hand there has been some unnecessary grumbling about the Prayer Book kalendar. "Mistakes" have at times been found in it which closer examination has shown to be not mistakes at all. For example, St. Cyprian of Carthage is on 26th September in the Prayer Book: in certain reprints of the kalendar this has been "corrected" to the 16th, presumably because that is his day in the modern Roman books. The 16th never was St. Cyprian's day in England—or indeed anywhere else before 1568, so far as we know at present. St. Cyprian of Carthage was anciently remembered on the 14th, but throughout the West some change was made in the sixteenth, seventeenth, or eighteenth centuries on account of the 14th being Holy Cross day. At Rome the 16th was chosen; at Milan the 12th; in some places the 18th; in others some other date. The English revisers of 1662 chose the 26th, and so did the Augustinian Friars in 1697, probably because the 26th had formerly been occupied by a somewhat obscure saint of the same name.

But it is not our intention to dwell longer on this case or to discuss that of St. Alban. They have already been fully dealt with elsewhere.[2] A third supposed mistake is the subject of the present paper.

In the Prayer Book kalendar of 1662, which is that now in use, "Valentine Bish. & M.," *i.e.*, "Valentine, Bishop and Martyr," appears on the 14th February. In some foreign rites, among them the Roman, we find "Valentine *Priest* and Martyr" on this day. Before us are several kalendars, purporting to represent the Prayer Book kalendar (one with

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[1] One such commemoration is unfortunately wanting—that of the Falling Asleep of the B.V.M. on 15th August.

[2] See *Transactions of St. Paul's Ecclesiological Society*, vol. iv, pp. 32 and 47.

episcopal authorization[1]), in which we read "Valentine Priest and Martyr" as in the Roman kalendar, and not "Valentine Bishop and Martyr" as in the Prayer Book. At first sight one would conclude from this that the designation "Bishop" in the Prayer Book must be some almost self-evident mistake like the well known "Enurchus" for "Evurtius" on 7th September. But a glance at almost any Western martyrology shows that there are two saints named Valentine, one a Bishop, the other a Priest, both commemorated on 14th February. The fact that there *is* such a saint as Valentine the Bishop, and that that saint is specified in the Prayer Book, ought to be enough for any loyal Churchman. Even if the Priest and not the Bishop had been remembered in England of old, the revisers of 1662 had power to substitute the Bishop if they liked.

For practical purposes there is thus no necessity to go behind 1662. But we have seen it pleaded that a mistake was made in 1662; that Valentine the Priest was anciently remembered in England and that the revisers stupidly copied a mediæval blunder whereby St. Valentine the Priest was misnamed Bishop in some copies of the Sarum kalendar. We will now proceed to the investigation of the interesting historical question as to which of the two Valentines was really commemorated on 14th February according to the Sarum rite.

It is very usual in kalendars and martyrologies for several saints of the same name to be remembered on the same day. We find case after case of it. On 14th February some half-dozen Valentines are to be found in different martyrologies. But two of these are more important than the rest, and it is with these two that we are now concerned. One was a priest at Rome who was martyred under Claudius II. in A.D. 269, the other was a bishop of Interamnis in Umbria who suffered a little later. The chief point in the story of the Priest is his restoring the sight of a blind girl, while in the case of the Bishop we are told that he raised to life a young man named Chaeremon. Both were Italians and were beheaded at Rome soon after the middle of the 3rd century. With so many points of resemblance it is not wonderful that there has been some confusion between the two; but their legends are quite distinct.

In the different rites of the West sometimes the Bishop, sometimes the Priest is remembered, and there are cases in which both are commemorated side by side. At Rome, as might naturally be expected, we find the Priest; so too at Amiens, Rheims, Freising, Ermland, Krakau. At Langres, Augsburg, Ratisbon, Bamberg, Strassburg and many other places the Bishop was remembered. Both Bishop and Priest were commemorated at Trent, Maintz, Erfurt and elsewhere. Milan keeps neither.

Which was it at Sarum? In the kalendars of several MSS. and of the printed missals of this rite the saint is styled Bishop and Martyr, and it is the same in the title of his mass in the *sanctorale* of the missal. In the kalendars of the printed breviaries he is called "Martyr" only. The difficulty is caused by the fact that he is designated Priest in the breviary lessons for his day.

The mass for St. Valentine in the Sarum missal is taken from the Common of One Martyr and not from the Common of One Martyr and Bishop. This, however, proves nothing, because if we analyse the constituents of the masses for Bishops and Martyrs which are taken from the Common, we not only find that the Common of One Martyr and Bishop

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[1] See *Collects, Epistles and Gospels . . . for use in the Diocese of Argyll and the Isles*, Mowbray, 1900, p. xii, where, to make things worse, the wrong date is given for St. Valentine the Priest.

is seldom used, but that in the case of St. Anulph (18th July) all is from the Common of One Martyr, although St. Anulph was certainly a Bishop.

In the martyrology St. Valentine the Priest comes first, St. Valentine the Bishop second. This has been used as an argument in favour of the priest being the saint commemorated, on the ground that the saint first mentioned in the martyrology is the saint liturgically commemorated in the services of the day. While this principle is generally correct, it cannot be used as a test, for there are several cases in which it does not hold good. For example, on 18th January, the Chair of St. Peter at Rome holds the first place in the martyrology, St. Prisca coming second, but the services for the day are of St. Prisca according to the Sarum rite. Similar cases are 1st March and 3rd April, and more may readily be found. The martyrology gives no help.

The main argument, however, in favour of St. Valentine the Priest is that the breviary lessons twice speak of him as *Valentinus Presbyter*. At first sight this seems conclusive proof that the Priest is the saint intended. But an examination of the lessons themselves shows that they are really the lessons of the Bishop; they tell his story and not the story of the priest, and they are taken almost word for word from an old life of the Bishop, the word *presbyter* having been substituted for the word *episcopus* by some mediæval busybody. This becomes perfectly clear if we compare the lessons with the parallel passages of the old life from which they are taken.

Lessons of St. Valentine from the Sarum Breviary.	Life of St. Valentine Bishop of Terni, given by Mombritius.
"*Sancti Valentini, Martyris.*	"*Vita* [*S. Valentini Episcopi Interamnensis*] *auctore anonymo antiquo, ex v. MSS. et Mombritius.*
"*Lectio i.*	
"Audiens quidam scholasticus nomine Craton famam sancti Valentini Terracensis civitatis presbyteri,[1] mittit ad illum nobiles viros amicos suos qui illum rogarent ut ad urbem Romam dignaretur venire. Quem cum venientem Craton hospitio recepisset, ostendit ei filium suum Ceremonem, et coepit petere, ut sicut curavit germanum Fontei, ita isti succurreret. Cui Valentinus ait, Tu si vis curabitur. Cui cum Craton dimidiam partem substantiae suae promitteret: ait Valentinus, Crede Dei Filium verum Deum esse Jesum Christum, et omnibus renuncia simulachris: et videbis salvum filium tuum.	"Interamnensis Episcopus, S. Valentinus . . . . . Audiens haec Craton, mittit ad illum nobiles viros, amicos suos, qui illum rogarent, ut ad urbem Romam dignaretur venire. Quem cum venientem Craton hospitio recepisset, ostendit ei filium suum Chaeremonem, et coepit petere eum, ut, sicut curavit germanum Fonteii, ita et huic succurreret.
"*Lectio ii.*	3. "Cui S. Valentinus Episcopus dixit: Tu si vis, curabitur. Et Craton ad eum, Dimidiam, ait, partem substantiae meae tibi dare disposui, si tu eum . . . liberare potueris. Cui S. Valentinus. . . . . Crede ergo filium dei, verum Deum esse, Jesum Christum, et omnibus renuncia simulacris, et videbis salvum filium tuum. . . . .
"Cum ergo post longam fidei disputationem se	* * * * *

[1] "Presbyteri" *non habet Leg.* 1518.

Craton cum conjuge et familia sua credere Christo promisisset: *Valentinus presbyter fide plenus, clauso ostio*, stratoque humi cilicio, elevavit puerum de lecto, et projecit eum semineeem in eo cilicio in quo ipse orare consueverat, et eo per totam noctem in Dei laudibus et oratione manente, lumen circa medium noctis tantum apparuit: ut hi qui in speculis erant circa cubiculum putarent intus flammas accendi. Et cum aurora finem nocti imponeret: Valentinus reserat claustra cubiculi, et Ceremonem juvenem parentibus ac si nichil mali perpessus fuisset, ab omni aegritudine defecatum assignat. Tunc Craton cum conjuge sua et omni domo credens: baptizatus est.

"*Lectio iii.*

"Interea confluebat multitudo scolasticorum ad Christum: ita ut Abundias praefecti urbis filius duceretur animo, et tota fidei plenitudine Christi se famulum publica voce clamabat. Tunc indignatio paene omnium senatorum accensa est: et tentum Valentinum atque virgis caesum compellebant sacrificare daemoniis. Sed diuturna caede et custodia videntes eum constantiorem fieri, et in ipsa caede et custodia gloriari, et omnium qui per ipsum Christo crediderant animos confortantem: medio noctis silentio ejectum de carcere decol laverunt. Tunc Proculus, Euphinius et Appollonius, scolastici qui ab eo fuerant baptizati, ab'atum corpus martyris Valentini ad suam ecclesiam Terracensem urbem nocturno itinere transtulerunt, ibique in suburbano empto terrae spacio non longe a civitate sepulturae honestissimae corpus ejus tradiderunt: ipsi non longe post pro fide Christi capite caesi. Tunc populus omnis luctum de nece illorum, et gaudium de martyrio habuit: quique a sancto Abundio non longe a corpore sunt sancti Valentini sepulti, simul in Domino nostro Jesu Christo quiescentes."

. . . . . Craton vocavit conjugem suam cum omni familia . . . coepit promittere, quod, si ille salvus esset, omnes crederent Christo. . . . Tunc S. *Valentinus Episcopus* vir dei, *fide plenus*, *clauso*, ut diximus, *ostio*, stratoque humi cilicio, elevavit puerum Chaeremonem de lecto, et projecit eum semineeem in eo cilicio, in quo ipse orare consueverat, et per totam noctem in Dei laudibus et oratione manente, lumen circa mediam horam noctis tantum apparuit: ut hi, qui in spectaculis erant circa cubiculum, putarent intus flammam accendi. . . . 9. Sed cum jam aurora nocti finem imponeret, S. Valentinus reserat claustra cubiculi, et Chaeremonem juvenem parentibus, ac si nihil perpessus fuisset, ab omni aegritudine liberatum assignat. Tunc Craton cum conjuge et omni domo sua credidit, et baptizatus est.

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"10. Interea per hos confluebat multitudo scholasticorum ad Christum, ita ut Abundius Praefecti Urbis filius animo duceretur, et tota fidei plenitudine Christi se famulum publica voce clamaret. Tunc indignatio pene omnium Senatorum accensa est, et tentus S. Valentinus Episcopus atque virgis caesus compellebatur sacrificare daemoniis, et post diuturnam caedem custodiae mancipatur. Videntes autem eum constantiorem fieri, et in ipsa caede et custodia gloriari, et omnium, qui per ipsum Christo crediderant, animos confortantem, medio noctis silentio ejectum de carcere decollaverunt. . . . Tunc a Proculo, Ephebo atque Appolonio ablatum corpus venerandi Christi Martyris, ad suam ecclesiam Interamnae urbis nocturno itinere transtulerunt, ibique in suburbano empto terrae spatio non longe ab eadem civitate sepulturae honestissimae tradiderunt. . . . .

"Tunc omnis populus luctum quidem de nece eorum, sed gaudium de martyrio habuerunt. Porro Martyres sancti a S. Abundio non longe a corpore S. Valentini sunt sepulti, collaudantes Dominum Jesum Christum. . . ."

The lessons as given here are taken from *Breviarium ad usum insignis ac praeclarae Ecclesiae Sarum*, ed. Procter and Wordsworth, fasc. iii., coll. 167, 168, and the life is from the *Acta Sanctorum* of the Bollandists, *in loco*, from whose commentary upon it the following is taken[1]:—

[1] *Acta Sanctorum Bollandistarum*, vol. 5 [Feb. t. ii.], Parisiis, 1864, pp. 756 *et seq.*

"Quae a S. Valentino, ante martyrium Romam evocato, in extrema vita praeclare gesta sunt, extant accurate ab antiquo auctore scripta. Ea Surius ex pervetustis MSS. codicibus, sed, ut monet, stylo aliquot locis modice mutato, ad hunc diem edidit: quae nos, primigeniis verbis servatis, damus ex Mombritio, et MSS. variis, potissimum Gladbacensi in Ducatu Juliacensi, S. Maximi prope Treviros, Ultrajectino, alio codice nostro, alio Serenissimae Christinae Suecorum Reginae. Extant eadem in monasterio S. Huberti et in Caesarisinsula. Recitantur eadem Acta, sed aut contracta, aut non integra, in Officio Ecclesiastico ad Matutinum in varias lectiones distributa: uti videre est in antiquis Breviariis, Argentoratensi anni 1478, Spirensi anni 1477, Osnabrugensi anni 1516, Erfurtensi anni 1518, Sarisburiensi admodum antiquo, Insulensi, Brugensi, Lingonensi, aliisque. Additur eadem Oratio, seu Collecta, quae de S. Valentino Presbytero habetur in libro Sacramentorum S. Gregorii, & hactenus in Breviario & Missali Romano: in aliquibus dignitas, seu gradus Pontificis aut Episcopi interponitur. In Erfurtensi Breviario tres priores Lectiones de S. Valentino Presbytero recitantur, quibus totidem de S. Valentino Episcopo Interamnensi adduntur. In codice patrum Oratorii Romae Vita S. Valentini Presbyteri in sex Lectiones distributa est, quibus adduntur septima, octava, nona de Vita S. Valentini Episcopi Interamnensis, quae illic minus quam in aliis Breviariis contracta est."

No more is needed to prove conclusively that it is the Bishop and not the Priest who was commemorated in the Sarum rite, and consequently that the revisers who gave us the Prayer Book kalendar were not guilty of any mistake when they described St. Valentine as a Bishop. The word *Presbyter* in the Sarum lessons is simply a corrupt reading for which we have to thank some ignorant mediæval scribe.

In 1509–10 there was printed a reformed variant of the Sarum breviary for the use primarily of Aberdeen and secondarily of the whole of Scotland. This book was prepared with the utmost care under the auspices of Dr. William Elphinstone, the most learned of the mediæval bishops of Aberdeen. In it the corrupt reading "*presbyter*" has been omitted in the lessons for St Valentine and "*episcopi*" has been added to his name in the kalendar.

In the York breviary St. Valentine is called Priest throughout, but here again an examination of the lessons shows that they too are taken from the same old life of St. Valentine the Bishop, although they are not quite the same as the Sarum lessons. As at Sarum it is really the Bishop who is commemorated.

Let us hope that we shall not see any more kalendars purporting to represent the Prayer Book kalendar in which St. Valentine the Priest is substituted for St. Valentine the Bishop.[1]

[1] Strange to say there is an edition of a foreign breviary in which the mistake really does exist with which the Sarum breviary has been charged. It is that of Freising, 1516, 2 vols., Venice, P. Liechtenstein. Here it is the Priest who is commemorated although St. Valentine is called Bishop in the kalendar. It is the exact reverse of York, but, as at York, the lessons settle the matter, and they are the lessons of the Priest—totally different from the York and Sarum lessons, and based upon an old life of the Priest. (Acta ex MSS. Ultrajectino & Romano, Breviario Romano anno CIↃIↃXXII aliisque, collata cum Vita SS. Marii & Marthae, xix Januarii. *Acta Sanctorum Bollandistarum*, vol. 5 [Feb. t. ii.], Paris, 1864, p. 754.)

JESUS MASS AND ANTHEM.

BY

E. G. CUTHBERT F. ATCHLEY.

In a volume of records of benefactions and churchwardens' accounts preserved at the church of All Saints', Bristol, there appears the following statement of an interesting benefaction of one Harry Chestyr and Alson his wife, ancestors of several well-known families[1] of the present day. He died in 1471, and his wife in 1486. "In the worship of Jesus, to the foundation of a mass of Jesus by note to be kept and continued every Friday in this church, likewise an anthem, the said Harry and Alice have given to this church a tenement in Broad Street where that some time William Rowe, brewer, dwelt in, to this intent that they be prayed for every Friday at the mass by name, and also an obit to be kept for them yearly for ever on every Saint Valentine's day, on the which day the said Harry deceased, the year of our Lord 1470(–71)." At some time the thirteenth century bequest of John de Yate[2] towards a lamp at St. Margaret's altar and the service of St. Mary was diverted "to find 5 tapers before our Lady altar at Jesus anthem." At the end of the century Dame Maud Spicer "provided three tapers of wax before the image of Jesus, there to burn at Jesus Mass on the Friday and at the anthem at night."

It will be as well to summarise what I can find out about Jesus-mass and anthem. The increase of devotion to our Lord which spread over England during the fifteenth century is noticeable in these, and in the adoption of the feast of the Holy Name in 1457, in the establishment of votive masses and anthems of the same, and the application of the same as a title for the drinking bowls[3] called Mazers.

The earliest, or at any rate the most famous of the Name of Jesus Gilds was that in the Crowds of St. Paul's Cathedral Church,[4] for which Henry VI. granted letters patent in January, 1458–59. The statutes as we now know them were approved in 1507. There we learn that the Dean of St. Paul's[5] (or in his room the subdean or a cardinal) sang high mass

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[1] R. E. Chester-Waters, *Genealogical Memoirs of the Families of Chester*, London, 1881. Henry Chester's will, proved 2nd March, 1470–71, is on pp. 4 sq. Alice Chester's, proved 6th February, 1485–86, on p. 6.

[2] I have printed the original grant in *Archæological Journal*, 1901 ; lviii, 165. On p. 69 of the book of records mentioned above is "THE CORNER HOWSE YN CORNSTETE. John le (*sic*) ȝate ȝave iiijs. to þe Churche of All halon of þe Corner house nexte þe Condyte to fynde v Taperys by for owr lady Awtyr," in a hand that last appears in the accounts for 1468–1469. On p. 161, the bequest is again recorded in a later hand (c 1500) with the addition "at Jhē anť."

[3] *Archæologia*, 1887 ; l, 188 sq.

[4] W. Sparrow Simpson, *Registrum Statutorum . . . sancti Pauli Londinensis*, London, 1873 : 435.

[5] *Ibid.*, 448.

on the feast of the Holy Name for them, in a grey amess. Every Friday[1] mass of Jesus was sung solemnly in the Crowde, and incontinently after, a mass of *Requiem* by note. When Complin was done in the cathedral church, "three *Salves* were sung solemnly, daily and yearly, in the said Crowdes in places and days accustomed,[2] that is to say before [the images of] Jesus, our Lady, and St. Sebastian."

There was a "Fraternity of the mass of Jesus" at All Saints', Bristol, in 1464, to which a burgess named William Myryfeld[3] left the sum of 3*s.* 4*d.*: the same no doubt, as that founded by Harry and Alson Chestyr. In 1467 William Canynge founded a chantry at St. Mary Redcliffe, Bristol,[4] and the chaplains were directed to say mass *in honore beatissimi nominis Jhesu* every Friday. In 1473 John Shipward, senior, desired that of the twenty-four torches employed in his exequies two were to be given to the Fraternity at All Saints. He also founded a mass *in honore beatissimi nominis Ihesu* to be sung every Friday at the high altar of St. Stephen's, Bristol,[5] by the chaplain of his chantry there.

John Baret, of Bury,[6] left legacies to the Jesus Mass at St. Mary's in that town, and arranged for chimes to go at the sacring of the said mass, in 1463.

In 1468, Thomas Heywood,[7] Dean of Lichfield, constructed at his own expense a chantry chapel on the north side of the church in honour of our Lord Jesus Christ, and St. Anne mother of our Lady, and in it was a "glorious image" of our Lord, and one of St. Anne. Besides other masses he ordained on Fridays[8] weekly a solemn mass *de nomine Jesu* with note to be sung at the altar; and immediately after Complin *in choro*, on every Friday six vicars and four choristers thereto assigned sang a devout and suitable anthem of the name of Jesus, with the versicles and orisons accustomed, and with prostrations and genuflexions before the image of Jesus, and with organs playing. Before the mass and anthem *nominis Jesu* the big bell was to be sounded twice to invite the people to come and hear the same. Amongst the books[9] which Heywood gave to his chauntry was one *Liber confectus de missis et cantibus et ad honorem Jesu in missis et antiphonis Jesu omni septimana decantandis solenniter cum versiculis et collectis antiquitus devote usitatis.* In 1482 he gave a new pair of organs for use at the solemn Jesus Mass on Fridays,[10] standing opposite the Jesus altar.

In the *Valor Ecclesiasticus*[11] of the reign of Henry VIII. it is called *Cantaria sancti Salvatoris et sancte Anne matris B.M.V. in ecclesia Lichfeldensi fundata per Mrm. Thomam Heywod quondam decanum eiusdem ecclesie.* There was also a *Cantaria Jhesu* in the same church, said to have been founded by Richard Scrope, some time bishop of Coventry and Lichfield.

In the statutes which Richard Duke of Gloucester ordained for his college at Middleham,[12] dated 4th July, 1478, he prescribed a "masse of Jhesu" to be sung every week on Fridays: and after the said mass, the anthem[13] *Per signum Tau* to be sung forthwith, and the collect *Visita nos quesumus Domine*, with the collect *Deus caritatis* during his life and *Deus cui*

[1] W. Sparrow Simpson, *Registrum Statutorum* . . . 449. [2] *Ibid.*, 448, 449, 457.
[3] *Great Red Book of Bristol* (preserved at the Council House, Bristol), fol. 224.
[4] *Ibid.*, fol. 288, *verso*.
[5] *Great Orphan Book*, fol. 206 *verso* (preserved at the Council House, Bristol).
[6] *Wills and Inventories from* . . . *Bury*, Camden Society, 1850; pp. 29, 30.
[7] *Archæologia*, 1890; lij, 627. [8] *Ibid.*, 631 sq. [9] *Ibid.*, 633.
[10] *Ibid.*, 638. [11] *Valor Ecclesiasticus*, London, 1817; iij, 137, 139, 198.
[12] *Archæological Journal*, 1857; xiv, 164. [13] *Ibid.*, 165.

proprium after his decease. Every Friday evening between five and six o'clock, the "antheme of Jhesu" was to be sung by the master, clerks, and choristers, and that done, the suffrages pertaining to the said anthem to be sung and said by the said choristers.

At St. Leonard Eastcheap, London,[1] they kept up a mass and *Salve* of Jesus in 1480: and about the same time there was a fraternity of the mass of Jesus at St. Laurence,[2] Reading. At St. Edmund's, Salisbury,[3] the Fraternity of Jesus and the Holy Cross used to provide for the singing of *Salves* every Friday in Lent.

In 1509 Sir John Gilliot, knt, alderman of York,[4] arranged to have sung for him a large number of masses after his decease; and amongst them the Grayfriars were to sing thirty, of which ten were *de nomine Jhesu*, ten *de quinque vulneribus Jhesu Christi*, and ten *de Corpore Christi*.

There was at Rotheram a Jesus College founded in 1500 by Thomas Rotheram,[5] Archbishop of York, and in the church of All Saints there, a chapel called Jesus Chapel, to the altar of which Henry Carnebull, Archdeacon of York in 1512, left many ornaments and before which he desired to be buried.[6]

In 1515 Bartram Dawson, alderman of York, left a tenement to provide for the singing of Mass of Jhesu every Friday with pricksong at 10 o'clock, and also provided a wax "scarge" to burn at the altar end every Friday at that mass.[7]

Jesus Gild at Pontefract[8] is mentioned in Hugh Awstwyke's will in 1515, and that of William Mares alias Purser, 1529.

William Melton, Chancellor of York, founded a chantry at the altar of the Name of Jhesu in York Cathedral Church in 1533.

In 1530 Nicholas Ricard of Parva Sandall[9] founded a chantry in the parish church there, the daily mass to be said at the altar of St. Nicholas, "except every Friday, weekly, when I will that the said chauntry priest shall syng Mass in the rood loft within the said church *de Nomine Jhesu*," a particularly interesting item as it is undoubted evidence of the existence of an altar in the rood loft itself.

In Kirkham parish Jesus mass was sung in the south aisle[10]: and there was a "Jhesus quire" in the church of St. Mary Magdalen at Newark.[11]

In the will of Sir John Rocliff[12] of Colthorpe, knt., 1531, we have an interesting foundation at the convent of the Grayfriars of York. "I will," he says, "that the said convent of the said Grayfriars for evermore, every Tuesday, shall sing the *Antiphone* of *Jhesu* about my grave that is sung on the Friday for my said father in the said convent church: after which *Antiphone* so sung, I will that the said Friars and Convent, bowing and holding down their heads, with a piteous voice sing this verse, *Nunc, Christe, te petimus, miserere*.

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[1] R. R. Sharpe, *Calendar of the Wills . . . in the Court of Hustings, London*, London, 1889: ij, 583.
[2] C. Kerry, *History of . . . St. Laurence, Reading*, Reading and Derby, 1883; pp. 28 sq.
[3] *Wiltshire Archæological and Natural History Magazine*, 1896-97; xxix, 144.
[4] *Testamenti Eboracensia*, Surtees Society, 1884; vol. v, p. 14.
[5] *Test. Ebor.*, 1869; iv, 139, 111 *bis*. *Ibid.*, v, 29, 30, 152, 197.
[6] *Ibid.*, 29, 31.
[7] *Ibid.*, 62.
[8] *Ibid.*, 71, 302 n.
[9] *Ibid.*, 281.
[10] Will of George Suister, 1531 (*ibid.*, 305).
[11] Will of John Sulwood (*Test. Ebor.*, 1902; vj, 293).
[12] *Test. Ebor.*, v, 322.

quaesumus, qui venisti redimere perditos, noli dampnari redemptos. And anon, after that, then one of the young friars sing this versicle *Quia per sanctum crucem tuam redemisti mundum;* and then one of the older friars to sing *Oremus* with one collect according to the *Antiphone*, with a perfect end of all the friars concluding, singing *Amen:* and immediately after the convent to say this psalm *De profundis*, with the Suffrage and these collects *Miserere*, and *Fidelium*, for my soul and all Christian souls, concluding with *Requiescant in pace. Amen.*"

Dame Margaret Boynton,[1] of Barmston, in 1533 appointed that she should have twenty-five masses "of the Five Principal Wounds of Our Lord" sung after her burial, and one mass of Jhesu sung or said every Friday during the year after her decease, at the parish church of Barmston.

That Jesus Altar and the Altar of the Holy Name mean the same is shown in the will of Matilda Hancock[2] of York, 1508, where she wills that a priest "sing at the altar of *Nomine Jhesu* called Jesus altar in my parish church" of St. Michael's at Ouse Bridge.

There was in the sixteenth century a daily *missa nominis Jhesu* at Southwell[3] Collegiate Church, a Friday Jesus Mass at Lincoln[4] Cathedral Church, and a chantry *de nominis Jhesu* at Brauncepeth,[5] Durham. Jesus mass was sung once a week[6] at St. Mary's, Sandwich.

Mass of the Name of Jesus was one of those allowed in the churches of Black Canons by Wolsey[7] in 1509, outside the conventual quire, sung solemnly with organs by a secular choir in pricksong.

In Norwich[8] Cathedral Church there was a Jesus Chapel, dedicated to the Holy Name. Mass of Jesus was said daily therein until the dissolution: and also, once a week at an altar[9] under the Rood loft.

In Worcester[10] Cathedral Church Jesus Chapel was on the north side of the nave, where now the font stands. Two great candlesticks were bought for Jesus altar[11] in 1522, costing 46*s.* 8*d.* In 1520 payments were made for the following anthems[12]: *Nominis Jesu*, *O Emmanuel*, *O Sapientia*, *O Radix Jesse*, *Salve Regina*, etc.

In 1535 Prior Castell of Durham[13] provided for the celebration of the mass and anthem of Jesus before the great Crucifix in the Priory Church on Fridays, and for candles and bells to be used at the same. Here there was an altar called Jesus altar[14] for the Friday mass, and a loft for the singers and organs[15] of the same.

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[1] *Testamenta Eboracensia*, Surtees Society, 1902; vol. vj, p. 36.

[2] *Test. Ebor.*, 1869; iv, 275.

[3] *Valor Ecclesiasticus temp. Henry VIII.*, London, 1825; v, 195. It was for the soul of William Bothe late Archbishop of York.

[4] H. Bradshaw and Chr. Wordsworth, *Statutes of Lincoln Cathedral*, Cambridge, 1892-97; fasc. ij, p. lxxij.

[5] *Valor Ecclesiasticus*, v, 322.

[6] *British Magazine*, 1846; xxix, 639. We hear of it in 1511, because the chantry priest neglected his duty.

[7] D. Wilkins, *Concilia*, vol. iij, 686.

[8] Francis Blomefield, *Essay towards a topographical History of the County of Norfolk*, London, 1805-10; vol. iv, p. 11.

[9] *Ibid.*, p. 30.

[10] J. Noake, *Monastery and Cathedral of Worcester*, London and Worcester, 1866; pp. 197, 313, 329, 415.

[11] *Ibid.*, 167.

[12] *Ibid.*, p. 265.

[13] *Durham Account Rolls*, Surtees Society, 1899, vol. ij; pp. 418, 419. He was buried before Jesus Altar (*Rites, etc.*, 29).

[14] *A Description . . . of all the . . . Rites and Customes . . . of Durham*, Surtees Society, 1842; p. 28.

[15] *Ibid.*, 39.

The service and altar are described for us in the "Account of Ancient Monuments, Rites and Customs of the Monastic church of Durham before its Dissolution" as follows:—

In the body of the Church, betwixt two of the highest pillars supporting and holding up the west side of the Lantern over against the Quire door there was an altar called Jesus Altar, where Jesus Mass was sung every Friday throughout the whole year. . . . . Also, every Friday at night after that evensong was done in the Quire, there was an anthem sung in the body of the Church, before the aforesaid Jesus Altar, called Jesus Anthem, which was sung every Friday at night throughout the whole year by the Master of the choristers and deacons of the said church. And, when it was done, then the choristers did sing another anthem by themselves, sitting on their knees all the time that their anthem was in singing, before the said Jesus Altar, which was very devoutly sung every Friday at night[1] by the tolling of one of the Galilee bells. . . . . There was on the north side, betwixt two pillars, a loft for the Master and choristers to sing Jesus Mass every Friday, containing a pair of organs to play on, and a fair desk to lie their books on in the time of divine service.

The other anthem was perhaps the *Salve Regina.*

In many other churches in the west of England there was a mass of the name of Jesus, often sustained by a gild or fraternity: *e.g.* at Mydlesoye,[2] Wedmore,[3] Staverdell,[4] Yeovil,[5] and St. Mary Magdalen, Taunton,[6] in Somerset, at Marshfield,[7] Nevent,[8] Cirencester,[9] and Trinity Church, Gloucester,[10] in Gloucestershire. In most cases it was sung at a Jesus altar.

At Holy Trinity Church, Long Melford,[11] there was (as at All Saints', Bristol) a Jesus aisle, with an image of Jesus at the north end of the altar, and of our Lady of Pity[12] at the south end. As there was also[13] a "Jesus priest," and a "Jesus mass book," it may fairly be concluded that there was a Jesus mass here as in so many other places.

In Chichester[14] Cathedral Church there was an altar and a chaplain of the name of Jesus.

It remains to enquire what was the Jesus Mass and Jesus Anthem. As to the Jesus Mass it was no doubt the Sarum mass for 7th August.[15] But what was the *Salve* or anthem? It may have the processional *Salve, Festa dies* sung at Sarum[16] on 7th August, or one of the

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[1] *A Description . . . of all the . . . Rites and Customs . . . of Durham*, Surtees Society, 1842, p. 29.
[2] E. Green, *Survey and Rental of the Chauntries*, Somerset Record Society, 1888; p. 65.
[3] *Ibid.*, 71, 256. [4] *Ibid.*, 127, 306.
[5] *Ibid.*, 139, 319. [6] *Ibid.*, 20, 193.
[7] *Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archæological Society for* 1883–84; viij, 276.
[8] *Ibid.*, 291. [9] *Ibid.*, 286. [10] *Ibid.*, 256.
[11] J. P. Neale, *Views of . . . Collegiate and Parochial Churches*, London, 1825; vol. ij, p. 12.
[12] *Ibid.*, 13. [13] *Ibid.*, 17, 18.
[14] *Archæologia*, 1877; xlv, 170, 171.
[15] This mass made its first appearance in the Sarum books as a votive mass. In a manuscript Sarum Missal, written about the middle of the fifteenth century, now belonging to Mr. Dewick, there is no mass of the Holy Name in the *Sanctorale*, but it is placed among the votive masses with the following rubric prefixed to it:—"Decimo nono die mensis iulii anno domini millesimo CCCC^{mo} IX. Robertus episcopus Sarum in castro suo Scireborn concessit omnibus vere confessis et contritis dicentibus vel audientibus sexta feria missam de nomine ihesu christi quadraginta dies indulgencie tociens quociens eam dixerint vel audierint perpetuis temporibus duraturos." This indulgence of Robert Hallum is also given in a manuscript York Missal, together with one of 3,000 years granted by Pope Boniface, the latter being also found in the Arbuthnott Missal. See *Missale ad usum insignis ecclesiæ Eboracensis*, ed. Henderson, Surtees Society, vol. ii, p. 216: and *Liber Ecclesie beati Terrenani de Arbuthnott*, Burntisland, 1864, p. xcvi.
[16] *Processionale . . . Sarum*, Ed. Henderson, 1882; p. 152.

Salves sung in the Palm Sunday[1] Procession. Then there were the famous *Salves* of St. Bernard[2] addressed to different portions of our Lord's Body. Or again, it may have been an imitation of the famous *Salve Regina*. At any rate, like that, it was followed by versicles and a collect.

One finds sometimes in lists of mediaeval music the anthem *In nomine Jesu*, which is the office of the Mass of the Holy Name, from Phil. ii, 10. And perhaps this was sung after Complin on Fridays in some places. But the close analogy between the way and time of singing Jesus Anthem and those of *Salve Regina*, makes one pretty sure that the imitation of that song called *Salve Rex* was the commoner, if not the only, Jesus Anthem. It is found in a few sixteenth century primers, both in Latin and English. The following is from "A Prymer in Englyshe and Latyn," A.D. 1542, now in St. Paul's Cathedral Library (30. D. 7. page 60), which is very rare. The Rev. E. Hoskins very kindly took the trouble to copy it out for me:—

℄ Oratio ad Christum.

Salue rex Jesu Christe, rex misericordie, vita nostra, suavitas nostra ac spes nostra te salutamus. Ad te clamauimus exules filii Eve. Ad te suspiramus gementes & flentes in hac lachrimarum valle. Eia ergo aduocate noster, illos tuos misericordes oculos ad nos converte. Patremque tuum (O Jesu omni laude dignissime) post hoc nostrum exilium ostende. O clemens, o misericors, o suavis Jesu christe.

Versus. In omnibus tribulationibus & angustiis.
Respon. Jesu Christe succurre nobis.

Oratio.

Domine Jesu Christe, fili Dei ac redemptor noster, qui temetipsum in vilissimam nostram naturam transformasti, ut nos filios ire in filios gratie patri reconciliares. Concede quesumus domine, ut possimus certa fide confiteri, te esse redemptorem nostrum ac apud patrem solum mediatorem nostrum pro omnibus bonis spiritualibus. Qui es deus eternus viuens & regnans cum patre & spiritu sancto: per infinita seculorum secula. Amen.

℄ A Prayer to chryste.

Hayle, Jesu Chryst, Kynge of mercy, our lyfe, our swetnes, & oure hope, we salute the: unto the we cry, which are the banyshed children of Eve: unto the we syghe sobbynge, and wepyng in thys vayle of wretchednes: hast ye therfore our medyator, turne unto us those thy mercyful eyes. O Jesu, all prayse worthy, shew us the presence of thy father after thys outlawry. O gentel, O mercyfull, O swete Jesu Chryste.

The versicle. In al our trouble and heuynes.
The answer. O Jesu, oure healthe and glorye, socoure us.

The prayer.

O Jesu Chryst, the sonne of God, our redemer, which deiectedst and humbledst thy selfe from the gloryous state and shape of thy godhed, unto the shap of our vile seruitude, because thou woldest reconcyle us the chyldren of wrathe unto the father, and so make us thy chyldren of grace, we beseech the graunte us that we mought ever fele even the by thy very self to be our present medyator before our father for all ghostly giftes, whom we knowledge with perfecte fayth to be our sauyoure: whych art wyth the father and the holy ghost, lyuynge, and raygning into the world of worldes. So be it.

It may be doubted whether this was the exact version sung after Complin, but that it was in most respects the same is most probable. The insistence on our Lord's being the *only*

[1] *Missale . . . Sarum*, Burntisland, 1861–1883; col. 259, 260.
[2] Sancti Bernardi Abbatis, *Opera*, Venetijs, 1727; col. 996*a* sq.

mediator may have been an amendment due to Lutheran influence: but apart from that word *solum* only there is no intrinsic reason to think that this could not have been the Jesus Anthem sung every Friday for many years in pre-Edwardian England.

Another version of this appears in "The primer in Latin and Englishe after the vse of the Sarum," printed in 1555 by John Waylande, London. After the Psalms of the Passion come certain "Godly prayers" in English only, of which the first is:—

℔ A prayer called *Aue Rex*.

Haile, heauenly kynge, father of mercy, our lyfe, our sweetnesse, oure hope, al-haile: vnto thee do we crie which are the banished children of Eua, unto thee do we sygh, wepynge and wailynge in the vale of lamentation, come of there fore our aduocate, cast vpon vs those eyen of thyne, and after this our banishment shewe vnto vs the glorious lyght in thy heauenly kyngdom, O merciful, O holy, O swete sauiout (*sic*).

Vers. In all our troubles and heauines.

Resp. O Jesu our health and glory succour vs.

℔ Let us praye.

O Jesu Christ the sonne of God our redemer, whiche deiectedst and humbledst thy selfe from the glorious state and shape of thy Godhed, to the shape of our vile seruitude, bicause y^{u} wouldest reconcile vs the children of wrath, vnto thy father, and so make vs the children of grace: We beseche thee graunt vs, that we myght euer follow euen thee thy selfe, to be our present mediatour before our father, for al gostly gyftes whom we acknowledge in perfect faith to be our sauiour which art the liuyng God with the father and the holy gost liuyng and reigning into ye worlde of worldes. Amen.

We may notice that this devotion to our Lord never became so popular as the like one to our Lady: whereas the latter was universally sung every night after Complin, the former was, except at St. Paul's Cathedral Church, only sung on Friday nights.[1] So, too, Jesus Mass was a weekly devotion, but our Lady Mass a daily one.

In the modern search after fresh services, this simple and beautiful Jesus *Salve* has been overlooked. At St. Edmund's, Salisbury, it was sung on Fridays in Lent. We might go farther and fare worse when seeking a short service for the same days.

[1] The instance of the Grayfriars of York singing it on Tuesdays as well is hardly worth mentioning, as it only began a very few years before the Dissolution, when of course it ceased.

ON A MANUSCRIPT SARUM PRYMER WHICH BELONGED TO A BROTHER OF THE JESUS GILD AT ST. PAUL'S, LONDON.

BY

REV. E. S. DEWICK, M.A., F.S.A.

The small manuscript Sarum Prymer, which I have pleasure in exhibiting this evening,[1] contains an entry which seems to prove that it once belonged to a brother of the Jesus Gild at St. Paul's. The record is as follows:—

"Edmundus appiliȝerd in vigilia assumptionis beate marie virginis A° iiij H[enrici] vii^ti^ factus fuit frater fraternitatis ihu in ecclesia sancti pauli londoñ."

An entry such as this would not have had any interest except for Edmund Appleyard himself, or any rate for some member of the Gild. I think, therefore, that it may be safely concluded that the book belonged to a brother of the Jesus Gild.

The manuscript is written on 134 leaves of vellum, which measures $3\frac{5}{15}$ by $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches, and it appears to have been written about the middle of the fifteenth century. Its contents, which are in Latin, are as follows:—Calendar, Hours of our Lady according to Sarum Use, the short Hours of the Cross, *Salve regina*, the Seven Penitential Psalms, the Fifteen Psalms, and the Litany of the Saints.

In the Calendar the name of St. Thomas of Canterbury has been erased on the day of his Deposition, December 29, probably in compliance with the injunctions of Henry VIII., but the name has been left untouched on the Feast of his Translation, and also in his memory at Lauds. The word *papa* has not been touched anywhere.

The service of each of the Hours is preceded by an illumination, which originally had its verso blank, but early in the sixteenth century at a date not far removed from that of the admission of Edmund Appleyard to the Jesus Gild, these and other blank pages were used for the reception of prayers in vernacular English,[2] which from their general tenour may well have been used by a member of the Jesus Gild. I have not, even with the help of the Index to the printed Prymers, which has been given by Mr. Hoskins,[3] been able to find these prayers elsewhere, and in the hopes of eliciting some information about them, I here transcribe them. It will be noticed that there is a prayer for six days in the week, but none is provided for Sunday. If it ever existed it has been lost.

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[1] This paper was read at the Meeting of the Society on Oct. 28th, 1903.

[2] The writing is in a small book-hand, doubtless the work of a paid scribe.

[3] E. Hoskins, *Horæ Beatæ Mariæ Virginis or Sarum and York Primers . . .*, London, 1901.

The spelling of the original has been followed. When contractions have been expanded, the letters supplied have been printed in italics. No attempt has been made to correct the English, which is occasionally obscure.

Feria Secunda.

I beseche the swete ih'u that y^{u} vouchesaf of y^{i} souereyn goodnes so benyngnely (*sic*) and gra*c*iously to visit my syk sowle. desiryng to receyve the gostly our helthful sacrifice and welle of alle gra*c*es that I may with gladnes fynde medicyn and hele in body and sowle be vertu of y^{i} presence.

Feria Tertia.

Beholde not lord ih'u to my wickednes and many folde necglygence and many gret vnkyndenes. but rather to y^{i} sou*er*eyn mercies and endeles goodnes. Sothly y^{u} arte that lambe without wemme of synne that y^{is} day arte offered to the fad*er* of heuyn for the redempc*i*on of the world.

Feria iiij^{a}.

O y^{u} swettest manna aungell mete o y^{u} most likyng gostly dr*y*nke brynge in to myn inwarde mowthe that honyful tast of y^{i}n heltheful presence and also y^{i}n charite. quenche in me alle maner of vices. send in to me the plente of vertues. encrese in me ȝiftis of graces and ȝeue to me hele of body and sowle to y^{i} plesyng.

Feria quinta.

Myn god I beseche the that y^{u} wilt so gra*c*iously bowe y^{i}n hand fro the high heuen now come down to me that I may be knytte and ioyned in y^{i}n hand and be made oon spirytt with the.

Feria sexta.

O y^{u} wurschipful sacrament I beseche the that alle myn enemyes be put fro me be strengthe and alle my synnes for ȝeve[n] and alle wickednes be excludid be y^{i} blissed presence of the. good purpos lord y^{u} ȝeue me. my maners y^{u} correcte and amende. and alle my werkis and dedis y^{u} dispose in y^{i} wille. my witte and vndirstondyng be the swete tast of the lord ih'u be made cleer heer to me with and[l]es light of grace.

Sabbato.

Myn affecc*i*on be enflamed with fyer of y^{i} love and myn hope be comfortid and stered with y^{is} blissed sacrame*n*t so that my lyff profyȝt herever in amendment to better and better and atte the last from y^{is} wrechid world with blessed p*ar*tyng that I may come to lyff euerlesting. ih'u lord be vertu and grace of the and blissed be y^{u} without endyng. Amen.

ON SOME FLY-LEAF NOTES IN A MANUSCRIPT SARUM PRYMER.

BY

REV. E. S. DEWICK, M.A., F.S.A.

The mediæval books of private devotion, known as Prymers in England, were often used, like Family Bibles at the present day, for making memoranda of various kinds, and especially for entries of births.[1]

A Prymer of Sarum use, which belonged successively to the Rev. W. Maskell, and Mr. A. J. Beresford Hope, and is now in my possession, has some entries on a fly-leaf at the end, which seem to be of sufficient interest to deserve a brief notice.

The book itself cannot have been written much, if at all, before the year 1500, for it contains, in the original hand, an indulgence of 10,000 years from mortal sins, and 20,000 from venial sins, to all who should say a certain prayer three times before the image of St. Anne. It is claimed for this indulgence that it was granted by Pope Alexander VI., the notorious Borgia, who occupied the chair of St. Peter from 1492–1503.

The calendar of the book is of Sarum character, but on April 30th there is the non-Sarum entry of "Sancti Erkenwaldi," which suggests that the book was intended for use in London, but as there is no notice of the translation of St. Erkenwald on November 14th, it is clear that the calendar is not after the use of St. Paul's.

The entry on a fly-leaf at the end of the MS. is as follows:—

"My sonne Stephan was borne ye xij^th^ day of June betwene ix and x of the cloke in the forenone the wich was the moro after saynt barnabes day being monday in the yeare of our lord god 1559 and in the fyrst yere of the Rayne of Quene Elizabeth, his godfathers my brother stephan vaughan and M^r^ hardyng and M^ris^ [*struck out and* my lady *written over*] harpar Alderwoman godmother and his vncle Thomas Wisman busshipped hym."[2]

"All this was a fortnyght before mydsomer and at mydsomer all latten saruis was left and Englys brought in to the Chirches."

[In a later hand] "Writen by your mother Elizabeth Keynsam."

Other entries follow relating to the Keynsam family, which need not detain us.

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[1] Some royal autographs in books of this kind have been noticed in Maskell's *Monumenta Ritualia Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ*, 2nd ed., Oxford, 1882, vol. i, pp. clxxxiv, clxxxv. Two facsimiles are given by H. Littlehales, *The Prymer*, E.E.T.S., 1895, 1897.

[2] When the original entry was made in 1559, Sir William Harper was only "Master Harper, alderman," as he is styled in *Machyn's Diary*, Camden Society, 1848, p. 108; and his wife was "Mistress Harper." A later hand has noted the change to "my lady" when her husband was knighted. "Mistress Harper," afterwards known as "Dame Alice Harper," was the first wife of Sir William Harper. She died in 1569, and was buried in the church of St. Mary Woolnoth, as appears from the parish register. (See *Trans. London and Middlesex Arch. Soc.* vol. iv, p. 93.)

In the above entry we may note in passing the quiet way in which the introduction of the prayer book of Queen Elizabeth is referred to. The Latin service "was left," and English "brought in." The continuity of the Church and its services is affirmed. The change struck an ordinary observer principally as a change of language.

Then we may notice the use of "Alderwoman" for the wife of an alderman. The Mistress Harper here mentioned being, no doubt, the wife of Sir William Harper, afterwards Lord Mayor of London, and the munificent founder of Bedford School.[1] The earliest instance of the word "Alderwoman" given in Dr. Murray's *New English Dictionary*, is dated 1640, which is nearly a century later than this fly-leaf entry.

But the expression "his uncle Thomas Wisman busshipped[2] him," is the one to which I wish to direct special attention.

The *New English Dictionary* of Dr. Murray gives several uses of the verb "to bishop," viz., to administer the rite of confirmation, to appoint to the office of bishop, to supply with bishops, to bishop it, *i.e.*, to act as bishop; but none of these meanings suits the context.

At first sight it seemed possible that young Stephen might have had an uncle Thomas Wisman who was a bishop and confirmed him. But this is easily disproved. No bishop of that name is known to have existed in England at the middle of the sixteenth century.

It is, therefore, necessary to look for some other meaning, and it may be convenient to say at once that the expression "his uncle Thomas Wisman busshipped him," is only a popular way of saying that his uncle stood godfather to him at his confirmation.

The steps by which this meaning was acquired seem to be as follows. Firstly, from the conspicuous part performed by the bishop in the rite of confirmation, the ceremony itself came to be called "bishopping." Thus Tyndale: "That they [the priests] call confirmation, the people call bishoping."[3] And again, he complains that often children "be volowed and bishopped both in one day."[4]

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[1] A memoir of Sir William Harper will be found in *The Bedford Schools and Charities of Sir William Harper*, by James Wyatt, Bedford, 1856; and further particulars and corrections are given by Mr. J. G. Nichols in *Transactions of London and Middlesex Archæological Society*, vol. iv, pp. 70–93. The following are the principal dates in the life of Sir William Harper. He was elected Alderman of the City of London in 1553. In 1556 he was chosen Sheriff, and in 1561 he became Lord Mayor of London. He died in 1573, and a memorial brass to him and his second wife, Dame Margaret, still remains in the church of St. Paul's, Bedford. It is figured in *Trans. London and Middlesex Arch. Soc.*, vol. iv, p. 86.

[2] I regret that I formerly misread the word as "husshipped," and submitted this false word to some of my friends, who favoured me with very ingenious explanations. It will be seen from the accompanying facsimile that the lower part of the initial *b* has been damaged so that it now resembles *h*.

[3] Tyndale, *Doctrinal Treatises*, Parker Society, Cambridge, 1848, p. 277.

[4] Tyndale's *Answer to Sir Thomas More's Dialogue*, Parker Society, Cambridge, 1850, p. 72. The curious word "volowed" in the sense of "baptized" is explained by Tyndale himself in another passage:— "Baptism is called *volowing* in many places of England because the priest saith, 'volo, say ye.' 'The child was well *volowed*,' say they, 'yea, and our vicar is as fair a *volower* as ever a priest within this thirty miles.'" Tyndale's (*Doctrinal Treatises*, Parker Society, p. 276.) Evidently the priest when he asked the question "*Vis baptizari?*" had to prompt the godparent with the answer, "*Volo*," and so got his nickname of *volower*.

It is somewhat remarkable that the Sarum Manual which contained vernacular forms for the words of espousal in the marriage service did not also admit the vernacular for the questions and answers in the baptismal service. The *Rituale Parisiense*, of which an edition printed at Paris in 1777 is now before me, very sensibly allows the questions to be addressed to the godparents "*latine vel gallice*." And the later editions of the *Pastorale*, approved by several Archbishops of Mechlin, contain vernacular forms of the questions and answers. In Flemish, "*Wilt gy gedoopt worden? Ik will*"; with the alternative in French, "*Voulez vous être baptisé?*" "*Je le veux.*" *Pastorale Rituali Romano accommodatum*, Mechliniæ, 1838.

Another illustration is found in the privy purse expenses of the Princess Mary:—"Geven to my lady Carowe's daughter, being my ladyes goddowghter at the bishoppyng vis."[1]

In the next stage, folk got into the way of speaking of children presented by them at confirmation as godchildren "at the bishop," instead of "at the bishopping"; using the expression to distinguish them from godchildren "at the font."

An example of this mode of speaking is found in an extract from a will which I owe to the kindness of Mr. Garraway Rice, F.S.A. The will is of "Richard Delve of litelhorstede in the Countie of Sussex," and is dated October 6th, 1505, and was proved January 25th, 1508-9. In it he bequeathes to "my godchildren at the fonte and at the bishop xiid."[2]

Further examples of the expression "at the bishop" are yielded by a manuscript "Book of Evidences" of the Jervoise Family,[3] which contains entries relating to baptisms and confirmations of members of that family. For instance, "Barnard Jerveis" is recorded as having been born in 1530; then follow the names of his two godfathers and his godmother at his baptism, and then is added "and James Bolney mercere godfather at the bysshop." Other similar entries occur, in all of which the names of the two godfathers and godmother "at the fount" are followed by the name of the godfather "at the busshop."

When this popular mode of speaking of the godparent at confirmation as "at the bishop" was once established, it was no great step to speak of the godparent as "busshipping the child," so that the words "his uncle Thomas Wisman busshipped him," simply mean that his uncle stood sponsor for him at his confirmation.

A few words may be said in conclusion about godparents at confirmation. The mediæval service of Confirmation is, of course, found in English Pontificals, but though the presence of *compadres* and *commatres* is recognized, there is little said about their responsibilities and duties. For information on these subjects we must look to the decisions of Councils, such as that held at Oxford in 1222 under Stephen Langton. A canon of this Council expressly forbids parents to present their own children for confirmation, and pronounces that godparents at confirmation (*qui pueros tenent ad confirmandum*) contract spiritual affinity just like godparents at baptism.[4]

In pre-Reformation times the rite of confirmation was administered soon after baptism—if the presence of a bishop made this possible—a custom strongly reprehended by the Reformers. The First Prayer Book of Edward VI. did not contemplate confirmation before the child had learnt to say in the mother tongue the Lord's Prayer, the Ten Commandments, and should be able to answer questions in the Catechism. But the godparent at confirmation was retained. The rubric directs that the children "shall be brought to the bishop by one that shall be his godfather or godmother, that every child may have a witness of his confirmation."[5] This rubric remained unaltered in subsequent revisions of the

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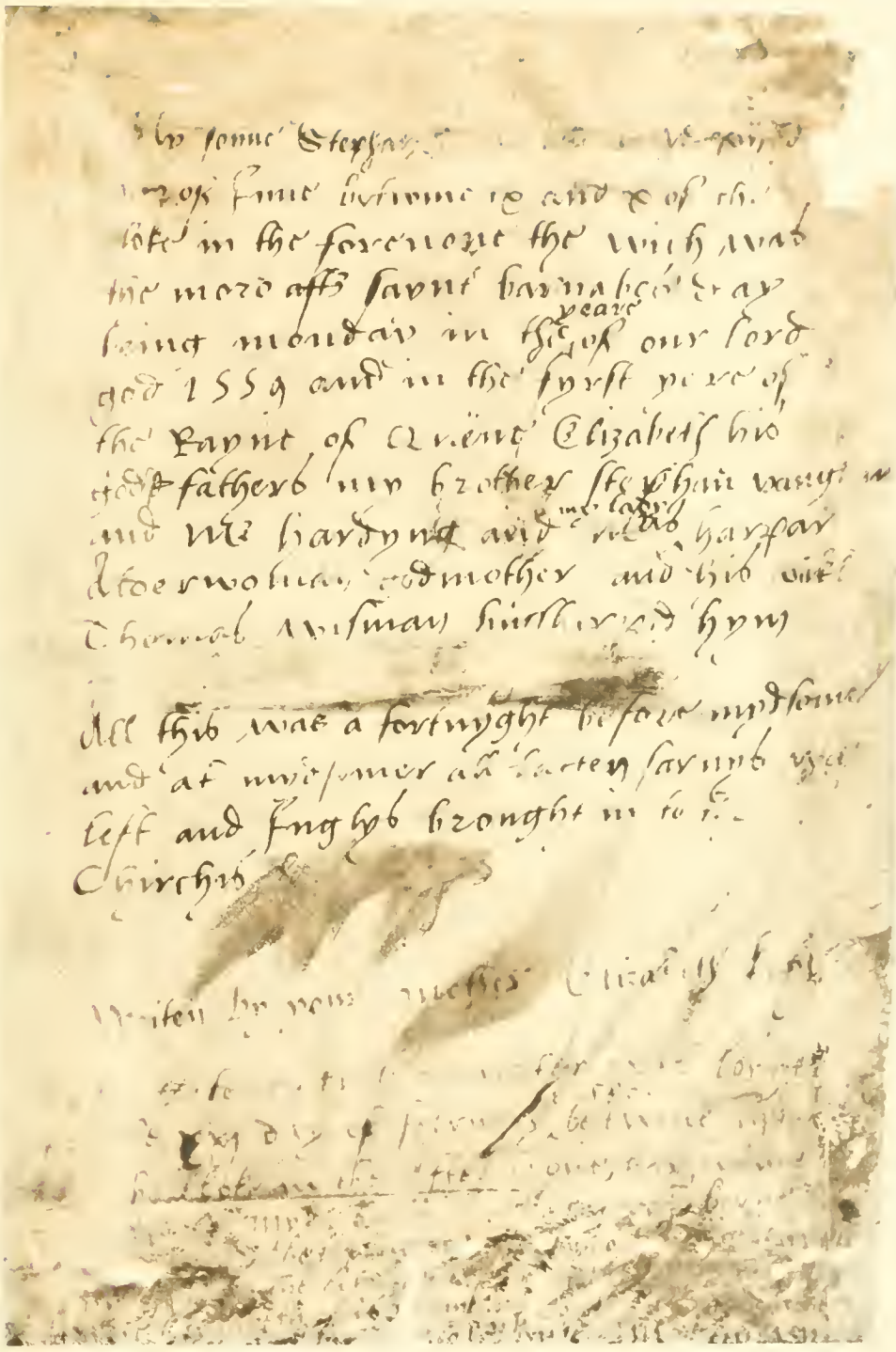
[1] Quoted by Maskell in *Mon. Rit. Eccl. Angl.*, 2nd ed., Oxford, 1882, p. ccliv.

[2] P.P.C. Register "Bennett," fo. 16.

[3] See facsimile in *The Ancestor*, No. 3, p. 12, October, 1902. For this reference I am indebted to Mr. L. L. Duncan, F.S.A.

[4] Wilkins' *Concilia*, i, 594, and Lyndewode's *Provinciale*, Lib. i, tit. *Sacerdotes*, where see the gloss.

[5] This direction was at least occasionally obeyed, for in the account of a confirmation held by Bishop Wren at St. Vigor's, Fulbourne, on September 17th, 1639, we are told that the candidates were presented by their sponsors. (Cole MSS., vol. xliv, as quoted in *Churches of Cambridgeshire*, n.p. n.d. [Cambridge Camden Society], p. 16.



FLY-LEAF OF A MANUSCRIPT SARUM PRYMER

Book of Common Prayer including the Scotch Book of 1637, and remained without change until the year 1662, when it was altered to:—"They [the children] shall be brought to the bishop. And every one shall have a Godfather or a Godmother as a Witness of their Confirmation." In this form the rubric has remained to our day. But it seems gradually to have become nearly obsolete in practice. In some quarters, it is regarded as a pious hope that one or other of the baptismal godparents may be present as a witness of the Confirmation. But the appointment of a special sponsor or witness of Confirmation is seldom thought of. I am glad, however, to be able to call attention to the instructions in *The Order of Confirmation as used in the Diocese of Salisbury*, Salisbury, 1898[1]: "The attendance of elder Communicant persons as Godparents (in accordance with the third rubric at the end of the Catechism, and the xxix[th] Canon of 1603)[2] should be encouraged as much as possible; and some service may well be held for them in preparation for their duties. They need not be the same as the Baptismal Godparents, but it will be found that the same persons are often willing to serve, and will be very suitable for the purpose."

[1] I am indebted to the kindness of the Rev. Canon Wordsworth for a copy of this Order.

[2] " . . . [No] person may be admitted Godfather or Godmother to any child at Christening or Confirmation before the said person so undertaking hath received the Holy Communion."

ON A MANUSCRIPT EVANGELISTARIUM WHICH BELONGED TO AN ENGLISH HOUSE OF THE BLACK FRIARS.

BY

REV. E. S. DEWICK, M.A., F.S.A.

The Manuscript Evangelistarium, or book of the liturgical gospels, of which two pages in facsimile accompany this paper, formerly belonged to the late Mr. William Morris.[1] It contains not only the gospels to be sung throughout the year on Sundays and holy days, but also the *Exultet* which was sung by the deacon at the Blessing of the Paschal Candle on Easter Eve, and the Genealogies which were sung by him on the nights of Christmas and Epiphany. These are accompanied by musical notation. The opening page of the book give the tones (*modus legendi*) to be used by the deacon in beginning and ending the gospels, in passages where there is an interrogation, and in the "passions" of Holy Week. The formulæ to be spoken by the deacon, such as, *Levate*, *Humiliate capita vestra deo*, *Humiliate vos ad benedictionem*, are also given with their musical notation. Thus the book contains all that the deacon would require when assisting at mass.

The MS. contains 219 leaves, measuring $10\frac{3}{4}$ by $7\frac{1}{2}$ inches. The leaves are arranged in 17 quires, of which 13 contain 12 leaves each. The tenth quire has 14 leaves, the eleventh 10, the fifteenth 6, and the last originally had 8, but the last leaf is now missing. It was probably blank, for the text is complete without it.

The book is in its original binding of oak boards, which are now bare, having been stripped of their leather or other covering.

The pages of the book throughout bear the marks of long-continued use. From time to time, as new festivals were added to the calendar, entries were made in the margin, giving the cues for their gospels, taken from the *Commune Sanctorum*.[2]

On looking at these marginal additions, I was at once struck by the number of English Saints which appear in them:—SS. Oswald, David, Patrick, Richard, Dunstan, Augustine of the English, Wulstan, Edward, Edmund. This suggested that the MS. must have been in use in England, which surmise was fully confirmed when it was noticed that the word *papa* had been erased in several places, and that in the *Exultet*, the words *pro patre papa nostro N.*

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[1] The MS. was exhibited at the Meeting of Society on December 19th, 1900, when the paper was read.

[2] Two of the new gospels are written out in full on a leaf originally blank at the end of the *Temporale*. They are for Corpus Christi, and St. Catherine of Siena.

had been erased, and supplanted by *pro rege nostro henrico octavo suppremo*, in a neat book-hand of the sixteenth century.

The MS., therefore, had been used in England, but the *cursus* of the gospels was not according to any one of the secular uses of Salisbury, York or Hereford. However, when I further noticed that the festivals of St. Dominic and of St. Peter Martyr were in the original text, it occurred to me that it might be after the use of the Dominicans, or Preaching Friars, known in England as the Black Friars. On comparing the MS. with the editions of the Missal of the Black Friars, printed at Paris in 1529, and by the Giunta press at Venice in 1550, I found that the gospels of the *Temporale* were the same in the MS. and in the printed books. Afterwards I compared the Evangelistarium with a MS. in the British Museum, Add. 23,935,[1] which contains in a single volume the various service books of the Dominicans, and I found that the arrangement was almost identical in the two books. Thus the Dominican character of the MS. was fully established.

It then remained to consider the question of the age of the MS., the place where it was written, and the particular house in which it was used.[2]

On palæographical evidence the MS. may be safely referred to the thirteenth century, perhaps *circa* 1270, on account of the similarity of the script to that of a manuscript Lectionary written for Mons in Hainault, which is now in the British Museum (Egerton MS. 2569). This MS. was written in 1269 by a scribe bearing the English name of John of Salisbury, as is shown by an inscription which also gives the date.[3]

It is difficult to determine with certainty whether our MS. Evangelistarium was written by an English scribe or not. Dr. G. F. Warner has kindly examined it, but he hesitates to pronounce positively. He contents himself with saying that he sees no reason why the book should not have been written in England.

Internal evidence afforded by the MS. confirms the palæographical and points to a date in the thirteenth century. The original text of the *Sanctorale* contains gospels for the two feasts of St. Dominic, who died 1221, was canonized by Gregory IX. in 1233, and translated in the same year. It also notices the feast of St. Peter Martyr, who was murdered in 1252, and canonized in the following year. The date of the MS. is, therefore, certainly later than 1253. On the other hand, it is presumably earlier than 1323, for the original hand takes no notice of St. Thomas Aquinas, who died in 1274, and was canonized by John XXII. in 1323. A later hand, however, has added in the margin the cue for the gospel of the festival of

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[1] This MS. is beautifully written in a minute hand on 579 leaves of uterine vellum. The original table at the beginning of the book gives its contents as follows :—"Ordinarium, Martyrologium cum euangeliis legendis in capitulo et regula et constitutionibus, Collectarium, Libellus processionalis, Psalterium, Lectionarium, Antiphonarium, Graduale, Pulpitarium, Missale maioris altaris, Epistolarium, Euangelarium." A book of this kind was not used at divine service, but was probably an *exemplar* from which the separate books might be transcribed as required. The Cistercians had a similar *exemplar*, containing their services, which is still preserved in the Public Library of Dijon. See Guignard, *Les Monuments Primitifs de la Règle Cistercienne*, Dijon, 1878, pp. vii. *seqq*.

[2] The only direct marks of former ownership are the modern labels of "Rev. E. Pole, Rackenford Rectory, Witheridge" (who has written and inscribed his name with the date April 17th, 1841), "William Morris, Kelmscott House, Hammersmith," and Robert Steele.

[3] See facsimile, in the publications of the Palæographical Society, ii. Plate 113, and in Sir E. M. Thompson's *Palæography*, London, 1893, p. 274.

St. Thomas Aquinas. Thus, internal evidences fixes the date of the MS. between 1253 and 1323, and from the resemblance of the hand to that of the MS. already referred to, written at Mons in 1269, I incline to place it not far from 1270. Let us now see what internal evidence the MS. yields of the place where it was written. It is found that the *Sanctorale* is practically the same as that in the Dominican *exemplar* manuscript (Add. MS. 23,935), which seems to have been written at Paris, about the end of the thirteenth century. This is probably the *Sanctorale* adopted by the General Chapter, and used universally in all houses of the Black Friars, before additions were made by provincial and conventual chapters. The Dominicans were a centralized body, governed by a General Chapter held in alternate years at Paris and Bologna, and the main features of their liturgical rites were doubtless determined by this body. The *Temporale* was the same for all countries in which the Order was established, and it seems likely that even the *Sanctorale* in its original form was also uniform. In the original *Sanctorale* of our MS. there are no saints which seem to have any significance as indicating its *provenance*. Even St. Thomas of Canterbury, who may appear to point to England, is found in all books of the Black Friars. The "holy, blissful martyr" in the thirteenth century had achieved in Western Christendom a renown which was independent of country. We must, therefore, come unwillingly to the conclusion that the original text of the MS. is silent as to the place or country in which it was written.

But when we come to the additions we are on different ground. In the Calendar printed at the end of this paper, which is drawn up from the *Sanctorale*, the saints without an asterisk are those which are found in the original thirteenth-century text of the MS. The additions in italics which are distinguished by a single asterisk are found in other books of the Black Friars, and probably were added by the authority of the General Chapter of the Order. Those with two asterisks are not found in Dominican books of other countries, but they are in Sarum books, and I presume that they were introduced by the authority of the Provincial Chapter of England.[1] Two feasts remain, marked with a triple asterisk, viz., Oswald, Bishop (Feb. 28), and the Translation of St. Wulstan, Bishop (June 7), which are non-Sarum festivals, but both of these saintly bishops of Worcester were specially honoured in that city, and their names appeared in the diocesan Calendars.[2] It seems, then, highly probable that the book belonged, at the time the marginal additions were made, if not before, to the Black Friars of Worcester.

We, therefore, arrive at these conclusions:—That the book was written for the Black Friars about 1270, that there is no certain evidence to show for what house it was originally written, but that it certainly served as the gospel-book in some house of Black Friars in England, and that the particular house was probably at Worcester.

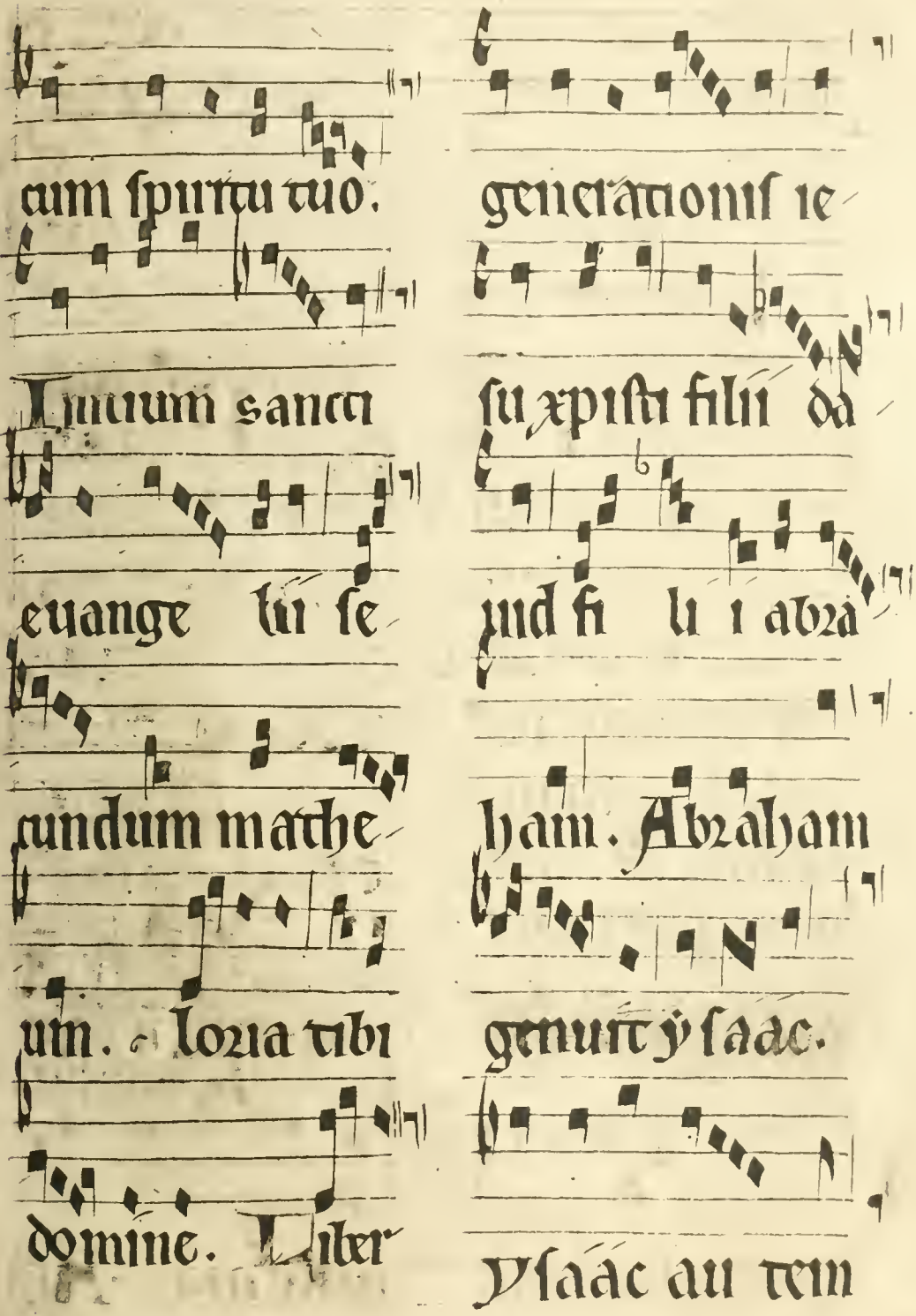
[1] The Dominican "provinces" were originally eight in number:—Spain, Toulouse, France, Provence, Lombardy, Rome, Germany, England. To these were afterwards added Greece, Poland, Denmark, the Holy Land. In the eighteenth century the number had risen to 45. See Mas Latrie, *Trésor de Chronologie*, 1889, p. 1337.

[2] Two Worcester Calendars may be seen in the British Museum, Harleian MSS. 587 and 7398. Both of these MSS. are Breviaries after the Use of Sarum, with additions for the diocese of Worcester. The former has on Feb. 28 (fo. 185*b*), "Sancti Oswaldi archiepiscopi duplex festum ix lect. non Sarum sed [in] episcopatu Wygornie"; and on June 7 (fo. 187*b*), "Translacio sancti Vulstani episcopi et confessoris non Sarum sed Vygorñ."

TWO PAGES OF AN EVANGELISTARIUM
ACCORDING TO THE USE OF THE BLACK FRIARS

nollet eam tra-
ducere. uolunt
occulte dimittere
eam. Hec autem
cō cogitante: ecce
angelus dñi in sōp
nis apparuit ei di
cens. Joseph fili
dauid: noli time
re accipe mariam
conuiugem tuā.
Quod enim in ea
natum est: de spi
ritu sco. Pariet
autem filium:
et uocabis nom
ei ihm. Ipse enim
saluum faciet po
pulum suum: a
peccatis eorū. In
nocte natalis do
mini. Dum. ij.
non responsorium
cantat: pcedit
diaconus cum
sollempni appa
ratu. ad cantan
dum lectionem
nationis sic in fe
stis totis duplici
bus ecclesiis fieri
est notandum.

Dominus
uobiscum Et


cum spiritu tuo.
Initium sancti
euangelii se-
cundum matthe-
um. Gloria tibi
domine. Liber
generationis ie-
su xpisti filii da-
uid filii abra-
ham. Abraham
genuit ysaac.
Ysaac au tem

This Calendar has been drawn up from the *Sanctorale* of the Evangelistarium, with the addition of the festivals in the *Temporale* which fall on a fixed day. Saints which have *memoria* only, but no mass, find no place in this Calendar.

Festivals added in the margin by a later hand are printed in *italics*. Of these additions, festivals which were generally admitted into the books of the Black Friars are marked with a single asterisk (*) those with a double asterisk (**) are found in Sarum and other English books, whilst the two with three asterisks (***) are probably connected with the place for which the Evangelistarium was written.

The spelling of the original has been closely followed, but capital letters have been used for the initials of proper names.

Januarius.

1. Circumcisio.
5. Vigilia.
6. Epiphania.
13. Octaua Epiphanie.
14. Sancti Felicis confessoris.
15. Sancti Mauri abbatis.
16. Sancti Marcelli pape.[1]
17. Sancti Antonii abbatis.
18. Sancte Prisce uirginis et martiris.
20. Sanctorum Fabiani et Sebastiani martirum.
21. Sancte Agnetis virginis et martiris.
22. Sancti Vincencii martiris.
25. Conversio sancti Pauli.
28. **Translacio beati Thome de Aquino.*
29. Sancte Agnetis secundo.

Februarius.

1. **Sancti Ignacii episcopi et martiris.*
2. Purificatio.
3. Sancti Blasii episcopi et martiris.
5. Sancte Agathe virginis et martiris.
14. Sancti Valentini martiris.
22. Cathedra sancti Petri.
24. Sancti Mathie apostoli.
28.*** *Sancti Oswaldi episcopi et confessoris.*

Martius.

1.** *Sancti David episcopi et confessoris.*
**Sancti Albini episcopi et confessoris.*
7. **Sancti Thome de Aquino.*
12. Sancti Gregorii pape.[1]
17.** *Sancti Patricii episcopi et confessoris.*
21. Sancti Benedicti abbatis.
25. Annuntiatio.

[1] The last word erased.

Aprilis.

3.** *Sancti Ricardi episcopi et confessoris.*
4. Sancti Ambrosii episcopi et confessoris.
14. Sanctorum martirum Tiburcii et Valeriani et Maximi.
23. Sancti Georgii martiris.
24. **Sancti Athelberti episcopi et confessoris.*
25. Sancti Marci evangeliste.
28. Sancti Vitalis martiris.
29. Beati petri martiris.

Maius.

1. Sanctorum apostolorum Philippi et Iacobi.
3. Inventio sancte crucis.
4. Festum Corone Domini.
Sancte Katerine de Senis.
6. Sancti Iohannis ante Portam Latinam.
10. Sanctorum Gordiani et Epimachi martirum
12. Sanctorum Nerei Achillei et Panchracii martirum.
13. **Sancti Servacii episcopi et confessoris.*
19.** *Sancti Dunstani confessoris.*
24. Translatio beati Dominici.
25. Sancti Urbani pape et martiris.
26.** *Sancti Augustini Anglorum episcopi.*

Junius.

2. Sanctorum Marcellini et Petri martirum.
7.*** *Translatio sancti Wolstani.*
9. **Sanctorum Primi et Feliciani martirum.*
11. Sancti Barnabe apostoli.
12. Sanctorum Basilidis Cirini Naboris et Nazarii martirum.
13. **Sancti Antonii de ordine minorum.*
16. **Sancti Marcialis.*
18. Sanctorum Marci et Marcelliani martirum.
19. Sanctorum Gervasii et Prothasii martirum.
22.** *Sancti Albani martiris.*

23. Vigilia.
24. Sancti Iohannis baptiste.
26. Sanctorum Iohannis et Pauli martirum.
28. Vigilia.
29. Sanctorum Petri et Pauli apostolorum.
30. Commemoratio sancti Pauli.

Julius.

1. Octava sancti Iohannis baptiste.
6. Octava apostolorum.
7. ***Translatio sancti Thome martiris.*
10. Septem fratrum.
17. **Sancti Alexii confessoris.*
20. Sancte Margarete virginis et martiris.
21. Sancte Praxedis virginis.
22. Sancte Marie Magdalene.
23. Sancti Appollinaris episcopi et martiris.
25. Sancti Iacobi apostoli.
27. **Sancte Marthe virginis hospitis* [*Christi*].
28. Sanctorum Nazarii Celsi et Pantaleonis.
29. Sanctorum Felicis Simplicii et Beatricis martirum.
30. Sanctorum Abdon et Sennen martirum.
31. Sancti Germani episcopi et confessoris.

Augustus.

1. Ad vincula sancti Petri.
2. Sancti Stephani pape et martiris.
3. Inventio sancti Stephani.
5. Festum beati Dominici.
9. Vigilia.
10. Sancti Laurencii.
13. Sanctorum martirum Ypoliti sociorumque eius.
14. Vigilia.
15. Assumptio sancte Marie.
20. Sancti Bernardi abbatis.
24. Sancti Bartholomei apostoli.
25. **Sancti Lodowicy confessoris.*
28. Sancti Augustini episcopi.
29. Decollatio sancti Iohannis baptiste.

September.

8. Nativitas sancte Marie.
14. Exaltatio sancte crucis.
15. Octava beate Virginis.
16. Sancte Eufemie virginis et martiris.
20. Vigilia.
21. Sancti Mathei apostoli.
22. Sanctorum Mauricii sociorumque eius.
27. Sanctorum Cosme et Damiani.
28. **Sancti Wenzelai martiris.*
29. Sancti Michaelis archangeli.
30. Sancti Ieronimi presbiteri.

October.

1. Sancti Remigi episcopi et confessoris.
4. Sancti Francisci confessoris.
7. Sancti Marci pape.
9. Sanctorum Dionisii sociorumque eius.
13. **Sancti Edwardi confessoris.*
18. Sancti Luce evangeliste.
21. **Festum xi. milium virginum.*
27. Vigilia.
28. Apostolorum Symonis et Jude.
31. Vigilia.

November.

1. Omnium sanctorum.
2. Commemoratio omnium defunctorum.
3. ***Sancte (wen)efrede virginis.*
8. Quatuor coronatorum.
9. Sancti Theodori martiris.
11. Sancti Martini episcopi.
16. ***Sancti Edmundi episcopi et confessoris.*
18. Octava sancti Martini.
22. Sancte Cecilie virginis et martiris.
23. Sancti Clementis pape.
25. Sancte Katerine virginis et martiris.
29. Vigilia.
30. Sancti Andree apostoli.

December.

6. Sancti Nicholai episcopi et confessoris.
13. Sancte Lucie virginis et martiris.
21. Sancti Thome apostoli.
24. Vigilia.
25. Nativitas Domini.
26. Sancti Stephani prothomartiris.
27. Sancti Iohannis apostoli et evangeliste.
28. Sanctorum Innocencium.
29. Sancti Thome episcopi et martiris.
31. Sancti Silvestri pape.[1]

[1] The last word erased.

THE CHURCH OF ST. ANDREW UNDERSHAFT.

BY

PHILIP NORMAN

Treasurer of the Society of Antiquaries of London.[1]

St. Andrew's Undershaft is on the north side of Leadenhall Street, at its junction with St. Mary Axe. A church dedicated in honour of St. Andrew was certainly here in 1298, when the parish is mentioned in a will of Robert de Rokesle, alderman of Lime Street Ward. From the thirteenth to the fifteenth century it was called St. Andrew upon Cornhill, because the corn-market in former times extended as far east as Lime Street, and the church was held to be on the elevation so named. For this reason in the fourteenth century it was also known as St. Andrew-atte-Knappe, meaning at "top," from the Anglo-Saxon word "cnæp" with that signification.

Both these second names, however, were long ago superseded by that of "Undershaft," which owes its origin to the fact that in the fifteenth and early sixteenth century, a shaft or may-pole used to be set up each year in front of the south door of the former church on this site. It overlooked the old church for the last time on "Evil May-day," 1517, when a fray took place, amid the gaieties of the occasion, between the apprentices and foreigners settled in the city, for their share in which several apprentices were condemned to death. After this, for two and thirty years the shaft remained unraised beneath the eaves of a row of houses thence called Shaft Alley, when a certain curate whom Stow calls Sir Stephen, preached against it at Paul's Cross as an idol, with the effect that the parishioners first sawed in pieces and then burnt the old may-pole of St. Andrew's. Stow, whose *Survey of London* is enlivened by so many touches of personal reminiscence, tells us that he had often heard this man Sir Stephen "forsaking the pulpit of his said parish church, preach out of a high elm tree in the midst of the churchyard, and then entering the church forsaking the altar, to have sung his high mass in English upon a tomb of the dead towards the north." There is reference to the may-pole as "the great shaft of Cornhill" in lines quoted by Stow, which he attributes wrongly, it would seem, to Chaucer.[2]

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[1] Read at the visit of the Society to St. Andrew Undershaft, June 20th, 1903.

[2] Stow in his marginal note refers these lines to Chaucer, "Chance of Dice"; no such poem, however, is attributed to Chaucer by Tyrwhitt, nor is it preserved by Stow himself in his additions to Chaucer's works published in 1561. They run as follows:—

"Right well aloft and high ye beare your heade,
The weather cocke, with flying, as ye would kill,
When ye be stuffed, bet of wine then brede,
Then looke ye, when your wombe doth fill,
As ye would beare the great shaft of Cornehill,
Lord, so merrily crowdeth then your croke,
That all the streete may heare your body cloke."

The present church is one of the few remaining in the City which escaped the Great Fire. It was built between the years 1520 and 1532, "every man putting to his helping hand, some with their purses, other with their bodies."[1] A chief contributor, though not an inhabitant of this parish, was William Fitz William, ancestor of the Earls Fitzwilliam, who had been Sheriff in 1506, and was afterwards of the King's Privy Council. Another was Sir Stephen Jennings, at whose expense the north side of the nave was built, also the north aisle, and Stow adds that he also glazed the south side, and paid for the pews in the south chapel, this church being systematically pewed at the time of the rebuilding. Jennings, who died in 1524, was buried in the Greyfriars Church, and Fitz William carried on his work. Other contributors were John Kerkbie, Sheriff in 1507, John Garlande, and Nicholas Levison his executor, who was Sheriff in 1534.

St. Andrew's has a shallow sanctuary at the east end, a slight deviation from the usual plan, for at the date of its construction the aisles of most London churches extended as far east as the choir, in other respects it is a fairly typical town church of late Perpendicular style, presenting no difficult architectural problems, and apart from its fine proportions, interesting chiefly from having been built through the zeal of London citizens shortly before the Reformation. Its nave is flanked by two side aisles, and there is a tower at the south-west angle, to a great extent rebuilt in 1830. As may be observed from the ground plan, which is to be found in the first volume of the Transactions of our Society, this tower does not fill the last bay of the south aisle, and the base of its turret staircase is below the ground level—almost convincing proofs that the lower portion is a survival of the previous church. It contains six bells and a clock bell; the three oldest have on them the words, "Robertus Mot me fecit, 1597"; a fourth, by the same maker, dates from 1600. The church is entered from the south side of the tower, through a renaissance doorway, above which is an oblong compartment divided into panels containing the arms of the City of London, those of the Bishopric and others. There is also an entrance to the church on the north side.

The aisles, lighted by large windows, are divided from the nave by five clustered columns on each side with obtusely pointed arches, forming six bays. Above them is a clerestory having six windows on each side. In the north wall, almost on a line with the second columns from the east end, is a doorway opening into a turret staircase which leads on to the roof and is thought to have once communicated with the rood loft. It projects into the modern choir vestry, now an adjunct of the older vestry. The roof of the nave, nearly flat but slightly coved at the sides, has transverse beams resting on corbels, on two of which is the date 1532. The space between the beams is divided by ribs into square panels, with flowers and shields at the intersections. The south aisle roof is slightly pointed, while that of the north aisle, now unfortunately in bad condition, is flat, with shields at the intersections of the somewhat massive beams. The spandrels of the nave arches, which are marked off from the clerestory by a string course, have traces of painting apparently in oil colour of subjects from the New Testament, now difficult to make out; Godwin mentions among them the Temptation of our Saviour and the Woman of Samaria. They were executed in 1726 at the expense of Henry Tombes, a parishioner. The spaces between the clerestory windows

[1] Stow's *Survey*, the edition by Thoms, published in 1876, p. 55.

had formerly paintings of the Twelve Apostles by the same hand, and over the chancel was a painting of the Heavenly Choir, also given by Mr. Tombes.

In 1875–76, when the nave of St. Andrew's was restored by Mr. Ewan Christian, the chancel was reconstructed by Mr., afterwards Sir Arthur W. Blomfield, the glass of the east window being then removed to the window at the west end, which had previously been blocked up. It has a curious series of portraits of Edward VI., Elizabeth, James I., Charles I., and Charles II., the costume at least suggests him and his name is below, but the face is more like that of William III. If, as appears to have been the case, the window was given by Sir Christopher Clitherow, this portrait must have been added, for he died in 1642. Other details are worth examining, the coats of arms, for instance, and the initials C R and W R frequently repeated; a good deal of modern glass is mixed up with the old. The present east window is entirely modern, both in form and glazing.

I have said that the church was pewed in part at least at the time of rebuilding. The pews, which had doubtless been renewed in one or more of the restorations of 1627, 1684 and 1704, gave way in the restoration of 1875 to open benches, but those of the churchwardens near the west end have the old carving at their backs. The handsome oak pulpit and marble font with oak cover still remain, and are much of the style of those which one sees in Wren's churches but evidently of earlier date. Hatton in his *New View of London*, 1708, says of the former that "in the panel thereof which directly fronts the S. there is a glory, the rays whereof and I.H.S. are particularly curious, and the whole carved with cherubim, flowers, fruit, leaves, books displayed, &c., in great perfection." This pulpit has now lost its sounding board, and has been moved from the north to the south side of the nave; on it are two curious little brass figures of St. Andrew, which are sometimes said to have belonged to the former church, but they appear to be not older than the latter half of the eighteenth century. The organ, with carved case surmounted by winged figures and mitres, was until 1875 in a short gallery at the west end of the nave; it is now in the easternmost bay of the south aisle. This is considered a very fine instrument, and was built by Renatus Harris, rival of Bernardt Schmidt; though beaten by the latter in the competition at the Temple Church, he supplied many organs to City churches, and was followed by sons who were also successful organ-builders. Mr. Daniell, in his book on City churches, points out that only three organists held office here from 1720 to 1836. They were Philip Hart, Dr. John Morgan, and Miss Mary Allen. The organ used to have below it the old clock now projecting from the side of the north entrance.

There are some very interesting monuments at St. Andrew's, the most noteworthy perhaps being that near the east end of the north aisle to "honest" John Stow, to whose memorable *Survey of London* all who work at London topography must be constantly referring. It was put up by his widow, and contains a portrait figure sitting at a desk or table and engaged in the act of writing, which was probably once painted to resemble life. I have examined it carefully and can say with confidence that the material is alabaster, but ever since Strype made an erroneous statement to that effect in his life of Stow, 1720, writers have repeated again and again that it is made of terra cotta. A slab of Bath stone beneath the feet, inserted in later years, was removed during a repair now in progress. In front of the monument is the motto, "Aut scribenda agere aut legenda scribere." The word "aut" has been imperfectly altered to "stut" by some stone-mason ignorant of Latin. Mr. Birch compares this to the bust of Stow's contemporary Shakespeare, executed by Gerard Johnson. Stow died, at the age of

80, on the 6th of April, 1605. It is sad to think that not long before he was in an impoverished condition, and James I. on being appealed to generously (?) granted him, not relief, but a license "to gather receive and take the alms and charitable benevolence of all his loving subjects whatsoever inhabiting within his cities of London and Westminster and the suburbs thereof." His widow, however, must have had some means, or she could not have gone to the expense of erecting this handsome monument. Her name was Elizabeth, and she seems to have been Stow's second wife, for the burial is here recorded of Anne Stow, wife of John Stow, January 18th, 1580, and a daughter named Mary was christened here in 1563.

Against the north wall also, near the turret door and completely filling up the space that might have been occupied by a window, is a ponderous but fine monument to Sir Hugh Hammersley, Sheriff in 1618 and Lord Mayor in 1627, who came of a Staffordshire family. From his epitaph we learn that he was "Colonel of this City, President of Christ's Hospital, President of the Artillery Garden, Governor of the Company of Russia Merchants and of those of the Levant, free of the Company of Haberdashers and of Merchant Adventurers of Spain, East India, France and Virginia"; also that he "had issue by Dame Mary his wife 15 children," and that he died October 19th, 1636, aged 71. Sir Hugh is represented of the size of life, with his wife behind him, kneeling under a canopy, on each side of which are the standing figures of men in military dress ably designed. It is by Thomas Madden, who, according to Redgrave's *Dictionary of British Artists*, is otherwise unknown as a sculptor. A portrait of Hammersley can be seen in Haberdashers' Hall. This monument has lately been cleaned and restored.

To the west, against the same wall and near the north entrance, is a tablet to Sir Christopher Clitherow, who has been mentioned as probably the donor of the west window, and to Mary his wife. He is here described as "a great and general merchant." The following facts about him may perhaps be not inappropriately mentioned. He was Master of the Ironmongers' Company in 1618 and 1624, Governor of the East India Company in 1638, also Governor of the Company of Eastland Merchants, Sheriff of London, M.P. for the City, and in 1835 Lord Mayor. There is a fine portrait of him at Boston Manor House, Brentford, which was bought by his fourth son James Clitherow, and now belongs to the Rev. W. J. Stracey Clitherow. Sir Christopher's daughter Rachel married Dr. William Paul, Bishop of Oxford; her descendant, Sir Thomas Stapleton, succeeded in 1788 to the ancient barony of Despencer.

Between the Clitherow monument and that to Hammersley are comparatively modern inscriptions of no special interest. Between the Hammersley and Stow monument, close to the vestry door, is a little coloured kneeling figure of Alice Byng, with a large ruff round her neck, kneeling in prayer at a desk. She died in 1616, having had, it appears, three husbands "all batchellors and stacioners." Her second husband, Francis Coldocke, is said to have been "by birth a gentleman." Above are the arms of the Stationers' Company. Alice Byng's father was Simon Burton, citizen and wax-chandler "for 29 years of the Common Council," and very charitable to the poor of the parish, who was buried here in 1593, and is commemorated by a brass plate in a frame near the Byng effigy. It was put up by his daughter when her name was Coldocke.

If we now turn our steps to the chancel we shall find on its north side a large Elizabethan monument with portrait figures, which commemorates Sir Thomas Offley, Lord Mayor in 1556, his wife and three sons. Over the tomb are the following lines :—

"By me a lykelihood beholde
How mortal man shall torn to mold,
When all his pompe and glorie vayne
Shal chaynge to dust and earth agayne.
Such is his great uncertaintye,
A flower and type of vanitye."

Below, some quaint doggerel is perhaps worth quoting for the sake of the information it gives about the life of Sir Thomas, who may be taken as the type of a successful citizen of his day. They run thus :—

"Intombed in this monument here rests a worthy wight,
president, Alderman, sometyme maior, Sir Thomas Offley knight,
in Stafford borne, whose liberalness y^t^ towne doth seme to know,
Such were the benefitts one them y^t^ there he did bestowe.
A father grave, a consul wise, good counsell for to give,
For eightye twoe yeares in good fame he seemed here to live.
this knight in mariage wth one wyfe fiftye two yeares owt spent
dame Jone her name intombed here, three sonnes ye lord them sent,
Of which it pleased god above by death to call for two
henry doth lyve his fathers heyr, god graunt him well to doe,
of marchaunt taylors he was free, the staplers chefest staye
his dealing just, for whome the poor continually do pray."

It may be remarked that the word "just" in the last line has been converted by a foolish restorer into "not," thus making nonsense, but traces of the original letters can be dimly made out. Sir Thomas's wife died in 1578, and he followed her to the grave four years afterwards, bequeathing, as Stow tells us, "the one half of his goods to charitable actions, but the parish received little benefit thereby." His sister married Mr. Stephen Kirton, who was also buried in this church. He was an alderman and merchant of the Staple of Calais, and in his will, proved 29th August, 1553, he provided that forty poor folk, men and women of the parish, if they could be found, if not of the ward of Lime Street, were each to have on the day of his burial a gown of russet or any other colour except black or puke (a colour between russet and black). Thirty sermons also were to be preached in the months succeeding his death at *6s. 8d.* a sermon. Kirton's daughter Ann married Thomas Dutton, the first of that name at Sherborne, Gloucestershire. Their son William married Anne daughter of Sir Ambrose Nicholas of Oxford House, the site of which is occupied by Salters' Hall. From them Lord Sherborne is descended.

A good memorial brass, now placed against the east wall of the north aisle, represents Nicholas Levison, already alluded to as one of those who contributed to the building of the church, with his wife Denys; their eight sons and ten daughters kneeling behind them. Above was a representation of the Trinity which has been defaced. The figures have been gilt and the brasses decorated with fine enamel work. He was Sheriff in 1534, and his monument was restored in 1764 at the expense of the parish.

An interesting note on the brasses to Burton and Levison by the late Mr. W. H. Overall, will be found in vol. iv of the *Transactions of the London and Middlesex Archæological Society*, page 237.

In the windows of the north aisle are small painted coats of arms coeval with the church. Beginning at the east end the glass was given by a citizen named de Orton, and is dated 1532. It has on it the Merchant Taylors' arms, the Haberdashers', and those of the Merchants of the Staple of Calais. The arms of de Orton are on the second panel from the left.

The most eastern window on the north side was given by Nicholas Levison in 1532. It has his own arms and those of the Merchant Taylors' Company.

The second window has nothing to prove who gave it, but is decorated with the arms of the Mercers' Company and of the Merchants of the Staple of Calais. The others on this side have nothing to show who gave them.

On the south side the two eastern windows with painted glass are, one in part, the other wholly, concealed by the organ. That next to it on the west side shows a merchant's mark and three coats of arms. There are also four coats of arms on each of the two adjoining windows to the west.

In the south aisle the monuments, although of less interest than those on the north side, should not be passed without a few words of comment. Three dark ones at the west end, not in their original places, are to the Jeffrey family which gave a name to Jeffrey's Square hard by. It seems to have been built about 1720, and has now been absorbed by the new Baltic.

Lower down there is a tablet to the memory of the Datchelor family; of these, Mary Datchelor, who died unmarried in 1725, left property to the parish for the purposes more especially of apprenticing boys and repairing the donor's tomb. It has now been appropriated to a girls' school at Camberwell which is administered by the Clothworkers' Company. There is also a tombstone to Mary Datchelor and her two sisters outside the church at the east end, in the shred of churchyard remaining.

Another monument, high up, to Peter Van-Sittart, who died in 1705, has by way of ornament an incongruous mixture of skulls and cherubs skilfully carved. It is a very good specimen of its kind, and has lately been cleaned and repaired at the expense of a descendant. This ancestor of the Vansittarts is also commemorated on a tombstone in the churchyard near that of Mary Datchelor.

Below, a pretty tablet, lately repaired but showing marks of injury from a gas-light placed too close to it, marks the resting place of Margery, wife of Humfry Turner, gentleman, who died in the year 1607. Another, hard by, is to one of the Warner family of Great Waltham. Several are covered if not mutilated by the organ.

In the vestry on the north side of the church are seven old books, two with pieces of the chains by which they were formerly secured to a desk.[1] They consist of three copies of Fox's *Acts and Monuments*, Sir Walter Raleigh's *History of the World*, the *Paraphrase of the Books of the New Testament* by Erasmus, a volume of which Bishop Jewell is the author, and a volume of sermons by William Perkins, a "reverend and judicious divine," published in the reign of James I.

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[1] Strype has this allusion to them :—"They have also in the church (much commending the Founders and Continuers of it) at the lower end of the North Ile, a fair Wainscot Press full of good books ; the Works of many Learned and Reverend Divines ; offering at seasonable and convenient times the benefit of reading to any that shall be as ready to embrace it as they and their Maintainers to impart it."

About 1891 two sword-rests which had belonged to All Hallows Staining, were found in an ironmonger's shop by Mr. Edwin Freshfield, junior. One, which he presented to the Church of St. Andrew, Undershaft, is now affixed to a seat near the west end. It resembles one in St. Swithin's London Stone, and has on it three shields, with the Royal arms, the City arms, and those of W. Stewart, grocer, alderman, and Lord Mayor in 1721. It is figured in *Archaeologia*.

Another sword-rest in front of the chancel has the arms of G. Bridges, alderman of Lime Street Ward and Lord Mayor in 1819.

Against the north wall, beneath the effigy of Alice Byng, a modern brass plate has been fixed to the memory of Charles Torriano, a London merchant who died in 1723, and of his wife Rebecca, who followed him to the grave in 1754. They were both buried in the churchyard. She was the daughter of Alderman Sir Peter Paravicini, who was a friend of Samuel Pepys the diarist, and became bail for him when in 1690 he was falsely accused of furnishing information to the French Court about the state of the British navy.

Dr. Henry Man, sometime Bishop of Man, who died in 1556, was buried in the chancel of this church; and Sir William Craven, Lord Mayor in 1610–11, was buried at St. Andrew's, August 11th, 1618, but there is no monument to either of these worthies. Craven's mansion, on the south side of Leadenhall Street, was afterwards acquired by the East India Company, and became the first East India House; a copy of his will is printed in Strype's edition of Stow. His son, the valiant Earl of Craven, was baptized at St. Andrew's Church, June 26th, 1608. Peter Anthony Motteux, translator and dramatist, who kept an East India warehouse in Leadenhall Street, and is perhaps chiefly remembered by his translations of *Rabelais* and *Don Quixote*, is said to have been buried here in 1718, but there is, I believe, no entry to that effect in the register.

The great artist Hans Holbein appears to have been lodging in this parish at the time of his death. Probate of his will, dated November 29th, 1643, describes him as "nuper parochiæ sancti Andree Undershafte." In the south aisle near the entrance a modern brass tablet has been placed to his memory.

At the west end of the nave is a tablet with the names of the rectors as far as they are known from the beginning.

There is some good silver plate here, the earliest apparently being a silver paten and two silver cups, all with the same date mark. One of the cups has a coat of arms, and is inscribed "The gifte of Jone Cartwright Anno 1609, to St. Andrew Unthershaft." In the *New Remarks of London collected by the Company of Parish Clerks*, 1732, we are told that "here are Prayers at six o'clock every morning from Lady Day to Michaelmas, and at seven from Michaelmas to Lady Day, being the gift of Sir Thomas Rich, for which he appropriated the sum of £400; and Mrs. Hester gave £10 for reading prayers at six in the evening every week."

The dedication in honour of St. Andrew is one of the commonest in the British Isles, being only exceeded in number by those to St. Mary the Virgin and St. Thomas the Apostle. The living is in the gift of the Bishop of London and the Suffragan Bishop of Bedford is rector. Mr. George Birch, F.S.A., described this church to the St. Paul's Ecclesiological Society in 1884. His short account is given in vol. i, part iv, of the Transactions of this Society; allusion has already been made to the ground plan in the same volume.

The Church of St. Mary Axe, formerly in the street of that name, running north from Leadenhall Street and close to St. Andrew's Undershaft, was, according to Newcourt,

united to that parish in 1561, and Stow writes of it thus:—"In St. Marie Street had ye of old time a parish church of St. Marie the Virgin, St. Ursula and the eleven thousand Virgins, which church was commonly called St. Marie at the Axe, of the sign of an Axe over against the east end thereof, or St. Mary Pelliper of a plot of ground lying on the north side thereof pertaining to the Skinners in London. This parish about the year 1565 was united to the parish church of St. Andrew Undershaft, and so was St. Mary Axe suppressed and letten out to be a warehouse for a merchant." Peter Cunningham, however, correcting Stow, says that the church acquired its particular designation from a holy relic it possessed, "an axe, oon of iij. that the xj^{m} Virgyns were be hedyd w^{t}," these words being taken from a signed Bill of the fifth year of Henry VIII. Within the last few months Colonel Prideaux and other London antiquaries, not yet satisfied, have been discussing the derivation of the name in *Notes and Queries*. Mr. Wheatley points out that this church was given in 1562 to the Spanish Protestant refugees for divine service, as appears in Hall's *Documents from Simancas*, p. 79, being therein described as Santa Maria de Hacqs.

The patronage had been held by the Prioress and Convent of St. Helen, hard by.

THE CHURCH OF ST. KATHERINE CREE.

BY

PHILIP NORMAN,

Treasurer of the Society of Antiquaries of London.[1]

The church of St. Katherine Cree, or Christchurch, is in Aldgate ward on the north side of Leadenhall Street, a short distance east of St. Andrew's Undershaft. Stow says, "the parish church of St. Katherine standeth in the cemetery of the lately dissolved priory of the Holy Trinity, and is therefore called St. Katherin Christ Church. This church seemeth to be very old; since the building whereof the high street hath been so often raised by pavements that now men are fain to descend into the said church by divers steps seven in number." A statement strengthened, perhaps, by the existence of a piece of a semi-octagonal half pillar or respond against one of the eastern piers of the tower, its capital only three feet above the present ground level, which may be a relic of the original church.[2]

Be this as it may, in fact, after the foundation of the Augustinian Priory of Holy Trinity, Aldgate, in 1108, by Queen Matilda or Maud, the half-Saxon wife of Henry I., the inhabitants of the ancient parish of St. Katherine which, together with those of the parishes of St. Mary Magdalen, St. Michael, and the Trinity, was absorbed by that establishment, for many years used part of the conventual church, but the arrangement proving inconvenient, the church of St. Katherine was built for them in the churchyard set apart for the lay inhabitants of the precinct. According to Strype, it dated from the time of Richard de Gravesend, who was Bishop of London from 1280 until 1303, but as the chapel of St. Katherine and St. Michael it is mentioned in a bull of Pope Innocent III. who died in the year 1216. By the will of Walter Costantyn, dated April 25th, 1349, property is left to the Prior and Convent of Holy Trinity for providing a chantry at the altar of St. Mary, lately reconstructed by the testator in St. Katherine's chapel founded within the churchyard of Holy Trinity aforesaid.

The church was originally served by a canon and the Priory paid the expenses, but this led to difficulties between the Prior and the congregation, and at length Richard Clifford, Bishop of London, intervened. A copy of the written arrangement then made by him is given in Strype's edition of Stow. It was agreed to by the contending parties in 1414, and from that time the church became a parish church or chapel, being maintained by the parishioners. After the Dissolution the neighbouring Priory came into the hands of Sir Thomas Audley, afterwards Lord Chancellor and Baron Audley of Walden. He offered the great Priory Church to the parishioners of St. Katherine in exchange for their smaller one, and when they refused, "for fear," as Stow puts it, "of after claps," he is said to have pulled

[1] Read at the visit of the Society, June 20th, 1903.

[2] Stow's continuators in the fourth edition of his *Survey*, assert that it is 18 feet long, and that it is buried to the extent of 15 feet, showing "the measure or height to which the flore of this new church hath been raised above that of the old."

down the Priory Church, part of which, however, seems to have survived for many years. Audley built or adapted for himself a house within the Priory precinct, perhaps including a portion of the Priory Church, and there he died in 1544. The church of St. Katherine Cree, which had come into his hands as representative of the Priory, he gave with the tithes, by will dated April 19th, 1544, to the Master and Fellows of Magdalen College, Cambridge, on condition that they would serve the cure here. Thereupon, as we are told by the Rev. George Hennessy (in the *Novum Repertorium*), they leased the impropriation to the parishioners for ninety-nine years. The Priory precinct passed by the marriage of Lord Audley's daughter Margaret to Thomas, fourth Duke of Norfolk, who was beheaded in 1572. From him it came to be called Duke's Place. His son sold the mansion house and precinct to the City of London.

Of the original church of St. Katherine Cree little if anything is visible, but besides the small fragment already mentioned, ancient masonry may be traced outside, just above the ground level along the south and west fronts. The lower portion of the tower, dating probably from 1504, when, as Stow tells us, "Sir John Percivall, merchant-tailor, gave money towards the rebuilding thereof," shows pointed arches on the east and north sides. Their bases are concealed by the raising of the floor, and the turret staircase is also partly buried. The rest of the church was taken down in 1628, and the present building was shortly afterwards begun, the first stone being laid by a well-known citizen and captain of train-bands, Martin Bond, whose monument is in the church of St. Helen, Bishopsgate Street. The date on keystones on the north side of the nave is 1632; the church, however, was consecrated by Laud, then Bishop of London, on January 16th, 1630–31, according to a form drawn up by Andrewes. The historian Rapin de Thoyras remarks that Laud "used so much ceremony resembling the practice of the Church of Rome at the consecration, as gave a very great handle to his enemies to charge him with a design for introducing Popery." As shown in the fourth edition of Stow's *Survey* (1633) the parishioners intended also to rebuild the tower; we see to what extent they carried out their wish. The colonnade on the top supporting a cupola is said to have been added in the eighteenth century.

The design of this church has long been attributed to Inigo Jones, but only by tradition We are glad that Mr. G. H. Birch in his valuable book on London churches, has included it among the works of that great architect, because he gives us the advantage of his description and the excellent accompanying illustrations. Mr. Reginald Blomfield, also a high authority, and writer of *A History of Renaissance Architecture in England*, questions the belief that either this or Laud's addition to St. John's College, Oxford (1631) was really by the man who designed such works as the Banqueting Hall, Whitehall, and the church of St. Paul, Covent Garden; writing to me privately he says that he sees no trace of Inigo Jones in St. Katherine Cree. But Lincoln's Inn Chapel, which with moral certainty we can assign to him,[1] and which was consecrated a year after the completion of the classical Banqueting

[1] From the Records of the Honourable Society of Lincoln's Inn, lately printed under the able editorship of Mr. W. Paley Baildon, I find that in 1615, "Indicho" (*sic*) Jones was entrusted with the consideration of a fit model for the chapel. By the end of 1619 Inigo Jones had submitted a plan which commended itself to the Bench, a "platform of the model" had been drawn by Mr. Clarke, who had undertaken the actual building of the chapel, and Mr. Thomas Baldwyn had estimated the masons' and bricklayers' work at £2,231 6*s.* 8*d.* This Baldwyn was at the time Comptroller of the Office of Works under Inigo Jones, Surveyor. Lincoln's Inn Chape was consecrated May 23rd, 1623. See also Dugdale's *Origines Judiciales*, 1666, p. 234.

House, was a more pronounced attempt at Gothic, then no doubt thought by many to be the ecclesiastical style. It has been lengthened and otherwise altered; the tracery of the windows, however, has something in common with that of the church in which we are assembled.

St. Katherine Cree is a curious mixture, the details being of that debased Renaissance type which shows Flemish or German influence, and which we usually call Jacobean, while the general design is more or less Gothic. Nave and chancel are under one roof, aisles prolonged to the extreme east, as we have remarked to be usual in Gothic City churches, at least in their final development. The tower is at the south-west corner, opening into the nave and south aisle, but this tower being part of the older church, does not entirely fill the south-west angle and it is independent of the arcade. The arcade again is not equally spaced, the last bay being much narrower than the others. The west wall is not square with the rest of the church, and the north aisle suddenly narrows to one-half its width for the greater part of the last two bays westward. This peculiarity, if we may trust a statement in the fourth edition of Stow's *Survey*, is caused by the inclusion of a former north cloister into the eastern portion of the north side of the present church. It is said to have been over seven feet wide, which would correspond with the additional portion. Fortunately of late years a manuscript plan of the former church has been brought to light. It is among the treasures of Hatfield House, and forms part of a ground plan by J. Symans of the precinct of the Priory of Holy Trinity, Aldgate, which is supposed to date from about the year 1592. Mr. W. R. Lethaby used this and a similar plan on the first floor level to illustrate a paper on the Priory in the second volume of the *Home Counties Magazine*, which contains so much valuable information about old London. A plan drawn from this is now given, together with one of the present church. To make out all that they imply, they should be studied with the help of our accompanying note. The western portion of the north wall of the present church is doubtless built on the old foundations.

The columns dividing aisles from nave are of the Corinthian order, and without intervening entablature carry semicircular arches (having keystones on each side of mixed renaissance design) which support a clerestory. On the walls of the latter are pilasters resting on corbels of similar style to the keystones, and from these spring ribs which support a groined ceiling. At the intersections of the ribs appear the City arms coloured and gilt, and those of the Fishmongers', Ironmongers', Clothworkers', and Leathersellers' Companies. The ceilings of the aisles are very similar and are also adorned with the arms of City Companies. That on the south has those of the Grocers, Goldsmiths, Haberdashers Vintners and Brewers, while the northern ceiling has those of the Mercers, Drapers, Skinners, Salters, Dyers and Pewterers. On the window by the vestry door are the arms of the Cordwainers. At the east end is a large window, the upper part of which has tracery of the form of a wheel within a square. This is usually called a catherine-wheel and is supposed to refer to the patron Saint, Catherine of Alexandria. It may be remarked incidentally that the design of the whole window bears a considerable resemblance to that of the great east window of old St. Paul's Cathedral. An inscription records that its stained glass or part of it was the gift of Sir Samuel Stainer, Lord Mayor in 1713. Mr. Birch thinks that some of the glass in the wheel or rose may date from 1628–31, the time of the rebuilding. An illustration to Godwin and Britton's *Churches of London* (1838) shows the Royal arms occupying the three central lights of the lower portion, with other arms on each side. Hatton says that

when he wrote, namely in 1708, the window had the City arms with the date 1630 and the arms of Sir James Campbell, Lord Mayor in the year 1629. This window is darkened and those at the east ends of the aisles are blocked by encroachments up to the very walls.

The oak reredos below the east window has been a good deal altered since Hatton described it as having a painted perspective of columns with Cherubim and Seraphim, and full length figures of Moses and Aaron surmounted by what he calls "the Queen's Arms very spacious, carved in relievo." This is the handsome piece of carving now against the wall of the north aisle near the west end. The reredos appears not to be the original one, against the panelling close to it is placed a glass case containing two books—a Prayer Book given by Martin Bond in 1630, and a Bible given by S. Cornick in 1693, for the use of the churchwardens. A beautiful oak doorway now at the entrance to the vestry, on the north side of the church near the east end, has over it the inscription "Ex dono L.C. 1693," and a coat of arms described as "two barrs, on a chief a greyhound courant in full course."

The vestry is marked in Morgan and Ogleby's plan of 1677. Externally it has a disused doorway on the east side which may be coeval with the rebuilding. The pulpit and communion table are said by Strype to be of cedar "and both the gift of Mr. John Dyke a merchant living in this parish." The present communion table is, however, a handsome specimen of late eighteenth century work. The pulpit now close to a pillar of the north aisle is almost in its old position, as shown by a staple above, which supported the sounding board, but this excellent piece of inlaid woodwork has been converted into the top of a table which stands in the vestry. The font, at the west end of the north aisle, with carved and gilt oak cover of the same date, is charming in proportion; it has on it the arms of Sir John Gayer, Lord Mayor in 1646, who during his mayoralty was held to have resisted an ordinance passed by Parliament for compulsory service in the militia, being in consequence expelled from office and imprisoned in the Tower where he remained until 1648. He died in the following year. A brass plate on the floor in front of the Communion table, placed there in 1888 by Mr. E. R. Gayer of Lincoln's Inn, barrister, and others of Sir John's descendants, marks the site of his burial-place. To commemorate his escape from a lion, when lost in a desert in Asia Minor, which perhaps he was crossing for purposes of trade, a sermon known as "the Lion Sermon" is annually preached here on October 16th. Sir John left £200 to the parish for this purpose; the preacher was to receive £1, the clerk 2*s.* 6*d.*, the sexton 1*s.*, while the remainder of the interest was annually on that day to be distributed among the necessitous parishioners; but this money has been seized under the City Parochial Charities act. The sermon is, however, still preached; in 1899, it was preached by the Rev. E. R. Gayer, the gentleman who, in 1888, had been instrumental in putting up the brass plate to Sir John's memory, and who between these two dates had been ordained. The "flower sermon," also preached at this church, is a modern institution, introduced by the late incumbent, the Rev. W. M. Whittemore, from the destroyed church of St. James, Duke's Place, where he first preached it in 1852. The oldest flower sermon is that preached at St. Leonard's, Shoreditch, under the will of Thomas Fairchild, gardener, of Hoxton, who died in 1729, and of whom I wrote a short notice in the *Dictionary of National Biography*.

To return for a moment to the general structure of St. Katherine Cree. It should be mentioned that the organ gallery, supported by carved wooden pillars, blocks both a west door and the west window, the only means of access to the church at present being through the south door into the tower. The organ, with its handsome case, dates probably from

1686, when the church was repaired, and was made by the famous Bernard Schmidt, usually called "Father Smith." Hatton in 1706, says, "there is a neat little organ gallery, and the case is adorned with frames, four Cupids, etc., carved."

The most interesting monument in St. Katherine's is that against the wall of the south aisle near the east end, originally in the old church, to Sir Nicholas Throckmorton, who had been ambassador from Queen Elizabeth to the Court of France, and, as the inscription tells us, was chief butler of England and one of the chamberlains of the Exchequer. He died in 1570–71, aged 57, as some said, of poison administered by Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester. To him Throgmorton Street owes its name. His wife was a daughter of Sir Nicholas Carew the discarded favourite of Henry VIII., whose monument is in St. Botolph's, Aldgate, and they had a family of ten sons and three daughters. From them were descended the Throckmorton Carews of Beddington, who died out in the male line during the eighteenth century.

On the wall of the south aisle is a well-designed mural tablet to Bartholomew Elmore, to his wife Alice, to Richard Cheney their son-in-law and his two sons. This tablet has on each side a figure male and female, their costumes being suggestive of religious orders. Elmore, who died in 1636, was apparently a contributor towards the rebuilding of the church; his arms were formerly on a window of the north aisle.

Another handsome monument on the same wall is that to Richard Spencer, Turkey merchant, who died in 1667. We are told that "after he had seen the prodigious changes in the State, the dreadful triumphs of Death by pestilence, the astonishing Conflagration of the City by fire—he piously lamented the misery, and then in peace and charity, in the faith of Christ, in communion of the Church, he finished his course and left behinde him a goode name, a deare wife, a vertuous example, and three daughters."

The bas-relief at the west end of the wider portion of the north aisle, to Samuel Thorpe who died in 1791, has on it "J. Bacon R.A. Sculpsit 1794." There are monuments of no special interest from the destroyed church of St. James, Duke's Place. In St. Katherine Cree was one of the many memorials in the City to Queen Elizabeth. It was given, as we learn from the fourth edition of Stow's *Survey*, by "a stranger to this parish who is yet concealed and is still desirous to be so," and began in the usual style :—

> "Spain's Rod, Rome's Ruin, Netherland's Relief,
> Heaven's Gem, Earth's Joy, World's Wonder, Nature's Chief,
> Britain's Blessing, England's Splendor,
> Religion's Nurse, the Faith's Defender."

The pews have been cut down and converted into open seats; attached to those of the churchwardens' are their wands of office. Some of the old carving has been worked into the choir benches. Near the chancel are two sword-rests. Both have four shields of arms. That on the south side has the arms of J. T. Thorpe, Lord Mayor in 1820, and those of the Drapers' Company. The sword-rest on the north side has the arms of H. C. Coombe, Lord Mayor in 1799, and of J. B. Glover, Lord Mayor in 1787. Both have the City arms and those of Sir Andrew Lusk, Lord Mayor in 1873.

The silver plate here seems to have been renewed about the time of the rebuilding, as the pieces generally date from 1626 to 1631. There are three pewter alms dishes of remarkably fine workmanship, and no doubt all of the same date: one has the Royal arms

on a boss in the centre and the initials C R; another, a sword in saltire crowned, with a rose thistle and harp crowned, and the initials C R; a third the Prince of Wales's feathers and initials C P. All these embellishments are beautifully worked in enamel on the alloy known as gilding metal. There is a fourth pewter dish, identical in design, with a double rose in the centre, also enamelled, but this has been electro-plated. They are probably among the choicest specimens of pewter-work extant in England.

Immediately beyond the church at the east end, leading into the churchyard, there was formerly a curious external doorway, having on it in the pediment a recumbent skeleton with a shroud Strype calls it "a very fair gate given by William Avenon, citizen and goldsmith, in 1631." It is now placed against the modern parish room in the vestige of churchyard still remaining. This was formerly rather large, extending to the north-east, but the greater part of it was built over about eighteen years ago, before the passing of an Act which would have rendered this illegal. In the plan of the old church of St. Katherine Cree the gateway where William Avenon's door afterwards stood is marked as leading to the south porch of the Priory church.

Between two windows on the south wall of the church facing Leadenhall Street is a sun-dial, put up in 1706, with the motto "Non sine lumine." On the heads of two leaden water-pipes on the same side is the date 1683. The external wall parapets of the church and the tower formerly had peculiar rounded battlements surmounted by balls, as shown in eighteenth century prints. See our note at the end of the paper.

It is not unlikely that Hans Holbein was buried here, in the adjoining parish to that in which he lodged at the time of his death. I will take this opportunity of adding that in 1863 the late Sir Wollaston Franks communicated a paper to the Society of Antiquaries on Holbein's will, then lately discovered at St. Paul's Cathedral. The will first showed conclusively that Holbein died in 1543, the previously accepted date being 1554. It may be remarked that 1543 was a year when the plague did great havoc, and Holbein has always been thought to have died of the plague. We also learn that he was rated in the parish of St. Andrew Undershaft as a stranger, an indication that he had ceased to be a permanent resident in England. With regard to his supposed burial at St. Katherine Cree, it is a tradition only, thus repeated by Strype, "I have been told that Hans Holbein, the great and inimitable painter in King Henry VIII.'s time, was buried in this church, and that the Earl of Arundel, the great patron of learning and arts, would have set up a monument to his memory here had he but known whereabouts the corpse lay." Stow, however, who was almost a man when Holbein died, says nothing on the subject. No information can be derived from the registers of burials, those of St. Andrew Undershaft beginning in 1558, and those of St. Katherine Cree in 1663.

Malcolm in his *Londinium Redivivum*, vol. iii, p. 309, gives the following quotation from an old book belonging to this parish, no doubt still in existence:—"Receyved of Hugh Grymes for lycens given to certen players to playe their interludes in the churche-yarde from the feast of Easter An. D'ni 1565 untyll the feaste of Seynt Mychaell Tharchangell next comynge, every holydaye, to the use of the parysshe the some of 27*s.* and 8*d.*"

The church of St. James, Duke's Place, Aldgate, was built in 1621–22, being consecrated on the 2nd of January, for the convenience of those who dwelt in what had been the precinct of the Augustinian Priory of Holy Trinity, somewhat as the church of St. Katherine Cree had been previously built; the early ground plan seems to prove that it was on the site of the

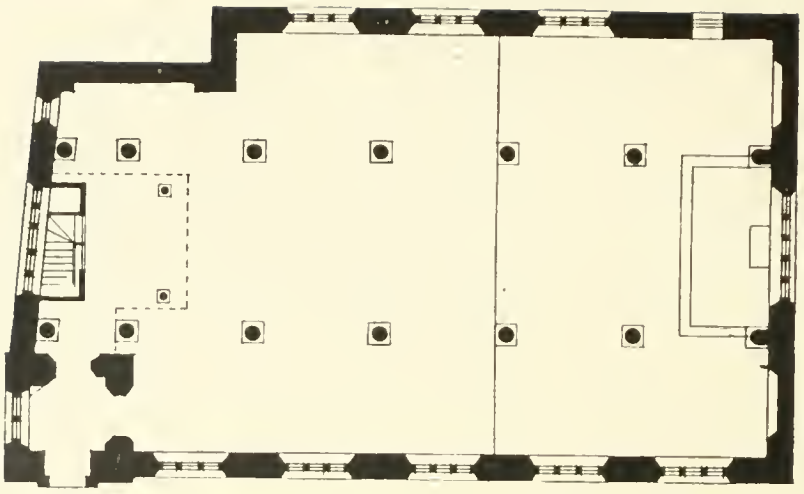
chapter house, the walls of which were probably utilised. The King apparently suggested the dedication, for in his account of it Strype prints the following rhyme :—

"This Sacred structure which this Senate fames,
Our King hath stil'd the Temple of St. James."

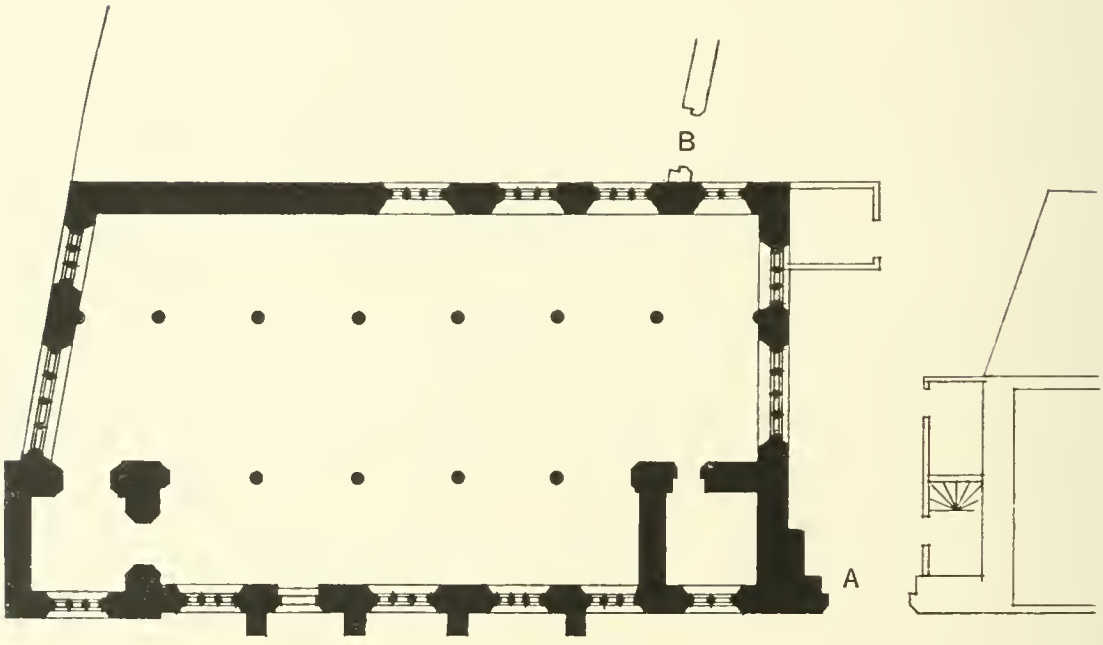
In the fourth edition of Stow's *Survey*, published in 1633, to which reference has more than once been made, there is an account of this church, written as we are told "by the friendly help of George Cooper, clerk there." It was rebuilt in 1727, and destroyed in 1874, when the parish was united with that of St. Katherine Cree. The City Corporation, as patrons of St. James's, Duke's Place, present alternately with Magdalen College to what is now called the rectory of the united parishes.

NOTE ON THE PLANS OF ST. KATHERINE CREE.

On comparing the two plans it may be remarked that the one founded on that preserved at Hatfield is not drawn to scale, and is rather too wide in proportion to its length. Partly on this account the tower appears to be larger than in the modern plan, although it is in fact the same fabric. The projection shown against the north-east pier of the tower on its eastern face probably represents the existing respond, referred to in our first paragraph, which in the modern plan is not shown. It will be observed that the old church had a solid-looking structure at the east end of the south aisle, blocking up the last bay. The aisles were narrower, the existing tower gives the width of the former south aisle. The south side had external buttresses. In Symans's original plan, on the passage immediately to the east of the church, marked A in our copy, appear the words: "The gate entring into the monestary Church," and this splendid building is also shown a short distance to the north-east. It is remarkable that Symans gives no indication of a cloister. The ground on the north side, immediately west of the boundary wall with doorway marked B, is described by him as a garden, while west of this, against the church wall, there is a tenement which extends just as far east as the narrow portion of the present church, forming part of a row which faced what is now called Cree Church Lane on the same site as the present houses. Whether there was a cloister or not, the existence of this tenement would doubtless have prevented the widening of the church to its extreme west end.



PLAN OF ST. KATHERINE CREE, LEADENHALL STREET.



CREE CHURCH, FROM A PLAN BY J. SYMANS, 1592.

G. H. PARRY, DEL[T]

MEDIÆVAL SCREENS AND ROOD-LOFTS.

BY

F. BLIGH BOND, F.R.I.B.A.

From the earliest days of the Christian era, it has been customary to build churches with certain internal partitions or barriers dividing the buildings into several distinct areas, each set apart for its particular use, in a manner corresponding to the arrangement of the Jewish Temple. These divisions were primarily three in number, and separation was effected by veils, or screens. Even as early as the first century it would appear that there were regular houses of worship, "appropriate places," according to the Epistle of Clement to the Corinthians, "ordained of God (*i.e.*, consecrated to God) whereby all things might be done religiously and in order." In the second century such proofs accumulate; and in the third, they become numerous and definite. Gregory Thaumaturgus built several churches in Neocaesarea and Pontus, with parts or divisions internally, allocated to the various classes of penitents.

The churches of the Orient were the parent churches of Christendom, and it is to them that we must look for the origin of Christian ritual and the primary ideas of church building. These earliest churches were profoundly influenced by Jewish traditions, and the ideas and models of Hebrew antiquity were taken as the basis upon which Christian forms and rites were developed. Thus it is clear that there is an intimate correspondence between the position of the veils in the Jewish Temple and the veils in the Christian Church; and consequently the internal divisions had a similar correspondence.

The Jewish "Holy of Holies" was separated from the "Holy Place" by a veil, or more properly, by two veils. When the Temple of Jerusalem was rebuilt, it is said that a question arose as to whether the veil should hang upon the inner or the outer side of the supporting pillars which divided the Holy of Holies from the Holy Place. To make sure, two veils were hung, one on either side, each woven in one piece of four colours, azure, purple, scarlet, and white. The Jewish veil was drawn across, thus forming a visible separation (says Rev. S. Baring Gould) between priest and people. Its signification was the sky, and that of the Holy of Holies, the Heaven of Heavens, where were the Throne and Presence of God. When Our Lord died, it was rent asunder, to indicate that the way was open to all. Thus in the early Christian church the symbolism of the veil was modified, and it was withdrawn at ordinary times, and though still suggestive of a barrier (that of physical death), it pointed to a spiritual unity—the Communion of the Saints.

In 1888 the house of SS. John and Paul, chamberlains to Constantia, daughter of

Constantine, was exhumed, presenting the unique instance of a house of a Roman Christian in Imperial times. On the walls are paintings, one of which represents a man praying before two curtains drawn back, one on each side. He is about to pass beyond, and behind him are other worshippers. This painting is of the fourth century, and is held to represent the so-called "Prayer of the Veil," of which nearly every early liturgy contains traces. The illustration here given is copied by kind permission of Rev. S. Baring Gould from his book *Our Inheritance*, and represents the deacons withdrawing the veils as the celebrant enters the sanctuary.



FIG. 1.—THE PRAYER OF THE VEIL.

These veils are also said to be mentioned by some very early Greek writers. Athanasius mentions them as "the veil of the church," Synesius as "the mystical veil," whilst Chrysostom and Evagrius call them "amphitura," from their parting down the centre. They were sometimes richly adorned with gold, as was that which Chosroes is said by Evagrius to have given to the church of Antioch. Their symbolic meaning and ritual use is indicated by Chrysostom in the following passage quoted by Bingham:—"When the sacrifice is brought forth . . . when you see the veils withdrawn, then think you see heaven opened, and the angels descending from above." The same ritual is said to be still perpetuated in the Armenian Church, and Bruce, writing in 1770, speaks of the veils as being then in regular use in the Abyssinian churches.

We also find early mention of veils before the church doors. Paulinus and St. Jerome speak of these. They were sometimes adorned with imagery, but this was unauthorised, as appears from the writings of Epiphanius, who, speaking of a church at Anablatta, in Palestine, says he found a veil there which he tore in pieces, as it bore the image of Christ or some saint contrary to rule. He therefore ordered the guardians of the church to bury some poor man in it, and gave them a plain one instead.

It seems clear then that veils were employed very extensively, and were a feature of importance in the primitive church. They were early introduced into the West, where they remained in use until long after the time of Constantine, often in the form of tapestry or a curtain until regular screen-work took their place. Veils were often dropped before the screens at the consecration, and in the English Church the use of the "Lenten Veil" was continued down to the days of the Reformation.

The chief divisions of the Christian churches were as follows:—

(1.) The exterior division, known as the "narthex" or ante-temple, where stood the penitents and catechumens.

This corresponded to the "Court of the Israelites" in the Jewish Temple.

(2.) The "Naos," or Nave, where the church communicants had their respective places.

This division answered to the "Holy Place" of the Jews.

(3.) The "Bema," or Sanctuary, corresponding to the "Holy of Holies" of the old worship, and to be entered by the priesthood only.

A spirit of intense reverence would appear to have characterised the services of the early church. Difference of position, degrees of privilege and of advancement were very strictly observed, and the unauthorised were not allowed to transgress the barriers. Such transgressions would have been regarded as great profanity. The divisions were therefore *protected by gates*.

The Narthex, or outer division, according to Bingham, who quotes ancient authority, was screened in very early times from the nave by rails of wood and by gates finely wrought, which were called the "beautiful gates." Such rails constituted the earliest and simplest order of screen-work, and may be regarded as a feature of parallel use with the veil, becoming of increasing importance as the time went on, whilst the use of the veil, except in certain special positions, tended to diminish.[1] This process of gradual substitution of the screen for the veil would be the natural outcome of its real efficiency as a barrier, and its relative advantages in stability and permanence. It is easy to see how the constructional screen once introduced would infallibly grow in popularity and eventually, for all the more practical purposes of its employment, supplant the veil.

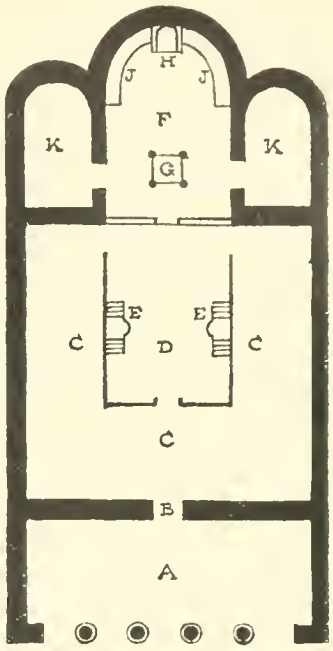


FIG. 2.—TYPICAL EARLY CHURCH.

A. Narthex.
B. The Beautiful Gates.
C. Nave (Naos).
D. Choir Enclosure.
EE. Ambones.
F. Sanctuary (Bema).
G. Altar with Ciborium.
H. Bishop's Throne.
JJ. Presbyters' Seats.
KK. Sacristies.

After the Narthex came the Nave; and this was in its turn divided from the Bema, or Sanctuary, by screens. At first these screens were simply an open colonnade, with a horizontal beam (*Trabes*) running across the heads of the columns, and it has been stated that for the first seven centuries such an arrangement was general. Such a screen would be primarily a framework[1] on which the ritual veil would have been hung, just as the veils hung between the columns of the ciborium or canopy over the altar.

The beam would also have been used for the support of other features, such as images or candleholders, and may be regarded as the prototype of the Iconostasis or Image-bearing Sanctuary screen of the Eastern churches. (*Vide infra.*) But as early at least as the fourth century (*circa* 315 A.D.) we find another variety of sanctuary screen in use in the Latin Church. In a panegyric on the building of churches, addressed to Paulinus by Eusebius, Bishop of Tyre, the cathedral of that city (then the most noble Christian structure) is described, and the screens are alluded to as follows:—

"For when (the builder) had thus completed the Temple, he also adorned it with lofty thrones, in honour of those who preside, and also with seats decently arranged in order throughout the whole, and

[1] It may reasonably be held that the framework of a screen would furnish the requisite support of a veil the beam traversing the head being used for the hooks, or other means of attachment.

at last placed the altar in the middle ; and that this again might be inaccessible to the multitude, he enclosed it with framed lattice work, accurately wrought with ingenious sculpture, presenting an admirable sight to the beholder."

These screens of lattice-work or network, contrived to furnish a real barrier to the progress of unauthorised persons, were called by the Latins "cancelli," whence our word "chancel."

We have thus the narthex divided from the nave by screenwork, and the nave from the sanctuary in like manner, forming the triple division of the church ; whilst within the sanctuary stood the altar, screened again on all sides from the eyes of the laity.

The Latin type of Church.

The Church in Rome, being an offshoot of the primitive Oriental church, exhibits in its earliest ecclesiastical structures a similarity to those of its parent, but somewhat modified by ideas borrowed from local structures—the Roman house with its *atrium* and *tablinum* (answering to nave and chancel), and the *schola* or guild room, usually an oblong building with an apsidal recess at one end, around which sat the presidents of the guild, whilst a small altar stood in front for libations and incense. Of this type is the little church in the catacomb of St. Agnes, of which a diagram is here given.

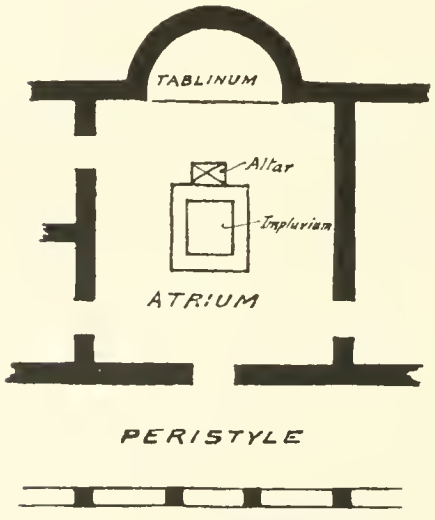


FIG. 3.—DIAGRAM OF ROMAN VILLA.

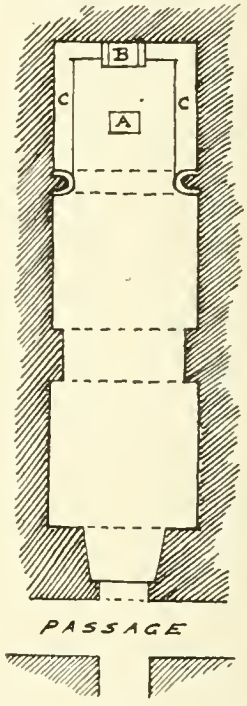


FIG. 4.—CHURCH IN CATACOMB OF ST. AGNES.

When Christianity was publicly adopted, and patronised by leading Roman citizens, the basilicas, or "royal halls" of the nobility, were thrown open to the new worship, and we begin to find the basilican type of church developed. In this type we trace the traditional division between nave and sanctuary well maintained ; but the narthex is not universally found, and the Hebrew idea of the tripartite division seems to have a weaker hold.

The sanctuary, of apsidal form, opened from the nave by an archway, known as the Triumphal Arch. This was usually screened for a portion of its height by the row of pillars supporting a beam, as before described. Within it stood the altar, veiled on the four sides, and at the back, the bishop's throne and seats for the presbyters.

The Nave, which in the earliest days was usually square (Code of Theodoret) was again subdivided into three areas as follows :—

(*a*) The lowest—occupied by penitents still undergoing probation.

(*b*) The middle and elevated portion reserved for readers, singers, and for such of the clergy as were deputed to minister at the first service (*missa catechumenorum*). In front of this and facing the lower portion, was the Ambo or Reading Desk.

(*c*) The highest, a position of honour, nearest the sanctuary, reserved for the accepted penitents or "consistentes."

It thus appears that the choir enclosure was at first a part of the nave, and not in any degree a separate structure. The typical division of a church is therefore not "nave and choir" or "nave, choir, and sanctuary," but "nave and sanctuary," with the less important addition of "narthex." The early choir, with its ambones, would not necessarily have been fenced or screened until the sixth or seventh century, when the division between it and the nave generally became well-marked. In A.D. 533 Boniface made distinction between clergy and laity, and in 566 the Council of Tours forbade the choir to the laity. This order is repeated by the Council of Nantes in 658. Thus the choir screen originated, and from this beginning was evolved in process of time the Rood-Screen of the western churches.

In the Basilica of San Clemente at Rome, the choir is enclosed by a low marble screen to the westward, with rectangular return walls abutting north and south upon the two ambones or elevated tribunes. The early choir screen would have been of a totally different and much simpler character than the later development, and the change may perhaps be accounted for in the following manner. There was a tendency in some churches of the Roman tradition (? from the ninth to the thirteenth century) to push the altar to a position further and further to the westward, even within the limits of the choir. In some Italian and French churches the altar is stated to be actually in the middle of the choir. As an instance, the church of St. Clara of Assisi (*circa* 1253) has its altar in the middle of the crossing, and the screen consequently westward of the transept. This screen is, of course, the sanctuary screen, but since the choir, contrary to ancient usage, has in these cases been absorbed into the sanctuary, it may be regarded as equally in respect of its position representing the choir screen, but dignified in virtue of its double office by the addition of those features of adornment characteristic of the Iconostasis.

In the union of choir space and sanctuary above referred to may be discerned the germ of a great change. But the older rule which kept the choir outside the sanctuary limits seems to have held its ground well-nigh universally down to the thirteenth century, and the choir remains distinctly a part of the nave.

Transepts in the later basilicas were first thrown out immediately to the westward of the apse, and thus the choir was included in the transeptal area.

The larger mediæval churches of Europe and of this country with their transepts are a development of the Basilican type of church, and thus we find the choirs of some of our earlier *monastic* churches, which were erected under the influence of this school, were placed

in the nave and partitioned off from it by screens. Of this order are the great churches of Canterbury, St. Albans, Winchester, Gloucester, Kirkstall, Rievaulx, St. David's, Westminster, and Tintern.

But in this country, from the thirteenth century, another influence began to assert itself. It was a century of fervent religious feeling and growth, and witnessed a revival of national feeling in Church matters, whilst the spirit of ecclesiastical independence, never quelled, seems to have found expression in the evolution of a new type of church building and arrangement, accompanied, as we know, by an architectural character of unapproached purity and refinement. This type had little or nothing in common with the Latin or Romanesque, but is a development of the old native school of church building of which Ireland was the centre, and which has affinity with Gaul and with the eastern school. Under its influence the following great changes were brought about :—

(1) The churches had square east ends, instead of apsidal, and frequently took the form of a Greek cross.

(2) Nave and choir became structurally independent, the latter being thrown eastwards beyond the transepts in the larger churches.

(4) The sanctuary was placed further yet to the eastward, beyond a second line of transepts, which were thrown out to form a structural division between choir and sanctuary. The grandest instances of this are seen at Lincoln, York, Lichfield and Salisbury.

(5) In smaller churches, the choir and sanctuary are merged into the chancel, and this is very completely divided from the nave. Such are the main outlines of those changes which constitute (says Scott), the great ecclesiological innovation of the middle ages.

This great departure has given us in the first place, a distinct type of church.

In the second place it has give us the chancel screen or rood screen as a central and distinctive feature in our parish churches.

The earliest Celtic churches were built of wood except in rare instances, but are believed to have been provided internally with a substantial screen having doors in it, separating the chancel from the nave (see Warren's *Liturgy and Ritual of the Celtic Church*, p. 91).

This is implied in Cogitosus's description of St. Bridget's church at Kildare, and is stated in a fifteenth century Gaelic MS. life of St. Columba, preserved in the Advocates' Library at Edinburgh.

As to the construction of these screens they were certainly not of stone, and the theory that they were of framed woodwork will hardly stand, in view of the then undeveloped state of the carpenters' and joiners' arts. It may be conjectured that they were formed of posts tied with thongs, and interlaced with wattle-work, plaited into patterns of scroll or spiral form—as the character of the ornament incised upon Celtic crosses and drawn in Celtic miniatures seems to imply wattle-work as its originating characteristic, showing that the artistic weaving of wattles must have been practised.

Moreover, there survives in the west and south-west of England, and in Wales—in those districts, in fact, where the Celtic Church managed to hold her own, and maintain her traditions through the troublous centuries of the Saxon and Danish invasions—a peculiar traditional kind of ornament carved in wood, and attached to the screens of the fifteenth century, which reproduces to a great extent the idea of the bent and plaited wattles.

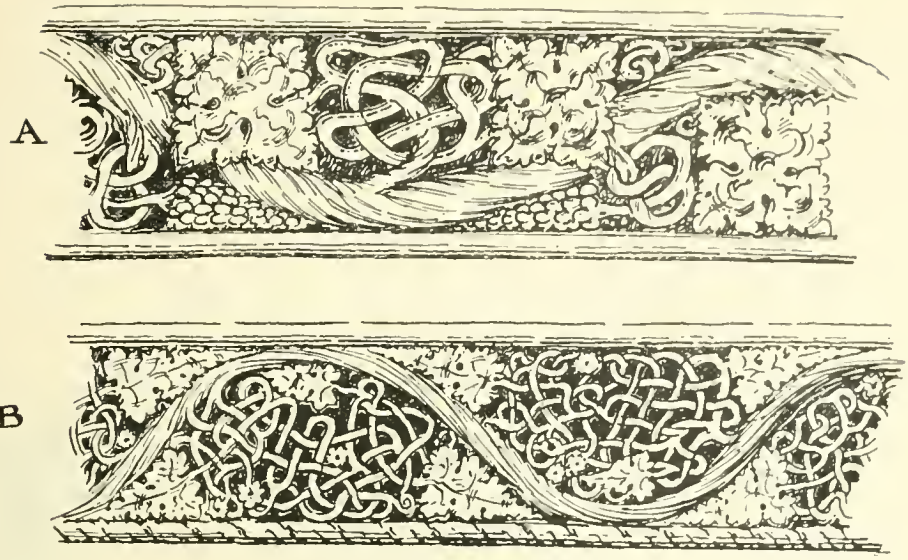


FIG. 5.—SKETCHES OF TENDRIL WORK.
A.—From a screen, now at Whitchurch, Devon, formerly at Moreton Hampstead.
B.—From Newtown, Montgomery.

The Anglo-Saxon church always preserved a very effective barrier between nave and chancel. There was usually in the smaller churches a stone-built chancel wall containing a small arch, sometimes hardly more than a mere doorway, as the only access from nave and sanctuary, and this was to all intents and purposes a solid screen, and according to Durandus, who wrote in the thirteenth century, it was intended as a solid barrier. He says that it was the custom to interpose either a veil or a wall between the clergy and the people, and he quotes an Anglo-Saxon Pontifical in support of the same. He further says: "It is to be noted that a triple series of veils hang in a church; that is to say, a veil which shrouds the altar, that which divides the sanctuary from the clerks, and that which hides them from the people." In some of our unspoilt Saxon or early Norman churches of the British type, the solidity of the barrier and narrowness of the arch gives point to Durandus's remark. An instance of this may be seen at Bradford-on-Avon, in the church of St. Lawrence, which dates from the eighth century. A chancel arch of hardly greater diameter, measuring only 4 feet 3 inches, was standing in the church at Upton, Bucks, until the middle of the nineteenth century, when it was

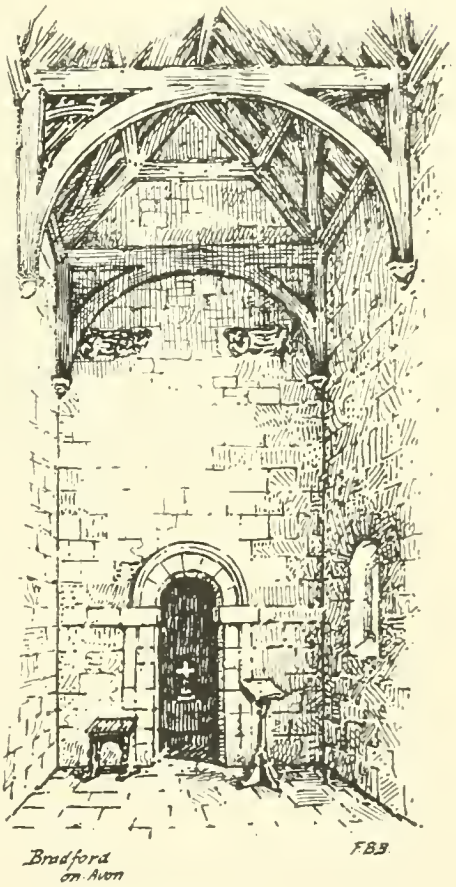


FIG. 6.—BRADFORD-ON-AVON.

removed, and a wider one substituted, the stones of the original being built into the east wall of the new south aisle.[1] Across such openings as these a veil or curtain was probably hung, and the same custom obtained in the East, where the sanctuary wall has always been a regular feature of the church, and the tradition has lingered to the present day. The illustration here given (see Plate I) of the Coptic Church at Cairo shows the sanctuary divided from the choir by a solid wall richly ornamented on the western side, and having in the centre a doorway covered by a veil, and on each side a small hagioscope. These

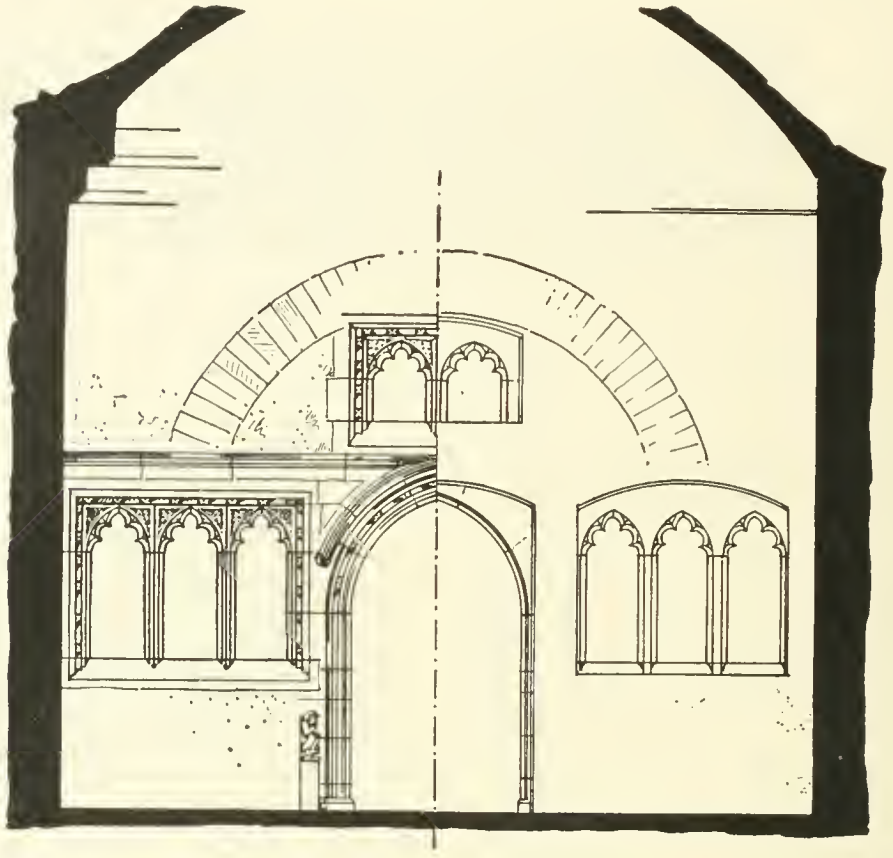


FIG. 7.—CHANCEL SCREEN AT SANDRIDGE, HERTS.

hagioscopes are to be found in many of our own churches and instances are still extant of all centuries from the eleventh to the fifteenth.

The idea of the solidly built barrier may be traced with a fair degree of continuity throughout the earlier and later mediæval periods in this country. The narrow chancel arch, with or without hagioscopes, is found frequently, and in latter days a complete wall of separation was occasionally as at Sandridge, Herts (see Fig. 7). This wall has a central

[1] See the figure of the original arch in *Gentleman's Magazine*, N.S., Vol. XXVIII, p. 489, November, 1847.

doorway with mullioned side lights, above the door is another small light, and there are evidences that a gallery once ran across the western side. Similarly at Cerne Abbas, Dorset, there was until the restoration, a stone wall pierced in its lower portion as a screen, and extending to the roof between nave and chancel. This has been "restored" away, a fate which has doubtless overtaken many other examples of the same feature.

With the advent of the Normans, Romanesque ideas of church-building were popularised, with the result that the narrow form of chancel arch seems to have fallen into

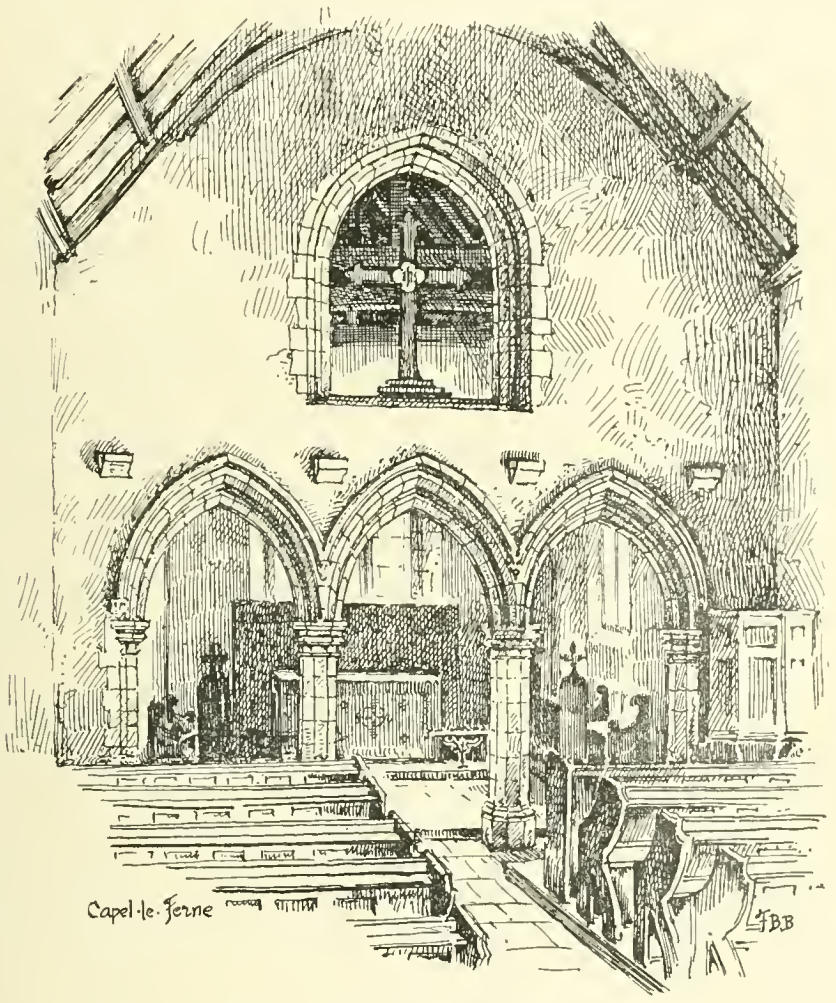


FIG. 8.—CAPEL-LE-FERNE, KENT.

disuse, and many chancels were opened up by the insertion of wider arches. At the same time, the use of the veil would seem to have been given up in favour of screen work.

There are remaining in England some examples of thirteenth century chancel screens, and it may be assumed that they were at one time fairly common, but the desire to open up the partition between nave and chancel led to other developments, occasionally taking a very interesting form, the mural screen being preserved, but in theory only, the chancel wall being pierced by a series of openings forming a light and graceful arcade, as at Westwell and Capel-le-Ferne. A further stage is reached at Bottisham, Cambridge, where the arcade forms

a screen, and the wall above is omitted. The perfect development of the mural screen is to be seen in such instances as those of Stebbing and Great Bardfield,[1] Essex (see Plate V), which present an admirable solution of the problem, and a most satisfactory reconciliation of ancient principles with the requirements of congregational worship.

In the vast majority of our parish churches, however, there were screens running across the lower part of the chancel arch, and these, although sometimes constructed of stone, seem generally to have been of wood. They were of excellent workmanship, and frequently possessed a high artistic value, so much so that it often seems as if the pious churchmen of former days had concentrated all their skill and pains upon these screens to make them the most beautiful feature in the church.

When the screen became definitely established as a substitute for the *velum aut murus*, it soon was made to serve other purposes than the primary one of an effective division. Pugin points this out in the following words:

"Like every object generated in necessity, the church soon turned them to a most edifying account, and whilst the great screen was adorned with the principal events of Our Lord's Life and Passion, surmounted by the great rood, the lateral walls were carved with edifying sculptures and sacred histories."

Thus we see the origin of the term "Rood Screen," the word "Rood" being derived from the Anglo-Saxon "Rode," or cross bearing the figure of Our Lord, which with those of St. Mary and St. John surmounted the parapet or beam of the screen. Thus roods were introduced into our churches probably at an early period following a custom of great antiquity. There is evidence that they were adopted here in the eleventh century, and do not appear to have become customary until the fourteenth or fifteenth century. A rood is recorded at Battle Abbey in A.D. 1095. Gervase the Monk of Canterbury, relates that over the screen in Lanfranc's Cathedral (built 1070 to 1077) was a beam which sustained a great cross, two cherubim, and the images of St. Mary and St. John the Apostle.

The position of the two sculptured angels (see Fig. 6) for the chancel opening at Bradford-on-Avon, seem to suggest that a rood or image of Our Lord formerly occupied a central position. In latter days the rood in our parish churches frequently stood upon a beam independent of the screen, and we occasionally find the corbels which supported it. In St. Alban's Abbey the end of the beam may still be seen in the centre of a pier on the south side. Many of the beams themselves remain, although the roods have disappeared. Sometimes this beam was placed westward of the screen at some distance down the nave. At Staverton Church, Devon, the corbels for the rood beam are over the piers one bay west of the screen and rood-loft.

Having now traced briefly the origin and development of the rood-screen as found in our churches in the fifteenth century, it becomes necessary to look back again to earlier times to follow the evolution of the rood-loft, a feature so intimately associated with the screen that it cannot be dealt with separately. The rood-loft was a gallery surmounting the rood-screen and having as its chief characteristic a balcony front of ornamental panelling or niche-work, often highly enriched with sculpture and paintings.

The Rood-Loft.

[1] The restoration of this screen has been very thorough and in all respects excellent except that a mistake appears to have been made in reversing the springers of the central archway east and west, so that the small figures of devils which originally terminated the label moulds towards the west or nave side now look into the chancel, whilst the angels look towards the nave—quite losing sight of the old symbology.

It has been customary to regard the rood-loft as having been developed from the ambones or raised tribunes, formerly placed at the lower end of the choir in the early churches, but Sir Gilbert Scott suggested that the rood-loft is more properly to be traced to the rich rood-beam, which in the early churches stood across the sanctuary arch. This, he says, is the origin both of the rood-loft of the Western churches and the iconostasis of the Eastern.

As regards the latter he is obviously right; for the sanctuary screen in the earliest churches consisted of a row of pillars supporting the beam, which in its turn sustained a row of icons, or images. Such was the arrangement in many of the old Italian churches, and may still be seen in St. Mark's at Venice. But as regards the rood-loft, Scott is probably right to this extent: that the beam was a factor in the development of the rood-loft. Nevertheless, it can hardly be doubted that the ambones on the choir enclosure were the genuine parents of the rood-lofts. It must be remembered that the beam was generally an independent feature in the English churches. The ambones, of which fine examples still exist at Salerno and Ravello (see Plate I, fig. 2), were really large pulpits, capable of holding a number of persons, and were used for the reading of the Epistle and Gospel, of the Diptychs or books of Commemoration, the homilies of Bishops and Presbyters, the regulations of Princes, and, lastly, for the canonical singers, who were alone of all singers authorised to ascend into them (*vide* Canon of Council of Laodicea). When the tendency became strong to establish a marked separation between clergy and laity in the larger churches, the ambones were united with a screen which enclosed the choir. The screen grew taller and the ambones were raised with it, often being placed upon the screen or projecting from it to the westwards, and ultimately they were united in one broad gallery which runs across the screen from north to south.

Thiers mentions an instance, that of Sens Cathedral, in which there was a central archway bearing the rood, flanked by the elevated ambones and their staircases of approach, thus forming one united whole. Lanfranc's Cathedral at Canterbury is said by Gervase to have had a screen with a loft or pulpitum, which separated in a manner the tower from the nave, and had in the middle and on the side towards the nave the Altar of the Holy Cross. Thus we see that as early as the eleventh century a continuous gallery took the place of the ambones. But it does not appear that the choirs of cathedrals were as a general rule enclosed in this manner after the middle of the thirteenth century, nor did they always contain fixed stalls, as may be inferred from Durandus, who speaks of the dorsal hangings and other moveable furniture used.

During the second half of the seventeenth century (says the Rev. G. W. W. Minns), the introduction of canonical life into capitular bodies led to the enclosure of choirs in cathedral churches not already in monastic rule, and choir screens were erected, the Canons enclosing themselves as the monks had done before. The choirs of Chartres, Bourges, Amiens, and Rheims were all enclosed subsequently to 1250, whilst in England the earliest screen-work is that of Archbishop Peckham at Canterbury, A.D. 1265–1331.

The early type of continuous gallery over the choir screen was known in France as a jubé, from the custom of the reader's asking a blessing commencing "Jube Domine benedicere," etc. The jubés were of course chiefly used as pulpits, and the term rood-loft would hardly be applicable to these earlier structures. The jubé or pulpitum was usually erected on a solid wall to the eastward, or choir side, and on pillars with open arches

to the westward, or nave side, and under these were usually one or more altars for parochial use.

Viollet-le-Duc says that they usually had one central doorway, but occasionally there was a triple doorway. Several had two doorways, the principal altar lying between them and subsidiary altars north and south. Of this class are the jubés of the cathedrals at Munster, Hildesheim, and Lubeck, illustrated in Pugin's *Chancel Screens*, but these are of rather later date.

The fourteenth century witnessed a very general erection of jubés, not only on the Continent, but also in England, and specimens are extant in both districts. We have, for instance, the beautiful example at Exeter which dates from the fourteenth century. Another magnificent specimen is that of Southwell.

Stone jubés, or more properly rood-lofts, of the fifteenth century are common enough, and in this century it may be noted that their use became general in the smaller churches, whilst from the fact that they were at this period used for the support of the Holy Rood and attendant figures, they are veritably to be regarded as rood-lofts.

In parish churches of the thirteenth century and early part of the fourteenth, the rood turret containing a staircase for access to the loft appears as a later addition to the plan showing that these lofts were not erected before that date; but at the close of the fourteenth century the turret staircase is found as an integral part of the building.[1]

We have seen that the Rood-loft was in its beginning to all intent and purposes a large pulpit, and would have no doubt been employed until separate pulpits once more became the order of the day, but pulpits of independent construction were introduced into our parish churches about the end of the fourteenth century, and thenceforward with increasing frequency, and side by side with these the lofts continued to be erected. It seems obvious then, that we must look further afield for the *raison-d'être* of the Rood-loft, particularly in those districts of England which are distinguished for their abundance of their fifteenth century pulpits. That many uses were assigned to these lofts our old churchwardens' accounts clearly show, and there is evidence that they were generally employed as musicians' galleries before as well as after the Reformation. Indeed, this may have been their principal function. Mr. Micklethwaite, in his *Parish Churches in* 1548, ascribes the spread of Rood-lofts in the country chiefly to the increasingly choral services before the Reformation.

There are many references to organs on the rood-lofts. The parish accounts of Louth, *c.* 1509, contain the following: "Paid for setting up the Flemish organ in the rood-loft 20*d*." At Tong (Salop) a mediæval organ stood over the screen, and there are remains of another at Old Radnor. Some rood-lofts, as for instance those at Dunster and Montgomery, have a rectangular projection to the eastward of the central doorway, giving extra space on the floor of the loft which would suggest a position for an organ. Other furniture of these lofts consisted of lecterns of metal, wood, or of stone, as at Tattershall.[2]

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[1] It is worthy of note, however, that here and there are found indications of a very early form of gallery over the chancel arch. This may be seen at Compton, Surrey, where there is a wooden balcony of the twelfth century. The arrangement of the corbels and upper opening in the thirteenth century wall at Capel-le-Ferne suggest a similar gallery.

[2] For a plan of the Tattershall loft, see *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries*, 2nd S., vol. xviii p. 292.

In the curious sixteenth century screen at Priziac (Morbihan) is a reading desk in the form of a bird placed over the eastward side of the gallery.

Occasionally we find a species of pulpit combined with the rood-loft in the shape of a projecting feature on the west side, as at Coates-by-Stow in Lincolnshire, and at Sleaford. These may have been used for preaching from, before pulpits came into vogue, and probably, also for pastorals of bishops and episcopal benedictions.

As to other uses of these lofts, we know that it was the ancient custom to expose the sacred elements either on the rood-lofts or on the altars attached to them, the altars in question being both upon the loft and also beneath it.

Another feature of the lofts in our parish churches was the magnificent gallery fronts with which they were furnished In the fourteenth century the cult of saints was increasing, and the idea of an Iconostasis or image-bearing screen was developed. The gallery fronts formed a very convenient surface for the display of imagery, and in this connection the gallery itself provided a means of access for various purposes, such as the decoration of the statues with flowers and garlands, and the setting up of branches of trees in the rood-loft at Christmas and Whitsuntide. During Lent also, the crucifix and attendant images were shrouded, and very probably veils were drawn over the gallery fronts. Metal-holders or coronals were attached to the top rail of the gallery for the rood lights, and these were filled with tapers which were lit on solemn feast days. It would thus appear that a variety of causes influenced the erection of the lofts in English churches, and it would probably be wrong to lay too much stress on any individual reason for the same.

It is beyond question that in some districts in England, almost every church was furnished at one time with its rood-loft and gallery front over the chancel screen, and evidence of this is seen not only in the staircase turrets so frequently met with in the walls of the north and south aisles of the churches, but also in the survival of several instances in the West of England, of openings pierced in the spandrils of the nave arcade above the pillars, showing that the rood-loft ran across nave and aisles the whole width of the church.[1]

The districts pre-eminent for the possession of abundance of screens are as follows:—

1. East Anglia, including Norfolk, Suffolk, and Cambridge.
2. The South-West, including Somerset, Devon, and Cornwall.
3. The Welsh Border, including parts of Denbigh, Montgomery, Radnor, and Brecknock, with the parts of Shropshire, Hereford, and Monmouth adjoining.

All these districts still possess abundance of specimens of fine screen work chiefly of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, and in each the local character is well marked. The very large majority of screens remaining are in oak, but here and there we came across stone screens. It is worthy of note that the districts most rich in wooden screens are those in which the native stone is difficult to work, as in Devon and Wales, or where stone was scarce, as in East Anglia. Carvers were obliged to turn to wood in these localities as the only material for fine carving, and thus they learnt to make the most of the good qualities of the oak which in those days grew so freely in England.

[1] In the south-west district of the rood-loft was usually carried at the same level from north wall to south In other districts the central portion was raised, and often the loft traversed the nave only, and was omitted in the aisles.

It is interesting to trace the evolution of wood carvings by a study of the screen-work of various dates from the thirteenth to the sixteenth century. At first the design was obviously borrowed from the stonemason's art, and all the earlier screens exhibit to a greater or less extent in their detail the character of stone mouldings and the heavy proportions of stonework. But in the fifteenth century the nature and capability of the material became so thoroughly understood that we see a special type of design elaborated which has little or nothing in common with the design of stone ornament, and the proportions are of a lightness agreeable to the strength of the oak, and the tenacity of its fibre.

The West country type of screens is quite distinguished from any other, not only in the character of the detail but also, and chiefly, in the general construction of its parts. These

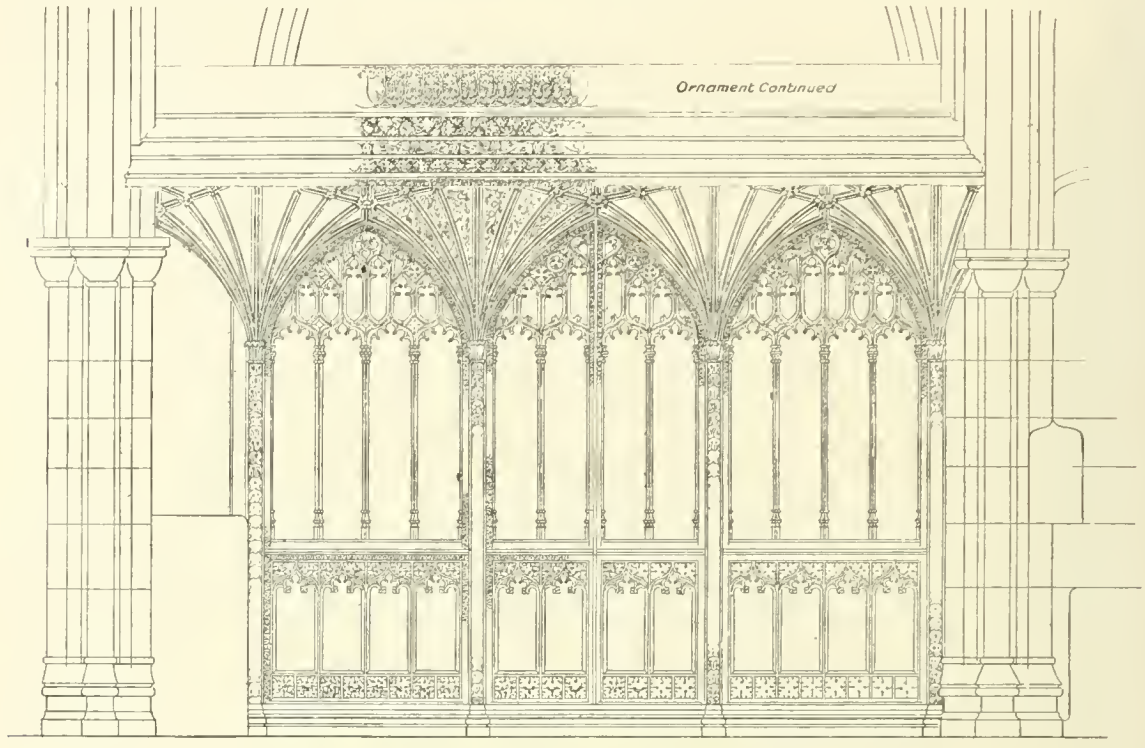


FIG. 9.—SCREEN AT LYDFORD

West Country Screens.

usually consist of a series of rich fenestrations of open compartments divided by moulded and carved standards about 3 feet apart framed with a sill at the floor level, and a transom rail about 3 feet 6 inches above, the space between sill and transom being filled with three or four vertical panels having traceried heads, and often filled on the plain surfaces below with painted figures. The arcaded openings above the transom are each again divided into three or four compartments by light shafts and the arched heads filled with tracery usually of the regular Perpendicular type. Above the open tracery, and projecting from the spandrils of the arches, is a rich groining of polygonal section, the ribs moulded, and the panels enriched with sunk tracery or carvings in low relief. A very perfect instance of this may be seen at Marwood (Barnstaple) of which Plate VI, fig. 2, shows the west side. These screens are further classified in *Proc. Devon Assoc.*, for 1902 and 1903.

In the screen at Lydford, of which an illustration is shown, the writer has attempted to reproduce all the ancient features of the local screen-work, the detail being selected from the best and richest of the old models. The ribs at their intersection are covered by carved bosses and they ramify upwards from the head of each main division and unite with the flat soffit of spandrils inclining outwards and slightly upwards forming the underside of the rood-loft floor. Beyond and above this on each face of the screen comes the beam with its cornices and crestings, and in the Devonshire screens there are generally three, and sometimes as many as four, rows of vineleaf enrichment. They are usually divided by single beads, the latter being sometimes twisted. Below the cornice is a narrow inverted cresting, and above it is a deeper erect cresting generally of the strawberry leaf order, but there is a great variety of these, and much ingenuity is shown in their design, which is of refined and beautiful character. Such is the general description of the Devonshire screen, though occasionally a different type is met with—as at Willand—where the fenestrations are square-headed, and a horizontal coving takes the place of the fan-like groining. This is a simpler, and I believe, an earlier type. Anciently both front and back were protected by upright enclosures which were ornamented in a most sumptuous manner, and although these are almost all gone there remain very often in the plastering or stonework of the walls marks of their former position. Frequently, too, portions of the ancient tabernacle work are found fixed to the screens themselves or worked up into the pulpits or other fittings of the churches. At the present day it is believed that only two remain in their original position, namely, those at Atherington

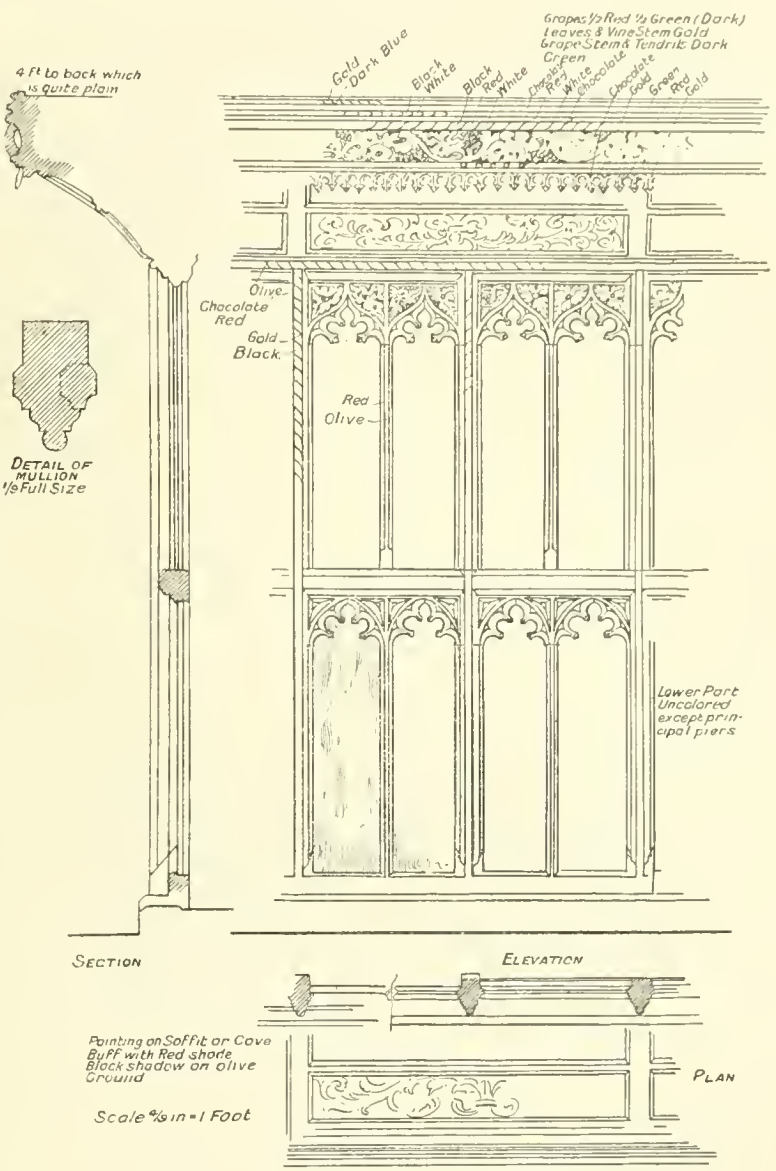


FIG. 10.—SCREEN AT WILLAND.

and Marwood,[1] but others have been restored, and of these the rood-loft at Kenton perhaps furnishes the most perfect example, since a great deal of very fine old work has been restored to its original place, and there was sufficient of it to make a fairly accurate reconstruction possible.

In the restoration of the rood-loft at Staverton, near Totnes, I had not the same good fortune, as the fragments were not sufficient to give an intelligible idea of the design and therefore it was decided to take Atherington as a motive for the new gallery. Neither this nor that at Kenton can be considered complete, however, until the blank panels are filled with paintings of scriptural subjects following the ancient arrangement. This has been done at Lew Trenchard, the nave section of screen and rood-loft being completed and the panels, which are alternately wide and narrow, filled with paintings showing respectively scenes from Our Lord's life and figures of Saints. These Devonshire gallery fronts consisted of a series of flat panels divided by carved standards having richly traceried canopied heads over, capped by a vineleaf cornice as below and terminated by a tall cresting of light and graceful character. The panels most probably bore painted representations of scenes from Bible history (like their prototype in Exeter Cathedral), which Mr. Baring Gould thinks were intended for the instruction of the unlearned members of the congregation. He has happily described them as the "Poor Man's Bible."

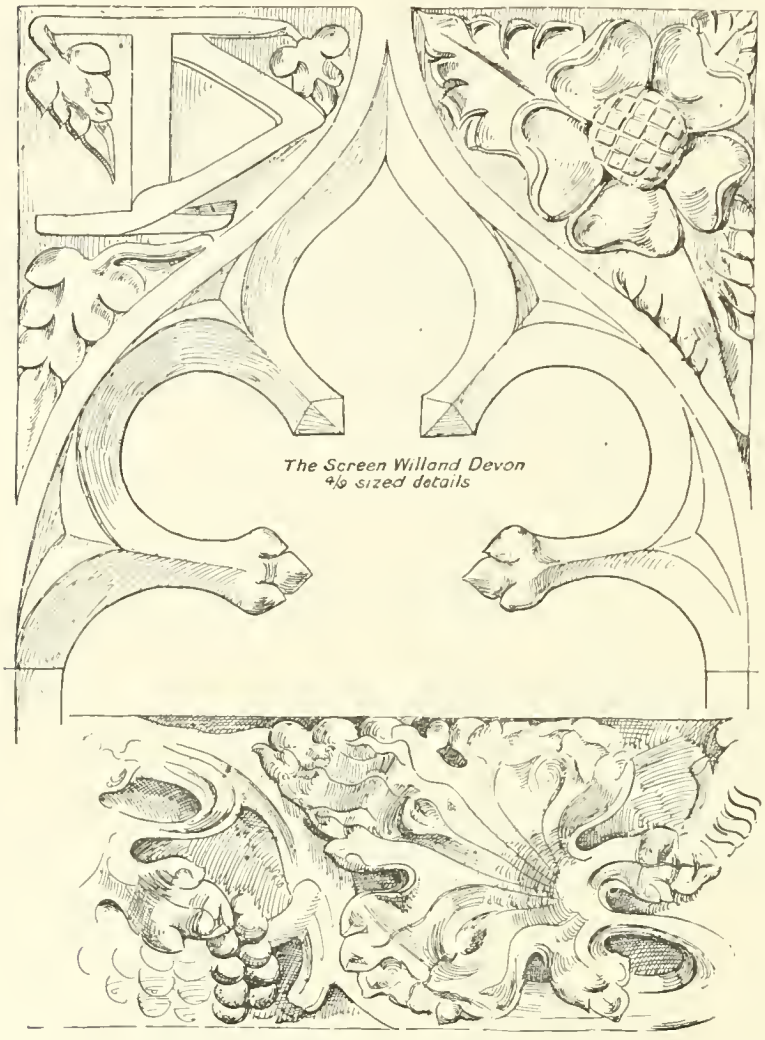


FIG. 11.—DETAILS OF SCREEN AT WILLAND.

Borlase tells us that the rood-loft at St. Michael's Mount was still standing in his day and was carved, with panels bearing the history of the Passion, and executed, he says, "not inelegantly for former times."

[1] At Marwood the ornate western balcony disappeared about fifty years ago, and only the eastern front survives. It is of late workmanship, coarse in execution, and very inferior to the design of the west side of the screen, of which I give an illustration (Plate VI, fig. 2).

In the East Anglian districts was found an entirely different type. The screens are taller and much more open, the fenestrations not being divided up by traceried shafts, but in the heads there was usually a light feathering around the arch and sometimes a crocketted ogee canopy spans the width above the springing; the art of groining was not carried to anything like the extent that it was in Devonshire, and from what remains of the rood-loft supports, it would seem to have been of a much simpler type and the rood-lofts themselves much narrower than those in Devonshire which were usually about 6 feet wide.

East Anglian Screens.

In one respect the Norfolk screens are greatly superior to those of the west country, namely, of the quality of the illumination of the decorative work applied to them. Over and above the carved detail, which is extremely fine, many parts of the screen are encrusted with gesso, embossed in beautiful patterns, but very minutely and brilliantly coloured and gilded. The lower panels of the screens usually bear representations of saints, and many of these are really very fine works of art in comparison with which those in the west country appear very poor and crude. It is unfortunate that the destruction of the rood-lofts in this part of the country has been so much more complete than it was in the west, owing, no doubt, to the fury of puritanical outbreaks, that there is scarcely any evidence of their former glories, but to judge by the quality of the work on the screens themselves they must have been indeed magnificent.

The third district most rich in these remains is the Welsh Border, and here a considerable number of rood-lofts remain in a fairly perfect condition exhibiting some very fine panelling and carved work in the galleries. The general character of the detail is similar to the Devonshire work but usually rather rough in execution. Occasionally, however, it is of very refined quality. The illustration given of the cornice-work on the screen at Newton, Montgomery, shows the traditional type of interlaced tendril work already referred to, and a similar specimen from Devonshire is also given.[1]

Screens of the Welsh Border.

There are very fine rood-lofts standing in Montgomeryshire, at Montgomery and Llanwnog, one in Radnorshire, at Llananno, and others at Llanrwst and Derwen in Denbighshire, Llangwm in Monmouthshire, Llanegryn in Merionethshire (see Plate IV), besides the well-known example at Patricio in Brecknock, and there are several others which exist in a more or less incomplete state, but containing excellent work.

The Welsh rood-lofts are usually very wide, and their method of support is generally that of a horizontal bracketing east and west of the screen which lies centrally under the gallery, and the under side is ceiled with a flat panelled coving. One or two fine screens, as at Conway and Clynnog, exhibit a groining something like the Devonshire type.

Other districts in which good screen-work is fairly abundant are Wiltshire, Oxfordshire, Lincolnshire, Cambridge, and the Bedfordshire district. The south-east corner of England cannot boast of many specimens, but there are about thirty screens or parts of screens remaining in Kent. It would seem probable that the rood-loft was not so universal a feature of mediæval churches in this part of the country.

In 1548 it was decreed that the roods and images should be taken down, and we find that in pursuance of this edict they were generally destroyed throughout England. At the

[1] See figures 5, A, B.

Screen-work during the Reformation.

same time the walls of the churches were whitewashed and the Commandments were written on them. Figures of saints were generally obliterated and their places taken by texts, heraldry, or sometimes grotesque figures, and until 1604, by the Ten Commandments.

The rood-loft at Atherington exhibits some coats-of-arms and Gothic lettering of Elizabethan date. At Llanfilo, Brecknock, the Lord's Prayer appears upon the rood-loft in Welsh. The figures so generally painted on the lower panels of the screens seem generally to have escaped destruction at this time though many were no doubt painted over. It was in the time of the great rebellion, some hundred years later, that they were so terribly mutilated as we find them nowadays on the Norfolk screens, where the faces are generally scraped out.

The next landmark in the history of the screens is the order for the removal of the rood-lofts under Archbishops Parker and Grindal, by which it was decreed that they should be taken down to the height of the cross beam supporting the "soller" or loft, which beam was to have some convenient cresting placed upon it. The order nevertheless forbade the removal of the screens themselves, and the chancels were to remain *as in times past*. In his Visitation Articles of 1569 Archbishop Parker is particular in his enquiry whether this rule has been obeyed. We know that the order for the demolition of the rood-lofts was not universally complied with. They were too useful, it may be believed, to make their destruction convenient, as there is every reason to suppose that with the advent of the Reformation they were converted to the use of musicians and the choir. Their use as singing

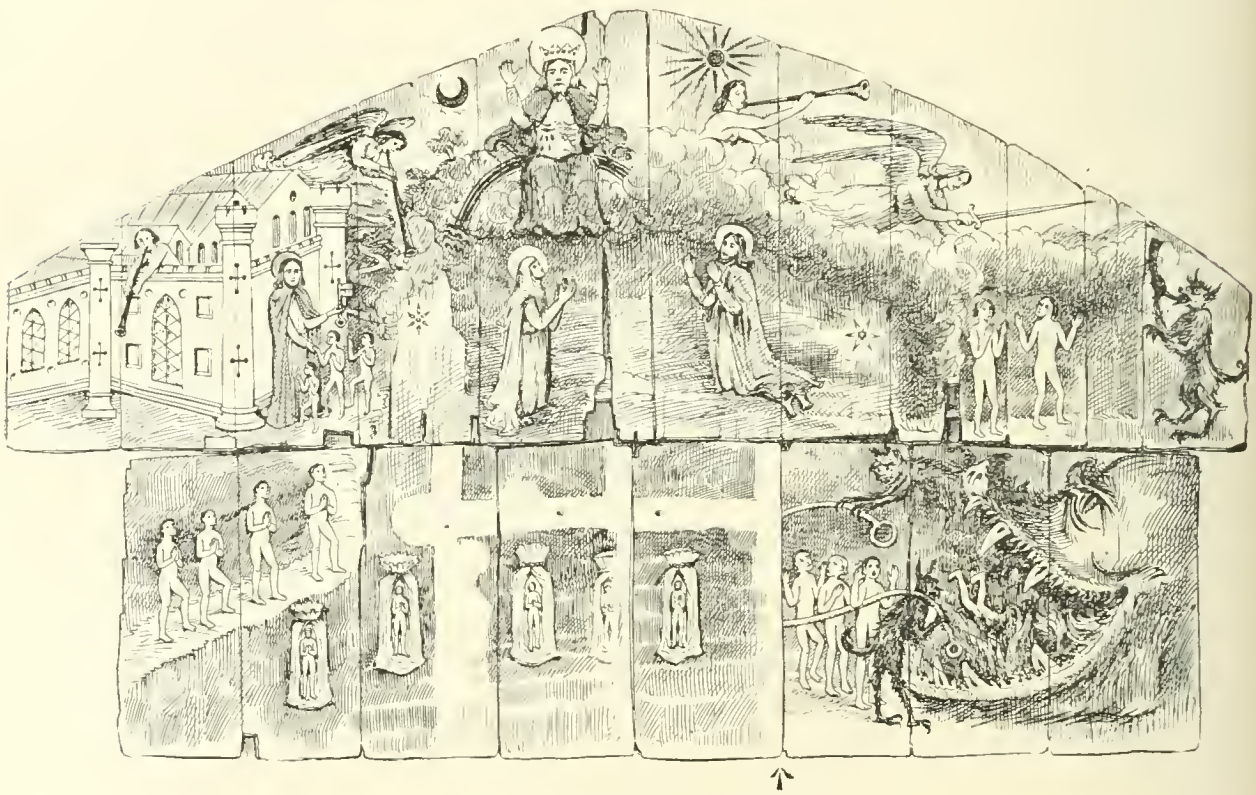


FIG. 12.—TYMPANUM AT DAUNTSEY.

lofts is a well-established tradition in the west of England, and many have been so employed until comparatively recent days. Mr. Baring Gould has expressed the opinion that the reason why so many of them have disappeared is simply that they were worn out with constant use, and as he says "naturally give way under the pressure of somnolent human beings supporting their backs against them." The writer knows of several that have been used for seating of the school children, and in the case of one in Monmouthshire the churchwarden, speaking of the loss of the gallery front, said, "the children did kick it to pieces." Several of the old rood-lofts in Devonshire were converted into pews and the fine old Gothic fronts replaced by modern panelling.

It may seem strange to latter-day churchmen to consider how very strictly the reforming clergy held to the screens as an essential feature of the church arrangement, but it is nevertheless a fact which comes out very clearly on investigation, that not only were the screens carefully preserved at and after the Reformation, but large numbers of screens continued to be erected during that time and throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. There is every evidence too of the desire of the Reformers to maintain the traditional idea of a complete veil or barrier between nave and chancel, and this is in the preservation of the feature known as the tympanum of the rood-screen.

The Tympanum.

When the early custom of having a narrow chancel arch in a solid wall between nave and chancel fell into abeyance, the arch, although much widened, persisted as a distinctive feature of English church building, and it has often been found built so low in comparison with the height of the nave that a large space of wall remains above it. Such wall space seems to have been frequently utilised for the display of religious paintings. An early example of this may be seen at Patcham in Sussex, and many of later date are recorded. Where the chancel arch was low sometimes the rood-loft balcony would entirely mask it, as at Avebury, Wilts, and at Patricio, and all the balance of space above would be available for painting, and the wall would form a complete barrier, but it often happened that there would be a tall archway rising clear of the rood-loft, and this would be filled with a close boarded tympanum, which would not only render the division more perfect, but would furnish a more convenient means of support for the display of religious emblems or pictures. We thus see in the tympanum the modern substitute in the Western church for the veil of the sanctuary which the primitive church adopted for the Hebrew ritual. Several examples of these tympana surviving bearing ancient paintings usually representing the Last Judgment, and these were placed on the west side of the screen to which subjects of this character were assigned for the following reason. The screen was symbolic of death, the barrier between the church militant and the church triumphant. Thus the terrors of death to the impenitent and the consolations of the last hour of the just, were aptly exemplified by a conspicuous representation of the Doom in this position, whilst the rood with its attendant images crowning the screen, conveyed the teaching of the divine conquest of death and the intercessory powers of the Saints. The Wenhaston tympanum, of which I am able to give an illustration (Plate XI), is fortunately well preserved. It was laid bare in 1892, and is thought to have been painted out in 1480 and covered up in 1549 in obedience to the edict. Upon it the outline of the cross and figures formerly attached may be traced. The whole intervening space is occupied by a distemper painting of the Doom. In the upper part Our Lord is shown seated on the rainbow, with kneeling figures of St. Mary and St. John Baptist. Below we see the weighing of souls in which St. Michael

and Satan take part, whilst to the right St. Peter received the souls of the righteous into the heavenly mansions, and to the left the mouth of Hell receives the doomed. I also give an illustration of the Doom surviving at Dauntsey (fig. 12) in which a somewhat different treatment of the same subject may be seen. The detail is very quaint, much of the lower part being occupied by figures of the dead in their shrouds. The third illustration represents a very fine panel painting of the Doom preserved in Gloucester Cathedral. It was formerly attached to the west wall of the rood-screen, and is of post-Reformation date, probably of the later years of Henry VIII.'s reign, or that of Edward VI. The figure of the Virgin



FIG. 13.—PAINTING OF THE DOOM, GLOUCESTER CATHEDRAL.

is omitted, and the labels are in English. The illustration is taken from a paper by Mr. Geo. Scharf, F.S.A., published in 1856.

Other painted tympana are surviving at Winsham, Somerset, Mitcheldean, Gloucestershire, and plain ones in several churches.

The tympanum at Llanelieu, Brecknock (Plate XI, fig. 2), is covered with a small pattern of flowers on a dark ground, and shows a small painted rood, doubtless substituted for an older carved one, as the socket in the rood-beam suggests.

The tympanum, although no longer used for the display of superstitious paintings nevertheless persisted after the Reformation as a feature of our churches, showing how entirely the ancient principle of the veil was adhered to. Where the rood-lofts had been removed in obedience to the general order, a tympanum of lath and plaster was often constructed vertically over the screen, and the Creed and Ten Commandments would usually be painted thereon in compliance with the order of 1604, together with figures representing Moses and Aaron. Research makes it clear that at no very distant date these tympana were still quite common, but nineteenth century restoration has swept away almost all of them. The terms of the order of 1604 would seem to have made their erection almost necessary in some cases where no wall space was available for the tables of the law. It was ordained that these should be fixed to the east wall of the church. That did not mean the east wall of the chancel as some people seemed to have imagined. Such an idea cannot be entertained, for in that position they would have been invisible to the people. Accordingly, we find a tympanum was a convenient support for the inscription of the Creed and the Commandments. Instances of this may be met with in almost any part of England, and perhaps some of the most interesting are those at Ellingham, Hants, and Parracombe and Bridestowe in Devonshire. The latter has been removed and is in private hands. It retains well executed paintings of Moses and Aaron, and of the Resurrection. Frequently the Royal Arms were placed in the position of honour on the tympanum as we find them at Little Somerford, Wilts, and many other places.

The Tympanum after the Reformation.

As before mentioned, we find a large number of screens erected at various dates subsequently to the Reformation, and specimens may be seen of all dates down to the beginning of the nineteenth century, when this traditional idea, together with so much else that had been inherited from past times, was finally swamped by apathy and ignorance. The screens of the period immediately following the Reformation are of extremely interesting character. A typical example may be seen at Lustleigh, S. Devon, the detail accords in many respects with the old type, even to the figures on the lower panels, but as a concession to reformed tastes these are made to represent clergy and choristers and others. The next type, which is that of the Stuart period, is well exemplified by an illustration of the screen at Rodney Stoke, Somerset, which bears the date of 1625 (see Plate XII, fig. 1). It is of unique interest, being, so far as is known, the only example of a screen and loft erected in this period.

Post-Reformation Screen-work.

After the Commonwealth screen-building seems to have started afresh, and many examples might be mentioned of screen work at the Restoration period. There are also numerous Hanoverian screens, of which a good example may be seen at Cruwys-Morchard, North Devon (see Plate XII, fig. 2). Even so late as 1808, an example may be found of a screen with a tympanum over it. This may still be seen at Molland, N. Devon, where the tympanum in addition to the usual tables of the law supports the Royal Arms with the names of the churchwarden and the painter. With the mention of this example we arrive at the period of absolute deadness, so far as matters of ecclesiological interest are concerned, and it is not until 1840, or thereabouts, that the dry bones began to stir, and the era of restoration was inaugurated. From this time onwards, screens began to be reconstructed and replaced. Frequently it is to be feared that through mistaken zeal or want of antiquarian knowledge, many of these fine old works have been very improperly treated, but it is very satisfactory to feel that enlightenment on these subjects has come sufficiently soon to preserve

and to restore to their ancient glories some of the finest examples. With the increasing reverence and love now felt for the traditions of the mother church and her history, and with the highly developed artistic spirit which is now moving amongst us, we may hope that before the twentieth century is far advanced, our churches may once more be "all glorious within," and that the delicate tracery of the chancel screen, with all its beautiful and valuable symbolism, may again appear in them as a necessary and distinctive feature, resuming the place accorded to it by ancient sanction and immemorial usage.

NOTES ON THE ILLUSTRATIONS OF MEDIÆVAL SCREENS AND ROOD-LOFTS.

Plate I. Fig. 1. This plate shows the rood-screen in the foreground, surmounted by a painting representing the Crucifixion—and admitting to the choir enclosure—beyond which may be seen the solid screen which divides off the sanctuary. This screen, it will be observed, contains a central opening covered by a veil, and on either side is a small hagioscope—whilst above the screen is a row of square panels forming the Iconostasis, each panel bearing a painted representation of some saint. Two or three of these may be seen in the photograph.

In front of the rood-screen, at the extreme left, may be seen the angle of the pulpit.

Plate I. Fig. 2, and Plates II and III. The writer is indebted for these illustrations to Mr. F. F. Fox, F.S.A., Past President of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archæological Association. They originally appeared in connection with his presidential address on Roods and Rood-lofts (*Bristol and Gloucestershire Arch. Trans.*, XXIII, pp. 79–95).

Plate IV. Figs. 1 and 2. From photographs taken by the writer. The central screen, with its gallery over, no longer exists in Dennington church, but the rectangular return screens, with the extensions across the north and south aisles, remain *in situ*, together with the narrow galleries of approach to the rood-loft. That to the immediate north of the chancel opening is shown in the illustration (Fig. 1) and beyond it is seen the extension across the north aisle, the screens together forming a chantry enclosure at the east end of the aisle.

Fig. 2. Shows the very perfect rood-loft at Llanegryn, near Towyn, North Wales. It is of great depth. On the further side (to the east), the gallery front is of singular beauty, having panels perforated with delicate patterns, each different from its neighbour.

Plate V. Figs. 1 and 2. The illustrations, from photographs by the writer, show these screens in their restored condition. The restoration has been effected in quite recent years. The example at Stebbing is of good fourteenth century character, rather earlier in date than that at Bardfield.

Plate VI. Fig. 1. Portion of the South parclose screen at Aveton Giffard, near Kingsbridge. These screens are of singularly fine character, and are probably of later date than the character of the tracery would suggest.

The detail is partly of a Renaissance type. They are described in an article by the writer on Devonshire screens, appearing in the *Devonshire Association Transactions* for 1903.

Fig. 2. This subject, the west side of the screen at Marwood church, is described in the same publication. The screen stands in the north aisle of the church. There was a similar one in the nave which was destroyed by a late incumbent. The existing work is very fine, the groining panels being filled with ornament of Italian character, in low relief. The date of its erection is 1520.

Plate VII. The Rood-screen at Kenton is fully described in the *Transactions of the Devonshire Association* for 1903, pp. 468–470.

It was restored under the writer's superintendence about five years ago, when a considerable quantity of old work was replaced in its ancient position in the rood-loft then reconstructed.

The old work exhibits traces of Flemish influence, and is richly coloured and gilt. The detail is exceptionally fine. That on the pulpit, which is of kindred design, is hardly to be paralleled in the county. The date of the work is about 1480.

Plates VIII and IX. These illustrations are reproduced from engravings published in an early number of the *Exeter Diocesan Architectural Society's Transactions.*

The screen is described and illustrated in the *Transactions of the Devonshire Association* for 1902 and 1903. It has been carefully restored under the late Mr. Pearson, Architect.

Plate X. Fig. 1. The screen at Lew Trenchard was reconstructed a few years ago under the writer's superintendence, some fragments of the old screen surviving as a model. The rood-loft with the cornices was designed as far as possible in conformity with local detail, nothing being left of the old work. See *Devonshire Association Transactions* for 1902, p. 542, and 1903, p. 471.

Plate X. Fig. 2. This screen and rood-loft, restored under the writer's superintendence in 1892, is a typical specimen of the Devonshire work—Perpendicular in character. The groining is new, and the rood-loft also, but a considerable amount of fine old work is preserved in the cornices.

The lower panels of the screen at one time bore a series of painted figures, but these were with one exception obliterated at some time prior to the restoration. The work is fully described in the *Devonshire Association Transactions* for 1902 and 1903.

Plate XI. Fig. 1. The Wenhaston Tympanum is briefly described in the text, and has been the subject of a very able monograph by Mr. C. E. Keyser, F.S.A., published in *Archaeologia*, vol. liv, pp. 119–130, to which readers are referred. A superb coloured illustration of it is there given.

Fig. 2. The screen at Llanelieu is double, with triple series of openings in each face.

There is no indication of tracery. The floor joists of the loft remain, but the gallery front has disappeared. Remains of screenwork of similar type exist at Bronllys in the same neighbourhood, and Strensham, Worcestershire, which latter screen retains its original gallery front, with a series of painted figure panels.

Plate XII. Fig. 1. The loft at Rodney Stoke is perhaps the only instance of such a structure, dating from the Post-Reformation period. It is a notable example of the attempt to revive features of Catholic antiquity in the Laudian period.

Plate XII. Fig. 2. This screen is Hanoverian in date, and was probably erected towards the close of the eighteenth century. The work is of refined and careful character, giving an impression not unpleasing, in spite of its incongruity of style. The stalls within the sanctuary are properly arranged in the ancient manner, being returned against the east side of the screen.



FIG. 1.—COPTIC CHURCH AT CAIRO.

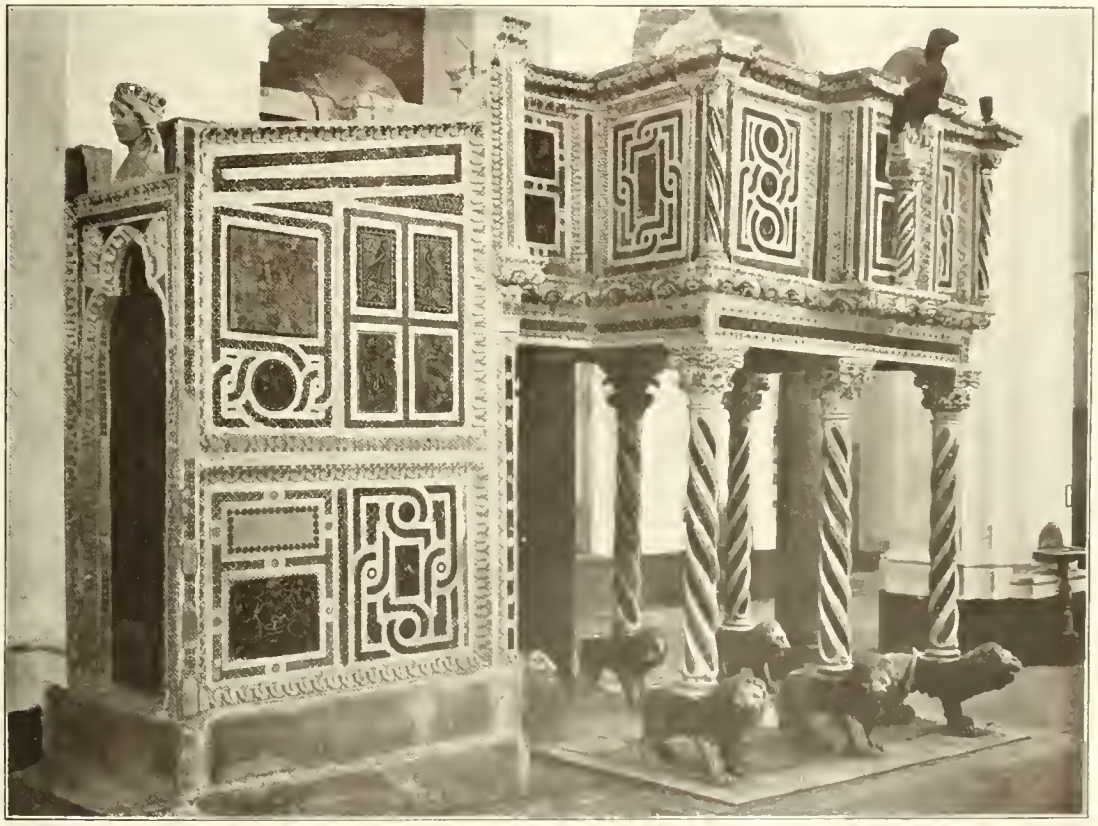
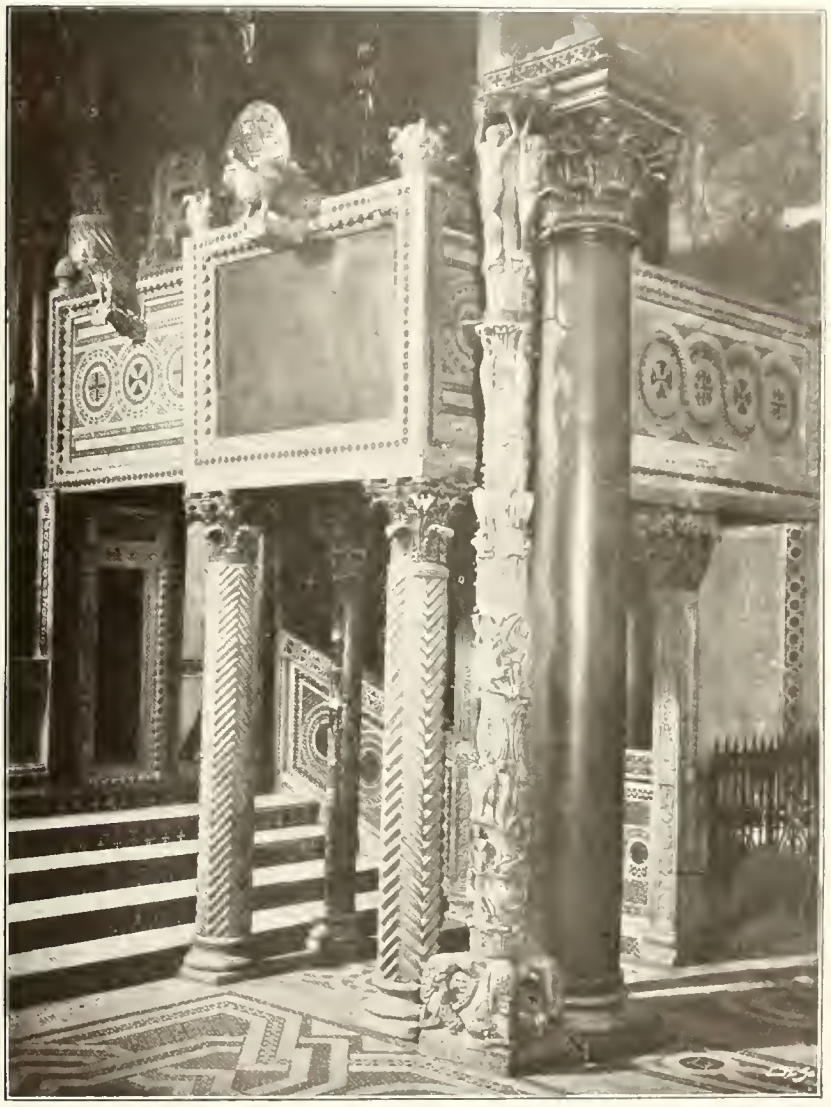


FIG. 2.—PULPIT AT RAVELLO.



AMBO AT SAN CLEMENTE, ROME.



PULPIT AT PALERMO.



FIG. 1.—ROOD LOFT, DENNINGTON, SUFFOLK.



FIG. 2.—ROOD LOFT, LLANEGRYN.

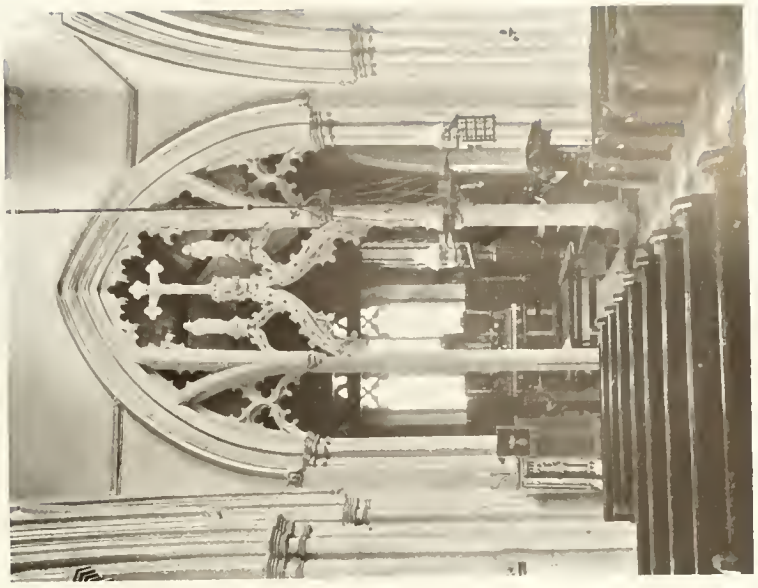


FIG. 3. CHANCEL SCREEN, GREAT BARDFIELD.



FIG. 4. CHANCEL SCREEN, STEBBING, ESSEX.



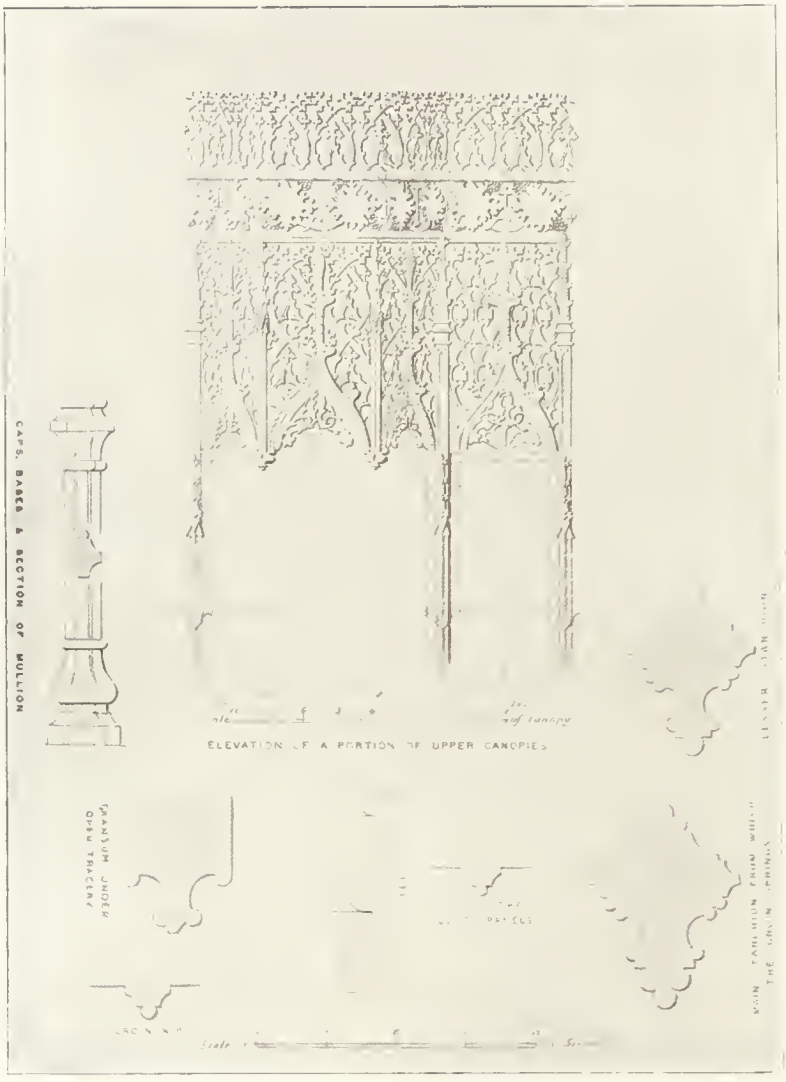
FIG. 1.—SCREEN AT AVETON GIFFARD, DEVON.



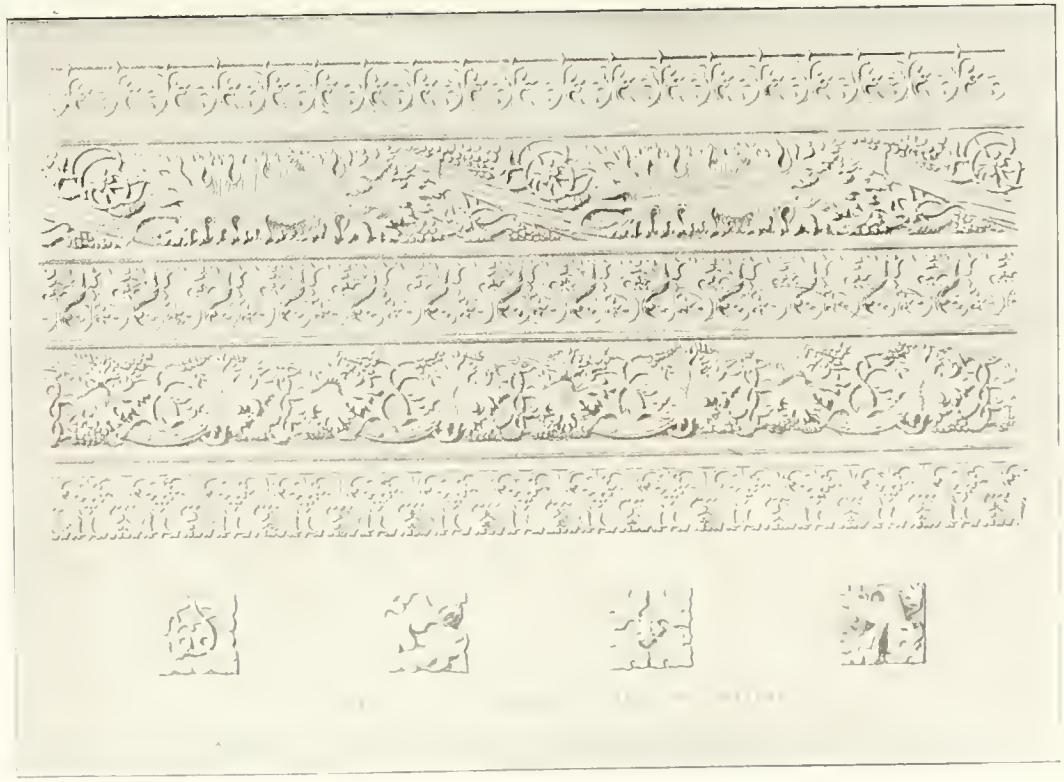
FIG. 2.—SCREEN AT MARWOOD, DEVON.



ROOD SCREEN AT KENTON, DEVON.
Restored.



SCREEN AT ATHERINGTON, DEVON.
Detail of canopy work in the rood loft.



SCREEN AT ATHERINGTON, DEVON.
Detail of cornices.



FIG. 1.—ROOD SCREEN AT LEW TRENCHARD.
Restored in 1899.



FIG. 2.—SCREEN AT STAVERTON, DEVON.
Restored in 1891–2.



FIG. 1.—TYMPANUM AT WENHASTON, SUFFOLK.



FIG. 2.—LLANELIEU, BRECKNOCK.
Screen retaining old tympanum and painted rood.



FIG. 1.—SCREEN AND LOFT AT RODNEY STOKE, WELLS. (Date 1625.)



FIG. 2.—CHANCEL SCREEN AT CRUWYS MORCHARD, DEVON.

ON A FRAGMENT OF AN ANGLO-SAXON BENEDICTIONAL PRESERVED AT EXETER CATHEDRAL.

BY THE

REV. STANFORD F. H. ROBINSON, M.A.

When visiting the Library of Exeter Cathedral, my attention was attracted by the character of the script of a fragment of a manuscript exhibited in one of the cases. Every facility was afforded me for its examination, and permission was given to remove a large book-plate which had been pasted on the middle of one of the leaves, thereby obscuring a considerable number of the words in seven of the lines. On inquiry it appeared that this fragment had been found among various leaves and smaller fragments of manuscripts most of which had been used for binding purposes. These leaves and fragments, taken from various books in the Cathedral Library, had been collected (probably by some former librarian) and placed in a small portfolio a few years ago. This was the only fact known about their history. The remainder of the volume of whose contents this fragment formed a part has, perhaps, met the unworthy end of being dispersed through the bindings of other books. However that may be, we are thankful that the leaves of this fragment have come down to us in a very fair state of preservation, for they contain "Benedictiones Episcopales" written prior to the Norman Conquest, and are therefore of value and interest to the liturgical student.

In order to examine more closely the handwriting, I photographed the leaves. On comparing them with the scraps of engraved facsimile writing from the Benedictional of St. Æthelwold given in *Archaeologia* (vol. xxiv) where St. Æthelwold's beautiful book, now in the possession of the Duke of Devonshire, is printed in full and edited with a learned preliminary dissertation by Mr. Gage, this Exeter fragment seemed very similar in the style of its script; it evinced in its general appearance indications of belonging to the tenth rather than to the eleventh century (*e.g.*, the "t's" had more of the roundness of the tenth and less of the angularity of the eleventh), and the passages which are continuous agreed with those in St. Æthelwold's Benedictional, though not quite verbally identical. But it would not be wise to assume that this Exeter fragment belonged to the tenth century by comparing it only with these scraps of engraved facsimile, executed before it was possible by photographic processes to give an exact reproduction of the original. An unexpected opportunity presented itself of comparing the photographs with the corresponding pages of the Duke of Devonshire's magnificent manuscript, while it was for some weeks at the British Museum in the custody of Dr. G. F. Warner, and with a Psalter, also written by a Winchester scribe and executed about the same date.[1] After examining carefully the script

[1] Harley MS. 2904.

of this Winchester Psalter and St. Æthelwold's Benedictional, there seemed little reason for doubting that this Exeter fragment belonged to the tenth century, and that it was probably written by one of the scribes in the same famous school which had produced the splendid penmanship and sumptuous pictorial illuminations of St. Æthelwold's book. It was satisfactory to have this opinion confirmed by the judgment of so eminent an authority as Dr. Warner, who very kindly undertook to compare the palæographical details of the Exeter fragment with those of the Winchester Psalter and the Æthelwold Benedictional, and as a result of his investigations he wrote to me: "There is no doubt that the Exeter leaves are of the tenth century, and written about the same time as the Æthelwold Benedictional." He also considered the script more like that of the Benedictional than that of the Psalter. We may then with some confidence assign this fragment found at Exeter to the latter half of the tenth century, and, with probability, its production to Winchester, which was so great a centre of influence at that period owing to the remarkable ability and personality of Æthelwold, who, in conjunction with Dunstan, brought about a great revival in learning as well as a reformation in the monastic life. In connection with this latter work, Wulstan in his life of St. Æthelwold, mentions that he sent Osgar to learn the rule of St. Benedict at the well-known monastery of Fleury in order that he might preside over his own monastery more capably. We know what a wonderful effect was produced by Æthelwold's work, not only at Winchester but elsewhere—at Ely and Peterborough, where the monastic churches were refounded by him. But it was not merely during Æthelwold's episcopate (963–984) that Winchester maintained a position of so great importance; throughout the eleventh century there are abundant traces of this influence in many directions. As evidence of this we may refer to one instance of peculiar interest. The Abbey of Tavistock, situated some thirty miles to the south of Crediton and Exeter, was presided over by two successive abbots who had been monks of Winchester. Their names were Lyfing and Ældred. Abbot Lyfing, whom the Saxon Chronicle styles "wordsnotera" (word-wise), increased considerably the importance of Tavistock, and became Bishop of both Crediton and Worcester[1] from 1038–1046. Abbot Ældred succeeded him in the see of Worcester,[2] and in 1062 was raised to the Archbishopric of York, and afterwards in that capacity officiated at the coronation of William the Conqueror.

So far as I am aware, no adequate attempt has been made to sketch the extraordinary and far-reaching influence, due to Æthelwold's revival, of the Church of Winchester during the tenth and eleventh centuries upon the whole Anglo-Saxon Church; an influence manifested not less in the deep things of the spiritual life than in the outward adjuncts of worship—in the culture of music and art. The Benedictional, which he caused to be written and illuminated by one of his own monks under his personal supervision, is a magnificent instance of the taste and splendour he displayed in the promotion of ecclesiastical art. It can scarcely be doubted then that Winchester influence had extended to Crediton in Æthelwold's lifetime; though there is no sufficient reason forthcoming to connect this

[1] See the Saxon Chronicle under the year 1047, and the Chronicle of Florence of Worcester under 1046.

[2] There is a Winchester Sacramentary at Worcester Cathedral believed to have been brought there by either Bishop Lyfing or Bishop Ældred. A description of this fragment by the Rev. F. E. Warren is given in the *Academy*, Dec. 12th, 1885.

fragment with him. But Ælfwold,[1] who was Bishop of Crediton from 953–972,[2] according to the chronicle of Matthew[3] of Westminster, was the nominee of Dunstan for that see, and in all likelihood would have belonged to the reforming party, in the Church of which Æthelwold at Winchester was the moving spirit. Leofric was consecrated Bishop of Crediton in 1046, and four years later, on the union of the Cornish and Devonshire dioceses, he transferred the seat of the Bishops of Devon to Exeter by the permission of King Edward the Confessor, as the Chronicle relates.[4]

Bishop Leofric is a really interesting personage, and was well entitled to be remembered among the benefactors of the diocese of Exeter. An eulogy contained in the Sacramentary bearing his name, records that he was most active in all episcopal duties, and that in addition to his gifts as a teacher and preacher he was an ardent promoter of church restoration; presenting to his new cathedral at Exeter a large amount of costly ecclesiastical furniture, ornaments, and vestments; and besides all these possessions which he gave to the cathedral church of the new see, he provided it with a splendid set of books, chiefly service-books.

This bequest of Leofric is preserved in the first leaf of a Gospel-book[5] given by him to Exeter, and now in the Bodleian Library. The volumes numbered in all sixty-one, and included two full missals, one book of collects, two epistle-books, two complete choral-books, one night choral-book, one antiphonary, one troper, two psalters, a third psalter with music as sung at Rome, two Hymnaries, one very valuable benedictional, and three other benedictionals. This is a splendid list,[6] but what is of special interest to us at present is this last entry I have quoted: "three other benedictionals."

In providing his new cathedral with office books, Bishop Leofric is known (in one case at least) to have used a Winchester model, and in the additions to his sacramentary the scribe he employed actually left unaltered a text appropriate to Winchester.[7] There can be little doubt then that if there were any books at Crediton which had come from Winchester, Leofric would value them and be likely to transfer them from Crediton to Exeter. These Exeter leaves may be one of the "three other" benedictionals in Leofric's bequest, possibly brought from Crediton. The Rev. F. E. Warren in his introduction to the Leofric Missal[8] has identified a number of these books and their present location, but he has not discovered any one of the four benedictionals above mentioned. Doubtless the "very valuable one" would have been an elaborately illuminated volume to be used at special functions in the cathedral, while the other three would have been intended for ordinary and frequent use, and be similar in character to the one from which this Exeter fragment is a survival.

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[1] Florence of Worcester, in his chronicle, written shortly after the Norman Conquest, gives the succession of the Bishops in the see of Crediton. *Vide* Pedler's *Anglo-Saxon Episcopate of Cornwall with some account of the Bishops of Crediton*, p. 55.

[2] Gams, *Series Episcoporum Ecclesiae Catholicae*, p. 188.

[3] "Anno gratiae 952. Algaro Crediensi pontifice defuncto, Ælfwoldus, concilio beati Dunstani, post eum successit" (*Flores Historiarum per Matthaeum Westmonasteriensem collecti*, 1601, p. 189).

[4] *Chron. Brev. Exoniensis Ecclesiae* in Dugdale's *Monasticon Anglicanum*, Vol. ii, p. 514, note g.

[5] Ex veteri MS. in Bibl. Bodleiana, Auct. D. 2, 16, fol. 1, a.

[6] Dugdale's *Monasticon Anglicanum*, Vol. ii, p. 527, where the complete list is printed. It is also given by the Rev. F. E. Warren in his introduction to the *Leofric Missal*, p. xxii.

[7] *Liber Pontificalis Chr. Bainbridge Archiepiscopi Eboracensis*, edited by Dr. Henderson, Surtees Society, Vol. lxi, pp. xxiii and xxiv.

[8] Mr. Warren (*Leofric Missal*, p. xxiv) accounts for fourteen out of the sixty-one MSS.

Now it has been pointed out that this fragment of a benedictional at Exeter resembles the handwriting and text of St. Æthelwold's Benedictional, that there are grounds in favour of the presumption of its Winchester source, and that so far as its date is concerned it might have been brought to Crediton by Ælfwold during his episcopate or by one of his immediate successors. However when we remember that it was through the influence of Dunstan that Ælfwold was placed at Crediton, we are led to regard him as the bishop who was likely to procure a benedictional from Æthelwold's school of scribes at Winchester. I suggest this as a not impossible explanation of how this fragment came into the possession of the Church of Exeter. The only evidence we have is afforded by the manuscript itself, and that in the present case is necessarily limited, as it contains merely the benedictions proper to the second and third Sundays after the Octave of Easter, and consequently all information relating to the locality of its source, which might be gathered from the nature of the festivals and the Anglo-Saxon names commemorated, is wanting.

It only remains for me now to refer briefly to a few details in the manuscript itself. It consists of two full leaves: the passages they contain are continuous, which prove that these leaves formed the middle sheet of a gathering. The leaves of vellum measure $11\frac{3}{4} \times 8$ inches, and contain sixteen lines of writing on each page. On the middle of the second page in the margin there is a press-mark (K, 4, 5)[1] apparently in handwriting of the latter end of the seventeenth century or of the early part of the eighteenth century. This plainly indicates that when this press-mark was inscribed, the MS. was already a fragment, as otherwise it would not have been placed on a verso in the middle of a gathering.

Here a question suggests itself which is worth considering: Did these leaves originally form part of a Pontifical or of a Benedictional in the ordinary use of that term? The Anglo-Saxon Church had in the eighth century begun to place together in a single volume, the offices, benedictions, and rubrics relating to the episcopal order. The Pontifical of Egbert[2]

[1] I am informed by the Rev. E. E. Foweraker, sub-librarian of Exeter Cathedral Library, that this most probably refers to Division K, shelf 4, number on shelf 5, in the Chapter House Library. A little lower down in the margin appear three modern marks V, 6, 32, possibly another location in the library or it may be that the number 32 is the number of the sheet among the discovered fragments. It is possible that this fragment may have been bound up with some volume and attached to the boards; in which case the press-mark on verso would answer very well as it was on this page that the book-plate was affixed.

[2] Egbert was Archbishop of York from 732–766, his Pontifical is preserved at Paris in a MS. belonging to the tenth century, believed to have been copied from the original. The MS. has been edited by Canon Greenwell, of Durham, in the Surtees Society, Vol. xxvii.

I am indebted to the Rev. Edgar Hoskins for the following comment, which he made on the occasion of my reading this paper before the St. Paul's Ecclesiological Society:—The name assigned to the Pontifical, published by the Surtees Society in 1853, being Vol. xxvii of the Society's publications, is that of the Pontifical of Egbert, Archbishop of York, A.D. 732–766; the page, however, which has this title proceeds to say, that the Pontifical is "now first printed from a MS. of the tenth century in the Imperial Library, Paris." The great difference in time between that of the episcopate of Egbert and the date assigned to the MS. of the Pontifical printed by the Surtees Society, a difference in fact of about two centuries, would lead one to say that the Pontifical of Egbert was the name by which the MS. came to be commonly known irrespective of the date of the character in which it is written, unless it can be shown that it is a reproduction of an earlier MS. of the eighth century. Two causes may have led to this MS. of a Pontifical of the tenth century being called the Pontifical of Egbert, though no earlier Pontifical bore his name. Firstly, the preface to the Surtees Society publications, page xi, says, the MS. has "En tête du feuillet 3 où commence le Pontificale d'Egbert on lit, Eboracensis ecclesiae sive Egberti Eboracensis archiepiscopi Pontificale litteris Saxonicis ab annis circiter 950 eleganter scriptum." But it would appear that these titles are of a later date than the MS. for "Sur le dernier on lit," Anno millesimo septingentesimo nonagesimo. . . ." Secondly, the Surtees Society

is the earliest existing specimen, and, like most of the English Pontificals of which we have knowledge, it contained a Benedictional.

It may be mentioned too, in passing, that the term "Benedictionale" has occasionally been used in a wider sense, and applied to books[1] which would be more accurately described as Pontificals, as for example the Benedictional of Archbishop Robert; and apparently, too, to books[2] not containing the Benedictional proper, but merely a few offices of a dedicatory nature.

The manner, however, in which this fragment is written almost certainly proves that it did not form part of the collection of the "Benedictiones Episcopales" in a Pontifical, but was originally a "Benedictionale," in the narrower sense of the term. For on comparing the first page of the fragment with the corresponding page in the collection of episcopal benedictions in a Canterbury Pontifical, I found by making a calculation based on the number of words and lines on the respective pages, that it would require about 498 leaves of the fragment to contain the matter of the 225 leaves of the Pontifical. In the same way the contents of the 119 leaves of the Æthelwold Benedictional would require 243 leaves written on the same scale as the Exeter fragment.

With regard to the episcopal blessings contained in this Exeter MS., it may be noticed that the benediction for second Sunday after the Octave of Easter (*Deus qui per resurrectionem unigeniti sui uobis contulit*, etc.), with but very slight variations is to be found in the Pontifical of Egbert in the Benedictional of Æthelwold, and in that of Archbishop Robert and also in a Canterbury Pontifical[3] of the twelfth century, now in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin. The readings in which it differs from the text of these four books are placed in the footnotes appended to the text of the MS. itself. And the benediction for the third Sunday after the Octave of Easter (*Concede misericors Deus*, etc.) is common to Egbert, Æthelwold, and Archbishop Robert but is not in the Canterbury Pontifical, which has on this Sunday an entirely different one:—

"Deus qui dignatione misericordię tuę mundum redemisti. nosque interna uita tecum resurgendo uiuificasti. benedictionum cęlestium huic populo tuo concede gratiam. ac pacis et gemine dilectionis abundantiam. Amen.

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publication, page xii, says, that the original MS. commences with the following title and fragment of the Penitential of Archbishop Egbert: "Excarpsum de Canonibus . . . ad remedium animarum Domini Egberthti Archiepi Ebura civitatis." It would seem that the name of Egbert occurring in the Penitential may have been also attached to the Pontifical. The Surtees Society on page vii has a reference to a part of a Pontifical Sæc. IX in C.C.C. Cambridge No. 146; it is much to be desired that this fragment should be examined and reproduced by the means of photography.

[1] In the inventory of St. Paul's Cathedral belonging to the year 1295 there is the following entry:— "Benedictionale Willielmi Episcopi annuale, malè ligatum; in quo continentur benedictiones abbatum, et consecrationes regum, et qualiter consilium agi debeat, et omnium ordinandi . . . ." (Dugdale's *History of St. Paul's Cathedral*, London 1658, p. 221.)

[2] An early fourteenth century inventory belonging to Canterbury contains the following:—(*a*) "Benedictionale pro pueris confirmandis et vestimentis benedicendis." (*b*) "Benedictionale pro consecratione altaris et cimiterii" (*Inventories of Christchurch, Canterbury*, edited by J. Wickham Legg and W. H. St. J. Hope). See also note on page 11 in *Benedictional of Archbishop Robert*, edited by H. A. Wilson for the Henry Bradshaw Society.

[3] Pontificale Cantuariense (B. 3, 6). It may be of interest to note that the forms of Ordination in the text of this Pontifical contain no "impositio manuum," but only "porrectio instrumentorum," but the normal forms have been inserted in the margin in handwriting of a much later date.

Mitte ei quem discipulis tuis promisisti paraclitum. qui mansuetudine misericordę hunc tuum arquat populum. ut de peccato mortalitatis mereatur liberari. de iustitia clementię tuę consolari. atque in aduentus tui iudicio te saluante saluari. Amen.

Sicque spiritus ueritatis illustratione clarificetur. ut dignus tibi in sanctorum electione repręsentetur. ubi per tuam uiuat et gaudeat redemptionem. ac tecum glorietur in beatę immortalitatis resurrectionem. Amen.

Quod ipse prestare."

Then follow two alternative benedictions for the same Sunday which agree with those in Æthelwold's book, but are not given in Egbert, Archbishop Robert, or the Canterbury Book.

A few other details in the writing of the MS. claim a passing notice. The contractions appear to be few, and are of the ordinary character; the simple horizontal line is used as a general mark of contraction, p for per, p for pro, ꝑ for post. The form of the letters *t*, *r*, and *e*, is similar to those in the Benedictional of St. Æthelwold. The spelling presents no unusual features, but it may be noted that the prepositions are usually joined with their substantives, *e.g.*, inbaptismate, and sometimes pronouns and prepositions are joined to the following word, *e.g.*, teducente, seredemptem, incaelesti, adcaelestem.

The punctuation of the MS. has been adhered to in the editing of the text. The single point (.) is the stop most frequently used, but its value is altered according to the position it occupies in relation to the line. To reproduce these distinctions has not been found practical, so in every case the point has been placed at the usual level.

There is no attempt at ornamentation with the exception of the titles, initial letters, and amens, which are written in red, and most of these bear traces of the addition of silver, which has now become very much oxydised.

TEXT OF THE EXETER FRAGMENT OF A BENEDICTIONAL.

The text has been collated with three printed texts of Anglo-Saxon Benedictionals:

Egb. *The Pontifical of Egbert, Archbishop of York*, Surtees Society, vol. xxvii, 1853.

Æth. *A Dissertation on St. Æthelwold's Benedictional*, by John Gage, *Archaeologia*, vol. xxiv.

Rob. *The Benedictional of Archbishop Robert*, edited by H. A. Wilson for the Henry Bradshaw Society, London, 1903; and also with Cant. A manuscript Canterbury Pontifical of the twelfth century now in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin.

It has not seemed necessary to notice the occasional omission of the word *Amen*, or the varying length of the concluding clause of each blessing *Quod ipse prestare dignetur* [*cuius regnum et imperium sine fine permanet in secula seculorum.* Amen. *Benedictio dei patris et filii et spiritus sancti et pax domini sit semper uobiscum.* Amen.]

[Deus qui per resurrectionem
unigeniti sui uobis contu-]
/lit et bonum redempti [fo. 1.
onis[1] et decus[2] adoptionis:
suæ uobis conferat prȩmia
benedictionis. Amen.
Et quo redimente *per*cepis
tis donum *per*petuæ liberta
tis:[4] eo largiente consortes
efficiamini aet*er*ne[5] hereditatis. am*en*.
Et cui consurrexistis in bap
tismate credendo adiun
gi mereamini in cælesti re
gione bene uiuendo. Amen.
Quod ipse prestare dignetur

DOMINICA III.[6] *POST OCTABAS PASCHȩ*

Concede misericors Deus huic
plebi salutifera[8] paschæ
/sollempnia [9]caelebranti [fo. 1*b*.

omnes ouium uellere in
tua uoluntate plantari.
et sperare quod tibi pla
cuerit. et impetrare[7]
sibimet quod oportet. Am*en*.
Te oculis intendat. [9]Corde
teneat[8] uoce concinat
et uotis requirat. euitet
quod ueteris.[9] eligat.
quod iusseris. ampleeta
tur quod dicis. impleat
[10]quo placaris.[10] Amen.
Ut in ea[11] mystiçe pietatis
tuae sacramento per
fecto. prompte suum
/diligat d*omin*u*m*[12] quȩ[13] sangui [fo. 2.
ne fuso p*ro*fetico. [14]nouа men
te[15] intellegit se redempt*am*[16]
[q]uod ipse prestare dignet*ur*. Am*en*.

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[1] redemtionis, Æth.
[2] de eius, Æth.
[3] ȩternȩ, Cant., aeternae, Egb. Æth. Rob.
[4] II, Æth.
[5] salutifere, Egb. salutiferi, Rob.
[6] celebranti, Egb. Æth. Rob.
[7] impetrare, Egb. Æth. Rob.
[8]—[8] om. Rob.
[9] MS. *reads* uet eris *leaving space for* u, uetueris Egb. Æth., ueteris Rob.
[10]—[10] quod placit, Egb.
[11] eo, Egb. Rob. ea Æth.
[12] Deum, Egb.
[13] qui Egb. Rob. quæ, Æth.
[14] om. Æth.
[15] mercede, Æth.
[16] redemptum, Egb. Rob.

Item Alia.[1]

*Deu*s qui dignatione mise
ricordiae. maiestate
potenti. ut succurreres
homini. terras caelitus
uisitasti. præsta familiae
tuae ita hanc uitam tran
sigere ut in illam perpe
tuam te ducente possit
intrare. Amen.
tantum habeant fervor*em*
Catholicę fidei. ut s*ancti* ad
/uentus tui sint expectatione [fo. 2*b*.
securi Amen.
Ut quicumq*ue* meruerunt
purgari unda baptismi
presentari valeant tibi
pio iudici candidati. Am*en*.
Quod ipse praestare dignet*ur*

ALIA.[2]

*Deu*s qui de diversis florib*us*
tuam semp*er* exornas
aeccl*es*iam.[3] quam uelut
boni odoris flagrare feci*sti*
Da plebi tuae ad caelestem
gloriam et[4] inter morta
litatis[4] honorem renatę
dignum regenerationis su

* * * * *

[1] This alternative blessing is not in Egb. Rob., but only in Æth.
[2] This blessing is not in Egb. Rob., but only in Æth.
[3] ecclesiam Æth. [4–4] inmortalitatis Æth.

lic etbonum redempti
onis etdecus adoptionis.
suæ uobis conferat præmia
benedictionis. AMEN.
Et quo redimente pcepis
tis donum ppetuæ liberta
tis. eolargiente consortes
efficiamini aetne heredtatis. Aō.
Et cui consurrexistis inbap
tis matte credendo adiun
gi mereamini incælesti re
gione bene uiuendo. Aō.
quod ipse prestare dignetur
[illegible] p OCTABAS PASCH
oncede misericors ds. huic
plebi salutifera paschæ

THE INVENTORY OF THE PARISH CHURCH OF BLEDLOW IN 1783.

BY

J. WICKHAM LEGG,

Fellow of the Royal College of Physicians of London; Chairman of the Council of the Henry Bradshaw Liturgical Text Society.

It has been too long the custom to despise the eighteenth century. An age which could produce bishops like Butler and Berkeley, Wilson and Gibson; priests like William Law and Martin Joseph Routh; laymen like Samuel Johnson, not to speak of Sir Walter Scott, Wordsworth, and Addison, does not deserve to be set aside as wholly devoid of Church principles. It was the eighteenth century which produced the very best liturgy that has been written in the English language, the Scottish Liturgy; by the side of which that in the first book of Edward VI. appears an incomplete and unscientific performance. It was the threshold of the eighteenth century that saw the restoration of the daily celebration of the Eucharist at St. Giles', Cripplegate, a practice now thought by some to be of the highest importance in the life of the Church. In the new foundations of the eighteenth century, such as St. George's, Bloomsbury, and St. George's, Hanover Square, there was service every day, twice.[1] In mere ecclesiology if we compare the seventeenth century with the eighteenth we shall see in the latter the complete triumph of Laudian principles over the Puritanism of the former: the handsome altar piece, an altar, it might be of stone, raised on a foot pace of marble, and enclosed with rails. A beautiful example of a chancel screen of this time is given in these *Transactions* above.[2]

The activity of the London clergy in the eighteenth century is beyond doubt if we look over the pages of Paterson's *Pictas Londinensis*. They must have been abundantly careful in the cause of Christian education for Bernard Mandeville to have thought it worth his while to make his attack upon charity schools. It has been said that the golden age of the Church of England was from 1660 to 1730. This may perhaps be an over-statement; but like many over-statements it is useful if it call attention to a neglected aspect of facts. The cant phrase, "The slovenliness of the eighteenth century," will have to be given up even by superficial writers of our time.

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[1] *New Remarks of London*, London 1732, edited by the parish clerks. When the Court was at Kensington in 1742 there was Holy Communion at 8 a.m., every Sunday: and week-day service twice a day. It was the same at the Chapel Royal in 1792. (Edgar Sheppard, *Memorials of St. James' Palace*. Longmans, 1894, vol. ii. pp. 219, 220.)

[2] See Plate xii. fig. 2. opposite p. 221.

I first became acquainted with the inventory of Bledlow by means of Mr. Vernon Staley's new edition of *Hierurgia Anglicana*. Some of the items appeared so out of the way that I was inclined to look upon the paper there printed as a forgery, and I wrote to the present Vicar of Bledlow, the Rev. Stephen Pritchitt, to ask him to if he could be so good as to bring the document with him when he next came to London, so that it might be examined by some good judges at the British Museum. I own that I fully expected that the writing would prove a palpable forgery, as soon as it was looked at.

Mr. Pritchitt most readily consented to bring the papers up to London, and a book and a parchment were accordingly deposited for examination in the Museum; and I have to thank him for his goodness and patient courtesy in allowing me to have access to the documents for so long a time.

It then soon became evident that it would be by no means so easy as I had thought to prove the inventory a fraud. Two written documents were brought; one, separate, written on parchment, with "An inventory of the Utensils, Books, Vestments, and Ornaments," written on one side; and on the other an account of the charities and benefactions, signed by the Vicar and churchwardens and attested by the Archdeacon of Buckingham as exhibited before him.

The other document was a manuscript book, bound in vellum, the leaves of which contain the churchwardens' accounts from 1702 to 1783: and on the first leaf of the last gathering of this book is written a short list[1] of the items contained in the separate inventory that is written on parchment. In these accounts are contained charges for washing the alb, one of the most surprising of the vestments enumerated in the inventories, and entries of the purchase of several of the items that are more ordinary in character, contained in both the inventories.

A forger, then, would have had to make up not only the document on parchment but also a good part of the book containing the churchwardens' accounts; and the book seems entirely free from suspicion. In 1768 begins the hand which lasts throughout the rest of the book up to 1783, and which has a strong resemblance to that of the separate inventory. And this hand is the hand of the time. After having the documents almost daily before me for several weeks I was forced to the conclusion that the suspicion of a mid-nineteenth century forgery could not be justified; and this was also the opinion of those well qualified to speak on such a matter.

These conclusions had been reached from the examination of the documents preserved at Bledlow only. But at this point in the investigation I was so fortunate as to interest the Rev. Frederick W. Ragg, the Vicar of Masworth, in the question of the authenticity of the inventory. The help of a scholar so well known for his experience in documents of this sort was indeed most welcome, and he brought evidence which, it will be owned, makes a suspicion of fraud in this matter untenable. He found the duplicate of the inventory, spoken of in the churchwardens' accounts,[2] amongst the terriers preserved at the office of the Archdeacon's Registrar in Aylesbury.

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[1] This, it has been already said, has been edited by Mr. Vernon Staley, *Hierurgia Anglicana*, London, Delamore Press, 1903, part ii. p. 309.

[2] See below, p. 237. It is there said: "One of the Inventories signed by the Vicar and Churchwardens was delivered in at the Court, and the other is to remain among the parish writings."

There are four Bledlow terriers: one of 1639, another 1706, a third undated, and a fourth of 1826, and with them is also the inventory of 1783, signed by the Archdeacon and the Vicar and Churchwardens, as in the documents from Bledlow. Mr. Ragg has been good enough to collate the proof of the long inventory kept at Bledlow, given below, with that kept at Aylesbury, and he finds that they are the same, with some few minor variations in unimportant words and spelling. In the sections 10, 11, 12, some of the words are so faded and worn that they cannot be read with any certainty. The rest corresponds with the inventory printed below from Bledlow.

The four terriers, Mr. Ragg tells me, contain nothing bearing on the points now being discussed.

The names of the clerical officials who sign the documents are known as of those in office from other sources. John Davey is said by Dr. Lipscomb to have been inducted into the living of Bledlow on February 27th, 1775, but he signs a church rate made to repair the chancel in 1773, and this signature is accompanied by the same *rubrica* or flourish as in the signature which appears at the bottom of the parish charities following the long inventory. Mr. Ragg tells me that this *rubrica* or flourish is so elaborate in the Aylesbury copy of the inventory, and the writing so faded, as to make it a hard matter to read the word *Davey*. John Davey became M.A., Balliol College, the 17th of May, 1757, B.D. 1784, and D.D. the 2nd of June, 1785, and shortly after he was elected Master of Balliol College: and he died in 1798.[1]

I am told by an authority on the history of Balliol College that Dr. Davey was one of the most colourless of their Masters. His name does not appear even in the *Dictionary of National Biography*. But Balliol College at this time is said to have been "a stronghold of Jacobites,"[2] and Jacobites and Nonjurors were not very far apart. Nonjurors, it may be, should be kept in mind in considering the curiosities of the inventory.

Luke Heslop, the Archdeacon of Buckingham at the time of the making of this inventory, was born and baptized on St. Luke's day, 1738. He was of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, Senior Wrangler in 1764, and held many ecclesiastical preferments. To judge from the titles of his writings in the catalogue of the British Museum he must have occupied his thoughts more with fiscal questions than with ecclesiology or liturgy. One of his pamphlets in the British Museum *Observations on the duty on Property*, published in 1805, contains his signature in a hand which has many of the characters of that attached to the parchment inventory. Mr. Ragg had no difficulty in recognising the signature to the Aylesbury copy of the inventory; it was a handwriting with which he is well acquainted. Luke Heslop died on June 23rd, 1825.

Up to 1845, the archdeaconry of Bucks was under the see of Lincoln, not as it is now, under the see of Oxford. Whether the Archdeacon's visitation was the moving force in the purchases mentioned in the churchwardens' accounts may be doubted. Some of them, such as the alb, appear in 1771–2, years before the archidiaconal visitation of 1783, and even before Dr. Davey became Vicar.

It has seemed to me that some influence was at work at Bledlow in favour of what I

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[1] George Lipscomb, M.D. *The History and Antiquities of the County of Buckingham*, London, Robin. 1847, vol. ii. p. 118.

[2] J. H. Overton, *The Nonjurors*, London, 1902, p. 342.

must call ecclesiology for want of a better word, after the middle of the eighteenth century: whether caused by notions still abiding in the Church of England akin to those of Nonjurors I cannot say; the Nonjuring writings were in existence in England and were doubtless sympathised with by Church of England men. There is one expression in the inventory that may point to Nonjuring influence: "eucharistic service." This is found some half-dozen times in the rubrics of Thomas Deacon's book,[1] but I do not remember it elsewhere; perhaps some member of the Society more learned than I am may be able to tell us of the same expression in other books.

This matter appears at present so obscure that one may take hold of any slight indications which may lead us on further. Thus one point occurs to me: the sums attached to the new ornaments of the inventory in the churchwardens' book appear out of all proportion to the real value of the goods. For example, the alb, the short surplice for funerals, and the surplice without sleeves for the clerk have only fifteen shillings set against them, all three. Now making every allowance for the depreciation of money since 1783 it seems impossible that they could have bought all three, or even one, of these ornaments for fifteen shillings. For in 1759–60 they

paid for a new surplice for the Minister £3. o. o.

It will be suggested that this sum marks only the present value of the ornaments all through, after deterioration from wear. But the value of the silver spoon is set down as three shillings. Three shillings seems little for a silver straining spoon which probably weighed more than half an ounce; further, in one case, the mahogany three-legged candlestick has *7s. 6d.* put against it, while in the churchwardens' accounts for 1777–82 it is purchased for a less sum, *6s. 6d.* So that I think we must accept the sums opposite the items in the shorter inventory as that which the officials gave for them.

Generally I think it will be acknowledged that the prices assigned to the items are remarkably low, so low that the question arises, are these really the sums that the churchwardens would have given for the ornaments in the open market? Or did some pious person sell them to the churchwardens at one-half or a quarter of their value? In this case they are anonymously offered; but some of the plate was presented by the lord of the manor, who does not seem to have felt any false modesty in associating his name with the gift.

Then another point may be mentioned, though it scarcely seems worth mentioning. In the first half of the century the charges for the bread and wine at the eucharist are tolerably high, eighteen or twenty shillings a year; this points to a frequent celebration. But in the middle of the century the charges fall, in one instance to as little as four shillings. We must be right in thinking that this indicates a diminished frequency of celebration. But about the same time as these new ornaments appear, the charge for the sacred elements rises again to the old price.

About this time also the word *altar* appears in the churchwardens' accounts. In 1770–71 there is this entry:

For Wine at the Altar £1. o. o.

and in the same year we have "Linnen for the Altar," and later altar steps, altar rails; earlier they speak of the "table" linen.

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[1] See below, p. 243, the notes on § 14.

A piece of ceremonial may be noticed in the accounts of 1774–75:

Gave in the Procession on Ascension day £0. 2. 0.

This, of course, is the usual beating of the bounds of the parish which still takes place; but it is dignified with the name of Procession.

One other theory of the existence of these ornaments in a parish church in 1783 must be spoken of. It has been thought that the more out of the way ornaments are survivals of the mediæval ornaments; that an alb, for example, of King Edward VI.'s days had been kept unused in the vestry. It is hard to accept this supposition, and it will be, I think, put aside by one of the documents which follow. Mr. Frederick W. Ragg, of whom grateful mention has already been made, was kind enough to send me a transcript of an inventory of the parish goods of Bledlow, taken on the 23rd of July, 6 Edward VI., that is 1552. Like most of the Edwardian inventories of this time it appears to have been taken for the sole purposes of theft; hardly anything is included in the list but that which could be turned into money, "for the use of the King's Highness." But beyond surplices and albs which would be included in the word "vestment," there is nothing that can be definitely allied to the ornaments in the inventory of 1783. It is as follows:

bledlowe

* * *

Inprimis one Chalys of Syluer nott gylte with a patent.
Item one Cope of Crymson veluett.
Item one Cope of tawny Damaske.
Item one Cope of popyngeye sylke.
Item one vestement of Crymson veluett.
Item one vestement of darke[1] tawny sylke
Item one vestement of Dune sylke.
Item j vestement of Changabull Colar with all thynges to them.
Item alter Clothe of Crymson satyn.
Item 6 other paynted Clothes.
Item iij corpys and Clothes with Cassys[2]
Item 5 lynnen alter Clothes one of Dyaper.
Item iij towells one of Diaper.
Item a holye water stoke of leade[3] with ij little bells.[3]
Item iiij Belles in the stepull.
Item a Crosse of Coper gylte.
Item a Funt Clothe and a vayle Clothe.
Item a Blewe alter clothe.
Item ij Surplys and a Funt Clothe.
ij Candell stykes of latyn.[4]

Another document also pointed out to me by Mr. Ragg shows the state into which the church had been allowed to fall by 1637, and which makes it most unlikely that anything except the bells of the Edwardian inventory survived. A similar state of affairs in the churches

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[1] *interlined.* [2] *that is*: corporals and cloths with corporas-cases
[3]—[3] *struck out.*
[4] Public Record Office, Q.R. Exchequer, Church goods, $\frac{1}{38}$ fo. 5.

of the diocese of Ely in 1685 has been made known by Mr. Henry Bradshaw.[1] The report is as follows:

Bledloe 17 July [A.D. 1637.] 4 Bells & Sts. Bell

The seats in the Chancell broken and allso in the bottomes of boards. The chanc: wants paving The South window in the Chanc. is partly stopt up and the windowes broken in Church and Chancell the seiling over The Com: table broken. The porch dore. A booke of strange preachers. A table of degrees. No sentenses in the Chanc: A new Com: Carpett. A hood. The upper window in the south Isle stopt up quite. A poore man's box. The seats in the Church in decay, both in the backe benches[2] and bottomes and a peece of a Coach in Sir Rich: Moore's Seat. The South Isle in decay in the leads, so that it raineth in, into the said seate. A new Bellfrey dore. Three seats together in the south Isle to high and a board under the particon on the top of a seat to be taken downe. The 4. short[2] seats on the north side of the south Isle to be made into 5. ad peticionem Vicarii There is a Church howse It raines in at the west end of the Church The East benches throughout to be made desks A seat is desired to be built in a vacant place on the north side by the leave of the Ordinary The Churchyard mounds out of repaire being railed, the butteress of the Chanc in decay and the steeple in the stone worke, and coping of the Church round about.[3]

Of many of the articles mentioned in this document it is hard to say from the way in which they are spoken of whether the church possessed them or whether they were to be ordered. We are told "there is a church house" and that there are "no sentences in the chancel": these are propositions. But we cannot say if they had, or were to get for themselves, a hood, and a poor man's box, as they are only named. The bells are most likely those spoken of in the inventory below, of 1783.

The theory of a survival of the ornaments from mediæval times can hardly be maintained in the face of this document, with its evidence of squalor.

To return now to the inventories of 1783. We would first describe more at length the long inventory. It is written on a piece of parchment $25\frac{3}{4} \times 9$ inches. (657 × 228 mm.) Both back and front are written upon, and the writing seems to be in the same hand. A few notes have been added at the bottom of the inventory in pencil, and a cross set against certain of the items. The hand appears to be of the late eighteenth century, and is very like that which has written the accounts from 1768–69 on to 1783. There appears this entry in the accounts for 1768–69.

Ed. Aubrey his Stipend as Vestry Clerk 5. 0

It may be hazarded as a conjecture that we have before us in the inventory and accounts the hand of Ed. Aubrey.

The inventory itself is as follows:

AN INVENTORY OF UTENSILS BOOKS VESTMENTS, ORNAMENTS, ETC. IN THE PARISH CHURCH OF BLEDLOW IN THE COUNTY OF BUCKS 1783.

[1.] A Communion Table

[2.] An Altar Pall of Green Cloth bordered with silk fringe

[3.] A Silk Cushion with Gold Tassels

[1] *Collected Papers of Henry Bradshaw*, Cambridge University Press, 1889, p. 297.

[2] *interlined.*

[3] State Papers, Domestic. Charles I. vol. 366, no. 79, p. 18.

[4.] A Communion service book in 8vo. bound in Red Turkey, and ornamented with a Glory and Ribbons tipped with Gold Fringe

[5.] A Paste-Board with the Consecration Prayer, borderd with Purple Ribbon

[6.] An Altar Piece of Mahogany with a painting of a Dead Christ by Wale, in a gilt frame, under a Pediment ornamented with a Glory and finished with 3 Sham Tepers† in Candlesticks, carved and gilt.

[7.] Two Side-Boards in Niches, one in the South, and the other in the North Wall.

[8.] A Damask linen Table Cloth

[9.] Two Damask Napkins and two small Cambric Altar-Towels

[10.] Two brown fustian pieces for the sideboards with fine Dimity Coverings fronted with pendent borders of Muslin

[11.] A Silver Chalice and Paten and a small silver straining spoon

[12.] A Silver Flagon, given by Mr. Blanks, and a Pint Glass-decanter and stopper

[13.] A Silver Plate given by Mr. Crosse

[14.] A Water-Glass, Bottle and Stopper, to rinse the Vessels after the Eucharistic Service

[15.] A Long Surplice, A Bachelor's and Master's Hood

[16.] A Short Surplice for Funerals

[17.] An Alb

[18.] A Surplice without Sleeves, intended for the Clerk.

[19.] A Mahogany Stool covered with Silk Moreen, brass-nailed.

[20.] A Mahogany three leg'd Candlestick with a brass Socket and Taper for funeral Service

[21.] Two square Mats and two long ditto and a long Hair Cloth and two[1] Oval Matt

[22.] Three Kneeling boards of the length of the Septum, coverd with red Leather.

[23.] [2]A Folio Bible in 2 Vols[2]

[24.] Four folio Common Prayer books, the book of Homilies, and Fox's Martyrs 3 Vols.

[25.] A Deal Pulpit and Canopy, an hour Glass, and Pulpit-Cloth Fringed

[26.] A Reading Desk with a Cloth Cushion, and Kneeling Stool

[27.] A Wainscot Litany Desk with Silk Covering a Stool and Cushion and Litany Book in Qrto

[28.] An Oak Bier, and a Funeral Pall of black Cloth borderd with white Crape

[29.] A Paste-board with the funeral service borderd with black Ribbon

[30.] A Chest with three Locks for the Parish Writings

[31.] A long Box [3]of Oak[3] for the burying pall

[32.] A Stand for the support of ditto, and both united were used as a reading Desk for the Martyrology[4] till displaced by the erecting of a new Pew at the upper end of the South Ayle. The stand is removed into the Vestry-Room

[33.] A Wooden Horse (instead of a better conveniency) for the surplice and hood

[34.] A Long Pole and brush, a hand brush dusting[5] pan, and Hairbroom

[35.] Hassocks No. 129. a fresh supply is order'd

[36.] A Collecting Box, a Looking Glass, Almanac-frame and 2 Extinguishers

[37.] A Church Clock

[38.] A Ring of five Bells

[39.] A Small Bell communicating with the Vestry to notify the Minister's arrival there to the persons in the belfry

[40.] A Small Chain and Padlock to secure the Septum

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[1] Two *is interlined over* an *struck out.*

[2]—[2] *interlined.*

[3]—[3] *interlined.*

[4] *In this word* Martyrology *the* ro *is interlined.*

[5] dusting *written over an erasure.*

[41.] A Font of Stone, lined with lead, having[1] a hole at the bottom to convey the water into a Cavity beneath.

[42.] A Grate in the Chimney of the Vestry-room

[43.] The Vestry-Room has a floor of Deal over a deep[2] Cavity almost filled with loose flints to prevent the rising of the Damps ; And the Walls, to a proper height, are batten'd and plaister'd

The Room being much pesterd with Bats, it is intended to ceil it in the course of the summer

[44.] A Long and short ladder are intended to be bought for the purpose of getting upon the Roofs there being no access to them by a Stair-Case[3]

On the back is written in the same hand a list of the parish charities which is signed by the Vicar and churchwardens and also by the Archdeacon as exhibited before him. It begins with the following sentence :

The following is an Account of the Charities and Benefactions to the Parish of Bledlow.

The account ends with these signatures :

Jo Davey Vicar
William Cowdery } Church Wardens
William Bigg }

19th May 1783
Exhibited before me
Luke Heslop Archdn.

Thus ends the separate inventory, which agrees with the copy preserved in the Registrar's Office at Aylesbury. But in the Churchwardens' accounts at Bledlow there has been entered with the Churchwardens' accounts, a short recension of this long inventory. This, it will be seen, contains several of the ornaments described in the longer inventory, with the prices set against them. The leaf or two containing the short inventory, and the note preceding it, are given below :

	£	s.	d.
Brought on	16.	11.	8
By William Bigg's Disbursements viz.			
For charges at a Visitation 28 May 1782	0.	13.	6
Do at a Visitation 23 Octr following	0.	12.	6
For a bonfire on the 5 November	0.	6.	0
For three head of Vermin @ 4*d*	0.	1.	0
For 13 Dozen of Sparrows @ 3*d* per dozen	0.	3.	3
For 9 Dozen of Old ditto @ 6*d*.	0.	4.	6
	2.	00.	9
	18.	12.	5

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[1] *written over erasure.* [2] *interlined.*

[3] *The following paragraphs are written in pencil below the last entry.*

A Painted iron Register Chest as per Act 52d Geo. III.

A Large strong Deal Parish Chest containing the Award of Inclosure Date 1812.

A pencilled cross has been made, possibly by the same hand, in the margin of the following items : 5. 10. 14. 16. 17. 18. 19. 27. *and against* two small cambric Altar-Towels *in* 9. a small silver straining spoon *in* 11. a Pint Glass-decanter and stopper *in* 12. *and* an hour Glass *in* 25.

	£	s.	d.
For Parchment and Making out two Inventories of the Books Utensils and Ornaments belonging to the Church and exhibited at the parochial Visitation of the Revd. and Worshipful Mr. Archdeacon Heslop, holden here the 19th of May 1783. One of the Inventories signed by the Vicar and Churchwardens was deliver'd in at the Court and the other is to remain among the Parish writings	0.	17.	0.
	18..	19..	5

[The verso of this leaf is blank]

	£	s.	d.
Brought on	18..	19..	5.

A List of Articles included in the Inventory, many of which had been long in use, and others were provided against the Visitation.

[3.] A Silk Cushion with Gold Tassels for the Altar	0.	10.	0
[4.] An Altar-service book bound in Red Turkey	0.	10.	0
[5.] A Paste-board with the Consecration prayer borderd with purple Ribband	0.	1.	6
[9.] Two Cambric Altar Towels	0.	2.	6
[10.] Two Fustian and two Dimity Pieces with Muslin frontals for the side boards	0.	5.	0
[11.] A Silver straining spoon	0.	3.	0
[12.] A Glass pint decanter and stopper in the Flaggon	0.	2.	0
[14.] A Small oblong Water-bottle and stopper and a Water-Glass	0.	3.	0
[16. 17. 18.] An Alb, a short Surplice for funerels† and another for the Clark without Sleaves	0.	15.	0.
[19.] A Mahogany stool cover'd with Moreen	0.	10.	0
[21.] Two Square Mats and two Oval ditto	0	3.	10
Five Yards of Yard wide ditto and 5 Yards of half yard	0.	10.	0
[21.] Six Yards of Hair Cloth	0.	7.	6
[36.] Two Extinguishers	0	0	6
[27.] A Litany Desk and Carriage	1.	5.	6
	24.	9.	3

[The verso of this leaf is blank]

Brought on	24.	9.	3.
[25.] An hour glass and small Looking Glass	0.	2.	8.
[36.] An Almanac frame	0.	1.	0
[42.] A grate in the Chimney of the Vestry Room	0.	5.	6.
[39.] A Small Bell and Wire communicating with the Belfry to notify to the Ringer's the minister's arrival	0.	3.	6
[20.] A Mahogany three leg'd Candlestick with a brass Socket for funeral Service	0.	7.	6
[29.] A Pasteboard with the funeral Service border'd with Black Ribbon		1.	6
	25.	10.	11

For convenience of reference I have prefixed to each paragraph of the inventory a number enclosed in square brackets, and in commenting on the different items they will be

[1] *written over erasure.*

spoken of by the numbers preceding the paragraph which contains them. The numbers prefixed to the items of the short inventory correspond to the numbers prefixed to those of the longer document.

§ 1. The expression "communion table," we know, has not the authority of the Prayer Book; but it has the sanction of the canons of 1603. The expression is in itself not altogether inconvenient. It reminds us that the altar is a place of communion as well as of sacrifice: and the French have so entirely lost this connexion between the two that they call the rail where the faithful communicate, *table de communion* and *table sainte*.

Though the word "communion table" is here used, yet the inventory maker begins at once to talk of the altar furniture as if it were more natural to him to use the word "altar." Much the same thing is to be found in the eighteenth century at Canterbury. The inventory of the quire begins with "a communion table," but they also speak of "candlesticks for the altar," carpets for the altar, rails for the altar, and the like.[1]

§ 2. The altar pall of green cloth is not mentioned in the shorter inventory so that it was not in all likelihood a recent acquisition in 1783.

In 1705 we have in the account book:

paid for a Carpet for the Comunion table £0. 3. 10

This small price would make it possible that the carpet was of cloth; and if so, it may be that it was the same as this which is described in the inventory. The "pall" is repaired in 1739 and 1743, but this most likely is the funeral pall.

It may be noticed that the "carpet for the communion table" of 1705 has become "an altar pall" in 1783.

Pall here appears in one of its accepted meanings of a covering to the altar. It was used in this sense by Lyndwood[2] and in the coronation service. The King of England at his entrance into Westminster Abbey on the day of his coronation formerly presented at the altar a pall,[3] which at the coronation of William and Mary is defined as "a Pall (or Altar Cloth) of Cloth of gold."[4]

The word is found in the same sense in two inventories of Winchester College: in 1636 there is

one fayre pall of tissue, white and blue, lined with canvas. One other pall of green bawdekin silk, with flowers of gold, lined.

And the same appears again in the inventory of 1649, made at the time of the Parliamentary visitation.[5]

The coronation service also affords another meaning of the word as a church vestment; the last of the silken ornaments put upon the King is a pall, called the open pall, which is shaped like a cope. There is also the episcopal vestment called a pall, made of lamb's wool,

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[1] J. Wickham Legg and W. H. St. John Hope, *Inventories of Christ Church, Canterbury*, Westminster, 1902, pp. 305, 306.

[2] Frontale, *i.e.*, apparatum pendentem in fronte Altaris, qui apparatus alias dicetur Palla. (Lyndwood *Provinciale*, lib. III. tit. *de ecclesiis aedificandis*, cap. *Ut parochiani*, ad verb. *frontale*. Oxon. 1679. p. 252.)

[3] See *Liber Regalis* in *Missale Westmonast.* Henry Bradshaw Society, 1893, fasc. ii. col. 683. This ancient ceremony at the entrance into the Abbey was given up at the coronation in 1902.

[4] *Three Coronation Orders*, Henry Bradshaw Society, 1900, p. 17.

T. F. Kirby, *Annals of Winchester College*, London, 1892, pp. 323, 341.

once common to all bishops, but now restricted in the West to those bishops whom the Roman pontiff specially delights to honour. Another use of the word, a cloth to cover a dead body, may be found in §§ 28 and 31. It is also used of the care cloth held over the heads of the new married couple.

It may be noticed that the altar pall is green in colour. This is about as usual a colour in English church furniture as there is. Yet a tradition exists that Dr. Blomfield, Bishop of London, when examining the designs for the furniture at All Saints, Margaret Street, at once pointed out the green frontal as objectionable. At different times during the last half of the nineteenth century there have been outcries raised against the use of green for frontals and vestments, the reason given being that the colour is unknown in the Church of England. No one, however, who had made but a superficial examination of the English inventories before or after the Reformation could have made such a statement. Mr. W. H. St. John Hope gives us, as the result of a very complete examination of English inventories up to the time of Queen Elizabeth, the following summary:

> The colours chiefly in actual use in England were white, red, blue, and green, with yellow and black. Of less frequent mention are tawny, purple, violet, brown, dun, etc.[1]

To give a few instances of the use of green after Queen Elizabeth's time.

There was at All Saints' Church, Hereford, in 1619 "one carpet of greene tapistrie . . . for the Communion table."[2] At Burford in Oxfordshire in 1624 they had "a green Communyon Clothe" and "one greene Pulpitt Clothe"; and in 1733 they had "a fine green fringe carpet cloth."[3] There was a green frontal at Pinner in 1625[4]: at St. John the Baptist's, Bristol, in 1635[5]; at Winchester College in 1636 and the same again 1649[6]: at Magdalen College, Oxford, in 1659[7]: at St. Giles'-in-the-Fields in 1660-69[8]: at St. Christopher le Stocks in 1663[9]: at St. Bartholomew Exchange in 1670[10]: at Long Melford in 1683[11]: at North Stoneham in 1702[12]: at Sherborne in 1721[13] and many others which it would be tedious to set out at length. The late Mr. Blew, whose attention to liturgical subjects was early and continuous, told me that he could remember that before 1825 several churches in the diocese

[1] W. H. St. John Hope, *On the English Liturgical Colours*, in the *Transactions* of this Society, 1886-90. vol. ii. p. 234.

[2] G. H. Culshaw, *History of All Saints' Church, Hereford*, Hereford, 1892, p. 45.

[3] W. J. Monk, *History of Burford*, Burford and London, 1891, pp. 187, 196.

[4] *Transactions of the London and Middlesex Archæological Society*, 1870, vol. iii. p. 177.

[5] J. F. Nicholls and Taylor, *Bristol, Past and Present*, Bristol, 1881, vol. ii. pp. 153, 176.

[6] T. F. Kirby, *Annals of Winchester College*, London, 1892, pp. 323, 341.

[7] J. R. Bloxam, *A Register of the Presidents . . . of St. Mary Magdalen College, Oxford*, 1857, vol. ii. p. 285. There was presented in 1617, still in use in 1858, "an antependium of green velvet" for the stone pulpit in St. John's Court (p. lxxxviii.)

[8] W. Dugdale, *Baronage of England*, London, 1676, vol. ii. p. 226.

[9] Edwin Freshfield, *The Account Book of the Parish of St. Christopher le Stocks*, London, Rixon and Arnold, 1895, p. 6.

[10] Edwin Freshfield, *Account Books of the Parish of St. Bartholomew Exchange*, London, Rixon and Arnold, 1895, p. 193.

[11] Sir William Parker, Bart. *History of Long Melford*, Wyman and Sons, 1873, p. 119.

[12] *London Gazette*, 1702, no. 3851, col. iv.

[13] John Hutchings, *The History and Antiquities of the County of Dorset*, Westminster, 1870, vol. iv. p. 259. Inventory of the goods in the parish church of Sherborne, 1721.

of London had green coloured altar cloths. The evidence of the continuous use of green for church ornaments in England is enough to convince any jury. Yet certain people, I will not say they are ecclesiologists, will doubtless hereafter, as in the past, repeat in the face of facts the statement that green is not an English colour, and call those "cranks" who dissent from it.

§ 3. The cushion for the altar needs no explanation. We know it was for the altar from the shorter inventory.

§ 4. This also appears in the shorter inventory. The glory was probably an oval, or a circle, with rays coming out of it, and perhaps I.H.S. in the centre. At Canterbury they had a glory over the altar, described thus by Hasted:

> *a large sun* or *glory*, gilded, having in the middle the letters I.H.S. set up on high, supported by *cherubims* with expanded wings, painted and gilt, over this screen of the altar.[1]

In 1708 the glory was a very common decoration of the altar piece of the City churches.[2]

§ 5. This pasteboard containing the prayer of consecration, doubtless from the communion service as it appears with the rest of the altar furniture, is one of the most striking of the curiosities of this curious inventory. It is, however, not like a modern altar card, which has only a portion of the canon, containing the words of consecration, as they are called, *Hoc est enim corpus meum*, but the Bledlow pasteboard has the whole prayer of consecration. The schoolmen, we know, wanted to settle everything; and they determined that the words of consecration were these five, just as they settled that there were seven sacraments, neither more nor less; and that the matter of ordination was the delivery of the paten and chalice, and not the laying on of hands. The earlier belief was that the consecration was effected by the prayer of the church, not by the bare recital of certain words, which were considered to be merely commemorative. As a consequence of this teaching of the schoolmen, great changes were introduced into the ceremonial; the host was elevated immediately after the so-called five words of consecration, the priest began to kneel after they had been said, bells were rung, torches were brought in, and incense was burnt; and when in the sixteenth century[3] altar cards began to be used, instead of the whole canon appearing on them, only a portion of the canon was printed, giving the five words in a very prominent way.

Now in this Bledlow ornament, there is the whole prayer of consecration, not merely a few words torn out of their context by the private judgement of some bystander, but all that has to be recited. So that this Bledlow card is free from one of the objections commonly made to the altar cards. There is of course remaining the insuperable objection to its use in the church of England that it was not known in this church of England in the second year of the reign of King Edward VI.

And the pasteboard may have been of real practical use. It has been suggested to me that in 1783 the early part of the service at Bledlow was said at what is called the north end

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[1] Edw. Hasted, *History . . . of Kent*, Canterbury, 1799, vol. iv. p. 526 note 3.

[2] *A new view of London*, London, 1708, in two volumes, *passim*.

[3] Some four or five years ago I was shown by the late Mr. Proctor at the British Museum an altar card, printed in Italy, and of the middle of the sixteenth century. The date of the appearance of altar cards is usually given much later.

of the altar, where the celebrant faced the south. At the prayer of consecration, he left the north end, leaving his book on the cushion at the north, and he came round to the middle of the west side of the altar, facing east, thus in the words of the rubric, "standing before the table." The book was thus left out of the celebrant's sight, not easy of access, and the pasteboard, if placed in front of him, would thus help his memory, while reciting the prayer of consecration.

I may add that this is not so impossible a solution of the phenomenon as might at first be expected. "Standing before the table" during the prayer of consecration seems no unnatural act if the rubric is to be followed, and there is evidence that long before the rise of the ecclesiological movement, even as early as the first years of the nineteenth century there were priests who consecrated "standing before the table." Mr. Simeon of Cambridge is said to have celebrated in this fashion.[1] Some of the Caroline divines were accused of it, notably Bishop Wren.[2]

This standing facing east seems to be demanded by a strict interpretation of the rubric; and a strict observance of the rubrics was expected about 1775; for an Irish clergyman, of no very particular reputation for exactness, remarks in his diary that the Bishop of London did not act "according to the rubric" because he did not turn at *Let us pray* after the commandments. Also he says of Dr. Dodd that he did not read "rubrically," for in the Communion service he "kneeled at the beginning, and though it was a fast day [Good Friday] he and his coadjutors wore surplices."[3]

§ 6. Altar pieces containing a painting of some sacred subject were often placed over the altar in the eighteenth century, though the restorer has swept them away. An instance still exists in the old parish church, now disused, of Esher.

The picture, it will be noticed, was in a gilt frame, while the altar piece itself was of mahogany. It does not seem to have been a recent acquisition, for it is not mentioned in the shorter inventory.

I imagine the candlesticks were of wood, and fixed on the top of the pediment within the triangle of which was the "glory." The "sham tepers" (so spelt in the original) are not so rare as may be supposed.

Mr. J. T. Micklethwaite tells me that they were not so very unusual in the eighteenth century, and he even points me out a case where they had seven, at St. Mary's Overie, Southwark.[4] By the plate, it seems that in this church they had three sham candlesticks on the pediment, as they say they had at Bledlow; one on the apex of the pediment, and one at each end of the pediment, which may have been also the arrangement at Bledlow. Two candlesticks with tapers in them were also on the tops of the pilasters which flank the altar piece. A very similar arrangement of seven sham candlesticks may also be seen at All Hallows, Lombard Street, in the photographs issued by Mr. Birch.[5]

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[1] Morton Shaw, *Position of Celebrant*, Rivingtons, 1875, third ed. p. 8.

[2] Wren, *Parentalia*, London, 1750, p. 103. He admits the charge made. (See John Nalson, *Impartial Collection*, London, 1683, vol. ii. p. 402, § xviii.)

[3] Thomas Campbell, *Diary of a Visit to England in* 1775, Sydney, 1854, April 2, April 14.

[4] Francis T. Dollman, *The Priory of St. Mary Overie, Southwark*, London, 1881, plate 31. Elevation of the altar piece erected in the year 1703, and taken down in the year 1833.

[5] George H. Birch, *London Churches of the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries*, 1896, London, All Hallows, Lombard Street, p. 135. Cf. *A New View of London*, London, 1708, quoted above.

Samuel Wale, the painter of the altar piece, was a man of some note in his time, being "one of the original members of the Society of Artists of Great Britain in 1765 and of the Royal Academy in 1768, and was the first professor of perspective to the academy." He is said to have exhibited occasionally designs for altar pieces, of which this at Bledlow may possibly be one. He designed the engravings of an edition of the Book of Common Prayer published by Thomas Baskett in 1758. He died in 1786.[1]

There is no express mention at Bledlow of tables containing the ten Commandments, the Belief and Lord's Prayer. There were none in 1637.[2]

§ 7. The sideboards must have been credences. The meaning of the Italian word *credenza* is a sideboard. It is pleasing to find a good honest English household word like sideboard in a description of church furniture. Nowadays everything in the church must have a name of its own. A plain locker in the wall becomes an aumbry. A drain near the altar or font becomes a piscina. Seats near the altar become sedilia; anthems, antiphons; and the like.

§§ 8 and 9. The damask linen table cloth and two damask napkins seem to have been bought in 1751–52. The accounts have this entry:

paid for a Damask Table Cloth for the Communion Table	£0. 16. 0
Paid for two Damask Napkins	£0. 8. 0

The two cambric altar towels appear in the shorter inventory and thus appear to be a more recent addition in 1767. Cambric was forbidden to be imported into England unless certain regulations were complied with, but these were removed in 1786, that is, after the date of our inventory. In 1783 the average market value of cambric was 6*s.* 8*d.* a yard. The cost of these "towels" was only 2*s.* 6*d.*

Cambric being a very fine linen, it may be supposed that these towels were used for covering the vessels after the offertory, and again at the post communion; while the damask napkins were laid on the altar and the vessels set upon them.

At the cathedral church of Lyons, where, since 1866, they have recovered their old rite, the chalice and host are covered after the offertory with a very large fine piece of linen, the corporal.

§ 10. Fustian has acquired a bad name from its metaphorical use; both it and dimity appear to be now cotton fabrics. There is a curious use of the word "frontal" in the corresponding section of the shorter inventory. Dr. Murray's *New English Dictionary* gives no instance of the use of the word in an ecclesiological sense during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

§ 11. To the silver chalice and paten had been added a silver straining spoon. It could not have been very large, if three shillings represent its real value; for the shorter inventory gives this as its price.

They had a strainer at Canterbury in the eighteenth century. A perforated spoon is still preserved in the Treasury, and it seems likely enough that it is the strainer which first makes its appearance in the inventories in 1745.[3] Perforated spoons are by no means uncommon in eighteenth century plate.

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[1] See *Dictionary of National Biography*, *s.v.* Samuel Wale.

[2] See above, p. 234.

[3] J. Wickham Legg and W. H. St. John Hope, *Inventories of Christ Church, Canterbury*, Westminster, 1902, pp. 290, 298, 305, 311.

§ 12. John Blancks, who gave this flagon, was lord of the manor at the end of the seventeenth century, and bestowed other benefactions upon the church and parish. Possibly he was named after St. John Evangelist, as he founded a sermon to be preached on St. John's feast day (December 27). The church is dedicated to the Holy Trinity, and its feast in 1847 was on Whit-Monday.[1]

In the long inventory the place of the pint glass, decanter, and stopper, added to the flagon, seems quite intelligible; but in the shorter inventory these are spoken of as "in the flagon," which is somewhat hard to understand. Perhaps we should read "with the flagon." Or in the decanter the wine may have been kept after being taken from the black bottle in which wine in England is commonly distributed by the trade, and at the time of the celebration of the eucharist the decanter may have been put into the flagon, if large enough, taken to the "sideboard" and the chalice made from the decanter.

§ 13. Johnshall Crosse by marriage with the heiress of John Blancks acquired the manor, advowson, and parsonage.

The plate was no doubt used to collect the alms given at the offertory.

§ 14. These are in the shorter inventory; and the bottle is there described as oblong. In our times it would have been called a cruet. The longer inventory tells us the purpose for which it was used; to hold the water with which the eucharistic vessels were rinsed. The glass may have been to hold the rinsings which were then drunk by the celebrant.

From the price, three shillings, they would seem to have been the ordinary water-bottle and glass sold for household purposes. Happily the church tailor of our days had not then been invented.

"Eucharistic Service" is an expression which may be found in the books of the Nonjurors. For example, it may be found in the *Compleat Collection of Devotions* attributed to Thomas Deacon. The two words are to be found in the form for consecrating the oil for baptism, milk and honey, the chrism, the churching of women, and the blessing of oil for the sick.[2]

§ 15. We here reach the vestments. It may seem odd that academical hoods should belong to the parish, being thought by many to be as personal property as the square cap or the cassock.

Neither this long surplice nor any hood is in the shorter inventory.

It would seem that the surplice and one of the hoods were bought in 1759-60. There is an entry for these years:

paid for a new surplice for the Minister	3.	0.	0.
paid for a new hood for the minister	1.	4.	4.

In 1719 they "paid for a new surplice £2 15*s.* 0*d.*" and there is no entry of a like purchase between 1719 and 1759: so that the life of a surplice at Bledlow would seem to be about forty years.

There is a charge made for repairing a hood in the accounts of 1775–77.

To Mr Stone the Robemaker for new silk for the hood and for re-making it	0	6.	0

[1] George Lipscomb, *The History and Antiquities of the County of Buckingham*, London, Robins, 1847, vol. ii. p. 118.

[2] *A Compleat Collection of Devotions, both Publick and Private*, London, 1734, pp. 130, 132, 139, 155, 172

But the hood is to be found among parish goods. At St. Bartholomew Exchange[1] they had in the inventory of 1608 :

one hood of fyne blacke cloathe for mr. Doctor

The colour does not seem to encourage the idea that this was an academical hood ; the cloth of a doctor's hood would have been scarlet.

And at St. Christopher le Stocks,[2] in the inventory of 1663, they set down :

one Mr. of Arts Hood lined with changeable Taffatie

Taffeta is a kind of fine smooth silken stuff having usually a remarkable lustre or gloss. "Changeable Taffities" are, according to Robert Boyle, stuffs "where we see differing colours, as it were, Emerge and Vanish upon the Ruffling of the same piece of silk."[3] This definition is useful, being almost contemporaneous with the inventory.

In 1735 they had at Canterbury a hood for the preachers, when it cost the cathedral authorities £1 19*s.* : and it was mended in 1745.[4]

§ 16. The short surplice is no doubt a provision against gathering wet and dirt in the long grass of the churchyard.

§ 17. The alb is a great curiosity. Its appearance is almost as prodigious as the finding of a chasuble. It is not another name for a long surplice, for we have this already in §15. And it was used ; for there are the charges in the churchwardens' book for washing it. They begin about 1771–72, thus before Dr. Davey came as Vicar to Bledlow ; for he was inducted on February 27th, 1775 or 1773 : an error may easily creep in here, by 5 being confused with 3.

In the accounts for 1770–71 we have an entry of this nature :

To the Clark for Wages and	£0.	10.	0.
for Washing the Surplice and Neck-binding it and washing the Linnen for the Altar	0.	7.	6
	£0.	17.	6.

Here there is no mention of the alb. But in the accounts for 1771–72, that is, the year after, there is :

Paid the Clerk his Wages	£0.	10.	0
Paid him for Washing the Table Cloth, Napkins, the Surplice and the Alb	0.	7.	0

The surplice and the alb appear again in the accounts for 1772–74, 1775–77, 1777–82.

In the accounts for 1782–83 there is the following :

To the Clark for his Salary	£0.	10.	0
for looking after the Clock	0.	5.	0
for washing the Church twice	0.	4.	0
for throwing the Snow off the leads twice	0.	1.	0
for washing the long Surplice, the funeral Surplice, the Alb and the Altar Linnen	0.	4.	9

[1] Edwin Freshfield, *Account Books of the Parish of St. Bartholomew Exchange*, London, Rixon and Arnold, 1895, p. 38.

[2] Edwin Freshfield, *The Account Books of the Parish of St. Christopher le Stocks*, London, Rixon and Arnold, 1895, p. 6.

[3] Robert Boyle, *Experiments and Considerations touching Colours*, London, 1664, p. 37, chap. iii. § 9.

[4] J. Wickham Legg and W. H. St. John Hope, *Inventories of Christ Church, Canterbury*, Westminster, 1902, pp. 292, 294.

I do not find any entry of the purchase of an alb in the churchwardens' accounts before the inventory of 1783.

The evidence offered by contemporary artists, if uncertain, should not be altogether neglected. The engravings which accompany editions of the Book of Common Prayer published in the eighteenth century, or later, sometimes suggest that an alb was not altogether unknown in the services of the Church of England before the Cambridge Ecclesiological movement.

An edition of the Book of Common Prayer, in two volumes quarto, published in London in 1794, printed by Millar Ritchie for J. Good, is adorned with engravings, some of which illustrate the different services, and in which the vestment of the officiating minister is shown.[1] On one occasion, that of Matrimony, he wears a surplice, the sleeve shown being full and large. In others, at the administration of the Communion and of Baptism, at the burial of the dead, and at prayers for those at sea, the minister wears a vestment closely allied to the alb; with this exception, that in most of the engravings, the sleeves are closed at the wrist, somewhat after the fashion of a bishop's lawn sleeve, very like that worn by the prelate in the plate which illustrates the administration of Confirmation, which is not the enormous balloon sleeve which was so common in the middle of the nineteenth century, but is a sleeve not much fuller than that of an ordinary coat. One sleeve in the engraving illustrating the burial of the dead is closed, while the other is open.

It cannot be said that the draftsman was a foreigner, and so was only showing the dress of clergymen as he saw it abroad, for each plate bears "Stothard *del.*" on it. The engravers were Bartolozzi, Schiavonetti, and other foreigners; but the original drawings were by Stothard.

In the year of the publication of this work he had been elected a Royal Academician. The book is dedicated to the Queen, that is, Queen Charlotte, the consort of George III.

In an edition of the Common Prayer Book, called the *Christian's Best Companion*, Bungay 1811, there are engravings for the most part by Craig. The minister at Baptism, Matrimony, and the Burial of the Dead wears tight sleeves. The press mark of this edition in the British Museum is 3406 cc. 18.

Also in an edition of Common Prayer Book, edited by W. M. Burkitt (Kelly, 1833), the illustrations of Communion, Baptism, and Matrimony, show the sleeves of the officiant tied at the wrist. The press mark at the British Museum is 3408 d. 21.

The edition of the Book of Common Prayer, annotated by the Rev. H. Stebbing, went through many editions. Mr. F. C. Eeles has shown me one edition, with engravings, the Diamond edition of 1833, in which at Communion, Baptism, Communion of the Sick, and the Burial of the Dead the officiant has tight sleeves, while at Matrimony they are those of a surplice. The drawings are ascribed to Stodart, who is probably Thomas Stothard, the Academician, though the name is differently spelt.

With regard to post-Reformation albs, Mr. Micklethwaite has also drawn my attention to the representation of albs in the seventeenth century. If the evidence of sculptured tombs

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[1] Attention has been already drawn to this edition and its engravings by the Rev. H. R. Powell Powell, in the *Church Times* for December 24, 1903, p. 814, col. iv. Its press mark in the British Museum is 682. h.1.

may be accepted, the alb on the effigy in his cathedral church of Robert Creyghton, Bishop of Bath and Wells, who died in 1672, would be proof of its use in that century. There can be no doubt from a photograph shown me by Mr. W. H. St. John Hope that the effigy represents an alb, not a rochet with sleeves, for the sleeves are open at the wrist, not tied as lawn sleeves are, and the alb is plainly girded. Mr. Micklethwaite has kindly given me these notes of the effigy, taken in 1890: "Vested in cassock, girded albe (amice uncertain), cope with small morse and jewelled border, no hood. Mitre jewelled to match cope and worn over a cap. Crozier behind the right arm. Hands in prayer. The cope is very short and would look like a chasuble behind."

Mr. Hope tells me he has satisfied himself that the effigy represents an amice, about which Mr. Micklethwaite was doubtful.

§ 18. This is an interesting item. A surplice without sleeves is the same thing as a rochet; and a rochet for the parish clerk can be found as early as the glosses of Lyndwood upon Winchelsey's *Ut Parochiani*.[1] And the rochet comes down through the succeeding times. In 1455 there was at St. Ewen's, Bristol, a "Rochette for the Clerk[2]"; and in 1489 the churchwardens at Leicester paid for a "rochet for the clerk and making, 2*s.* 1*d. ob.*[3]" In 1502–03 at St. Michael's, Bath, they bought linen for the rochet for the parish clerk.[4] By the rules at Faversham in 1506 one of the clerks had to "intende" daily in his "Rogett" at morrow mass and high mass.[5] And in the seventeenth century it is enquired by the bishop whether the clerk in time of divine service usually wears a surplice or rochet.[6] And in the nineteenth century Fosbroke says (and when speaking of his own knowledge of his own times I suppose he may be trusted) that in some churches the parish clerk still wears a surplice without sleeves.[7]

§ 20. A candlestick might very likely be needed at a funeral at night, and funerals sometimes took place at night in the eighteenth century. Swift mentions that he avoided seeing the light in the church for the funeral of Stella, which took place at night.[8]

The candlestick appears not only in the shorter inventory but in the churchwardens' accounts for 1777–82.

For a Wax Taper for funerals	0.	2.	0
For a Mahogany threefooted Candlestick with Brass Socket for ditto	0.	6.	6.

[1] Lyndwood, *Provinciale*, lib. iii. tit. *De ecclesiis aedificandis*, ad verba *Tria superpellicia* and *Rochetum*, Oxon. 1679, p. 252.

[2] Cuthbert Atchley, *Inventories of the Goods of the Parish Church of St. Ewen, Bristol*, p. 6. (Privately printed.)

[3] Thomas North, *Accounts of the Churchwardens of St. Martin's, Leicester*, Leicester, 1884, p. 2.

[4] C. B. Pearson, *Churchwardens' Accounts . . . of St. Michael without the north gate, Bath*, Somerset Archæological and Natural History Society, Taunton, 1878, p. 96.

[5] *The Clerk's Book of* 1549, Henry Bradshaw Society, 1903, p. 76.

[6] *Articles . . . Diocesse of Exeter . . . Joseph* [Hall] *Lord Bishop of Exeter*, London, Thomas Harper, 1638, § 63.

[7] T. D. Fosbroke, *Encyclopaedia of Antiquities*, London, 1825, vol. ii, p. 680.

[8] "January 30. [1727–8] Tuesday. This is the night of the funeral, which my sickness will not suffer me to attend. It is now nine at night; and I am removed into another apartment, that I may not see the light in the church, which is just over against the window of my bedchamber." (J. Swift, On the death of Mrs. Johnson [Stella] in *Works*, ed. Sir Walter Scott, Edinburgh, 1814, vol. ix, p. 492.)

In the short inventory the sum named does not agree with this from the churchwardens' accounts. There it is *7s. 6d.*

§ 22. These are kneeling boards for the communicants, placed in front of the altar rails. They were bought between 1775 and 1777:

For Kneeling forms on the steps to the Altar 1. 3. 0

and they were stuffed with horsehair between 1777 and 1782:

For prepared Horsehair to stuff the forms at the Altar Steps 0. 12. 0

We know that the Septum means the altar rail from the churchwardens' accounts of 1777–82.

For a Padlock and chain to fasten the Altar Rails 0. 1. 2.

This padlock and chain are mentioned in § 40 "to secure the Septum."

The word "septum" is used in the description given by Prynne of Bishop Andrewes' chapel, where the place of the altar rails is marked with a reference to a note:

5. The Septum with two ascents.[1]

§ 24. There are at least three editions of Foxe's *Book of Martyrs*, in three volumes folio, the seventh, eighth, and ninth editions of 1632–31, 1641, and 1684. In the churchwardens' accounts of 1706 there is this charge:

paid for binding a booke of Marters 0. 5. 0.

In the Inventory of St. Christopher le Stocks of 1663 there was: "Mr. Foxes bookes of Martirrs in Three Volumes in folio."[2]

Which of the editions was at Bledlow cannot, I fear, now be determined.

§ 27. The litany desk seems an unusual ornament in a parish church at this time in the century. The cushion was for the Litany book in quarto, § 27 and the stool would be for the minister to kneel upon.

Wainscot in its first meaning is the best kind of oak or beech wood without knots.

They had a litany desk in cathedral churches at this time, as at Christchurch, Canterbury,[3] but I do not think they are often to be met with in parish churches.

§ 28. The oak bier and pall seem not unusual, but

§ 29. The pasteboard with the funeral service is rare enough. It may be noted how very correct is the black edging of riband.

§ 33. The wooden horse is curious. It is not in the smaller inventory: but has this entry in the churchwardens' accounts of 1777–82 anything to do with it?

For a stand in the Vestry 0. 2. 6.

§ 34. A Brush and Pole were bought between 1777 and 1782 for *3s. 6d.*

§ 38. A ring of bells is what we now call a peal. William Law tells us of *Negotius* a

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[1] W. Prynne, *Canterburies Doom*, London, 1646, p. 122.

[2] Edwin Freshfield, *The Account Book of the Parish of St. Christopher le Stocks*, Rixon and Arnold, 1895, p. 6.

[3] *Inventories of Christ Church, Canterbury*, quoted above, p. 273.

successful man of business, "giving a fine *ring of bells* to a Church in the country."[1] There were five bells in the church in 1637.[2]

§ 44. The desire to obtain convenient access to the roof may have been caused by the heavy snow which fell twice in the winter of 1782–83, and for throwing this snow off the roof they had to pay the clerk an extra fee.[3]

In conclusion,[4] it can hardly be thought that this inventory is absolutely singular, and that there exists no other like it. On the contrary, the introduction of these ornaments which seem to us so curious may, if we had wider knowledge, be found to have been going on in other parishes besides this out-of-the-way Bledlow. If the parish inventories of the last half of the eighteenth century were examined we might find others showing similar ornaments to those of Bledlow. And I would add that the investigation needs no special qualification in ability to read crabbed court hand such as the Elizabethan documents demand. But the hand is plain and straightforward enough, such a hand as we write at the beginning of the twentieth century. Let me exhort then all those who have access to parish documents of this period to examine them. Probably such inventories as these have been quite neglected. Hitherto our ecclesiologists have searched only in the mediæval inventories, and put aside the eighteenth century documents as uninteresting. It may be that attention to this century would be rewarded by disclosures as curious and important as this inventory of Bledlow.

POSTSCRIPT.—This paper was read on November 18, 1903, but the Council has given me permission to add to it the following postscript describing the results of a visit to Bledlow in the spring of 1904. My son and I went over from Oxford on May 16, and we were received with much kindness by the Vicar, the Rev. Stephen Pritchitt. We found several relics of the inventory of 1783 still in existence in the church, though it had undergone a restoration at the hands of Sir G. G. Scott in the nineteenth century. The old communion table (§ 1) with its altar piece of mahogany (§ 6) was still in the church, though both had been moved to the east end of the south aisle. The old communion table is of oak, but much worm-eaten, and it is feared that it cannot hold together much longer. The four legs are carved, and joined by a frame below; on the long sides they were once, we were told, joined by the same sort of frame; but on moving the altar to its present place, the frame on the long sides was found so worm-eaten that it was thought best to take it away.

The altar piece by Wale is in a gilt frame under a pediment ornamented with a glory. The glory is oval, laid horizontally with rays coming out of it. Within a circle in the glory

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[1] W. Law, *A Serious Call*, etc., chap. xiii. sixth ed. London, 1753, p. 216.

[2] See the report of 1637 above, p. 234.

[3] See above, note to § 17.

[4] I ought I suppose to mention here certain items in the churchwardens' accounts which must shock any person with the wide sympathies of a Wilberforce or a Coleridge. I mean the incessant war waged upon vermin of all sorts: payments are made for the destruction of weasels, stoats, hedgehogs, and badgers. For a badger's head a shilling was paid; for three kites' heads, sixpence. One year they paid for 948 sparrows. Between Easter 1775 and Easter 1777, they paid £2 17*s.* 6*d.* for 230 dozen of sparrows at 3*d.* a dozen. In 1737 (*horresco referens*) they killed twelve foxes, for which twelve shillings were given; and even as late as 1764–65 six foxes were destroyed for six shillings. With these unsportsmanlike atrocities let us leave the subject.

is the monogram I.H.S. with a cross over the H. and three nails are beneath the monogram. Though this was the badge of the Jesuits yet in the eighteenth century it was no unusual ornamentation of English parish churches.

The Wale is an ordinary *pietà* in composition. St. Mary supports the dead body of our Lord while a man kneels on her right and a woman on her left, probably Joseph of Arimathea and St. Mary Magdalene. The three crosses are on a hill in the distance. The picture has been injured, it would seem, by fire.

From the pediment the three sham tapers have disappeared, but the notch in the pediment into which they were inserted still remains. One of these candlesticks and sham tapers still stands on the ground at the south end of the altar in the south aisle. It was of white wood, gilt. At the top of the sham taper was a flame carved in wood.

As to § 3 there are persons still living at Bledlow who can remember blue cushions with gold lace.

§ 7. There were two niches in the south and north walls of the chancel in the presbytery, in which are still boards which are not modern, and may be as old as 1783. Standing in the north wall of the niche on the north side is the brass of a priest in apparelled amice and alb, with stole, maniple, and chasuble, which is somewhat short. There are no crosses on the stole. The hands are in prayer. Underneath is this inscription: Hic iacet Dominus Wilelmus hern in artibus bacularius nunc (?) vicarius istius ecclesie qui obiit anno domini millesimo quingentesimo xxv° cuius anime propicietur deus. Amen.

§ 8. The Vicar showed us a piece of linen marked in blue "*Bledlow* 1751." It fitted the old communion table exactly, just covering the *mensa*. Can this be the "Damask Table Cloth" which they bought in 1751–52 and paid sixteen shillings for? (See above, p. 242.)

§ 11. The Vicar showed us also an Elizabethan chalice and paten, of which the marks, four in number, were somewhat indistinct. The paten had a foot. The Vicar had not ever seen the silver straining spoon, nor the glass bottle mentioned with § 12, though the flagon was of so great size that a small glass decanter may easily have been put into it, as the shorter inventory describes it (see above, p. 237). When seen, the mouth of the flagon was very ragged, apparently from some misuse. The flagon bears this inscription: "the gift of John Blanckes Esq. who yielded to a dissolution ye 17th day of December 1672," with the arms of Mr. Blanckes. Above is "Bucks Bledlow." There was also a silver plate (§ 13) which bears: In usum Sacræ Mensæ Parochiæ de Bledlow in Com: Bucks Hanc Patinam Iohnshall Crosse Arm: huius Ecclesiæ Patronus D.D. Annoque Dom: 1693.

A portion of the septum (§ 22 and § 40) was in the porch at the time of our visit. It seemed to be about one-half of the rail with the hinge of the door and the post revolving on the hinge.

In the vicarage there were, not now in use, a folio Bible, Cambridge, 1762 (§ 23) a book of homilies, the title page of which was lost, but from the print it seemed to be of the middle of the eighteenth century, Foxe's *Book of Martyrs* (§ 24), in folio, published in 1641 by the Company of Stationers in London, two books of Common Prayer in folio, one printed in 1727 by John Baskett, the other in 1751 by Thomas Baskett.

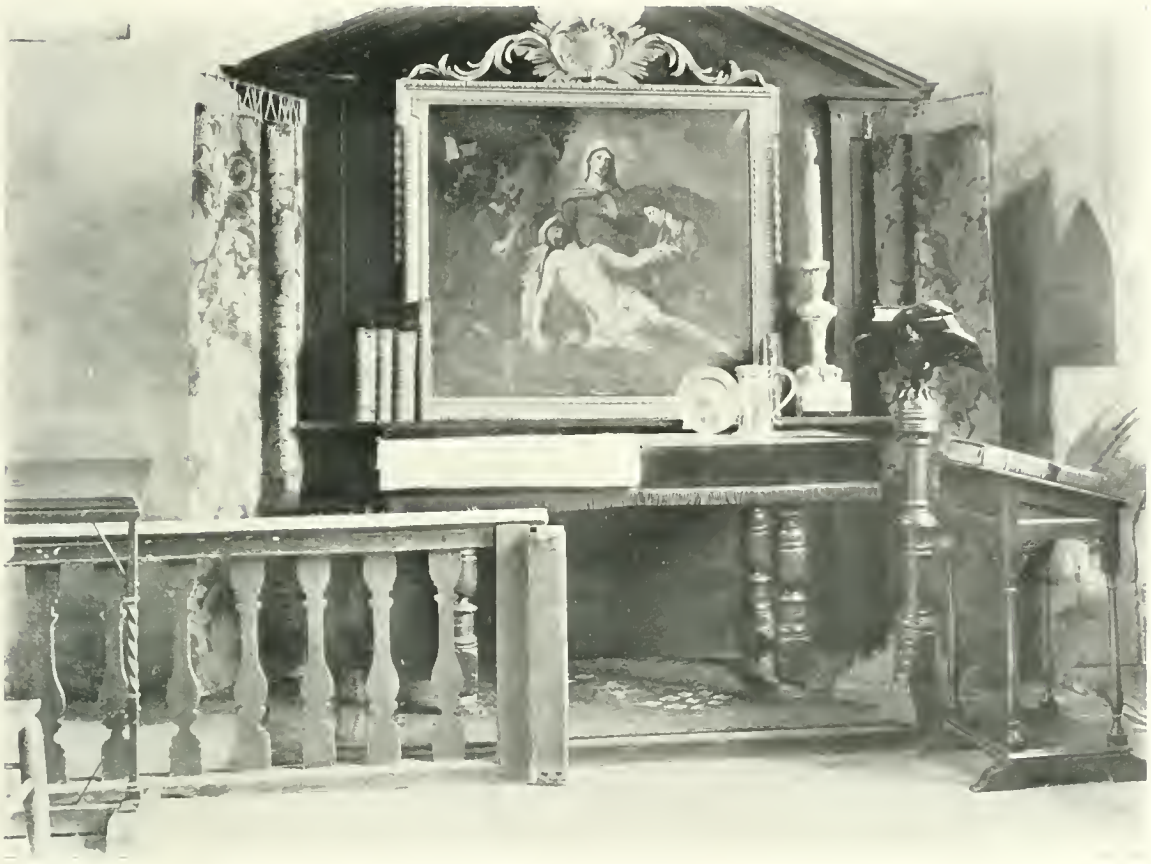
There is in the south aisle, placed in front of the old altar, a desk at which the daily services are said. It may very possibly be the old Litany desk (§ 27).

The old vestry (§ 43) was where the font now stands on the west of the southern porch.

The chimney (§ 42) is still to be seen. In the present vestry is the old chest (§ 30) with three locks: two are padlocks and one is a fixed lock with a key hole. There is cut on the lid: Bledlow Parish. There is a new pulpit of oak (§ 25) on the north side of the chancel arch.

There are some seventeenth century inscriptions still remaining. On the north side of the chancel arch there is: Psalm ye xxvi. I will wash my hands in innocency and so will I go to thine altar. Over the altar in the south aisle are the ten commandments.

In the accompanying Plate is reproduced a photograph which Mr. Holland has been kind enough to give me, showing the altar in the south aisle, after several of the eighteenth century ornaments had been arranged in its neighbourhood. The frontal has been taken away from the communion table (§ 1) in order to show the frame, which is now without the long pieces of wood that formerly joined the feet. The frame on the short side is still visible (see p. 248). The picture by Wale and its carved frame and pediment are very clearly seen. The piece of linen bought in 1751 is laid on the north side of the altar (§ 8). On the south side are the Elizabethan chalice and paten with the later flagon and plate (§ 11). Near these on a ledge by the side of the picture is one of the candlesticks with a sham taper and a flame carved in wood (§ 6). On the same ledge, to the north, are Foxe's *Martyrs* and a Book of Common Prayer, and to the south, a book of Homilies (§ 24). On the eagle and litany desk (§ 27) is the Bible in two volumes (§ 23). A portion of the septum (§ 22) is towards the north end of the altar. The curtains shown at the ends of the altar piece are modern.



THE OLD ALTAR PIECE AND OTHER FURNITURE AT BLEDLOW CHURCH.

ON A FRAGMENT OF A MASS-BOOK FROM BURTON LATIMER, NORTHANTS.

BY

REV. E. S. DEWICK, M.A., F.S.A.

In January, 1905, I received from the Rev. R. M. Serjeantson some leaves of a mass-book, which he had found in an old chest in the church of Burton Latimer, Northants. They were of vellum and had been sewn together to form the cover of a book of churchwardens' accounts dating from 1559. On examining them, I was glad to find that they all came from the same book, and my satisfaction was increased when it became evident that they all belonged to one quire of the book. There are altogether ten leaves in pairs, the first, second, third, and fifth with their corresponding conjugates being perfect, but of the fourth and its conjugate the lower parts have been cut off and only a few lines remain at the top of each. The leaves measure $10\frac{1}{2}$ inches by 7 inches, and the writing, which covers $7\frac{1}{8}$ inches by $4\frac{7}{8}$ inches, is in two columns with 36 lines on each page. The verso of the second leaf has been reproduced in facsimile of actual size in the accompanying plate.

We may fairly assume that this fragment belonged to a mass-book formerly in use at Burton Latimer, and that it had remained in the church in a defaced condition until the reign of Queen Elizabeth, when it was used up, quire by quire, for various purposes. The returns made by churchwardens in Lincolnshire in 1566 tell us of many old service books still remaining in their hands,[1] but generally described as "defaced" or "broken and cut in peces."[2] In other cases it is recorded that the old books "of papistrie" had been recently "sold to pedlers to lap spice in," or torn and broken up "to put spice in," or "sold to a mersar." In a similar spirit at Burton Latimer the churchwardens would seem to have made use of their parish mass-book to provide a cover for their book of accounts.

The leaves now discovered are of interest because they are of fairly early date for an English mass-book. Dr. G. F. Warner, who has kindly examined them, assigns them to the middle of the fourteenth century. It is well known that the greater part of the mass-books which have survived the tempest of the sixteenth century are not older than the fifteenth century.[3]

[1] See Peacock's *English Church Furniture*, London, 1866, pp. 38, 40, 61.

[2] *Ib.*, pp. 33, 107, 171.

[3] See the list of manuscript Sarum Missals in Dr. J. Wickham Legg's *Tracts on the Mass*, Henry Bradshaw Society, 1904, p. xiv.

The fragment has also a claim upon our attention because it comes from a mass-book presumably in use at Burton Latimer, which was within the old diocese of Lincoln. So great has been the destruction of English service books, that we are still in some degree of uncertainty about the "use" followed in the parish churches of this great diocese. The Preface to the First Prayer Book of Edward VI. refers to the "great diversitie in saying and singing in churches within this realm; some following Salisbury use, some Hereford use, some the use of Bangor, some of York, and some of Lincoln," but in spite of this statement it is not easy to prove that the parish churches in the diocese of Lincoln followed any use but that of Salisbury, and evidence on one side or the other may still be welcome.[1]

Although is can hardly be expected that a mere fragment can yield results of importance, I have thought it worth while to set out the contents, giving reference to Dickinson's reprint of the Sarum Missal for portions found in that book, whilst I have printed in full those parts of the service which are not to be found in the Sarum reprint, and I have given reference to other English service-books in which they are to be found.

The contents of the fragment consist of votive masses, part of the service for the dead and of the marriage service, together with the office for those about to undertake a pilgrimage, and the form for blessing the staff and shield of those about to engage in a judicial duel.

The votive masses in the fragment are mostly to be found in the Sarum Missal, but in addition to the mass *De omnibus sanctis*, which is found in nearly all uses,[2] there are three additional masses of All Saints which are not so common. The first of these is for use in Advent, and its three collects are found also in the Hereford Missal, whilst the first collect alone is in the York Missal. The second mass is for use in Eastertide, and its first collect and secret are in the Hereford Missal, but its postcommon is not found there nor in the Sarum and York books. The last of the All Saints masses is for use throughout the year, but with the special mention of B.V.M., and of SS. Peter, Paul and Andrew. The Hereford Missal has the same mass with the omission of St. Andrew, and the Westminster Missal has it also with the addition of St. Edward the Confessor.

[1] In the Appendix to the *York Missal*, Surtees Society, ii. p. 343, Dr. Henderson has printed a few pages from a fragment of a Missal in the Bodleian Library, which he regards as of Lincoln use. On the other hand, there is direct evidence that some parish churches in the diocese of Lincoln possessed books of Sarum use. A Missal from Hambledon, apparently in the county of Rutland and therefore within the old diocese of Lincoln, has been recently described in Wordsworth and Littlehales' *Old Service Books of the English Church*, 1904, pp. 175–189. According to Canon Wordsworth's account of this manuscript there is nothing to differentiate it from a Sarum book beyond the record in its Calendar of the translation of St. Hugh on October 6th, and the mass for that Festival in the *Sanctorale*. Again, the Missal of St. Peter's, Northampton, now in Bodleian Library, is of Sarum use (see Frere's *Biblioteca Musico-Liturgica*, vol. i, p. 89, and facsimile page in Serjeantson's *History of the Church of St. Peter, Northampton*). A Sarum Missal belonging to the Rev. H. G. Morse, was presumably used in the diocese of Lincoln in the fifteenth century, for on November 7th there is a record of the feast of the dedication of Flaunden Church in Hertfordshire on November 7th. I may also refer to a portiforium in my possession which seems to have belonged to Shillington Church in Hertfordshire, for it contains at the end a record of the names of parishioners who contributed to "the makynge and reparynge of Shitlington Churche pale." This book was, therefore, presumably used in the diocese of Lincoln, but the use appears to be pure Sarum. At the end of the service for St. Faith's day, October 6th, there is a rubric warning the priest that according to Sarum use he was *not* to observe the feast of the translation of St. Hugh: "*De sancto Hugone Lincolniensi episcopo nihil fiat in hoc secundum usum Sarum.*" There is frequent mention of books of Sarum use in Lincolnshire Wills (see Bradshaw and Wordsworth's *Statutes of Lincoln Cathedral*, Part I, p. 66), and, on the other hand, there is one definite reference to "unum portiforium de usu Lincoln" in a Chapter Act of about the year 1435 (*Ib.*, p. 66).

[2] *Or.* Concede quesumus omnipotens deus ut intercessio . . . *Missale Sarum*, p. 82 *.

In the marriage service, there are some variations. The rubrics are short and there are no forms for plighting troth in the vernacular. The prayer *Manda Deus virtutem tuam* precedes the *preces* and benediction of the ring, instead of coming after them as in the Sarum Manual. The ring is directed to be left on the third finger, whilst in the Sarum books it is left on the fourth. In this respect the fragment agrees with Westminster use.

Most of the masses for the dead agree with those in the Sarum books, but there is a *Missa generalis pro vivis et defunctis* which does not seem to be found in the printed Sarum books, but is the same as a mass in the Westminster Missal, ii, 1181, with the exception that the Burton Latimer fragment refers to the faithful departed lying "in this cemetery" instead of "in this monastery." There is also another mass of the same character which I have not yet found in any printed English mass-book, but there are many MSS. which ought to be searched before it can be concluded that it is not found elsewhere.

The office for those about to start on a pilgrimage has the Sarum collects, but omits the mass and the directions for communicating the pilgrims.

The last office consists of the form for blessing the shield and staff of those about to engage in a judicial combat. Here the principal variation from Sarum is the addition of five passages from the gospels, which were ordered to be read after the collect, *Confortator et corroborator.*

The subject may now be left. Enough has been said to show that it is still possible to make some liturgical gleanings from fragments of MSS. which may come to light from time to time. A good deal of careful comparison is needed, before it can be pronounced whether in the fragment under consideration we have a variant of Sarum use, or perhaps an indication of Lincoln use.[1]

In conclusion, it is my pleasant duty to thank Mr. Serjeantson for having communicated his discovery to me, and the Vicar of Burton Latimer for having allowed the fragment to be sent to me for examination. It may be added that before the fragment was returned, the leaves were flattened and suitably bound by the binders of the British Museum.

[1] Since writing the above, I have referred to a MS. in the British Museum (Add. 11,414), which is of Sarum character, but seems to be connected with Lincoln by containing in its Calendar and *Sanctorale* the Translation of St. Hugh (October 6), and the octave of his Deposition. I find that this MS. also includes the mass *in adventu de omnibus sanctis* (*infra* p. 254), and the collect and secret of the following one.

CONTENTS OF THE LEAVES OF A MASS-BOOK FROM THE CHURCH OF BURTON LATIMER, NORTHANTS.[1]

EDITIONS QUOTED IN THE NOTES.

G. = Sacramentarium Gelasianum in Muratori's *Liturgia Romana Vetus*, Venetiis, 1748.
Gr. = Sacramentarium Gregorianum in Muratori's *Liturgia Romana Vetus*, Venetiis, 1748.
Hereford = *Missale ad usum percelebris Ecclesiae Herfordensis*, ed. Henderson, Leeds, 1874.
S. = *Missale ad usum insignis et praeclarae Ecclesiae Sarum*, ed. F. H. Dickinson. Burntisland, 1861–1883.
Sarum Manual. *Manuale ad usum Sarum*, Paris, Fr. Regnault, 1537.
Westm. = *Missale ad usum Ecclesie Westmonasteriensis nunc primum typis mandatum curante* Johanne Wickham Legg, Fasciculi tres, London (Henry Bradshaw Society), 1891–1897.
York = *Missale ad usum insignis Ecclesiae Eboracensis*, ed. Henderson, 2 vols., Surtees Society, 1874.
York Manual. *Manuale et Processionale ad usum insignis Ecclesiae Eboracensis*, ed. Henderson, Surtees Society, 1875 (with appendix of the Sarum Manual).

* * * * * *

Postcommunio. Sumpta quesumus domine celestis misterii sacramenta. . . . [This is the postcommon of the mass. *Pro iter agentibus.* S. 815.*]

Missa in tempore belli [S. 806*].
Missa pro eo qui in uinculis detinetur [S. 808*].
Missa ad pluuiam postulandam [S. 804*].
Missa pro serenitate aeris [S. 802*].
Missa contra aeris potestates [S. 820*].
Missa pro benefactoribus nostris [S. 821*].
Pro nauigantibus [S. 820*].
Missa pro mortalitate hominum [S. 810*].
Missa pro peste animalium [S. 812*].
Missa pro infirmo [S. 799*].
Missa pro infirmo proximo morti [S. 814*].

In aduentu de omnibus sanctis.

Oracio.

[2]Conscientias nostras quesumus domine uisitando purifica[2] ut ueniens ihesus christus filius tuus dominus noster cum omnibus sanctis. paratam sibi in nobis inueniat mansionem. qui tecum in unitate.

Secreta.

[3]Munera quesumus domine oblata sanctifica. et propicius esto omnibus inuocantibus te in ueritate. ut in aduentu filii tui domini nostri ihesu christi cum omnibus sanctis eius placitis tibi actibus presentemur. per eundem dominum.

[1] Only the contents of the original fourteenth century MS. are given. In the lower margins of ff. 2b and 3 there are inserted the collect, secret, and postcommon of the mass, "pro tribulatione cordis," which is found with some variants in S. 797*, and in the lower margins of ff. 8b and 9 there is inserted a mass "pro quibus orare tenemur," which is in S. 878*. The MS. throughout only gives the three collects without other parts of the votive masses.

[2] Hereford, 420, York, ii, 161, Gr. 138 ("Alia oratio in adventu"), Add. MS. 11,414, fo. 263. Here and elsewhere a reference number prefixed to a collect refers to it considered as a whole.

[3] Hereford, 420, Add. 11,414.

Postcommunio.

[1]Purificent semper et muniant tua sacramenta nos deus: ut qui de aduentu unigeniti filii tui secundum carnem letantur. in secundo cum uenerit in maiestate sua cum omnibus sanctis premium uite eterne recipiant. per eundem dominum.

Missa in paschali tempore de omnibus sanctis.

[*Oratio.*]

[2]Presta quesumus omnipotens deus ut in resurrectione domini nostri ihesu christi filii tui [cum] omnibus sanctis: percipiamus ueraciter porcionem. qui tecum.

Secreta.

[3]Clementiam tuam domine suppliciter exoramus. ut [per] paschalis muneris sacramentum quod fide recolimus. et spe desideramus intenti. perpetuam dilectionem cum omnibus sanctis tuis in resurrectione domini nostri ihesu christi filii tui capiamus. qui tecum.

Postcommunio.

[4]Solita quesumus domine quos creasti pietate custodi ut qui passione tua gloriosa sunt redempti. intercedentibus omnibus sanctis tua sancta letentur resurrectione. per.

Missa de omnibus sanctis generaliter per annum.

[*Oratio.*]

[5]A cunctis nos quesumus domine mentis et corporis defende periculis. et intercedente gloriosa virgine dei genitrice Maria. et beatis apostolis tuis petro et paulo atque andrea cum omnibus sanctis. salutem nobis tribue benignus et pacem: ut destructis aduersitatibus et erroribus. ecclesia tua secura tibi seruiat libertate. per.

Secreta.

[5]Exaudi nos domine deus noster. ut per huius sacramenti uirtutem intercedente gloriosa uirgine maria. et beatis apostolis tuis petro et paulo atque andrea cum omnibus sanctis. a cunctis nos mentis et corporis hostibus tuearis: gratiam tribuens in presenti. et gloriam in futuro. per.

Postcommunio.

[5]Mundet et muniat quesumus domine diuini sacramenti nos munus oblatum: et intercedente gloriosa uirgine dei genitrice maria. et beatis apostolis tuis petro et paulo atque andrea cum omnibus sanctis. a cunctis nos reddas[6] peruersitate[7] expiatos. et aduersitatibus expeditos. per.

Missa de omnibus sanctis per annum. [S. 826.*]

Ordo ad facienda sponsalia.

Statuantur uir et mulier in ecclesia coram presbitero et dicatur a uiro dos mulieris. et ponatur super scutum uel super librum siue aurum siue argentum. Deinde detur femina a patre suo uel

[1] Hereford, 420, Add. MS. 11,414. [2] Hereford, 421, York, ii, 163, Add. MS. 11,414.

[3] Hereford, 421, Add. MS. 11,414.

[4] Not in Sarum, Hereford or York. But it is found as one of the additional *Orationes Paschales* in the Gelasian Sacramentary (Muratori, 582), where "solicita" is read for "solita" and "quos lavasti" for "quos creasti"; and the *farsura* "intercedentibus omnibus sanctis," and the adjectives qualifying "passione" and "resurrectione" are omitted. The Rev. H. A. Wilson informs me that "solita" and "quos salvasti" are the readings of the S. Gallen MS. of the later Gelasian.

[5] Hereford, 421, Westm. ii, 1142, 1143. In all these collects the words *atque andrea* are not found in Hereford. In Westm. the words *et beato rege eduuardo patrono nostro* are inserted after *andrea*. There are also other variations. [6] *leg.* reddat. [7] *leg.* peruersitatibus.

amicis. aperta manu si puella est. tecta si uidua. Quam uir recipiat in dei fide et sua seruandam sanam et infirmam. et teneat eam per dextram manam sua dextera. Post hec dicantur. Manda deus uirtutem tuam confirma deus hoc quod operatus es in nobis. . .

[The service in general agrees with that of the Sarum Manual (which is found also in many copies of the Missal). *Preces* and the benediction of the ring follow *Manda deus* instead of preceding as in the Sarum Manual. The rest of the service, of which a considerable portion has been cut away, does not exhibit any important variations from Sarum. The rubrics are very short as shown in the above preliminary one, and the priest's admonition and the vernacular forms of plighting troth are omitted. The rubric for the giving of the ring is as follows:—"*Hic accipiat sponsus anulum et incipiens a pollice dicat docente presbitero.* In nomine patris. *Ad secundum digitum.* Et filii. *Ad tercium digitum.* Et spiritus sancti. amen. *Et ibi dimittatur.*" In the printed editions of the Sarum Manual the ring is ordered to be left on the fourth finger, when the word *Amen* is said separately.[1]

The marriage service ends with the *Benedictio thalami* as in the Sarum books.

A portion of the prayer "Deus qui potestate uirtutis tue de nihilo cuncta fecisti . . . (*York Manual*, p. 37) is included in the service, and is remarkable because it does not seem to be found in Sarum books, but it is in the Westminster marriage service (see *Westm.* iii. 1241).]

Missa pro fidelibus defunctis.

[This mass is given without the long rubrics of the Sarum Missal [S. 860*]. Musical notation accompanies the introit and the grail, and appears to be the same as that usually found in the Sarum books.

At least two leaves are here missing in the middle of the quire.]

* * * * * *

[*Missa pro episcopo.* The end of the secret and postcommon as in S. 870*.]

Missa pro sacerdote [S. 873*].

Missa pro quolibet defuncto [S. 873*].

Missa pro patre et matre [S. 873*].

Missa pro fratribus et sororibus [S. 871*].

Missa pro parentibus et benefactoribus [S. 871*].

Missa in anniuersario defuncti [S. 870*].

Missa pro trigintalibus uel pro quibuscunque fidelibus [S. 876*].

* * * * *

[The greater part of a column missing.]

[*Missa pro femina defuncta.* Of this only the last word of the secret of this mass remains, viz. "consequatur," which is the ending of the mass *pro feminis familiaribus* in S. 875*. On the other hand, the postcommon is from the mass *pro femina defuncta* in S. 876*.]

* * * * * *

[Postcommon of *Missa pro feminis familiaribus* as in S. 876*.]

Missa pro amico defuncto. S. 874* [title and first words only].

* * * * * *

[Parts of secret and postcommon of *Missa pro quiescentibus in cimiterio* in S. 877*.]

* * * * * *

... fidelium defunctorum. per.

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[1] On the giving of the ring and the hand on which it was placed see Dr. Legg's paper "On the Marriage Service in the Book of Common Prayer of 1549" in *Trans. S.P.E.S.*, vol. iii, pp. 175–179.

Postcommunio.

[1]Supplices quesumus domine pro animabus omnium defunctorum pietati tue preces effundimus sperantes. ut quicquid conuersatione humana contraxerunt per hec sacramenta indulgeas et in tuorum fide[2] letantium eas constituas. per.

Missa generalis pro defunctis [S. 879*].

Missa generalis[3] *pro viuis et defunctis* [S. 879*].

[The MS. reads: "Reges et episcopos atque abbates et omnes congregationes illis commissas ...custodi," instead of "Dominum papam, reges, et principes, et episcopos, et abbates, et omnem plebem illis commissam...custodi," as in Sarum. There are also other variations.]

Missa generalis pro viuis et defunctis [S. 882*].

Missa generalis pro viuis et defunctis [S. 881*].

Missa generalis pro viuis et defunctis.

Oratio.

[3]Sanctorum tuorum quesumus domine intercessione nos protege et famulis et famulabus tuis quorum commemorationem agimus. et quorum elemosinas accepimus. seu eciam hiis qui nobis familiaritate iuncti sunt misericordiam tuam ubique pretende. ut ab omnibus inpugnationibus defensi tua opitulatione saluentur. et animas famulorum famularumque tuarum omnium uidelicet catholicorum ortodoxorum quorum commemorationem agimus. [et] quorum corpora in hoc cimiterio uel in cunctis cimiteriis fidelium requiescunt uel quorum nomina super sanctum altare tuum scripta adesse uidentur. electorum tuorum iungere digneris consortio. Per.

Secreta.

[3]Propitiare domine supplicationibus nostris et has oblationes quas pro incolumitate famulorum famularumque tuarum. et pro animabus omnium fidelium catholicorum orthodoxorum quorum commemorationem agimus et quorum nomina super sanctum altare tuum scripta adesse uidentur nomini tuo consecrandas deferimus benignus assume. ut sacrificii presentis oblatio ad refrigerium eorum te miserante perueniat. per.

Postcommunio.

[3]Purificent nos quesumus domine et diuini sacramenti perceptio. et gloriosa sanctorum tuorum oratio. et animabus famulorum famularamque tuarum quorum commemorationem agimus. remissionem omnium tribue peccatorum. per.

[The above mass is not in the printed Sarum Missal, but it is found in the Westminster Missal, ii, 1181, with the variation of "in hoc monasterio" for "in hoc cimiterio" in the collect, and "ascripta esse uidentur" for "scripta adesse uidentur" both in collect and secret. In the Leofric Missal "circumquaque" holds the place of "in hoc cimiterio."]

Missa generalis pro viuis et defunctis.

Oratio.

Maiestatem tuam clementissime pater suppliciter exoramus. et mente deuota postulamus:' pro fratribus et sororibus nostris. seu omnibus benefactoribus nostris:' nec non qui nobis de propriis criminibus uel facinoribus coram maiestate tua confessi fuerunt. atque qui se orationibus nostris comendauerunt. tam pro uiuis quam pro solutis nexu debite mortis. et quorum elemosinas erogandas suscepimus. et quorum nomina ad memorandum conscripsimus et quorum nomina super sanctum altare tuum scripta esse uidentur. concede propitius: ut hec sacra oblatio mortuis prosit ad ueniam. et uiuis proficiat ad medelam:' et fidelibus tuis pro quibus oblatio offertur. indulgentia tue pietatis succurrat. per.

[1] G. 760, Gr. 223. [2] *leg.* sede. [3] Gr. 224, Westm. ii, 1181, Leofric Missal, 192.

Secreta.

Preces nostras quesumus clementissime deus . benignus exaudi . et supplicationes nostras efficaciter comple . suscipe propitius : oblationem atque libamina super aram altaris tui posita . pro fratribus et sororibus nostris que offerimus . seu et pro cunctis benefactoribus nostris . nec non quorum confessiones et elemosinas erogandas suscepimus . atque quorum nomina ad memorandum conscripsimus . et quorum nomina super sanctum altare tuum scripta esse uidentur . et fidelibus tuis uiuis et defunctis pro quibus oblatio offertur . cunctis proficiat ad salutem . per.

Postcommunio.

[1]Quesumus omnipotens deus uota humilium respice . atque [ad] defensionem nostram dexteram tue maiestatis extende[1] . atque animabus famulorum famularumque tuarum . tam uiuis quam solutis debito mortis . quorum confessiones et elemosinas erogandas suscepimus . et quorum nomina super sanctum altare tuum scripta esse uidentur . remissionem tribue cunctorum peccatorum .[2]ut quam semper optauerunt indulgentiam piis supplicationibus consequantur[2]. per.

Pro iter agentibus.

[The same as *Peregrinorum officium* in Sarum Manual of 1537, omitting the mass, but giving the concluding collects. The concluding directions for communicating the pilgrims are also omitted. The *benedictio super uestimenta pergentis ierusalem* is included.]

Benedictio scuti et baculi.

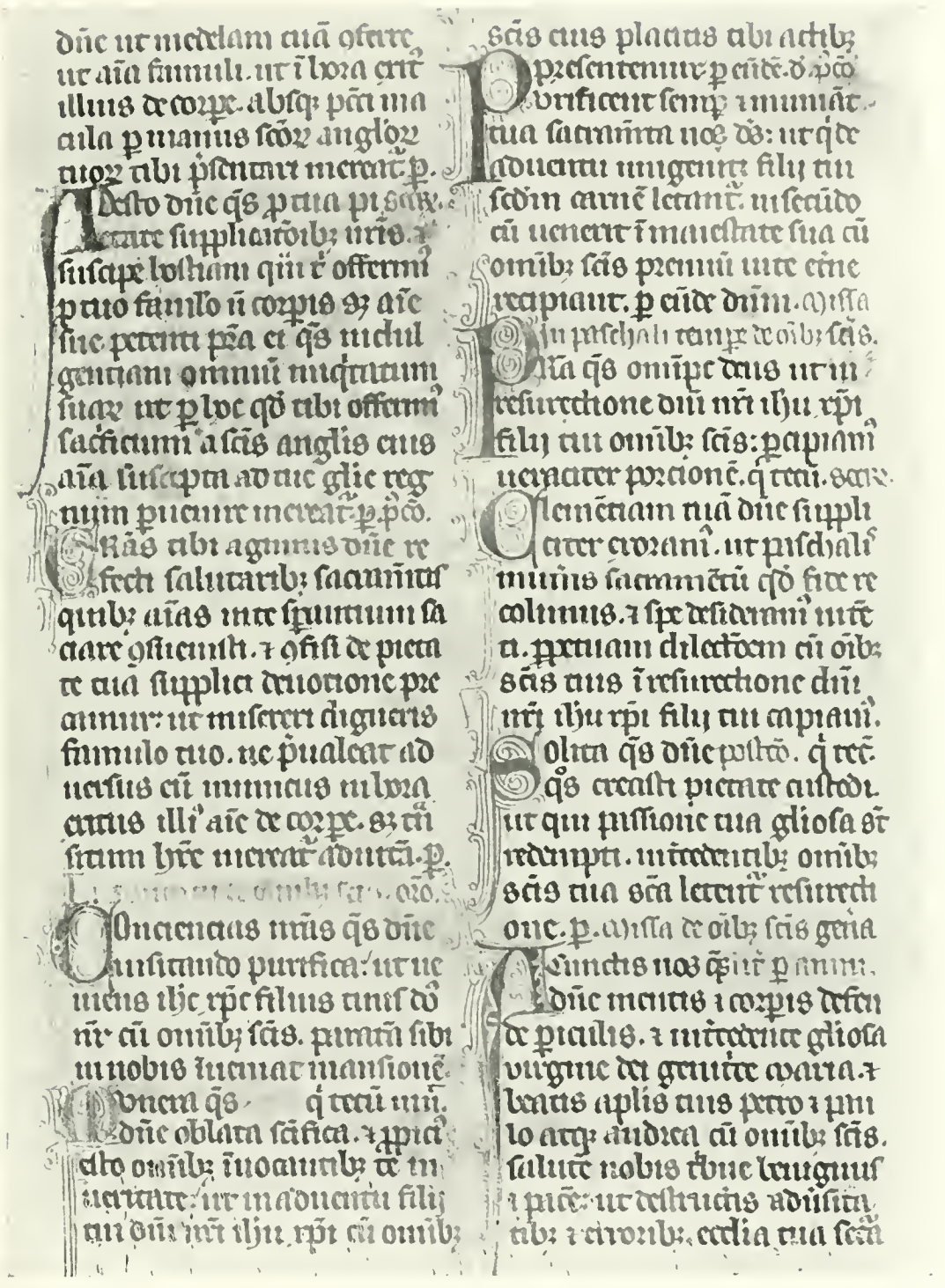
[This again is nearly the same as the service in the Sarum Manual with the title, "Benedictio scuti et baculi ad duellum faciendum." In the prayer *Omnipotens sempiterne deus qui mundum ex informi materia fecisti . . .* the MS. omits the clause, *atque victoriosum de hoste reportans tropheum bello peracto.* After the collect, *Confortator et corroborator*, the MS. has the direction "*Postea legantur euangelia.* In principio erat uerbum[3]. Maria magdalene[4]. Recumbentibus[5]. Si quis diligit me[6]. Cum uenerit paraclitus[7]." These gospels are not appointed for the service under consideration in the printed Sarum Manual of 1537.

Here the fragment ends, but nothing appears to be lost of this service except the concluding blessing.]

[1–1] The opening sentence is the collect for the Third Sunday in Lent in the Sarum and other Missals. S. 191, Gr. 39.

[2–2] This concluding passage is the same as that of the collect *Fidelium deus omnium . . .* S. 879*.

[3] John i, 1–14. [4] Mark xvi, 1–7. [5] Mark xvi, 14–20. [6] John xiv, 23–31. [7] John xv, 26–xvi, 4.



FACSIMILE OF A PAGE OF THE FRAGMENT OF A MASS-BOOK FROM BURTON LATIMER, NORTHANTS.

APPENDIX.

ON A FRAGMENT OF A MANUAL WRITTEN IN THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY.

Some leaves of vellum, which had formed the covers of various parcels of Bedfordshire wills in the Probate Registry at Northampton, have recently been forwarded to me for examination by the Rev. R. M. Serjeantson with the kind permission of the Registrar. The leaves had mostly been taken from mediæval service books, and one of them seems to be of sufficient interest to deserve a brief description.[1]

The fragment consists of a piece of vellum, forming two leaves of the original book, with an endorsement showing that it had served as a wrapper for wills dating from 1555 to 1559. The leaves are not from the middle of a quire, and, therefore, the writing does not run on continuously. The size of the leaves is $13\frac{1}{2}$ inches by 9 inches, and the surface covered by writing measures $9\frac{1}{2}$ inches by $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches. The script is large, written across pages of eighteen lines each. The pages contain about eighty words. All the large initial letters are in blue with pen scroll work in red. The handwriting is apparently English, and may be referred to the first half of the fourteenth century.

The contents of the two leaves consist of part of the Offices for Visiting and Anointing the Sick, which are to be found in the Manual. In a rubric of the Office for Anointing there is mention of the hebdomadary priest and other priests (*sacerdos ebdomadarius et plures sacerdotes*), which suggests that the book was in use in some large collegiate or cathedral church, but the collects and the form for the Anointing are not in close agreement with the uses of Sarum or York. Many of the collects agree with York, but the form for the Anointing is different. The Service for Visiting and Anointing the Sick has many variations in the Western Church, and no less than thirty-two of them have been printed by Martene in his great collection, *De antiquis Ecclesiae Ritibus*, but I do not find that the fragment under consideration exhibits a close resemblance to any one of them in particular. I therefore print it without further comment in the hope that others may be able to throw light on the subject.

* * * * * *

[2] . misericorditer redde . ut ope misericordie tue restitutus et sanatus : ad pristina pietatis tue reparetur officia : per dominum . in unitate eiusdem.

[3]Oremus dominum nostrum ihesum christum et cum omni supplicatione rogemus et petamus ut hunc famulum suum .N. per angelum sanctum suum uisitare . letificari (*sic*) et confortare dignetur : per christum dominum nostrum.

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[1] The other fragments included (1) four leaves of a Sarum Processional of the fifteenth century containing the concluding portion of the *Exultet* which was sung at the Blessing of the Paschal Candle, and the greater part of the service for the Blessing of the Fonts on Easter Eve ; (2) the lower part of a leaf from a large Antiphoner of the fifteenth century, containing part of the choir service for Passion Week, and agreeing with Sarum use ; and (3) four leaves, written *circa* 1400, from the handbook for parish priests known as *Oculus Sacerdotis*.

[2] This is the ending of the collect, *Domine Deus qui per apostolum tuum locutus es . . . .* , Leofric Missal, ed. F. E. Warren, 239 ; Missal of Robert of Jumièges, ed. H. A. Wilson, 290 ; and, with the omission of *restitutus*, in the York Manual, 41.

[3] York Manual, 41 ; Leofric, 239 ; Robert of Jumièges, 291.

Oremus.

[1]Respice domine de celo et uide et uisita famulum tuum .N. et benedic eum sicut benedicere dignatus es abraham . ysaac et iacob. aspice domine oculis tuis et reple eum omni gaudio et leticia . et timore . expelle ab omnes inimici insidias . mitte etiam domine angelum pacis qui eum et hanc domum pace perpetua custodiat . per christum dominum nostrum.

Oratio.

[2]Deus qui famulo tuo ezechie ter quinos annos ad uitam donasti . ita et famulum tuum a lecto egretudinis (*sic*) tua potencia erigat ad salutem : per christum dominum nostrum.

Oremus.

[3]Propitietur deus cunctis iniquitatibus tuis . et sanet omnes languores tuos . redimatque de interitu uitam tuam . et proficiat in omnibus bonis operibus desiderium tuum . qui . . .

* * * * * *

. . . trinitate unus deus uiuit et regnat per inmortalia secula seculorum . amen.

His peractis ungat infirmum sacerdos in nomine domini et primo super oculos dicens. [4]Per huius operationem misterii . et per suam piissimam misericordiam indulgeat tibi deus quicquid peccasti per uisum.[4]

Providendum est autem minister sacerdotis habeat stuppas :' quibus possit extergere loca omnia cum inuncta fuerint. Que postea comburantur . Deinde ungat cetera membra et dicat ut supra . excepto quod ad aures dicat. Per auditum. *Ad nares.* Per odoratum. *Ad os.* Per ill(icita uer)ba et gustus. *Ad pectus et inter scapulas.* Per illicitas cogitationes. *Ad manus si sacerdos fuerit : exterius . sin autem interius.* Per tactus. *Ad pedes.* Per incessus. *Ad umbilicum et ad renes.* Per ardorem libidinis. *Quo facto : lauet sacerdos manus suas . prius eas confricans in cinere . uel in sapone . hec lauatio uel in ignem proiciatur uel ad sacrarium deferatur. Postea si literatus fuerit :' dicat aperta uoce prout poterit coram omnibus.* Confiteor deo. *Deinde sacerdos ebdomadarius et plures sacerdotes* . . .

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[1] York Manual, 41 ; Sarum Manual, 45* (as printed in the Appendix to Henderson's *York Manual*) ; Robert of Jumièges, 289.

[2] York Manual, 46 ; Sarum Manual, 45* ; Leofric, 241 ; Robert of Jumièges, 296.

[3] Robert of Jumièges, 292 ; *cf.* Leofric, 241.

[4–4] The nearest to this seems to be in the Sarum Manual :—"Per istam unctionem et suam piissimam unctionem, indulgeat tibi Dominus quicquid peccasti per visum," which is also the form in the MS. Pontifical of Magdalen College, Oxford, and in the York Manual (p. 50), with the *farsura* of "et per intercessionem beatæ Mariæ virginis et omnium sanctorum." It is also found at Noyon (Martene, *De antiquis Ecclesiæ Ritibus*, Venetiis, 1783, i, 316), and elsewhere with some variations (*Ibid.*, i, 339, 342, 343, 345). This form differs very little from that in the Roman *Rituale.*

The words *Per huius operationem misterii* occur in several of the *Ordines* printed by Martene i, 305, 316, 337), but with a different arrangement of the words (*Ungo te oleo sancto...quatenus per huius operationem mysterii*). They are also found, as Dr. Wickham Legg has kindly pointed out to me, in *Manuale Curatorum secundum usum ecclesie Roscildensis*, reprinted by Joseph Freisen, Paderborn, 1898, p. 33. The form in the fragment seems to be a conflation of these words and those in the last paragraph.

THE CHURCH OF ST. LAWRENCE JEWRY.

BY

PHILIP NORMAN,

Treasurer of the Society of Antiquaries, London.[1]

St. Lawrence, Jewry, is situated on the north side of Gresham Street immediately west of King Street, and south-west of the Guildhall, and has the unusual advantage for a church in the City of being clear of all houses. It was built from Wren's design at a cost of no less than £11,870, being opened in 1677, but not completely finished until 1680, replacing "a large and fair" church destroyed in the great fire, which had been in existence at least as early as the year 1293. Dedicated to St. Lawrence, whose martyrdom is symbolised by the gridiron which serves as a vane on the lead-covered spire, it is called Jewry because, as Stow tells us, "of oldtime many Jews inhabited thereabout." During an outbreak against them in the 47th year of Henry III., 700 were massacred. Their synagogue was afterwards assigned to the Friars of the Sack or Fratres de Saccâ or de Penitentiâ, the site of whose chapel which came into the hands of Robert Fitzwalter in the year 1305, is now covered wholly or in part by Grocers' Hall.

The church is spacious, 82 feet long by 71, and 39 feet high; and although much modernised, still retains a good deal of very fine carving. It has a nave and north aisle, separated by columns with Corinthian capitals, and divided into five bays stopping short of the east end by one bay. The tower is at the west end, not central with the nave, but a little to the north, a vestibule filling up the space between the nave and the west door. To quote from the late Mr. G. H. Birch, "both the vestibule and tower open into the nave by arches placed symmetrically and filled in with the most beautiful doorways and screenwork. The pediments of the doorways are broken by a large standing figure of an angel holding a palm branch, and between these two doorways the organ stands on a raised loft supported by Corinthian columns. The organ case itself is most superbly carved, the panels being various musical instruments in high relief; there is a small choir organ in front of the main organ. The whole composition of organ loft and side doors is one of the richest specimens which the art of the seventeenth century produced."

Northward of the tower and at the west end of the north aisle is the vestry richly panelled in oak and decorated with festoons and wreaths in high relief, each panel having a carved moulding round it. The cornice is also enriched with carving. The ceiling is in plaster with a large quatrefoil panel, surrounded by a framework of foliage and fruit, and the spandrels at the four corners of the quatrefoil have scrolls and foliage,

[1] Read at the visit of the Society, on May 6th, 1905.

also in high relief. The panel in the quatrefoil was painted by Sir James Thornhill, and represents the apotheosis of St. Lawrence, and over the chimney piece there is a picture of his martyrdom, said to have been saved from destruction out of the former church. This charming room was in Mr. Birch's opinion a most perfect specimen of the art of the period. He felt convinced that the carving here is really from the hand of Grinling Gibbons, which is probably the case with St. Mary Abchurch, and was said also of the destroyed church of St. Mary Magdalene, Old Fish Street. The north aisle, screened off from the church in the lower part, is well lighted by windows, most of which still retain the rectangular lead lines of Wren's glazing. The windows in the body of the church are filled with modern stained glass which darkens it so much that artificial light is a necessity; there is a clerestory on each side. The seats have been lowered, and the east end is arranged for a choir. The floors are now laid with mosaic, and a design in that material has taken the place of the old oak reredos. The ceiling is covered at the sides and has projecting bands starting from scrolls and dividing the flat part into panels in which are wreaths of palm branches. There is a good pulpit on the south side, cut down when the gallery was removed.

Towards the centre of the church is the Lord Mayor's pew, with a fine wrought-iron sword-rest forming a receptacle for his sword when he attends officially. The sword-rest is strengthened by a handsome bracket behind, and has a central ornament resembling to the uninitiated eye a purse or bag with three tassels, which I am told is probably imitated from a valance and is a common ornament in wrought-iron work of the Louis Quatorze period. It may be seen on the iron railings which shut off the apse of St. Paul's Cathedral from the choir aisles. To this Corporation pew, on St. Michael's day, that is on Sept. 29, when he is elected, the Lord Mayor comes in state. Before the passing of the Test Act, he was expected to take the Sacrament as a proof that he was a Protestant.

In the old church of St. Lawrence were buried two Richard Riches, father and son. The younger, sheriff in 1441, was grandfather of the Richard Rich who became Lord Chancellor, who after the Dissolution acquired all the ground and buildings of the Priory of St. Bartholomew, West Smithfield, except the site of the church, or part of it, and was ancestor of the Earls of Holland and the Earls of Warwick of the Rich family. There also was buried Sir Geoffrey Boleyn, sheriff in 1446 and Lord Mayor in 1457, whose grandson, Thomas, Earl of Wiltshire, was father of Anne Boleyn. Another celebrated citizen there laid to rest was Sir Richard Gresham, father of Sir Thomas Gresham and Lord Mayor in 1537. On the south side of the church is a modern stained glass window, given by the Mercers' Company in memory of two or three of these great people who were buried here. A second window records the connection of Lord Mayors with noble families. An epitaph formerly in the chancel to the memory of Frances, wife of William Boswell, vicar from 1616 to 1631, had the following quaint couplet:—

"Bene dixit et bene tacuit,
Bene vixit et bene latuit."

In the present church the following monuments should be noticed. Against the west wall towards its north end there is a monument with three busts. It is to Sir William Halliday, Sheriff in 1617, who died in 1623, to his wife Susannah, daughter

of Sir Henry Roe, Lord Mayor in 1607, who married as her second husband Robert Earl of Warwick, and to their daughter Anne, who married Sir Henry Mildmay and died in 1656. Another daughter married Sir Edward Hungerford. Sir William's original monument perished in the Great Fire, and the existing one was given by Dame Margaret, widow of Sir Giles Hungerford, a brother of Sir Edward. On the north wall of the chancel there is a monument (with effigy) to Archbishop Tillotson, a famous man. He had been lecturer here; his wife was Elizabeth French, niece of Oliver Cromwell and stepdaughter of Dr. John Wilkins. Beneath this is a brass tablet to Wilkins, who had been during the Commonwealth Warden of Merton College, Oxford, and afterwards Master of Trinity College, Cambridge. He married Robina, widow of Canon French of Christchurch and sister of Oliver Cromwell. In spite of his family connection he became rector of St. Lawrence Jewry in 1661 and seven years afterwards Bishop of Chester. He was one of the founders of the Royal Society. Pepys the Diarist tells us how he went to the church of St. Lawrence "to hear Dr. Wilkins the great scholar, but was not satisfied with him at all." To revert for a moment to Tillotson; he was, it is believed, the first Bishop who wore an episcopal wig, as shown in a portrait of him by Mary Beale now at Lambeth. Archbishop Sumner, whom I have seen, was probably the last.

Against the east wall of the north aisle is a large monument to Mary Browning, aged thirteen years, with a statue of her, showing a person apparently of mature age who is not altogether unlike Queen Anne. On the right hand side, forming part of the same monument, is a running epitaph to William Bird, who died in 1698 aged four years and six months. It has the following lines:—

"One charming Bird to Paradise is flown,
Yet we are not of comfort quite bereft,
Since one of this fair Brood is still our own,
And still to cheer our drooping World is left.
This stays with us while that his flight does take,
That Earth and Skies may one sweet consort make."

From St. Michael's Bassishaw a monument to Thomas Wharton the physician, who did good work during the Great Plague, has lately been brought.

The east wall of the church is much thicker at the south end than at the north because it follows the line of the street. The west end also widens considerably to the south. There is a peal of eight bells. The plate is described by Mr. E. H. Freshfield in vol. vii of the *Home Counties Magazine*, pp. 41 to 43. Among it is a silver gilt cup with the date mark for 1548. From the register it appears that foundlings in this parish were invariably called Lawrence. It was usual in the City to name them after the patron Saint of the parish; thus at St. Peter's Cornhill the name Peter was given to them, in one case Symon Peter.

The parish of St. Michael Bassishaw having by an order of Council dated 1897 been united with that of St. Lawrence Jewry, its church has been destroyed, and its site sold. As was anticipated, in the course of the demolition important remains of ancient architecture were discovered.[1] The lower part of the tower at the west end of the nave dated from the fifteenth century, but some arches under the south aisle probably formed part

[1] Described more fully in *Archæologia*, vol. lviii, p. 203.

of the original foundation. Traces of least two buried floor levels came to light, the oldest, of the thirteenth century, with fine encaustic tiles *in situ*. Resting on the original soil were a few fragments of Roman pottery. The aisles had extended further to the west. At the east end of the south aisle was an inscription showing that here had been the vault of Sir John Gresham, Sir Richard's younger brother and ancestor of the Leveson Gowers of Titsey. He was Lord Mayor in 1547–8 and died in 1556; his funeral is described in Machyn's Diary. A paper on the subject by Mr. F. C. Eeles was read before the London and Middlesex Archaeological Society.

The ancient parish church of St. Mary Magdalen, Milk Street, on the site of which stood the City of London School before its removal to the Thames Embankment, was destroyed in the Great Fire and not rebuilt, its parish being united with that of St. Lawrence Jewry.

THE CHURCH OF ALL HALLOWS, LOMBARD STREET.

BY

PHILIP NORMAN,

Treasurer of the Society of Antiquaries of London.

This church, on the north side of Lombard Street near the east end, shared with seven other City churches the dedication to All Hallows (or All Saints). It is in all likelihood of very ancient foundation; the earliest notice of it that we possess occurs in the year 1053, when it was given by one Brihtmer, a citizen of London, to the Priory of Christchurch, attached to Canterbury Cathedral, and the advowson is still in the hands of the Dean and Chapter there. Mentioned as All Hallows de Gerschirch in a will of 1278, the name of the rector in the following year is known to have been Henry de Stanton. From wills of the fourteenth century one finds that it contained a chapel, if not two, and it had various chantries. In 1353 Peter de Blithe left to Alice his daughter certain rents issuing from tenements in the parish which had belonged to Cambin Fulbert the Lombard, whose first name may be a corruption of cambiatore, a money-changer.

The church was rebuilt chiefly through the benefactions of John Warner, sheriff in 1494, of his son Robert, who finished the south aisle in 1516, and of the Pewterers' Company. The steeple was not completed until 1544, and the stones of the porch were brought from the dissolved Priory of St. John, Clerkenwell. It is called by Stow "Allhallows Grasse church in Lombard Street for that the grass market went down that way, when that street was far broader than now it is, being straitened by encroachments."

Although not totally destroyed in the Great Fire, the church was so damaged that it had to be taken down. Part of it, however, remained for many years, the steeple still standing in 1679. Complaint was made in February of that year that stones were falling out of it, in spite of which a bell was hung there soon afterwards. Finally the whole was rebuilt from the designs of Sir Christopher Wren, at the cost of £8,058, being finished in 1694.

All Hallows stands a little back from the street, access to it being obtained through an archway between Nos. 48 and 49. There is still some open space to the south of the church, the wall of which on this side appears to be built on the old foundation. At its south-west corner stands a plain and rather lofty stone tower terminated by a cornice and open parapet. The entrance is through a large doorway on the south side of the tower, formed by Corinthian columns with entablature and pediment. Inside the church, against the west wall of the tower, is an elaborately carved wooden gateway, with a profusion of skulls, crossbones and hourglasses, which has the following inscription:—

"This ancient gateway
was erected at the entrance in Lombard Street
to All Hallows Church soon after the Great
Fire of London, and was removed to this place
when the Buildings adjoining in Lombard
Street were rebuilt in 1865

The plan of the church is an oblong, about 84 feet by 52, with a shallow recess for the altar at the east end, the tower also projecting slightly to the south. Immediately to the north of the tower there used to be an organ gallery, in the midst of which rose a single pillar arranged to fit symmetrically into the general plan. This pillar remains, but the gallery has disappeared, its place being taken by a screen, partly made up of old wood, and separating a spacious vestibule at the west end from the body of the church. A central opening now gives access to the body of the church, and the two handsome side doorways are merely used as cupboards. These have carved imitations of curtains extending partly across their upper portions; above the doorway to the north is a wooden figure of Death about 4 feet high, while that to the south is surmounted by a similar figure of Time.

The church has a flat plaster ceiling with coved sides, which contains an oblong panel having a moulded cornice and in the centre a skylight inserted during the repairs of 1880, light having been terribly obscured by the buildings which have grown up around the church and by the modern stained glass which fills the lofty windows in the north and south wall. The east end has no central window, but there is a small window on each side of the recess in which the altar is placed. The vestry, nicely panelled, is to the north of the chancel.

Although the internal arrangements have of late years been greatly altered, much fine woodwork remains. The carved oak altar piece or reredos, having four fluted Corinthian columns with entablature and pediment, displays the figure of a Pelican in her Piety, and is surmounted by seven candlesticks with sham tapers and gilt flames, in allusion to the seven churches in the Revelation of St. John the Divine. Similar candlesticks are not uncommon in the City churches. This reredos, perhaps the best in the City, is covered with beautiful carving, and cost £186, as one learns from a list of the subscribers. The two tables of the Ten Commandments have been superseded by paintings of the Ecce Homo and Christ bearing His Cross, while painted scrolls with inscriptions have taken the place of the Apostles' Creed and the Lord's Prayer. The table is inlaid, its lower portion being carved elaborately. The altar railing is modern. The pulpit, on the north side of the church, with its fine, but rather heavy, sounding board, is richly carved and inlaid. The walls of the church are wainscoted to a height of 9 feet.

The Corporation seat on the south-east side of the church towards the east is noteworthy. It has at the back two sword-rests, on the larger of which are three extended cross arms with shields at the extremities. On the topmost bar or cross arms are, on one shield a mitre, on the other the City arms with the date 1802. To the second the arms of John Eamer, Salter, Lord Mayor in 1801, and of Sir William Anderson, Lord Mayor in 1797, have been affixed. The third bar has the arms of Sir Brook Watson, Lord Mayor in 1796, and at the other extremity what seems to represent Justice blindfold. At the base are the arms of Sir John Key, Lord Mayor in 1831. Under the Crown at the top are the Royal Arms. The second rest has scroll work somewhat similar in pattern, but has no arms. By the sword-rests are two pretty wrought-iron hat stands, about 2 feet 6 inches high, each in the form of a cross with pegs at the extremities.

The fine old brass candelabra are now used for electric light. The churchwardens' pews at the west end have good carving, and are surmounted by the carved lion and unicorn which were usual in Wren's churches. The organ, in its richly carved and gilded case, first erected in 1701, is now against the east wall, south of the altar. The marble font, of

the usual pillar or baluster form, now standing in the central passage near the west end is decorated with sculptured cherubim and floral wreaths. Its massive carved oak cover has a well-adjusted counterpoise. In the vestibule is a frame with shelves for the distribution of bread among the poor, while affixed to the north wall of the tower over the inner entrance are the Royal Arms, carved and painted.

To the north of the altar old books are preserved in a glass case. These are the Holy Bible with the date 1613, and the Paraphrase of the New Testament, by Erasmus, in two volumes, 1548–49. They were chained to desks for public perusal in the ancient church of St. Benet, Gracechurch Street.

There is some excellent plate belonging to All Hallows, which has been described by Mr. E. H. Freshfield in the *Home Counties Magazine*, vol. iv, p. 78.

Among the rectors of this church was Alexander Barclay, poet and scholar, instituted in 1552, who died, however, two months afterwards. He had been a priest at Ottery St. Mary in Devonshire, and also held the living of Much Badew in Essex. His most famous work was *The Shyp of Folys of the Worlde*, published in 1509.

The will of Richard Waring, Alderman and member of the Grocers' Company, who died in 1669, and was buried under the chancel of this church, has a passage in it which seems worthy of quotation, reminding one as it does, of Antonio's argosies in the *Merchant of Venice*, one bound to Tripolis, another to the Indies, a third at Mexico, a fourth for England. The clause in the will runs as follows:—

"And besides the Corne money by mee herein before given unto the said Company of Grocers, in case fourteen shipps shall in the yeare of our Lord one thousand six hundred and sixty nine come and arrive with the lading in safety in the river of Thames London from the East Indies for ye account of the East India Companie of London, in such case I give and devise unto the said Companie of Grocers of London the summe of one hundred pounds, and in such case also I give & devise unto Christ's Hospitall the sum of one hundred pounds, the said two summes to be paid the Company and Christ's Hospitall respectively within twelve moneths after the arrival of the said ships"

Whether the ships arrived I have been unable to discover. In the next generation the family made its way into Kent, and its present representative has a landed estate at Chelsfield in that county.

On Good Friday sixty of the younger boys of Christ's Hospital used formerly to attend at the Church of All Hallows, Lombard Street, and after service received each a new penny and a bag of raisins, under the will of Peter Symonds, who died in 1586. The custom was discontinued about fifteen years ago.

An attempt lately made to destroy this church, under the Union of Benefices Act, was happily frustrated by the parishioners.

The church of St. Benet or Benedict, Gracechurch, to which there is reference in a will of 1281, was consumed in the Great Fire, rebuilt by Wren, and pulled down in 1867. It stood at the corner of Gracechurch Street and Fenchurch Street.

The church of St. Leonard, Eastcheap, in existence at least as early as the year 1259, had also been destroyed in the Great Fire and was not rebuilt, the parish being united with that of St. Benet. The Monument Railway Station is in this parish. Part of the old burial ground remained on Fish Street Hill, near the Monument, till 1882.

St. Dionis Backchurch, dedicated to St. Dionisius the Areopagite, whom some hold to

have been one and the same as the French patron Saint Denis, is mentioned as the church of St. Dionisius in a will dated 1260. It stood at the south-west corner of Lime Street, and owed its second title either to the fact that it was behind other buildings or because there was in ancient times the small church of St. Gabriel in the roadway of Fenchurch Street not far off. The church of St. Dionis was consumed in the Fire and rebuilt by Sir Christopher. Dr. Charles Burney, father of Fanny, who became Madame D'Arblay, was organist here from 1749 to 1751. There existed under St. Dionis a fifteenth century crypt, which was re-discovered by Mr. G. E. Street, R.A., and described in the *Builder* of July 24th, 1858. It was a parallelogram of 9 feet 6 inches by 13 feet, with four-centred arches. The church was destroyed under the Union of Benefices Act in 1878, when its ten bells, dating from the early part of the eighteenth century, were rehung in the tower of All Hallows, Lombard Street. The parishes were united, so this church now serves for three parishes besides its own.

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