

William Gostling
A walk in and about the city of Canterbury,
second edition
Canterbury
1777

<i>

A
WALK
IN AND ABOUT
THE CITY
OF
CANTERBURY,

WITH

Many OBSERVATIONS not to be found in any
Description hitherto published.

THE SECOND EDITION.

By WILLIAM GOSTLING, M. A.

A NATIVE of the PLACE,
AND
MINOR CANON of the CATHEDRAL.

CANTERBURY;
printed by SIMMONS and KIRKBY;
MDCCLXXVII.

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ADVERTISEMENT.

THE Subscribers to this second edition may be assured that, although the Author died while his book was in the press, yet the whole was prepared or approved of by himself, and is printed from his own corrected copy. A few other remarks are contained in the Addenda at the end of the book.

The substantial proof of the regard, which his friends retain for the memory of her father, given in a very numerous subscription, calls for the warmest acknowledgements from his daughter; especially as so many have very greatly exceeded the terms of the subscription in their liberality: she hopes they will not be offended by her prefixing an asterisk to such of their names as have come to her knowledge; for she is very sensible of great obligations not only to them, but to many other persons, whose names have not been transmitted to her, and therefore do not appear in her list.

Her most grateful thanks are also due to those friends who have contributed to the embellishment of this little book; and as the size of the plates would not permit it in them, to express here her sense of his generosity to Francis Grose,

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Esq; F. S. A. for numbers * 1, 3, 4, 5, 6; to
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Bailey, Engraver, for Nr. 10; to the Hon. and Rev. Dr. Cornwallis, Dean of Canterbury, for Nr. 11; to Captain William Gostling, of the Royal Regiment of Artillery, for Nr. 12; to Dr. Everard Buckworth, Prebendary of Canterbury, for Nr. 13; to the Right Reverend Dr. John Moore, Lord Bishop of Bangor, for Nr. 15; to Henry Lee Warner, Esq; of Walsingham Abby Norfolk, for Nr. 16; to Mrs. King, for Nr. 17; to Edward King, Esq; for Nr. 18; to the Rev. the Dean and Chapter of Christ's Church, Canterbury, for Nr. 19; to Dr. George Berkeley, Prebendary of Canterbury, for Nr. 20; to Mr. Richard Barnard Godfrey, Engraver, for Nr. 22; to William Boys Esq; Sandwich, for Nr. 24; to the Rev. Mr. Duncombe, Rector of St. Andrew, Canterbury, for the use of his plate, Nr. 23; and to Simmons, and Kirkby for the use of their plates, Numbers. 2, and 8.

HESTER GOSTLING.

* See the Table of the Plates.

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<i> PREFACE.

I GIVE this little book a preface to apprise my reader, that it is not merely an abstract of others written on the same subject, (tho' they are often mentioned in it) but such an actual survey as the title promises, and he himself may take if he pleases; designed not only to assist strangers in their searches after what is curious here, but to make the inhabitants sensible, that many things are so, which they may have seen over and over without taking notice of them.

In 1640 the eminently learned and laborious Mr. William Somner published the History and Antiquities of Canterbury, his native place, in quarto.

This Mr. Nicholas Battely, vicar of Beaksbourn, reprinted in 1703, with some

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<ii> additions by Mr. Somner, designed for a second edition; some others of his own; and a supplement which brought it to a folio.

In 1726, Mr. Dart of Greenwich gave a description of our cathedral, in folio, with many curious views of the church and monuments engraved by Mr. Cole, with the epitaphs and translations of them. The plates fell into the hands of Mr. Hildyard of York, who having most of those belonging to Mr. Drake's history of that cathedral published them together to the number of 117, with an abridgement of the histories for which they were engraved.

Besides these, an historical description

in 8vo. of our cathedral, was published about **five** years ago; the compiler of which has confined his views to the church and precinct only, and filled almost half **the** book with epitaphs and translations: these I have omitted, not only to keep my more extensive design within compass, but for other reasons, which will appear in **Chap. 9. and 31.**

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<iii> The plan is a contraction of that published by William and Henry Doidge in 1752; corrected according to the alterations which have been made since that time, and embellished with views of the late church of St. Andrew, the demolished conduit of Archbishop Abbot, and the north prospect of St. Augustine's monastery. **And the** view of Christ-church-gate shows better what an artist prior Goldstone was, than the gate itself does in its present state.

<iv> In consulting authors, as often as I found their accounts inconsistent with my observations, I have made no scruple to differ from them whether monkish writers or modern ones, but have shown my reasons; hoping that any who shall think fit to criticise on me, will do it with candor; and when I mention evidences on which most of my conjectures are founded, as still to be seen, either believe that I have represented them fairly, or examine them with their own eyes. Not that I offer this as a faultless performance; old age and gout have been great hindrances to that. Sometimes I have not been able to hold a pen for

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weeks or months together; sometimes the press has been otherwise engaged, till I could hardly tell what had passed it: but my memory, I thank God, is pretty good, and some of my friends, who thought it pity my observations should be forgotten, **so** soon as I am **likely** to be, have not only verified them by walks taken on purpose, but by adding such curious ones of their own, as I was ill capable of making in the more active part of my life. Thus far therefore my reader is a gainer by my infirmities.

<v> If any hints I give lead the curious to happier conclusions than I have been able to form; if I point out any thing to them, which without my help they would have overlooked; if by any evidences, **which** I produce, I correct errors in those, who have treated on this subject before me, (the most approved of **whom** have made some mistakes) I shall not think my labour lost; if any little anecdotes, **which** I have thrown in from my own memory or that of others,

are received as embellishments of a dry subject, that is the reason of my giving

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them: If any make a jest of them as *Canterbury stories*, such they certainly are, and no extraordinary capacity is required to find that out.

Wits of this kind may divert themselves with my title page, and laugh at my undertaking the office of a guide and companion, if they are told I have been confined to my bed and my chair for some years past; and they are heartily welcome to be as arch on me as they please; to think of the pleasure I have formerly enjoyed in that character gives me pleasure still; and (to borrow a hint from one of our best poets.)

'My limbs, tho' they are lame, I find
Have put no fetters on my mind.'

That, God be prais'd, is still at liberty, and rejoices at the thoughts of a little ramble. A good natured reader will indulge this fancy in an old man. On such a one I gladly wait to the utmost of my ability: let us then set out upon our imaginary walk without delay, and I hope it will prove an entertaining one.

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Mr. George Stringer, Canterbury
Phineas Stringer, Esq; Dover
Mr. Thomas Strong, F. A. S. London
Rev. Dr. Sutton, Prebendary of Canterbury

T

Right Honourable Earl of Thanet
Right Honourable the Countess of Thanet
Right Honourable Lady Charlotte Tufton
Sir Roger Twisden, Bart.

<xxix> 31

* Rev. Dr. Tanner, Prebendary of Canterbury
Rev. Mr. Taswell, Vicar of Aylsham, Norfolk
Rev. Dr. Tatton, Prebendary of Canterbury
Rev. Mr. Edward Taylor, Bifrons, Kent
Mrs. Thomas, Winchester House, Chelsea
Rev. Edward Thomas, M. A. F. R. and S. A.
Mrs. Thomson, Canterbury
Thomas Thomson, Esq; Maidstone
Mrs. H. Thomson, Kenfield, Kent
Mrs. Thompson, London
John Thorpe, Esq; Bexley
Cornet Tipping, 10th Regiment Dragoons
Captain Tobin, London

Mrs. Tobin, London
Mr. John Tomlinson, London
John Topham, Esq;
Timothy Topping, Esq; Chislehurst, Kent
Captain Samuel Tovey, Royal Artillery
Mr. Joseph Travers, Cannon-street
Mr. Benjamin Travers, Cannon-street
Mr. John Tucker, Trinity College, Cambridge
Rev. Mr. Turner, Fellow of Merton College, Oxford
Richard Tylden, Esq; B. A. of Jesus College, Cam=
bridge, 2 books
Rev. Mr. Tyson, Fellow of Bene't College, Cam=
bridge

V

Honourable Mrs. Raby Vane
Capt. David Vans, Royal Artillery
John Venner, Esq; Temple
James Vere, Esq; Bishopsgate-street, London
Dr. Vincent
Rev. Dr. Vyse, Rector of Lambeth

<xxx> 32

U

Mrs. Umfrey, Dartford
Mrs. Underdown, Deal
Lieutenant General Urmston

W

Right Honourable the Earl of Winchelsea
Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of Winchester
Right Rev. and Honourable the Lord Bishop of
Worcester, 2 books
Rev. Dr. Wake, Prebendary of Westminster
Mrs. Walwyn, Canterbury
Lee Warley, Esq; Canterbury
Mr. Waylett, Lydd, Kent
Mrs. Webb, St Thomas's Hill, Canterbury
Mr. Webb, Cambridge
Samuel Wegge, Esq;
Joseph Wharton, Esq;
James Whatman, Esq; Maidstone
Rev. Mr. Wheeldon, Prebendary of Lincoln
Samuel Whitbread, Esq; two books
Mr. John White, London
John Whitfield, Esq; Canterbury
Lieutenant General Williamson, Royal Artillery
Mr. Joseph Wilson, London
Captain Willyams, Canterbury
Mr. John Wiltshire, Bermondsey
Lieutenant Winton, Royal Artillery
Mrs. Woodyer, Wye

<xxxi> 33

Mrs. Carolina Wren, Canterbury
Edward Wynn, Esq;

Y

* The most Rev. the Lord Archbishop of York
Rev. Dr. Young, Prebendary of Westminster, 2 books

OMITTED

Mr. Baughan, London
Rev. Mr. Denne, Wilmington

<xxxii>

<vi> MEASUREMENT
OF
CHRIST-CHURCH, CANTERBURY.

Feet

LENGTH from east to west, within side, about 514
Length of the Choir 180
Breadth of ditto before the new wainscotting 40
As contracted by that, from door to door 38
Length of the body to the steps 178
From the first step to that at the choir door 36
Breadth of the body and its side isles 71
Height of ditto to the vaulted roof 80
Lower cross-isle from north to south 124
Upper ditto 154
Height of the Oxford steeple 130
Height of the Arundel steeple 100
Height of the spire which stood on that 100
Height of the great tower, called Bell-Harry steeple 235
Height of ditto within, to the vaulting 130
Area of ditto about 35 by 35
Vaulting of the choir from the pavement 71
Of the chapel behind the altar 58
The square of the cloysters 134 by 134

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ERRATA.

Page 5, for Cair-Kent, read, Caer-Kent.

34, comform, conform.
232, those as, those who.

<1>

<1> A
WALK
IN AND ABOUT
CANTERBURY, &c.

INTRODUCTION.

THE traveller who visits Canterbury, and is curious to see what is worthy of notice here, may be glad of a pocket companion to attend him in his walks, as well as to let him know beforehand, what entertainment such walks may afford him.

If husbandry and agriculture are his taste, our extensive * hop-gardens, and the management of them, may be an agreeable amusement,

* In 1773 the hop-duty of the whole kingdom amounted to 45,737l. 18s. 10d. of which the eastern division of Kent paid at Canterbury 10,737l. 0s. 6d. the western at Rochester 14,958l. 5s. 4d. See *Kentish Gazette*, No. 506.

2

and a novelty too, if he comes from any of the counties which have no such plantations.

<2> If arts and mechanism are more so, the Canterbury worsted has for many years been in great request among knitters, and is so still; but most of the wool our county produces is bought up, and wrought in other parts; some indeed is combed here, and some brought from London prepared for spinning, to be sent, when spun, into the counties more considerably engaged in the hosiery way, the Canterbury yarn and worsted being excellent for their purpose. But our silk-weavers are certainly worth his visiting, not only for the beauty of their works, and the curious contrivances of the looms for making them in such perfection, but because the clearness of the air is an advantage our weavers have over those of Spital-fields, in respect of such colours as suffer by the smoke of London. Brawn
<193> is also in its season a considerable article in the trade of our city, not only for the supply of the

* Silk-weaving was brought into England by Flemish and Walloon protestants, who fled from the persecution of the Spaniards in Edward VI. and Queen Elizabeth's time, and were first settled at Canterbury. Many French artists have been since driven hither, by the cruelty of Lewis XIV. and, as their numbers encreased, removed from hence to Spital-fields, whose descendants, still continuing their relation to us, come down at our elections to vote for parliament men.

3

most elegant tables in these parts, but of those

in London also, whither great quantities of it are sent, and **sold** at the highest price.

<2> If antiquity or architecture be his favourite studies, here he will have a more ample field to range in.

They who stay **only** an hour or two in Canterbury, generally chuse to see our venerable cathedral. It will take more time to visit the ruins of St. Augustine's monastery, and the little church of St. Martin without our walls. These, and some other particulars I shall treat of here, may help to employ those hours to his satisfaction, which he does not chuse to spend at his Inn.

<3> CHAP I.

Of the Situation, Antiquity, and Names of CANTERBURY.

Canterbury lies in latitude 51 deg. 17 min. N. longitude 1 deg. 15 min. E. from Greenwich observatory.

It is seated in a pleasant valley, about a mile wide, between hills of a moderate height, and easy ascent, with fine springs rising from them; besides which the river Stour runs through it;

4

whose streams, by often dividing and meeting again, water it the more plentifully, and forming islands of various sizes, in one of which, **formerly called Binnewith**, the western part of our city stands, make the air good, and the soil rich. Such a situation could hardly want inhabitants, while these parts had any inhabitants at all; nor was any spot more likely to unite numbers in forming a neighbourhood, or a city, than one so well prepared by nature for defence and cultivation.

This perhaps is the most authentic voucher in favour of their opinion, who make it a city almost 900 years before the coming of our Saviour Christ.

Tokens of this high antiquity are hardly to be found, unless Druids beads, and the ancient brass weapons called celts, which have been dug up hereabouts, may be looked on as such; but of Roman remains we have abundance. For beside gates of their building, to be taken notice of in the walk, **many other memorials of them** are discovered by digging from time to time; as Mosaic and other pavements, curious earthen ware and coins innumerable, some preserved in collections, others sold to the goldsmiths and braziers.

5

<4> It is highly probable, that the Romans at their first arrival in Britain, found Canterbury a place of consequence; they seem even to have formed a latin name for it from the language of the inhabitants; the *Durovernum* of Antoninus's Itinerary, their *Dorobernia*, and other names of like sound, being naturally enough derived

from the British *Durwhern*, signifying the swift stream which runs by and through it.

Cantuaria (a name perhaps of later date) and Canterbury may as easily be derived from the English Saxon *Cantwarabyrig*, the city of the men of Kent.

<e> These names, and that of *Caer*, Kent, the city of Kent, are the earliest we meet with; and if *Caer* or *Cair* signified a walled town, when ours was distinguished by that title, there is little room to doubt its being so before the arrival of the Romans in our island.

CHAP II.

Of the City Walls and Gates.

WAS I to bring my traveller from Dover,
as we come over Barham Down * I
should take notice of the remains of the Roman

* Barham and the Down, some have supposed to have been called so from the multitude of barrows, or burying

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encampment there, and the Watling-street, or *Via Originaria*, their military way extending from Dover to West Chester; and, instead of turning off as the common road does within a quarter of a mile of Canterbury, keep still on this Watling-street, and enter the city through Ridingate, after showing him that the Roman gate here had two contiguous arches, turned with the large and thin bricks of those times, remains of which are still to be seen; but the ground has been so raised, that the top of a stone pier from which one of those arches sprung, is but breast high from the road, and the arch itself cut away, to give the necessary height to the present gate, of later construction.

<5>

Within it at forty feet west, on a square stone in the wall, was the date 1586, and below, the letters I. E. M. for John Easday, Mayor, whose public spirit Mr. Somner mentions very honourably for this repair of the city wall, at his great cost, though a man of but indifferent estate, in hopes of setting a good example. But this hint is lately stolen away, and his example never likely to be followed.

Two or three hundred yards from thence is a Danish mount, giving its name to the

places of the old Romans there, several of which have been opened, and some things of great value dug up lately.

7

manor *, from whence we have a pleasant prospect of the city and the county round about it. It is commonly called Dungil, or Dane John hill, some suppose from being thrown up by * John, a Dane, others from the French word *donjon*, or *dongeon*, a high tower in old fortifications. This, and two smaller mounts not far from it, are looked on as works of the Danes when they besieged our city in King Ethelbert's

time. The city wall was afterwards carried round so as to take in this high one for its defence.

Not far from hence stood Wincheap-gate, in our way to the castle, within the bounds of which is the session-house **of the county of Kent** *, rebuilt 1730. Here we see the old arch of Worthgate, of the same structure as Riding-gate appears to have been, but with one arch only, which was preserved by Dr. Gray, a late eminent physician of our city. More of this when we come to describe

* The Lord of this Manor being removed to a distant county, and the house so disagreeably situated as not to invite a good tenant, it was pulled down some years ago.

* **Quere, Whether, if the Danish invaders were Pagans, the name of John was likely to be known among them?**

* The city of Canterbury was made a county of itself by King Edward IV. but has several places within its walls exempt from its jurisdiction, one of which is the castle and its precinct.

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the castle, to the west of which is the way from Wincheap to Castle-street, by a postern in St. Mildred's church-yard, where a branch of the river enters the city through a breach in the wall. The other branch, after some winding, approaching the river again, becomes an additional defence to the city as far as Westgate and farther, as in the plan.

This will also shew several other breaches in the wall hereabouts, which a stranger may wonder at, and think a besieger would hardly chuse to make his approaches where the city was doubly defended by the river.

To satisfy his curiosity I shall inform him, that on Christmas-day, 1648, Michael Page, the puritanical Mayor, by abusing those who were going to observe the festival at church, raised some tumults which were with difficulty appeased by Sir William Man, Alderman Sabine, and Mr. Lovelace a lawyer. On this the committee of the county sent forces in form to attack the city, who, though they heard by the way all was quiet, chose to march in as conquerors, and finding the gates open, took them down and burned them, threw down part of the wall, and committed many to prison upon suspicion, among **whom** were the three peacemakers. The history of Independency, printed that year, tells this more at large.

9

Westgate, the next we come to, is the largest and best built of any the city has, and though plain, makes a very handsome appearance, standing between two lofty and spacious round towers, founded in the river at the western corners, embattled, portcullised *, and machecollated *, and a bridge of two arches over the western branch of the Stour at the foot of it.

The gate has also the advantage of standing

open to a very long and wide street, being on the road to London, both for those who travel by land, and such as go by Whitstable six or seven miles off, and take their passage on board the hoys, which sail every week or oftner, with such heavy and bulky lading as would come too dear by land-carriage, **which on this road is remarkably expensive.**

This gate is now the city prison, both for debtors and criminals, with a large and high

* The portcullis was a grate spiked at the bottom, to let fall in case of surprise, with opposite grooves in the stonework of the grate, to direct its fall, and keep it in its place.

* This is another old defence, being a parapet carried from tower to tower on stone brackets, projecting from the wall between them, so as to leave holes through which the defendants might pour down scalding water, or other annoyances on those who should attempt to force or fire the portcullis or grate, without being themselves exposed to danger or view.

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pitched room over the gateway, and others in the towers. The way up to them is through a grated * cage in the gate, level with the street, where the prisoners, who are not more closely confined, may discourse with passengers, receive their alms, and warn them (by their distress) to manage their liberty and property to the best advantage, as well as to thank God for whatever share of those blessings he has bestowed on them.

<8> Archbishop Sudbury is recorded as builder of this gate, and of the wall called the long wall, which runs northward from it a great way with the river, parallel to the foot of it, till at an angle of each, it turns off round a small meadow to a mill, where it divides again, and one of the branches approaching the wall near a postern, turns eastward as in the plan, and soon receives that channel which entering the city at St. Mildred's, makes this west part of Canterbury an island, and ran till very lately under three port-cullised arches of uncommon construction, above which the old wall afforded the only dryshod communication between the east and western parts of the city when the river overflowed its banks at King's-bridge, in High-street: but this wall was suffered to run to ruin; the way above it was stopped up some years

* This comfort the poor prisoners are now deprived of, the cage having been taken down in 1775.

11

ago, and in widening the passage over King's-bridge in 1769, somebody found out it would be good economy to demolish those curious arches, as the materials might perhaps save some expence in the new work; the experiment therefore was tried accordingly.

From this new breach the wall goes (as in the plan) to Northgate, on the road to Reculver and Thanet, over which is a church of uncommon

length and narrowness, which takes its name from the gate. At this gate the Mayor and Corporation used to receive the King in their formalities, when he passed through, after landing in the isle of Thanet, from foreign parts, and present him the keys; but the gates are now taken away.

Next to this eastward, was Queningate, of which a part of the Roman arch may yet be discovered on the outside of the wall. Mr. Somner says, it was named from Queen Bertha's going through it to perform her devotions at St. Martin's, as Ethelbert did at St. Pancrace's.

Near this is a postern, opened occasionally for the convenience of the deanry, and some of the prebendal houses: Queningate-lane, within the wall from Northgate to Burgate, being become

12

part of the cathedral precinct, by grant of King Henry II. confirmed by King Henry IV.

This postern is over against the front gate of St. Augustine's monastery, as Burgate, to which we come next, is to the cemetery-gate of it, to be spoken of in its place.

<9> Burgate is on the road to Sandwich, Deal, and the Downs; new built, says Somner, about 1475, with the names of John Franingam, John Nethersole, and Edmund Minot upon it, as principal benefactors to the work; but they are not legible from the ground.

From hereabouts the wall has been strengthened by a bank of earth, cast up to the height where the defendants stood, which first appears in the garden of the third prebendal house, and slopes to the level of the street at Burgate, rising again on the opposite side of the way, and in the same manner at St. George's toward Ridigate; and here it has the name of Little Dungal, and thus far is enclosed between the parapet (where that remains standing) on one hand, and houses or walls on the other, to the gate and Watling-street; but afterwards ceases to be so, the parapet being mostly ruinous, as is part of the wall itself, on the outside, and an open field

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of some breadth within (as in the plan) till we come to the highway at Wincheap-gap.

St. George's-gate * is also called Newingate, and gives that name to the ward in which it stands, as do the other five gates to theirs respectively. It is built in imitation of Westgate, as Mr. Somner observes, and fortified in the same manner; but when he says Burgate was also portcullised, he seems mistaken, for there is no appearance of that.

The reason of this name Newingate, I hope to account for when I come to it again, but now hasten to conclude this chapter of walls and gates, with some general observations concerning the antiquity, structure, and extent of them.

<10> I have already observed, that as Caer Kent

was the name of our city before the arrival of the Romans in Britain, it is highly probable they found it fortified with a wall, and full as probable, that if it was not so when the Romans built gates to it, they also added walls, but few

* Westgate, Burgate, and St. George's-gate, have the arms of Archbishop Juxon on them, with those of the Archbishopric, to which he succeeded at the restoration, and with these new gates repaired the damage done by the Puritans, when they burnt the old ones in 1648.

14

of their remains appear, except some near the castle, about St. Mildred's, and those old gates, which are undoubtedly their work.

The present walls are of chalk, faced and lined with flint, except the few Roman remains already mentioned *, and that part pulled down in 1769 *, toward the improvement of King's-bridge. The thickness, by measures taken breast high at the postern at St. Mildred's, and that near the three ruined arches, is about six feet, and the parapet and battlements were well coped with mason's work of hard stone, as were the tops and loopholes, of twenty-one square, or semicircular towers, built at proper places, to command the ditch, which was 150 feet wide, as Mr. Somner says, most distinguishable from Queningate postern to the castle. The whole measurement of the wall, as taken by Thomas Ickham, in the time of Henry III. amounted

* In one of the breaches near St. Mildred's, the destroyers seem to have been stopped by a course of Roman brick quite through the wall, still to be seen. At the West end of the South isle of that church too, is a fair Roman arch over the window.

* The facing of the wall from tower to tower without Westgate, is of squared stones, as is the lining of it from tower to tower, at that part of the three portcullised arches through which the river ran from the town.

15

to more than a mile and three quarters; but William and Henry Doidge, in 1752, make it less. Mr. Doidge's account perhaps is most accurate. See both in the Appendix, No. I.

<11> CHAP III.

Of the Castle.

THOUGH what we now call the castle has no appearance of Roman antiquity, yet that the Romans had a castle here can hardly be doubted, if we consider that four of their *Castra Riparensia* (as Mr. Somner calls their several forts on our coast) are within a few hours march of our city. Antoninus's Itinerary, in Camden, gives these distances of three of them from *Durovernum* [Canterbury,] *ad portum Ritupas* * [to Richborough] ten miles; *ad portum Dubris* * [to Dover] fourteen miles; *ad portum*

* Of Richborough castle walls are remaining three sides,

but ruinous, and they probably would have been more so, or quite destroyed, for the paving of Sandwich, but their firmness made the contractors sick of their bargain. The Roman way from hence is not easily found, but Dr. Harris, in his History of Kent, gives an account of his tracing it pretty successfully.

* Dover, where the *Via Originaria* begins, is so well known as to need no farther description here.

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<12> *Lemanis* * [to Stutfall] sixteen miles. *Regul-*
bium * [Reculver] is not mentioned. Three of
their military ways met here, where the chief

* Stutfall castle, containing ten acres of ground, stood so near the sea, that ships might be moored to iron rings, **long remaining** in the wall there, but now the sea hardly comes within a mile and a half of it, having left more than forty-thousand acres of land below the range of hills it once washed the foot of, and to this we owe Romney and Walland marshes, famous for fine mutton and excellent wool. The *Via Strata*, or Stone-street, from hence is very plainly distinguishable for several miles between this and Canterbury.

* Reculver is called nine miles from Canterbury, and no Roman way to be seen between them; but that it has been a place of great consequence, appears by multitudes of coins and other curious pieces of Roman antiquity, discovered by the sea's washing away the walls of the castle, and the remains of whatever buildings might have been near it; among which perhaps was the palace of the Saxon Kings, who when Ethelbert had given his at Canterbury to St. Augustine, kept their court here. When the channel Wantsum, between Thanet and the main, was sea, as the Swale which makes Sheppy an island is now, Richborough and Reculver castles commanded the two mouths of it, and the plural name *Rutupia* was common to both. This channel was probably the *Fundus Rutupinus*, the bed of oysters so much admired at Rome. The inground oysters of the Swale are no less so at present in Holland, from whence ships come and lie near Faversham during the fishing season, contracting for all they can get, to the value of some thousand pounds in a year, so that it is not easy for our own people to have them for their money.

17

of them (the Watling-street) crosses the river
Stour *.

As this must have been the most convenient situation for the residence of the *Comes Littoris Saxonici*, Count of the Saxon shore, whose particular business it was to fix garrisons upon the sea coast, in places convenient, and who had the command of 2200 foot and horse for that purpose, as Mr. Camden says. Reason itself will tell us, an officer of such rank and consequence, at such a post, would have a fortified quarter for himself and his command, while the Romans kept their footing here; though it is not mentioned in the history of the Danish invasions, between three and four hundred years after the Romans had left Britain. By that time their military discipline might have been forgot, and their castles run to ruin; if ours here was in no condition to

resist those destroyers, there could be no occasion to mention it, and in such scenes of horror and military discretion, it is no wonder if history is imperfect, especially in those days of ignorance and barbarity.

The present building appears to have been the keep or *donjon* of a fortress, within which it

* For some further account of these forts and ways see the little Tour of East Kent, in the Appendix, No. II.

18

stood, and of which the bounds are still discoverable, like that at the castles of Dover, Rochester, and the white tower at London; and as it is built in much the same style with them, may be about the same age.

<13> Mr. Somner's opinion is, that it was built before the conquest, because Dooms-day-book mentions the Conqueror's having Canterbury castle by exchange, made with the Archbishop and Abbot of St. Augustine's; it is plain, therefore, that Canterbury had a castle at his arrival, and that he got possession of it, but whether this tower was or was not standing at the time of his exchange, does not appear from what that record says; nor perhaps shall we find any better grounds on which to determine its antiquity, than the comparison between this and others which most resemble it. In one circumstance (whether very particular I cannot say) it agrees with those of Dover and Rochester, in having a well from the top of the tower: this is seen from the west side, where the wall is ruinous. — That in the keep of Dover, being in a dark corner, was walled up many years ago, to prevent accidents. That at Rochester is also stopped up at some depth, and ours choaked up with rubbish. Whether there was such a one at the white tower of London, perhaps cannot be known, but in one or more of the corner turrets of that, is a

19

very capacious cistern, kept filled from the Thames, by the water-mill at Traitors-bridge.

The yards and dykes about the castle, Mr. Battely says, contain four acres and one rood of land. The plan shows what could be traced of the old fortress in 1752, but some of its walls **have been** lately taken down, to prevent the mischief threatened by their fall; for by the account of a workman employed on this occasion, these outworks were never so well built as the tower itself, being become rubbishly and rotten, while that remains firm as a solid stone.

Through this castle-yard and Worthgate, already mentioned, was once the communication between Castle-street in Canterbury, and Wincheap without it, a suburb longer than the plan has room for, and the road to Chartham, Chatham, Ashford, and the Weald of Kent. This suburb is well built, and of a good breadth; and if my stranger is curious enough to go to it

<14> by Wincheap-gap, he will then see the full dimensions of this fine old gate, preserved by Dr. Gray's generosity, the most entire perhaps in the kingdom. **See Appendix, No. III.**

We are now got into the suburbs, with an account of which I shall begin another chapter, reserving that of the city and cathedral for the sequel of this little treatise.

20

CHAP IV.

Of the Suburbs.

THIS of Wincheap has little observable in it, except that the city liberty, after being interrupted by the site of the castle, begins here again, extending on one side of the way, as in the plan; the other, (beyond the extent of it) is bounded by the wall of St. Jacob's hospital *. Here are also some alms-houses, built by Mr. Harris, in 1726, for five poor families.

Going from Wincheap eastward without the city wall, we see the two little mounts mentioned in **chap II**, behind one of which is a range of buildings, once outhouses to the old capital mansion of Dane John.

Proceeding hence toward Ridingate, we pass by a little cluster of buildings, called Rodau's town, and soon arrive at Watling-street, with houses on the north side of it, till we come to a

* The hospital of St. James **and** St. Jacob, for leprous women, Mr. Lambard says, was built by Queen Eleanor, wife to Henry III. Mr. Somner shows that it was founded sooner, and under the protection of the prior and convent of Christchurch; he gives a little history of it, and says its clear revenue amounted to 46l. 6s. 3d.

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corner, where, at a turning to the left from the ancient highway, the present road leads by Oaten-hill *, into the city through St. George's-gate; at this turning stood the nunnery of St. Sepulchre *, the gates of which are still to be seen, but **of** the house **very little**.

<15> East of St. Sepulchre, on the road to Dover, is St. Laurence *, mentioned by Somner as in the suburbs of Canterbury, but not connected to it by buildings, nor within the plan. On one of the flinty piers of the old gate, a figure of St. Laurence on the gridiron may be discovered, with a man standing at his head, and another at

* Where malefactors, convicted by our city of capital crimes, are executed.

* St. Sepulchre's nunnery, Mr. Somner says, was founded by Archbishop Anselm, and was a corporation, consisting of a lady prioress, and five veiled black nuns, so called from the colour of their habits and veils. One of these was Elizabeth Barton, called the Holy Maid of Kent, in King Henry the Eighth's time, who being tutored by some monks, pretended to inspiration, and prophesied destruction to those who were opening a way to the reformation; for this she and seven of her accomplices suffered death, among whom was

Richard Dering, the cellarer of the cathedral monastery, and Hugh Rich, guardian of the Franciscans, six others of them were punished by fine and imprisonment. The revenue of this nunnery at the dissolution, was 29l. 12s. 5d.

* Formerly the seat of the family of Rooke, now of Lord Viscount Dudley.

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his feet. This was also an hospital for lepers, founded by Hugh, the second Abbot of St. Augustine's of that name, in 1137, that if any professed monk of that monastery should be infected with any contagious disease, but above all the leprosy *, so that he could not, without prejudice or scandal, stay within its precincts, he should be as well provided for here, as those who lived in the monastery. The governor of this (called *Custos Hospitalis*) was always one of the monks of St. Augustine's abbey.

Return we from hence to St. George's, or Newingate, after observing that this part of the suburbs is well inhabited, and furnished with several good shops. Proceeding northward, with the city wall on our left hand, we soon arrive at Burgate, opposite to which is the cemetery-gate of St. Augustine's monastery (which will make a chapter by itself) Church-street being between them, so named from the parish church

* Whether it was dedicated to St. Laurence, in allusion to the distemper, may be discussed by those who think leprosy and brenning, or burning, were the old names of that disease, which is now more fashionable as a French one. — Becket, in the Philosophical Transactions, No. 365, has produced a great many curious reasons to prove it was so, and even the institution mentions the distemper as a scandalous one.

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of St. Paul, on one side of it, where the last males of the knightly family of Rooke are buried.

The high road to Sandwich, Richborough, East Kent, and the Downs, was carried in a straight line from Burgate through the ancient burying place, till the monks of St. Augustine's contrived to get that within their walls, by turning the road aside to the borough of Longport, where between the houses on the south side, and the monastery wall on the north, it is of a very good breadth, and well inhabited, till we come to the church-yard, or burying-ground of St. Paul's parish, and this adjoins, on its east side, to the enclosures and gardens of Barton farm, now converted into a handsome mansion-house. It was some years ago remarkable for its two very large barns; the smaller of the two, which was by the road side, has been pulled down, and part of the other, but what remains is a curiosity, both for the spaciousness and strength of the building. Opposite to this the road recovers its straight course, at an angle in the monastery wall, where an arched gateway has been

bricked up within these few years.

A little farther east are alms-houses for four poor men, and four poor women, called Smith's hospital, from the name of the founder, who

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laid out 1500l. in purchasing an estate for this and other charitable uses.

Thus far have we had the wall of St. Augustine's monastery on our left hand, but here it strikes off to the northward, opposite to the corner house of St. Martin's-street, so called from its parish church just by, which, on account of its great antiquity, may be thought worthy of a chapter by itself.

<17> CHAP V.

Of St. Martin's Church.

THIS church is not seen from the road, but a turning at the south-east corner of the monastery soon brings us to it; it stands on the side of the hill, named from it, about a quarter and half quarter of a mile from the wall of the city. This and another church, where our cathedral now stands, are supposed to have been built by the Christians of the Roman soldiery, in the second century, and the time of Lucius, the first Christian King, who lived in 182, so that it is looked on as one of the oldest structures of that kind, still in constant use now in the kingdom; and, indeed, nothing appears in the materials or architecture, to contradict this opinion,

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for its walls seem to have been built (those of the chancel at least) entirely of Roman brick, and the structure is the most simple that is possible *.

If the church, built by those Christians in the east part of the city, was larger and more magnificent, (as Mr. Battely seems to believe) this might tempt the **Danish** invaders to make a ruin of that, but they had no provocation here. It is not unreasonable to suppose, that Queen Bertha might find it more convenient to pay her devotions in such an obscure chapel, than to get one, more suitable to her rank, erected, while her husband, King Ethelbert, and his subjects were idolaters.

Here, therefore, was a Christian church and congregation settled, with a Queen and her chaplain Luidhard, Bishop of Soissons, at the head of it, before St. Augustine and his monks made their appearance in England **597**, and hither (as Mr. Somner **tells us** from Bede) did he and his fellow-labourers resort to their devotions, at their first arrival, by the licence of King Ethelbert in favour of his Queen.

* St. Martin was Bishop of Tours, and died 395. This church, therefore, could not be built at first in honour of him, but might afterwards be dedicated to him by Luidhard, who was himself a French Bishop.

At this place, he tells us also, was, for 349 years, the see of a Bishop, who always remaining in the country, supplied the place of the Archbishop, who, for the most part, followed the court; and that as well in governing the monks as in performing the solemnities of the church, and exercising the authority of an Archdeacon. Mr. Battely disputes this, for reasons foreign to the design of this book; so I shall only add, that the font in this little church is itself deserving some notice, as a venerable piece of antiquity, and proceed on my walk.

CHAP VI.

Suburbs continued.

FROM St. Martin's we may go with the monastery wall close on our left hand, through two or three pleasant fields, called the North Holmes, to a lane, one end of which leads to Broad-street, under that part of the wall which incloses both the city and the cathedral from Northgate to Burgate, and the other, going round the liberty of St. Gregory's Priory, will bring us into Northgate-street, at the end of which is Jesus hospital, more commonly called Boys's, from Sir John Boys *, the founder of it,

* Sir John endowed this for eight poor men, and four women, viz. a warden, who has a house to himself, seven

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who died in 1612, and whose monument we shall see in the cathedral.

<19> This is near the extremity of the plan; farther on, and within the city liberty, is Barton Mill, on the river, a little way from the road. Some remains of flint-walls by the way side hither, and a chapel near the mill pretty entire, seem to show there was once a considerable in-

brothers, of whom one is claviger, or porter, with 40s. addition to his salary, and four sisters: their apartments form three sides of a little square, on a bank close by the much frequented road from Canterbury to Thanet, and the coast from thence to Hearn. The entrance is by a gate, four steps above the road, in the middle of a dwarf wall, which completes the square, and gives the fraternity a near view of all that passes. The warden and brothers usually attend the cathedral in gowns every Sunday morning. <+ p 199> Sir John, in his book of ordinances of this hospital, directs that the warden shall be appointed by such of the surname of the founder, as shall be owner of Betteshanger (if not under age) or, in default of them, by such of the same name as shall be owner of Fredvile, [these were two of the numerous seats of that ancient family in our neighbourhood;] in default of these, by the Dean of Canterbury for the time being; if no Dean, by the Mayor of the city; if these fail, to nominate in two months; then, after proper notification, by the Archdeacon.

The seats being now in other names and families, our Deans have for many successions been masters here, and as such, on any vacancy of brethren or sisters places, nominate two persons statutablely qualified to the Mayor, who chuses

one of them.

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closure; but neither the Canterbury antiquarians, nor common tradition, give any history of it.

Returning toward the city from hence, we have on our left hand a long range of buildings, with a passage through the middle of it, into St. Gregory's * priory, founded by Archbishop Lanfranc, part of which is now standing, but not a great deal, only one large room, unless the buildings of the street may be looked on as the lodgings of the poor and sick, who were

<a> * St. Gregory's was a large and handsome house of stone, built by Archbishop Lanfranc, in 1084, who added to it several dwellings, well contrived for the wants and conveniences of those who should live there, with a spacious court adjoining. This palace (for so Edmer calls it) he divided into two parts, one for men labouring under various distempers, the other for women who had ill health; providing them with food and cloathing at his own expence, appointing also officers and servants, who should by all means take care that nothing should be wanting, and that the men and women should be kept from communication with each other. He built also, on the opposite side of the way, a church, to the honour of St. Gregory, where he placed canons regular, who should administer spiritual comfort and assistance to the infirm people above mentioned, and take the care of their funerals, for which he provided them with such an income as was thought sufficient. **Bishop Tanner says, Lanfranc founded this for secular priests, 1084, but Archbishop William made it a priory of black canons, temp. Henry I.**

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<20> provided for there. The ground belonging to its precinct is, as the plan shows, almost entirely laid out in gardens for our market. The chapel of St. Thomas (whose ruins are there) had over the door, at the west end of it, a handsome old arch, which the Archbishop's lessee took down some years ago, to make a portal to his own dwelling-house, at St. Thomas's-hill; but that being sold and rebuilt, a curious gentleman in the country, by adapting the front of one of his out-buildings to it, has preserved this piece of antiquity, and added to the beauties of his seat.

Opposite to this priory is St. John's hospital *, and the church, dedicated to St. Gregory, is now the chapel of that hospital, but both have suffered much since Mr. Somner and Mr. Battely described them; the bells having been sold, the steeple and north ile taken down, as were many of the old houses, and smaller and less convenient ones erected in their room; a stone wall was also taken away, which sheltered the whole from the cold north-west wind blowing over the river and the meadow land, **and being** pentised

* St. John's hospital was founded by Archbishop Lanfranc, in 1084, for the lame, weak, and infirm, and contains (with a master and a reader) eighteen in-brothers, (one of whom is annually chosen prior) twenty in-sisters, and the like

number of out-brothers and out-sisters.

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over head, was called by the poor people their cloysters, under which they used to walk, or sit and converse with each other on the benches. — All this was done by way of improvement, about thirty years ago.

We now have nothing to attract our notice till we come to Northgate, except that we cross a street parallel to the city wall, which, on the right hand, is continued almost to the bank of the river, and, on the left, quite as far as the castle and St. Mildred's postern. That part on the right hand is called Duck-lane, and leads to St. Radegund's bath, a fine spring, built over, and fitted for cold bathing; the bason or bath itself being twenty feet long, eleven feet wide, and from three to four feet deep. A dwelling-house adjoins to it of modern structure, but in altering a very ancient one, near the bath, some hollows or pipes were discovered, carried along in the thickness of an old stone wall, which <21> seemed a contrivance for heating the room in former times, and making a sudatory or sweating room of it.

Some years ago, this house being a public house, and the owner of it a city magistrate, a new postern was broken through the city wall for a way to it, which is not mentioned in my survey of the wall, because the Bath house being

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in the suburb, and this postern made purely for the convenience of it, this seems the properest place to mention it. The city wall here is seven feet thick.

About the beginning of this century, an attempt was made to render the river navigable from Fordwich, which succeeded so far, that lighters brought coals up to this part of it; but when the undertaker had run out his fortune in making the experiment, he found that the Fordwich waggons could deliver their loading here, as cheap or cheaper than he could, and the design came to nothing.

If we turn to the left without Northgate, into the street which runs near the town wall, this will bring us to the most considerable object of curiosity in the whole suburb, and show us the great gate of St. Augustine's monastery, to which we go through a little square, called Lady Wotton's Green.

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CHAP VII.

Of St. Augustine's Monastery.

MR. Somner says, Augustine the monk, the apostle of the English, obtained from Ethelbert, the first Christian King of Kent, a certain peice of ground, on which, with the King's help, he built this abbey, and dedicated

<22> it to St. Peter and St. Paul; but St. Dunstan afterwards dedicated it anew, to the honour of those apostles, and of St. Augustine, in the year 978, and from thence it was called St. Augustine's.

Here we should observe, that when the Papists call Augustine the Apostle of the English, it is not that they look on him as the first preacher of Christianity in our island.

In their service for May 26, the festival of St. Eleutherius, one of the lessons says, Lucius, a British King, wrote to him, desiring that he and his might be numbered among the Christians.

Who had converted him so far as to occasion this request, is not said; but that he sent the

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learned and pious Fugatius and Damian into Britain, by whom the King and the rest received the truth*.

Eleutherius was elected Pope about 177, at which time this lesson supposes the gospel known in Britain, as it probably was long before; for though the legend of Joseph of Arimathea, and Glastonbury thorn, be almost exploded, many learned men see, at least, as much reason to believe, that the apostle of the Gentiles visited Britain, as that the apostle of the Circumcision was ever Bishop of Rome.

Both these were preachers of Christianity. The apostle-ship of Augustine appears to have been of a very different kind: he was sent to teach, that the Bishop of Rome had supreme authority over the whole church of Christ; a doctrine not heard of in England till his arrival, some hundreds of years after Christianity was planted here; for though Saxon idolatry then prevailed in Kent, he found two old churches, built by Christians, standing at Canterbury, and one of them, that of St Martin, in use; Bertha, King Ethelbert's Queen, having it assigned to her for Christian worship,

* See Pope Paul's Breviary for the Benedictines, printed at Paris 1671, page 970.

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<e> with Luidhard, a French Bishop, for her chaplain; and here Augustine is said to have first entered on his office. Ethelbert was soon converted to Christianity; but it is not at all unlikely, that in politics Luidhard and Augustine might differ, for the Pope's supremacy was not then acknowledged in Gaul, and this might occasion the conferences with the old Christians of Britain, who, by King Ethelbert's assistance, were brought to consult with him. He only desired says the writer of the lives of the British Saints, (printed 1745) that they would conform to the catholic church (by which he means the church of Rome) in the celebration of Easter, and in the manner of the administration of bap=

tism, and join with him in preaching the word of God to the English nation. Intreaties, exhortations, and representations, had no weight with them, nor could a miracle (said to be wrought by him) persuade them to quit the religion of their fathers, without a second meeting; where seven Bishops of the Britons, and a number of the learned monks of Bangor, with their prior, Dilnoth, attended, with much the same success. The haughtiness with which he received them, and proposed the conditions on which they might become subject to the Pope and the Governors and laws he would give them, defeated his scheme; and Dilnoth let him know, that as far as Christian love and charity

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obliged, they were ready to do all good offices, and pay due respect, but as to obedience, they were already provided of a superior, or provincial, of their own country in the Bishop of Caerleon.

On this he threatened them with the destruction which fell on them a few years after, represented by some as a judgment, by others, as the effect of Italian malice and intrigue.

Be that as it will, when a Pagan King of Northumberland massacred twelve hundred unarmed men of these religious, who were met to obtain, by fasting and prayer, God's protection for their country and Christianity; the church of Rome takes no notice of their martyrdom in its kalendars or legends; and the popish author of the lives of the British Saints, gives a reason for it worthy of such a writer, and says, 'These monks, dying by the hands of infidels, while they were praying for the success of their Christian brethren, might well be ranked among the martyrs, if there could be martyrs without charity, or if there could be charity, joined with an obstinate refusal of imparting the light of faith (of faith in the Pope) to those who were in the way of perishing eternally for want of it.'

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The reader will excuse the length of this remark; it shows what made Augustine a Saint, **as well as** with what insolence he treated those primitive Christians, **who preferred** the light of the gospel, and subjection to their proper superior, to the new lights and new sovereigns he would have imposed on them.

It shows also what the charity of Papists is in comparison with that of the old British Protestants, as professed by Dilnoth, **and laid down by our Saviour himself, as the rule by which men may know who are his disciples.**

<24> But to return from this digression, and speak of the monastery itself. Mr. Somner ascribes the situation of it without the city walls, to its being designed by the King and the Archbishop, as a place of sepulture for them and their successors. By very ancient custom, the sepulchres

of the dead were placed by the sides of the highways, of which we have examples without number in our neighbourhood. Accordingly, the cemetery here was on the straight road from our Burgate to Richborough [*Ritupis*.] The monks, as already observed, had turned that road aside to Longport, in order to secure that burying-place within their own inclosure *. A common

* Mr. Somner, page 34, represents the inclosing this burying-place within their walls as owing to the policy of the

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footway lay through it for many years, even till Mr. Somner's memory; but the great gate of the cemetery, toward the town, is lately turned into a dwelling-house, and that which came into the road near St. Martin's walled up.

The front of the abbey was to the west; and before the principal gate of it is a small square towards Broad-street and the cathedral. From hence may be seen what the city wall would be, if kept in due repair; and on a tower of it near the postern are three escutcheons of stone, on which are carved the arms of England, with those of the city and cathedral.

<25> At the dissolution, King Henry VIII. seized this as a palace for himself. The site of it was granted to Cardinal Pole for life, second and third Philip and Mary. In 1573, Queen Elizabeth kept her court here, in a royal progress; she attended divine service at the cathedral every Sunday, during her stay at Canterbury, and was magnificently entertained, with all her attendants, and a great concourse of other company, by Archbishop Parker, on her birth-day, kept at his palace. The site of the monastery

monks, and it might be so, not only for the supposed holiness of the ground, but because some of our churches have no church-yard adjoining to them.

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having been afterwards granted to Henry Lord Cobham, on his attainder, in 1603, it was granted to Robert Cecil, Lord Essenden, (afterward Earl of Salisbury) by letters patent, third James I. It was soon after in the possession of Thomas Lord Wotton, of Marley. Here King Charles I. consummated his marriage with the Princess Henrietta, of France, on June 13, 1625, whom he met at Dover, and married at Canterbury that day. Mary, the Dowager of Lord Wotton, made this place her residence during the great rebellion, when she was plundered and cruelly treated by the usurping powers. King Charles II. lodged here also, on his passage through this city at his restoration. It has ever since that, retained the name of Lady Wotton's palace, and the square is called Lady Wotton's Green. She died there about the time of the restoration, and left four daughters, co-heiresses, the youngest of whom, Anne, was married to Sir Edward Hales, of Wood-church, in Kent,

Bart. and brought her husband this estate. In their descendants it has continued to Sir Edward Hales, of St. Stephen's, (or Hackington) the present owner.

Dugdale's *Monasticon*, published in 1655, gives a print of it, as it was in his time *. The view

* Bishop Kennet, in his life of Mr. W. Somner, says, that he furnished Sir William Dugdale with the ichnography

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<26> was taken from the high tower of our cathedral, and shows that whatever was demolished of this monastery at the suppression, a considerable part of it remained standing when this drawing was made. Ethelbert's tower was then nearly complete, and the apartments such as might and did serve for a palace.

The print observes, that the wall of the monastery incloses about sixteen acres of ground; beside which it had an almonry without its gate, which still retains its name, and some tokens of its antiquity; what has brought **the monastery** to its present condition, let us trace if we can *.

of the cathedral, the draught of the monastery, and other sculptures; which being designed for a folio volume, we find only one of them in Somner's quarto of the Antiquities of Canterbury, and that twice folded to get room. It is there called a map, representing the high altar at St. Austin's, with the chapels behind it, &c. Mr. Battely had it copied for his edition of Somner, in which are also some prints from Hollar's etchings for Sir W. Dugdale's work.

* It is said, that when Henry VIII. seized the religious houses, the gates of St. Augustine's monastery were shut against him, till two pieces of cannon, placed on an hill just by, made the monks hasten to deliver up their keys. What damage they did, and whatever else it might suffer by the reformation, and the going through so many hands as above-mentioned, enough remained to receive King Charles I. at his wedding, and King Charles II. at his restoration.

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'When we enter the sept, (says Mr. Somner) the first thing observable (except the fair hall, the late refectory of the monks) is Ethelbert's tower.' But of this fair hall it is now difficult to find the place; perhaps it was pulled down to furnish materials for the Red Lion inn, in our High-street, (which belongs to the owner of the monastery) for the wainscotting of the great parlour is said to have been brought from the hall of St. Augustine's, and very probably was so, having been painted with pieces of scripture history, as hanging up in frames; but some years ago an attempt to clean and recover one of these pictures having failed, the whole was battered to resemble pannel work, and painted over of one colour.

Ethelbert's tower, which, in the print, appears pretty entire, has, since that view was taken, lost its whole north side down to the ground. Mr. Somner supposes it built about the year 1047, and gives his reasons for thinking

so; but when, on his second thoughts, and more exact survey, (as Mr. Battely quotes him from his own manuscript additions) he calls it a hollow piece throughout, and unvaulted, or without any arch cast over from the bottom to the top, he is strangely mistaken; for there is certainly an arched vault at this day, about twenty-five feet from the ground, and, to all ap-

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pearance, as old as the rest of the building. Above this we see, that each of the corner towers on the north side, had a fair newel staircase **at** the top of the tower, and that corbels were left for flooring at different stories of the building.

What the dimensions of the old abbey-church were can hardly be traced with any degree of certainty; the west side of Ethelbert's tower, being adorned with little pillars, from the top almost to the ground, seems to shew that here never was any cross ile, nor a body continued in a line from the church. At sixty-six feet south of this tower, is a very massive ruin, of a threatening appearance, which has some tokens of its having been built at the south-west corner of the church, to answer that of Ethelbert at the north-west; if so, we may believe, this was the west front of the church, possibly with a handsome porch, of which nothing is now to be seen. On viewing carefully the east side of Ethelbert's tower, two grooves, or chasings, are to be seen, (one thirty, the other forty-two feet from the ground) cut in the stone-work, to receive the skirts, or flashings of the lead when the roof was covered; the first determines, very exactly, the height and breadth of the north-side ile, and some of the north wall is standing, to a height above that of the old arches. The angle of the

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other chasing shews exactly what was the pitch of the main roof; and from these circumstances, an artist may nearly determine both the breadth and height of the old building. Of the length there are no such traces to be found; but a description of the high altar, which Somner has given us, seems designed to shew, that behind that altar were several circular porticos, or chapels, furnished with **altars and** shrines of other Saints, which the monkish describer knew no better how to express.

Within these few years, a trial was made, whether pulling down Ethelbert's tower, toward building a seat in the neighbourhood, would answer the expence, but it did not, neither perhaps did the digging up some stone coffins of the monks for that purpose, for that was also laid aside. However, several bodies were found, and some skulls, hair, and remnants of their habits were picked up, and preserved as curiosities.

Mr. Somner thinks nothing more remains among these heaps of ruin worth observation,

unless St. Pancrace's chapel is so, built, some suppose, for idol worship. If so, it was a very small temple for a King's devotions, for it is but thirty feet in length, and twenty-one in breadth.

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It was built of the same materials as the church of St. Martin, and may be as ancient, but now only the walls of it remain.

The west front of the monastery extends about two hundred and fifty feet, and the walls, which enclose the whole precinct, are standing; the great gate has buildings adjoining, which once had some handsome apartments, and particularly a bed-chamber, with a ceiling, very curiously painted. The whole is now let to one who keeps a public house; and, having plenty of excellent water, this apartment is converted to a brewhouse; the steam of which has miserably defaced that fine ceiling. The rest of the house he has fitted up for such customers as chuse to spend their time there, having turned the great court-yard into a bowling-green, the fine chapel adjoining to the north side of the church, into a fives-court, with a skittle-ground near it; and the great room over the gate to a cockpit.

If any thing more is curious, it is some flint in the walls, and especially at the foot of a buttress of the gate, at the north-east corner, where the joints and stones are as neatly fitted, as the fairest works of ground brick.

If the riches of this monastery were very great, so were its privileges, and the rank and autho-

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riety of the Abbot, who was exempt from the Archbishop's jurisdiction, and subject only to the Pope. He wore the mitre, and other ornaments of a Bishop, had a vote in parliament as a Baron, and, for many years, allowance of mintage and coinage of money, in right of his Abbacy. He took such state upon him, that when, on his election, he was to receive the benediction of the Archbishop, he would not wait on him for it, but the Archbishop was to go to him. His monastery had also the right of the aldermanry of Westgate, in the city of Canterbury, which, in the year 1278, was let at 10l. *

At the dissolution, the revenues of this monastery were valued at 1412l. 4s. 7d.

* We find in *Dec. Scrip.* page 1915, that till Henry the Third's time, the monks here used to shave one another, but, it seems, pretty roughly sometimes; for Abbot Roger then ordained, with consent of the body, that to prevent the hurts and dangers often owing to the clumsy and ignorant in that business, secular or lay barbers should have a room near the bath room, for shaving upon occasion; when three collects were to be said in memory of this benefaction, and for the soul of Roger the Abbot.

<200> Leland says, 'The whole space of ground from the two gates of the monastery, to the ditch without the city wall, was once a cemetery, though now a great many houses are

built there.' And that, not long before he wrote, an urn had been found there, which, by an inscription on it, appeared to have once contained a body.' He also mentions

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<29> CHAP VIII.

Of St. George's Gate and the City.

IN my chapter of the walls and gates, that of St. George I left to be treated of, when I should there begin my walk in the city; but before I enter, it will be proper to consider the placing of it, and its **first** name.

<30> The name Newingate seems to distinguish it from the five other gates of the city, in point of age; and it being placed at so small a distance from Burgate, shows that it was opened when this part of the city was become more frequented than formerly. Mr. Somner fancies it built as a more direct way into the heart of the city, from Dover road; but the way is far from being a direct one, having four turnings between the Watling-street and the gate; and if we place the heart of the city in the middle of it, this is vastly out of the way. Watling-street leads much more directly toward it; and while the

another found near St. Pancras's chapel, with a heart in it; so that this part of our suburb appears to have been a place of burial long before the building of the monastery itself.

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Romans had their garrison in the castle, the centre of the city was probably the centre of business. But when they had left Britain, and the Saxon Kings of Kent had their palace in the north part of the city, this must make a difference, which grew still greater, when the two rich monasteries, flourishing in this quarter, drew votaries to them in swarms.

That where St. Augustine, the Pope's apostle, and so many holy and eminent persons, lay buried, could vie with that of our Saviour, till the fame of St. Thomas Becket, the Pope's martyr, put the matter out of dispute, and carried the whole tide of superstition before it. Then here was the centre of business, which attracted not only the trade of the city to it, but the city itself; leaving the **southern** parts very thin of inhabitants. Then a new gate hereabouts might become quite necessary: for pilgrims from foreign countries, as well as all parts of our own, flocked to the shrine of St. Thomas, in such numbers, that a hundred thousand of them are said to have visited it in one year.

<31> To this, therefore, I suppose, we may impute the opening **and name** of Newingate; which at first, perhaps, was but an ordinary building, and of such mean appearance, as occasioned the present one to be erected about the year 1470,

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much after the model of Westgate, but not so large nor so lofty.

Just without it, under the city wall, to the southward, is kept a market for live cattle every Saturday.

In each tower of this gate is a cistern, from whence the city is supplied with excellent water, by pipes, with public cocks to every one of its markets, as well as to the Town Hall, where this circumstance will be mentioned again.

The parish church of St. George, situated on the right hand, a little way from the gate, gives name to that and the street. On the opposite side, a little lower, we see a handsome gateway, of the **Augustine** Friars. Farther on, and on the right, are the Shambles, in a place cleared for them in 1740, before which time the street was greatly incumbered by them. Here also is a Fish-market, lately established, where they who bring their fish to town, may sit and sell them toll free. Just by is the public engine for weighing loads of hay, and near this, at the same side, and **the** corner of Butchery-lane, is the Corn-market, with a granary over it.

This part of the street had a middle row, of a considerable length, consisting of the old

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Shambles, just now mentioned, a fine Conduit, or water-house of stone, the gift of Archbi=shop Abbot *, pulled down in 1754; and west of these the church of St. Andrew, giving name to this part of our principal street. This church was taken down in 1763, and a new one built

<32>

by parish rates, and voluntary gifts, in a quieter and more convenient situation just by, opened for the performance of divine service, by licence of the Archbishop, Dec. 26, 1773, and conse=crated the **4th day of** July following. The west end of St. Andrew's church stood where the way between Northgate and the castle crosses the walk we are now taking toward West=gate. Here begins our High-street; on the south side of which, and not far from the cor=ner, is the church of St. Mary Bredman's pa=rish, (united to that of St. Andrew) against the wall of which a stone shews it is fifty-six miles from London; but some late improvements of that road have been made, which, if a new sur=vey of the **roads** was taken, would remove this considerably to the eastward.

* The Biographia Britannica, published in 1747, under the article Abbot, page 16, says, 'He built a fair conduit in the city of Canterbury, for the use of the inhabitants. He likewise intended to have left a yearly revenue for the support of that conduit, if he had not been deterred by the ungrateful usage he met with from the Mayor and corpo=ration.'

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About the middle of High-street, on the north side of it, stands the Town Hall, a handsome

and lofty room, with a spacious gallery over the door, for taking the poll at elections, when the voters have one stair-case to go up, and another to go down by, and so avoid crowding each other. The way into the Hall is under this gallery, between two rooms, one for juries to be enclosed in, and the other for the goaler to secure his prisoners, while waiting for their trials; Canterbury being a county in itself, with authority not only to determine disputes at law here between its citizens, but to try capital causes, when the facts are committed within the city liberty, the Mayor sitting as judge, and pronouncing the sentence, assisted by the Recorder and bench of Aldermen above the chair, who are all justices of the peace.

A court of conscience for the recovery of small debts, is held here every Thursday, and a court of burghmote from time to time.

<33> On the side walls of the Hall hang some matchlocks, brown bills, and other old weapons; but the upper end, where the court is kept, is furnished with pictures, a whole length of Queen Anne being over the seat of the Mayor, and several portraits on each side of it, of persons who have been benefactors to the

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city, with some account of their donations on each of them.

Behind the court is a large and handsome parlour, for withdrawing into occasionally, and over it a room, in which the Chamberlain keeps the standards for weights and measures with the books and accounts of the city business.

Near the door of the Court-hall, is one of the public water-cocks before mentioned, and in the wall above it, a stone brought hither from Archbishop Abbot's conduit, when that was pulled down, on which is the following inscription:

'Sir John Hales, Bart. brought his excellent water from St. Austin's into this city at his own expence, anno dom. 1733; which noble benefaction is here gratefully remembered by the Mayor and commonalty of the said city.'

And on another stone under it:

'N. B. The above generous benefaction is still continued by Sir Edward Hales, Bart. 8th May, 1754.'

Proceeding still westward, on the left hand, is Jury, or rather Jewry-lane, for the Jews were formerly settled here, and had a school, or synagogue,

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till they were expelled the kingdom by King Edward I. and their houses seized by him.

Several old vaults hereabouts are supposed, by Mr. Somner, to be the remainder of their buildings; but in digging a cellar within these

twenty years, a curiosity of another kind was found, not above three or four feet below the level of the street: it was a fair mosaic pavement of a carpet pattern, the *tessellæ* of burnt earth, red, yellow, black and white; their shape and sizes different, some near an inch over, others very small, laid on a bed of mortar, of such hardness, and so thick, that with care it might have been preserved entire, but for want of that, was broken into three or four pieces, some of which were afterwards carried away, and joined. What was saved of it was, perhaps, three feet broad and five long; but party-walls prevented the size of the whole from being ascertained.

Jewry-lane, making an elbow, leads to Lamb-lane: we leave the end of both on our left hand, and that of Best's Lane, with all Saints church on the right, and so come to King's Bridge (called sometimes East Bridge, to distinguish it from that without Westgate) and the hospital of the same name, which crosses the

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river with it on our left hand. * The way over this bridge wanting convenient breadth, was widened in 1769, on which occasion it was

* East-bridge hospital, Mr. Somner says, was erected and endowed by St. Thomas Becket, for which he quotes the preamble of those ordinances, or statutes, which Archbishop Stratford gave for the good government of it, in 1342; where it is said to have been founded for the receiving, lodging, and sustaining of poor pilgrims, for one night only, if in health, with right of burial in Christ Church-yard, for such of them as should happen to die within the hospital.

A master, in priest's orders, and a vicar under him, had the care of this, in which were to be twelve beds, with an aged woman to look after them, and provide all necessaries for the pilgrims.

The present building is ancient, and has a decent hall and chapel, where a schoolmaster (who has a good apartment in the house, and is called the reader) instructs twenty boys gratis, in reading, writing, and arithmetic. There are rooms also for five in-brothers, and five in-sisters; but some of these rooms are subject to be flooded in very wet seasons, a mill just below the bridge so incumbering the channel of the river, that the part of St. Peter's Street next the bridge is at such times under water.

The master of the hospital has a pretty house and garden just by it, and subject to the same inconvenience with his neighbours, but at present there are some hopes of its being effectually remedied.

<a> Cokyn's hospital, **endowed and united to this by one of that name, has lost its endowment; the house only remains fronting the street, and is appointed for the reception of six**

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found necessary to take down the steeple of All Saints church, which stood quite into the street.

The bridge brings us into that part of the city, which, by the branching of the river, stands in an island, formerly known by the

<35> name Binnewith, now almost forgotten. The street from hence to Westgate takes its name from St. Peter's church, which stands a little way out of the street to the northward, at about the middle of its length; but before we get so far, we pass by an entry on the left, which leads to the ruins of the Franciscan or Grey Friars monastery, and Cokyn's or Cogan's hospital; in the right by a gateway of the black or Dominican ones *. This is faced with square flints, but not quite so curiously laid as those at St. Augustine's.

clergymen's widows, to whose better support is appointed a legacy of Dr. John Aucher, late a prebendary of our cathedral.

* The Franciscan friars wore a coarse grey coat down to their heels, with a cowl or hood of the same for their head and shoulders, and a rope for their girdle. They begged, barefooted, from door to door, and so were called grey, barefooted, and begging friars, as also minors, regulars, and observants, from the humility and perfection they pretended to, and Franciscans, from the seraphic founder of their order, as the black ones were from St. Dominic their founder. These wore a black cope and cowl over a white

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<36> Little remains of these religious houses worth turning aside to look at; I proceed therefore toward the gate, passing by St. Peter's Lane and church on our right hand; not far from which, we shall see a grated door on the same hand, which leads to our wells. These are two springs of mineral water *, of different quality, though rising within seven feet of each other. The waters have been prescribed and taken with good success, from the first discovery of them, but never were so much in fashion as to crowd the town with company.

We now have the church-yard wall of * Holy Cross, Westgate, on our left hand, where

coat, and were called preaching friars, to distinguish them from those orders who did not preach.

Mr. Somner gives us a curious account, from Matthew Paris, of a hot dispute between these two humble orders, about precedency and superiority of holiness, **which I thought would take up too much room in my former book: but my reader, who may be diverted with seeing how far professed humility, poverty, and beggary itself, may serve for occasions of pride, will find most of it, as translated by Mr. Batteley, in my Appendix, No. IV.**

* Discovered in 1693, and described by Doctor Scipio des Moulins, in the Philosophical Transactions, No. 312.

* In the time of King Richard the Second, Holy Cross church was (as is now Northgate) over the gate, which when Archbishop Sudbury took down and rebuilt, he erected

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we see the church too, just as we arrive at the gate-house.

Westgate and its bridge are the boundary here both of Canterbury and its jurisdiction; the broad street without being in the

county of Kent, and at St. Dunstan's church *, a quarter of a mile from the gate, divided into two roads, one turning to the south to get into the line of Watling-street, for London; the other proceeding, as in the plan, for Whitstable. By the side of this is a place of burial for Jews, and another not far from it for Quakers.

<37> In St. Dunstan's Street is the prison for the county of Kent, and not far from it the Jews have a synagogue, which they have lately enlarged. This, and North-lane, a little without the gate, are the only considerable suburbs not yet taken notice of.

the present church, and added a church-yard to it, with leave of the King.

* St. Dunstan's church is larger and handsomer than most of the parish churches in our city, and its neighbourhood. In a vault under the family chancel of Roper here is kept a skull, said to be that of the great Sir Thomas More; it is in a niche of the wall, secured with an iron grate, though some say his favourite daughter, Margaret Roper, who lies here, desired to be buried with it in her arms. The vault being full, was closed up not many years since.

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I shall now give some account of the street crossing our last walk, north and southward, beginning at the North, or Norgate, as we call it.

Just within this gate we see another on our left hand, a great gate with a wicket. This opens into the Mint-yard, the old almonry of the cathedral, and within its precinct, to be spoken of in its place.

Church-lane, or waterlock-lane, and a few houses on the right hand, within Northgate, are in the city liberty; then begins that of Staple-gate, made a borough by charter of Henry VI. and supposed the place where St. Augustine and his company were entertained by King Ethelbert, before he gave them his palace.

At about one hundred yards from Northgate, a part of the Archbishop's palace standing across the street, obliges us to turn either toward the Green-court-gate of the cathedral precinct on our left, or (going round the west corner of that old building) proceed southward again, by the way which takes different names as we go; first from Northgate, then from the Borough, the Archbishop's palace, St Alphage's church, the east end of which is by the side of it, and afterwards from a red pump, common to the neigh-

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bourhood in which it stands, where, inclining a little to the eastward, it brings us to the Butter-market and Mercery-lane, an old and narrow one, but well situated for trade.

Great part of this lane seems formerly to have been built for large inns. One part of the Chequer, where Chaucer and his fellow pilgrims are said to have lodged, takes up almost half the

west side of it, and another part, with its gates, reaches some way down High-street, but perhaps
<38> not so far as it once did, a new house having been built there, and great alterations have been made almost every where. The corner shop indeed shows, by arches each way, in what manner the ground floor was built, and some others were joining to them within the memory of man, but now the whole being converted into tenements and shops, many of the windows sashed, and the well-timbered upper stories cased with roughcast: the extent of the old house cannot be guessed at but by its roof. Going through the gate of it, we find on our left a staircase leading up to a gallery, which probably went round the whole court, when larger than it is now. Another also appears to have been above it, but it is now become part of the several houses which wanted the room these galleries took up.

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From Mercery-lane we cross High-street into St. Margaret's, the corner of which, on our right hand, has, perhaps, the largest and most elegant assembly room, built by a private owner, in the whole kingdom.

A little beyond this is our old Fish-market, near enough to the sea to be served with fish, from Folkstone, and other places on our coast, in a few hours after they are landed.

The east end of St. Margaret's church * is on the same side, a little farther, the street reaching to Watling-street; and here Castle-street begins,
<39> which has nothing remarkable in it, unless Chapel-church-yard be so, for being the burying place of three parishes in the city distant from it, (but without church-yards of their own) and of St. Mildred's near it, which has one.

* Here is an ecclesiastical court, in which the Archbishop once in four years, visits the clergy of the neighbouring part of his diocese. Two other visitations are annually held here, by the Archdeacon, or his official, one for his clergy, the other for churchwardens only; the parishes exempt from his jurisdiction being visited by the Commissary at the time he is pleased to appoint. Here also, and in a court he has in the body of the cathedra¹, causes of fornication, defamation, and other ecclesiastical disputes are tried, before surrogates appointed to that office.

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The plan will shew what a roundabout way we take by Wincheap-gap, to get to the line from Castle-street to that of Wincheap, through the old Worthgate. — Crossing this line without the wall, and passing by that gate and the castle, we are soon at the postern opening into St. Mildred's church-yard. Hereabouts, as I have already observed, are some remains visible of the Roman wall, and a very fair arch of Roman brick, at the west end of the south isle of that church.

Possibly the Christians of the Roman garrison, at the castle, had a chapel there, for they were a long way from St. Martin's, and the place where the cathedral now stands.

From St. Mildred's church-yard we enter Stour-street, parallel to the river, and at no great distance from it. Some little lanes cross it, one of which, on the right, is called Spital-lane, from Maynard's hospital * there. This street is also called St. Mildred's, till we come to another crossing it, called Beer-cart-lane, from Brewer's drays usually standing there, but indeed, a continuation of Watling-street, leading down to the waterlock, a name given to

* By Mr. Somner's account, Maynard, or Mayner, was called the rich. He dedicated his hospital to the Blessed Virgin, and endowed it with rents in the city, to the value

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those places where horses can go down to drink at the river.

<40> At the corner here is the city workhouse, formerly an hospital for poor priests *.

From the workhouse we go by Lamb-lane to King's Bridge, leaving Hawk's Lane, and one

of 3l. 7s. per annum, and six acres of wood, in the parish of Fordwich.

Inscription on Maynard's hospital:

'This house and chapel was founded by John Maynard, for 3 brothers and 4 sisters, Anno Domini, 1317, in the 12th year of the reign of King Edward the Second.

'This work was finished, and the chapel repaired, in the year of our Lord 1617, by Joseph Colf, Esquire, Alderman of the city of Canterbury, and M. of this hospital.'

Cotton's hospital adjoining to it was erected by Leonard Cotton, who was Mayor of Canterbury 1580.

* Granted by Queen Elizabeth, in 1574, to the Mayor and commonalty of the city, who made use of it for the maintenance and lodging of several poor boys, and as a house of correction, called the Bridewell; **the boys are** called Bridewell-boys, or blue-coat-boys, from their dress, in which they usually attend the Mayor, when he goes in his formalities to the cathedral, or his own parish church. In 1728, it was, by act of parliament, appointed to be the workhouse, for the maintenance and employment of the poor of the city, under guardians, incorporated for that purpose.

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end of Jury-lane on the right hand, the bridge and All Saint's church (after crossing High-street at the lower end) on the left, where we enter Best's Lane, and soon see the river again, and another waterlock, with Prince-of-Orange-lane coming down to it from the Red Pump. At this waterlock a narrow stone bridge leads us southerly to St. Peter's Street, by the boundary of the Black-friers that way. The east one is by the street side, and just within it is a Methodist meeting-house erected about 1763 or 4.

A little farther is another turning into this

friery, where the Anabaptists have a burying place and a meeting-house, the western walls of which, toward the river, have much the appearance of an old chapel: a wooden bridge here, crossing the river, gives a view of them, on one hand, and on the other, of some old Gothic arches, supported by pillars in the river, over which was once a pretty spacious building, perhaps a kitchen, or some other convenient office.

Best's Lane, continued a little farther, brings us to a crooked lane on the north side of this friery, leading us to a large water-mill, for grinding and dressing of wheat, below which is another waterlock, where the curious old arches were destroyed in 1769, and in our way, near

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the mill, we see an ancient stone door-case, perhaps a back door to the house of the Knights Templars, but no remains of that are now to be seen in Best's Lane, where probably was the front of it.

This lane ends here, against another ancient door-way of stone, where the priests of the Black Prince's chantery had once their house, and the place is still, or was some years ago, privileged under the Board of Green Cloth.

We are now got round to the Borough of Staplegate again, and in sight of the Green-court-gate, but shall not enter the precinct of the cathedral there, Burgate-street, one of the most frequented, being yet unnoticed, the west end of which will bring us to Christ-church-gate, the principal one of its precinct, and answering the most populous part of the city.

The houses on the north side of this street, range along the south boundary of the church precinct, and are so situated, that most of them have their fronts in the city liberty, and their back rooms not so: in consequence of which, the children of the freemen dwelling here, have or have not a right to take out their freedom as native citizens, according to which part of the house they are born in. The street is almost

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parallel to that of St. George, and several lanes communicate with **both**. That nearest the city wall has an ancient stone building on the west side of it, about the middle of its length.

The next is called Canterbury-lane, from a family of that name, in which is a meeting-house for the Quakers. Iron-bar-lane, the next to this, has nothing remarkable in it, but between these, and by the street side, is Burgate parish church, dedicated to St. Mary Magdalen. Butchery-lane (so called from the chief trade of it) is the next we come to, and presently after we see our Butter-market, with a house over it, supported by handsome pillars of oak. **See Appendix, No. V.**

The market-days are Wednesday and Satur=

day, supplying the town plentifully (on the latter day especially) with all articles of the poultry kind, as well as garden stuff, and the fruits of the season, from the country round us, (particularly from Sandwich) beside what is brought every day in the week by the gardeners in and about the city.

Many of the buildings in this neighbourhood seem to have been great inns, for receiving the swarms of pilgrims who visited our cathedral.

<43> How many of our present shops and tenements

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were once one house, can best be judged by the roofs, several of which are of great extent and age. The north corners of Butchery-lane have this appearance; so have those of Mercery-lane, and several others, under which the spacious vaults show, that if they were not built for inns, they were very fit for that purpose; and their situation was certainly the more commodious for being near the gate of the monastery, where so many paid their vows and offerings.

But before we enter this, it may not be amiss to mention two or three particulars, which have not fallen in our way. One of these is the church of St. Mary Bredin, or Little Lady Dungil, not far from Ridingate, with very few habitations near it. Another is a Presbyterian meeting-house, near Prince-of-Orange-lane, but not seen from any one of our streets. These are in the city; and without it, in a lane leading from St. Sepulchre's nunnery to Longport, is an ancient house, called the Chantry, giving name to the lane it stands in.

I come now to survey our cathedral and its precinct, entering at its principal gate, 'a very goodly, strong, and beautiful structure, and of excellent artifice,' says Mr. Somner, 'built in the year 1517, as appears by this now scarcely

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legible inscription: *Hoc opus constructum est anno Domini millesimo Quingentesimo [decimo] septimo.*' — How the word *decimo* came to be overlooked by him, we can only guess, for the words are all at length in capitals, a span long, taking up the depth and almost the length of a cornice a little above the arch, which runs along the front of the building, and turns round the two octagonal towers, at the corners of it.

Age indeed has made the cornice and inscription pretty near of the same colour, so that it does not take the eye, though it is legible enough with a little attention; but however it happened, Mr. Somner made the mistake, and Mr. Battely continued it.

<44>

CHAP IX.

Digression.

MANY writers think they do justice to their subject and their readers, if they

publish nothing but what they can quote authors of credit for, or report from the mouth of eye-witnesses *.

* Abundance of reading often occasions abundance of perplexity; and however useful learning may be in acquiring knowledge, yet that they are things widely different in

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How greatly they are mistaken, appears in almost every descriptive publication we can meet with, if an opportunity offers of comparing what we read with what we see; and a careless eye-witness may be worse than none.

Mr. Dart came to see our cathedral, and did see it most certainly; but it is one thing to see, and another to observe.

In page 30 he mentions Nevil's chapel as a 'dark' one; had he got the wooden shutters opened, he would have found, that almost the whole south side of it is window.

In speaking of King Henry's monument, he says, that 'at the feet of it is an ancient painting of Becket's murder.' The picture at the feet is a crowned angel, holding a tablet or escutcheon of arms. The picture of the murder is fixed to two pillars, near the head of the tomb, which support the canopy over it, but at such a distance from it, as leaves room for a passage of four feet between the picture and the iron grate at the head of the monument.

their nature, and frequently contrary to each other, is demonstrated by every controversy, either in writing or pleading, where great learning is displayed on both sides of the question, while truth and justice can be on one only.

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<45> Of Cardinal Pole's monument, he says, 'over it are some curious paintings, and opposite to it, the picture of St. Christopher:' whereas the curious paintings are on the wall against which the tomb stands, with a gigantic one of St. Christopher above them; and, on the opposite wall, another, as gigantic, of St. George, &c. by the same, or as bad a hand; and under this, by a better, the sepulchre and resurrection, which he has placed with twelve angels (of his own invention) over the Cardinal's tomb.

Had he looked upon the prints of these monuments in his book, he could hardly have made such gross mistakes, for the engravers have shown how they really are; but his carelessness in this respect, as well as in the translations he has given of monumental inscriptions, soon made the book sell for less than the prints themselves are worth.

I am far from imputing such carelessness to Mr. Somner; his saying, 'the inscription is scarcely legible,' will justify my supposing he engaged some one to copy it, whose eyes were not hurt by poring in old manuscripts and records, and depended too much on their capacity and fidelity; and Mr. Battely might pay so much

deference to Mr. Somner, as never to examine

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the inscription itself, and so reprint the error in his edition.

These learned men seem to have so much employed their time among books and writings, which might possibly mislead them, as to have paid too little regard to another kind of evidence, which could hardly do so; I mean the situation of places, and what is still to be seen of the subjects they treat of; when this is neglected, it is scarce possible to avoid mistakes.

<46> For example: Mr. Camden, if he had seen Canterbury himself, would hardly have said, in his *Britannia*, that 'Canterbury, for the beauty of its private buildings, is equal to any city in Britain; and for the magnificence of its churches, and the number, exceeds the best of them.' I suppose he speaks here of parish churches, for the cathedral and the ruins of St. Augustine's monastery he mentions afterwards; but as to houses, such as were standing when he wrote (of which we have abundance) are mostly of timber, ill-contrived, and with a **very** moderate share of beauty; the shops, till of late, open to the weather, and most of the streets narrow. Great improvements have indeed been made within the present century, and the appearance of the city very much altered for the better, by new fronting many of the old houses,

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sashing the shops, and setting out the furniture to better advantage than formerly. Several handsome new houses have also been built, but notwithstanding this, the stranger would be disappointed, who should expect to find Canterbury any thing like what is described in Camden's *Britannia*.

Our parish churches too are small and low, few of them rising so as to be seen above the roofs of the houses, except by their steeples, which are mostly square towers, without spires, and of a moderate height. The number of the parish churches, in the city and suburbs, is fifteen.

How can we account for such a misrepresentation of our city, but by supposing Mr. Camden trusted for his description to some native of it, who was resolved it should make a pompous figure in a work which would be read by many who might never see the place; and to this end, imposing his own inventions on the person who depended on his knowledge and veracity, led that eminent historian to publish an account which has hardly a word of truth in it.

<47> Mr. Camden's capacity and diligence were certainly very great, but his undertaking was greater than any one man was equal to without

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assistance; by this, without doubt, he might

be deceived, and in this instance it is evident that he was so.

To the same cause we may impute his placing our cathedral in the heart of the city [*In medio quasi urbis sinu*] which is just as false, and will be a disgrace to his *Britannia*, though it should go through ever so many editions, unless the editors bestow part of their labour in correcting, as well as enlarging it.

But this could not be Mr. Battely's case; his work lay within a small compass; his residence was in our neighbourhood; his brother's was in his prebendal house, No. 1. so situated, that part of it lies parallel to the cathedral, and the rest of it extends more eastward, to within one hundred yards of the city wall. See the plan.

Yet he was so biassed in favour of Mr. Camden, as to copy his mistake, and say, in contradiction to Mr. Somner, 'the church which St. Augustine found, at his first arrival, in the east part of the city, was St. Martin's church; for the church dedicated to our Saviour, stands not in the east part, but as it were in the middle of the city.' See Battely's Somner, p. 84.

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But, indeed, St. Martin's is not in the city at all, nor within three furlongs of it; the whole precinct of St. Augustine's monastery lying between them, beside other buildings and roads. This the map he has copied from Mr. Somner, as well as the prospect of St. Augustine's monastery from the top of our great tower, **both which he gave to Dugdale's Monasticon**, shew very plainly; and also, that the cathedral is as certainly in the east part of the city, as that it is the 'Christ Church' of which he published the description.

<48>

I have thought it necessary to say all this, in order to prepare my reader for the liberty I shall take, of paying just the same regard to the old monkish writers, as to those of later times, and, perhaps, of offering conjectures of my own, when their histories appear inconsistent with such evidences as may be appealed to at this day.

CHAP. X.

The Description resumed.

I return now to Christ-Church-gate, where entering its precinct, we find some shops on each hand, the place being well situated for

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trade, and particularly to such as are not free-men of the city.

But our attention is more strongly attracted by a lofty tower, at the south-west corner of the body, with four handsome pinnacles, very strongly built and buttressed from the ground to the top, in which is a ring of eight bells, and a clock which strikes the quarters on two of

them, as it does the hours on one much larger than any of the peal, (being 7,500 weight) which hangs above the leaden platform under a shed.

At the foot of this steeple is the south porch, very rich in carved work, in four niches of which statues of the four murderers of St. Thomas Becket are said to have stood.

<49> The steeple has been called Bell Dunstan steeple, from a bell of that name; or the Oxford steeple, from Archbishop Chichely, who built the greatest part of it, but dying, left the finishing to prior Goldstone, about 1453. **See Appendix, No. VI.**

As we proceed, the view of the church opens finely upon us; we see the south side of the body, with part of the western cross isle, and that stately tower, called Bell Harry steeple,

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which, for the elegant proportions of the building itself, and of its ornaments, is perhaps the completest beauty of that kind any where to be seen.

This noble building was begun by prior Selling, and finished by his successor, prior Thomas Goldstone, the second of that name, assisted by the great Archbishop Morton. The devices of both these are among its ornaments, **so is that of Archbishop Warham.** Archbishop Morton died in 1500, prior Goldstone in 1517.

At the entrance into the church, in this cross ile, usually called the south door, six steps show how much the ground has been raised here from time to time.

Over against this south door was a gate, which, Mr. Battely tells us, had the appearance of being as old as the wall itself; for remains of it were to be seen in his time, and since, though not so now, the house on that spot being new built. In old charters, he says, it is called the old gate of the cemetery, and was a communication between this part of the church-yard and St. Andrew's parish, whose inhabitants perhaps had a right, or at least permission, to bury here.

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<50> The rectors of that parish, from Dr. Cox, in 1544, to Mr. Paris, who died in 1709, both inclusive, were **mostly** buried in their church, and had mural monuments there, which are put up in the new one; among these were two ancestors of the famous Dean of St. Patrick's, Thomas Swift, his great great grandfather, and William his son, who were successively rectors of St. Andrew's, from 1569 to 1624, the former of them having expressly desired in his will, that 'his bones should rest in that church where his people so entirely loved him.' The wife of William is buried with him, but 'the wife of Thomas lieth with in the cathedral church-yard, against the south

door, with nine of her children,' as is recorded on his monument.

The western cross ile **of the cathedral** is said to have been rebuilt from the very foundation, by Archbishop Sudbury, at his own proper costs and charge; but the tomb of Archbishop Peckham (who lived long before him) in the north wing, and a very plain old stair case just by it, which could not be made to suit the rest of his work, without violating that monument shows, that great part of what he did was only casing; so does that projection (still to be seen) over the portico of St. Michael's chapel, in the south wing, which the monk Gervase mentions

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as what had once supported an organ, *ubi or= gana solent esse* are his words, and a curious eye may discover a small part of the old wall on the outside, still uncased.

I venture to mention one more proof of my opinion, though not to be seen, unless when the cloyster-leads are repairing in that part, which is, a very fair circular window-frame of stone, on the outside of the wall, over the door from the cloyster into the martyrdom, of which no= thing is to be seen on the inside.

Archbishop Sudbury designed to rebuild the body, and had taken the old one down with that view, when he fell into the hands of the mob, under Jack Straw and Wat Tyler, who beheaded him on Tower-hill, in 1381. This threw the expence of it on his successors, Courtney and Arundel, and on the convent, by whom it was rebuilt in the present magnificent manner. It was about thirty years in building, and was finished about 1411.

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From hence, eastward, the structure has the appearance of much greater antiquity, greater, indeed, than what is generally allowed to it, and perhaps not easily to be ascertained.

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When historians tell us, 'the church has been several times consumed by fire,' we must understand this of what was combustible only, and that stone walls are not so, I shall not spend time in proving *. 'This church,' Mr. Battely says, 'was the very same fabric that was built by the believing Romans,' but shows no authority for it. He adds too, that 'it was very large,' and so it might be, but the passage he quotes is very far from proving it.

Archbishop Egelnoth, who presided here from 1020 to 1038, began to repair the mischief the Danes had done, and, by the royal munificence of King Canute, completed his design: but about 1067, in Archbishop Stigand's time, that church was much defaced by fire, and no account appears of any thing more being done till the time of Lanfranc, who, it is said, pulled it down to the very foundation, in order to build one entirely new on the same ground, and re-

edified the whole church from the foundation,

* Accordingly the Danes, to destroy the roof with which Odo had covered in his church, after repairing the walls of it, three or four score years before their coming, set fire to it, by piling up wooden vessels for that purpose. This shows, that if, before the Norman invasion, most of our monasteries and churches were of wood, all were certainly not so.

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<52> with the palace and monastery, in seven years; this must have been after 1070 *.

How probable it is that Lanfranc could execute so great a work as the cathedral, the palace, and the monastery, in so little time, I shall not presume to determine; but if it was done so on a sudden, it is no wonder his immediate successor should have a great deal of it to do over again.

It is said that Sir Christopher Wren, on hearing the words, 'church-work' applied to the slowness with which the building of St. Paul's was carried on, replied, that 'the proverbial expression was very just; that, if required, he could finish the church in seven years, but in seven years more it would want rebuilding; for if walls of such thickness as he was raising, were carried up, without allowing the mortar time to

* Mr. Battely says, it was pulled down by Anselm, who succeeded Lanfranc, and prior Ernulph, who reared it again in a more stately and splendid manner; but was finished by Ernulph's successor, Conrad, so sumptuously, that it was called the glorious choir of Conrad, till destroyed by the fire in 1174.

This we find in the second and third chapters of his Supplement to Mr. Somner, and in the fourth, that it was rebuilt in ten years.

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dry, the weight of the upper works would soon crush the lower ones to pieces.'

That the accounts we have of our cathedral being rebuilt from the foundation are false, I think the present structure has very sufficient proofs. I shall, therefore, give such a description of what is now to be seen as I can, with some conjectures of my own, which may lead abler judges toward the correction of this part of its history.

<53> To this end, I shall call this part Lanfranc's church, without pretending to adjust who was really the builder of it, or taking notice either of that body which Mr. Battely's plan of Lanfranc's church gives, or of the additional chapel added to it in honour of St. Thomas Becket.

The outside of it from St. Michael's chapel, eastward, is adorned with a range of small pillars, about six inches diameter, and three feet high, some with fantastic shafts and capitals, some with plain ones. These support little arches, which intersect each other, and this girdle, if I may be allowed the expression, is continued round a staircase tower, the eastern cross ile,

and the chapel of St. Anselm, to the new building, added in honour of the Holy Trinity and Thomas Becket. The casing of St. Michael's

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chapel has none of them; but the chapel of the Virgin Mary, answering to this on the north side of the church, not being so fitted to the wall, shows some of them behind that; so, in all probability, they were at first continued quite round the whole building of Lanfranc's church, unless perhaps at the west end of it.

Our church-yard has been so raised from time to time, that there is no guessing at what height this girdle at first stood from the ground; but the pillars rise from about the level of the floor within. The walls above them are remarkably bare of ornaments, but the staircase tower just mentioned; and its opposite, as soon as they rise clear of the building, are enriched with stories of this colonade, one above another, up to the platform from whence their spires arise, and the remains of the two larger towers to the east, that called St. Anselm's chapel, and that which answers to it on the north side of the church, are decorated much after the same manner as high as they rise at present.

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The arches, on which the floor of our choir is raised, are supported by pillars of proper substance, whose capitals are as various and fantastical as those of the little ones I have been describing, and so are their shafts, some being round, others canted, twisted, or carved, so

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that hardly two of them are alike, except such as are quite plain.

These, I suppose, we may conclude of the same age, and if buildings in the same stile may be supposed so, here we may find grounds from whence to judge of the antiquity of this part of the church, though its historians have left us in the dark. In Leland's *Collectanea*, we have the history and description of a vault, under the ancient church of St. Peter in Oxford, called, 'Grymbald's Crypt.' Grymbald was one of those great and accomplished men whom King Alfred invited into England, about the year 900, to assist him in restoring Christianity, learning, and the liberal arts. This crypt, or vault, is allowed to be of his building, and he is said here to have erected a monument for himself, which, on some disagreement between him and the Oxonians, he removed to Winchester.

Those who compare the vault under our choir, with the description and prints given of Grymbald's crypt, will easily see, that the same designers, and the same workmen, could hardly have erected two buildings more strongly resembling each other than these, except that ours at Canterbury is larger, and more profusely decorated with variety of fancied ornaments; **the shafts of several of our pillars being twisted, or**

otherwise varied, and many of the capitals just

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in such grotesque taste as the four given us in the print of Grymbald.

<55> If any thing can ascertain the age of that part of the church of which I am now speaking, this, I think, bids fairest for that purpose.

And, as **those** who built this vault may be supposed to have raised **the** walls also, let us see how far the appearance of the present ones may contribute to that end.

Though we find them so void of ornament, they are not without a subject for our curiosity, which is a number of arches, now walled up, which could never be designed for discharging the weight over windows so disposed as those we see at present, **plainly appearing** to have been broken out at some other time than when the walls themselves were built.

This leads me to a conjecture which I submit to my reader: it is, that as Lanfranc's coming was about two hundred years after Grymbald's time, he might find those walls very fit to make use of in his grand repair of the church, and its offices; and save a vast deal of time, labour, and expence. The windows of this old building he might stop up, and make new ones, in what places and of what forms he pleased, and leave

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the walls as we see them, without regarding the irregular appearance they make on the outside, even to this day.

It may not only account for these irregularities, but give an air of credibility to Edmer's assertion, 'that the work of Lanfranc was performed in seven years.'

Mr. Battely is not of this opinion, and translates Edmer's words, [*a fundamentis ferme totam perfectam reddidit*] 'he almost entirely completed the work from the very foundation thereof.'

<56> When we are told in what time it was 'almost done,' we are led to ask what prevented its being quite so, and how much time it took in the whole; but if we translate the passage, that (in seven years) 'he completed the whole almost from the foundation;' this will not only render his story more probable, but make better sense of the words immediately following: 'which being so perfected, probably he innovated the name and title of it, dedicating the same to the Holy Trinity.'

That the church was twice rebuilt after this time, I can see no reason to believe.

That Anselm pulled down and rebuilt all that Lanfranc had done not twenty years before,

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seems highly improbable. Mr. Somner never mentions it. Mr. Battely himself shows how little occasion there could be for it, as well as the difficulties Anselm had to encounter in his

possession (if we may call it so) of the Archbishoprick.

He tells us, that 'when the prelate came to it, he found the lands and revenues of it so miserably wasted, that there was not enough left for his bare subsistence. In the first year he struggled with want, poverty, and the King's displeasure; then spent three years in banishment, borrowing money for his maintenance.

'When recalled, and labouring to pay his debts, he was within two years banished again, and the King (Henry I.) seized upon all the revenues of the Archbishoprick, and retained them in his own hands for four years.' However, we find he lived to get over these difficulties, to be a benefactor to this cathedral, by enlarging and beautifying its choir, and to found and endow the nunnery of St. Sepulchre, in the neighbourhood of our city.

The authors I quote agree, that Edmer says, 'the oratory, or choir, as far as from the great tower **from** the east end, was, by the care of Archbishop Anselm, enlarged, and that Er-

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nulph rebuilt the fore part [*priorem partem*] of the church which Lanfranc had erected;' but as to the word [*dejectam*] they disagree: Mr. Somner seems to understand it as 'of a part fallen to decay;' and Mr. Battely, 'that Ernulph pulled down a new structure in order to rebuild it.'

This difference perhaps is a trifle; but Mr. Battely's sense of the expression [*priorem partem*] the 'fore part,' is by no means so. In his edition of Somner, page 87, he says, 'by the fore part of the church, the reader must understand the whole, quite from the great tower, now called Bell Harry steeple, to the east end.'

And in the supplement, page 11, 'going on still toward the east, beyond the patriarchal chair, we come to a chapel in the front of the whole church, in which was an altar, dedicated to the Holy Trinity.' And again, page 13, 'this fore part of the church, here spoken of, was all that part of the church from the great tower to the east end.'

By this singularity, he carries his fore part into the innermost recesses of the building, and seems not aware, that the front and the fore part of a building are almost synonymous terms. See Chap. XII. (e).

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CHAP XI.

Conjectural History of the Cathedral at CANTERBURY, from the earliest Accounts of it, to the Fire in 1174.

I HAVE observed, Chap. V. that at Augustine's arrival in Britain, anno dom. 597, Ethelbert, King of Kent, granted him two churches, used and perhaps built by the Chris-

tian soldiers of the Roman legions, while they kept garrisons in our island: one not half a mile out of our city, the other within it, and at the eastern part. (a) *

The former (St. Martin's) was at that time in use, being the chapel of Queen Bertha, who was a Christian. This, therefore, we may believe, was kept in a condition suitable to the service and the congregation.

And there first Augustine and his companions performed their devotions.

But it was too small to receive such numbers as followed these monks, who soon found encouragement to fit up that within the city, (b) which probably had been neglected while Ethel-

* These notes from (a) to (i) make the following chapter.

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bert and his people continued heathens; and might take them some time to repair and enlarge. (c)

When this was done, Augustine (having converted Ethelbert, and been himself consecrated a Bishop in France) made it his cathedral, and dedicated it to Christ our Saviour.

Mr. Battely, in his additions to Somner, page 5, says, 'In the first two hundred years after Augustine, this church flourished, without meeting with any considerable molestations.'

On the contrary, during this period Archbishop Cuthbert, translated hither from Hereford, anno dom. 741, was a very valuable benefactor to it: obtaining from Eadbald, King of Kent, licence for burial within its precinct, and erecting a magnificent range of buildings, almost contiguous to the east end of the cathedral, for baptisteries, (d) ecclesiastical courts, and a place of sepulture for the Archbishops; with a church dedicated to St. John the Baptist.

But this state of prosperity and tranquility was dreadfully interrupted, when the invasions of the barbarous Danes, in following years, filled the whole nation with terror and confusion.

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Canterbury seems to have been a distinguished mark of their fury, and its cathedral was so run to decay, that Archbishop Odo, anno dom. 938, found it in a ruinous condition: the walls damaged and uneven, and the rafters threatening to fall on those who should venture under them.

The good Archbishop ordered the roof to be taken down, and the walls to be made fit to receive a new one, which he raised and covered with lead; but these effects of his piety and munificence did not long remain undemolished; for in 1011 these savages returned again, as cruel as ever, laying all waste with fire and sword; and (as the walls of our church were not built of combustible materials) piling up wooden vessels to the roof Odo had raised, as the readiest method they could take to convey the flames

thither, and complete the destruction which was their glory and their sport.

When Canute, the Dane, had obtained the kingdom of England, and reigned alone in it, he endeavoured to reconcile his new subjects to his government, by restoring order in the affairs of church and state, and making amends for the mischiefs done by his countrymen to those religious houses they had been so fond of demolishing; and particularly to our cathedral, not only by his royal munificence to Archbishop Egel-

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noth, who, presiding here from 1020 to 1038, began and finished the repair of it, but by making a present to it of his crown of gold.

The successors of Egelnoth took so little care to follow his good example, that when Lanfranc came to the see, anno dom. 1070, he found his cathedral so reduced by accidents and neglect, that (as Mr. Battely says, page 68) he rebuilt it from the ground. (e)

But I rather believe a thorough repair of great part of it was all that he found necessary; for though a fire three years before his coming had done considerable mischief here, particularly among the ancient charters and records (as Mr. Battely says, page 7) the stone-work was incombustible: and, as neglect of divine service in the cathedral is not mentioned among the many faults laid to Stigand's charge by the monkish writers, we may suppose it was kept up, so that Lanfranc found a choir here capable of being fitted to his taste, and thought it better to make his new work comply with the old, than to pull all down and rebuild from the foundations. This I think will fairly account for the fabric, even in our days, being not so straight as it should be, and make it appear of greater antiquity than many suppose it.

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Therefore when I speak of this as Lanfranc's work, it is to distinguish it from other parts of the building; but much of it I take to be of a date prior to his time by many years.

It begins at the west door of the choir, to which we go up by many steps, for it is raised high on vaults and pillars, not of the Norman taste, but that of King Alfred's time, about the year 900, [See Chap. X.] the east end being finished (as in Mr. Battely's plan of Conrad's church) in a circular form between the tower of St. Andrew, and that of St. Peter and St. Paul.

The floor of this, as it is raised on vaults of the same height, was at first, I suppose, level, or nearly so, for its whole length, and that Lanfranc made little or no alteration in this particular. (f)

Anselm, who succeeded Lanfranc, made great improvements to this choir, and designed more than he lived to finish. (g)

Prior Ernulph, while he stayed here, assisted

greatly in these works, and so did Conrad, who succeeded him, and lived so long after Anselm, as to finish the whole in so grand and magnificent a manner, that all the honour of it was ascribed to him: the names of Lanfranc and

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Anselm were forgotten, and the choir was called Conrad's glorious choir. (h)

After this, according to Gervas, a chapel was built in honour of the Holy Trinity, adjoining to the east end of the church, (which he calls the front of it) but without side of the wall, through which a door of communication was opened into it.

This, I suppose, was finished at such a time, that Archbishop Becket consecrated it, and said the first mass there. His words are *ubi beatus martyr Thomas die consecrationis suæ primam missam celebravit.* (i)

CHAP XII.

Notes on the Conjectural History.

(a) SOME mistakes of Mr. Camden and Mr. Battely, in regard to these churches, I have taken notice of in Chap. IX.

(b) Mr. Battely, in page 6, would prove this church a very large one, from the following passage in Osborn's Life of Archbishop Odo: *Tantæ magnitudinis templum non reperiebatur, quæ ad capiendum numerosæ plebis multitudinem videretur,* which he translates, 'at that time there was no

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other church in these parts big enough to hold the vast numbers of people that did resort to it.' But if we leave out the word *other*, (an addition purely his own) the passage only says, here was no church capable of receiving such multitudes as followed Augustine. Mr. Battely says also, that the fabric which Odo repaired was that built by the believing Romans; but quotes no authority for this.

He adds too from Osborn, 'that while this church lay uncovered, at the prayer of Odo there was neither wind nor rain within the walls of it, to hinder the clergy from celebrating the divine offices; nor yet within the walls of the city, to hinder the full and constant resort of people to the church; though all the same time it was a more than ordinary wet season round about.'

(c) How large this fabric was when Augustine took it in hand, does not appear: but that considerable additions have been made to it, of which history gives no account, the building itself proves very strongly; and shows, that the director of the new work was so careless or ignorant in planning it, as not to carry it on in a right line with the old; so that the church is too crooked to seem the design of one architect.

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This fault is easily discovered, by a view from the west door of the choir toward the altar, as well as by observing the pavement of the eastern cross where the angle is made; for when that came to be laid, the stones did not fit as they should have done, and the irregularity was remedied (if we may call it so) by cutting many of them out of square in some places, and botching of plaister in others. These, a few years ago, were repaired with stone; but this does not prevent the blunder being visible enough from the principal columns to the outside walls in each cross ile.

(d) In the Gentleman's Magazine for 1774, page 508, is a letter, signed W. and D. the writer of which and I differ very much in our opinion concerning baptisteries, and baptismal churches. Mine is, that every congregation of Christians (however small) was at first a baptismal church, into which converts were admitted by that sacrament without delay. For which see Acts II. 41; VIII. 12 and 38; X. 48; and XVI. 33. This was long before the distinction of cathedrals and parishes.

Mr. Bingham, in his Antiquities of the Christian Church, Vol. I. page 130, shows, that anciently there was but one baptistery in a city, which was at the Bishop's church [the cathe-

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dral:] and that, in after ages, this privilege was granted only to such places as the Bishop appointed, except in cases of necessity.

Had W. and D. shown how and when the cathedrals parted with this honour, or that the monks, when planted in the cathedrals, did or could give it up, he had done something. If they found it more convenient to build baptisteries, than to have fixed fonts in their churches, whether this was resigning or asserting the honour of the cathedral, is hardly worth debating. It was an Archbishop of Canterbury who erected the buildings I am speaking of, with a view of maintaining and securing the privileges he thought his had a right to, and particularly that of a place of sepulture, which the monks of St. Augustine were very desirous, and even riotous, in claiming for their monastery, when he and Bregwin, his successor, were buried there.

W. and D. observes, that few old baptisteries are to be traced in the churches and chapels, formerly belonging to monasteries in this kingdom; but our difference is not in regard to monasteries, but cathedrals, particularly this at Canterbury; though, perhaps, the churches and chapels built so very near several of our cathedrals, and now become parochial, might, if

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we could trace their original, prove to be of this kind.

Archbishop Cuthbert's baptisteries, &c. remained till the fire in 1174.

How far Archbishop Edmund's constitution about stone fonts, 500 years after Cuthbert's time, relates to this dispute, I refer to the reader; but as to Lindwood's expression, *ecclesia baptismali sive cathedrali sive parochiali*, a baptismal church, whether cathedral or parochial, being quoted to prove cathedral churches were not baptismal ones, I must confess, I do not know how to deal with such an argument.

That the silver font here, mentioned by Land, is a proof that our church was a baptismal one in King Henry the Seventh's time, will hardly be disputed, I believe.

(e) That Mr. Battely's accounts of our church, in the second part of *Cantuaria Sacra*, are not easily reconcilable to the probability I would always keep within view, will appear from the variety of them, in a few pages at the beginning of that work.

Lanfranc (he tells us, page 7) at his first coming to this see, anno dom. 1073, pulled down

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the old church to the very foundations, that he might build a new one on the same ground. That he lived to see it finished, and divine service celebrated in it, all agree.

His next care was to provide the necessary accommodations for those who were to perform that service. All this, with the palace and monastery, and surrounding the whole with a wall of stone, we are told, page 9, was finished in seven years: that at this time, all the remains of the old church, which age and fire had not destroyed, were taken down to the ground, and that the new one was built on a different model; but I believe this to be a mistake, for reasons which my reader has seen in Chap. X.

That soon after his death, this choir was taken quite down by Anselm, his immediate successor; and Mr. Battely observes, page 12, that under such vexations as this Archbishop suffered through the King's displeasure, it seems almost incredible (he might have said quite so) he should be able to begin, and carry on so great a work, and to furnish his church with such ornaments, as made the rich ones which Lanfranc had formerly given, seem few, mean, and of no regard, in comparison with those of this new choir.

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He proceeds to show, page 13, how little occasion there could be for this, as Lanfranc's choir could not seem fallen to decay, but was purposely taken or cast down; that Ernulph might rebuild it from the great tower to the east end, which he calls one half of the structure: it was, indeed, the whole, if all the remains of the old church, which age and fire had spared, were taken down to the ground, as he told us a few pages before: so that the west door of the choir, and the steps leading up to it, must ap=

pear to have been the proper front at that time, to all those who so call that face of a building, where they see the principal entrance to it.

This one circumstance (to say nothing of Mr. Battely's strange accounts of building and rebuilding) I think may justify my not calling that end of our church where there was no entrance the front, though some (who do not look for it at the outside of a building) seem desirous of proving it so.

These critics in architecture will perhaps be offended, if I tax Gervase with having made a great blunder, and led Mr. Battely into one so much greater, that he seems to confound parts of the building with the whole; it is not always easy to distinguish which he is treating of.

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In the Gentleman's Magazine for 1775, Mr. Watson appears in defence of Mr. Battely: and, not observing that I have mentioned Ernulph, page 145, as rebuilder of the body of the church to the west end and the entrance there, concludes that I am then speaking of the choir, &c. which he found new and well built by Lanfranc.

He quotes William of Malmsbury, as Mr. Battely has done, who translates *dejectam priorem partem ecclesie quam Lanfrancus ædificaverat, adeo splendide erexit Ernulphus*, &c. The fore part of the church, which Lanfranc had built, being pulled down, Ernulph raised up anew so splendidly, &c.

A translation at least as literal, and more consistent with history and probability, as well as with the common acceptation of the word fore-part, would run thus: The fore-part [or body] of the church, which Lanfranc had built, being in ruins, Ernulph raised up, &c.

Whether Mr. Watson, in his English, neglects the word *priorem*, the better to justify his saying Ernulph erected that part of the church which Lanfranc had built, he knows best: and why he makes Lanfranc's choir to have been taken down by Anselm, whose name is not mentioned in the passage he quotes: Mr. Somner

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takes no notice of any such demolition at that time. What he says of Anselm relates to the improvements he added to Lanfranc's choir, which Ernulph would hardly destroy while Anselm lived, as he did some years after that Prior was promoted to be Abbot of Peterborough, and appointed Conrad to succeed him here.

Thus does Mr. Watson argue, to prove Ernulph to be the builder of Conrad's glorious choir*; a title, which, it seems, Malmsbury knew nothing of. He might be a faithful reporter of what account he had concerning these improvements, while the account itself fell far short of being full and circumstantial.

However, nothing that he says supposes the fore-part, or front of the church, to have been

at the east end; a notion, which places that commonly called the body in cathedral and monastic churches, behind the choir, the choir behind the altar, the altar behind the place of the stone chair, &c.

Had the monks and their followers used the word front in its common acceptation, all this confusion would have been avoided. Had they

* But in this he contradicts Mr. Battely's opinion, that Anselm, Ernulph, and Conrad, were equally benefactors to the improvements made here in their time.

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been content to understand the word prior in regard to time, reason and religion would have appeared on their side, as well as the history which makes the finishing a place for divine service the very first part of Lanfranc's work; and this has probably been a general rule on such occasions.

In point of time, the choir of St. Paul's, at London, is the prior part of that cathedral.

I myself am old enough to remember that completely finished, and choral service performed several years, while the rest of the building appeared a confused mass of scaffolds, with a vast circle open to the sky, now covered by the cupola.

But should I argue from hence, that the choir of St. Paul's cathedral, and from thence to the east end of it, must be looked on as its front: and that the monk Gervase, if now living, would maintain this opinion; I believe Mr. Watson himself would laugh at me: and so, I suppose, he would, if I should assert that King Henry the Seventh's chapel is placed at the front of Westminster Abbey; though, if he was to see our cathedral, he would find the case exactly parallel.

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(f) The being raised on vaults makes Mr. Somner find it difficult to define (as he expresses it) the age of this choir, only that it is far elder than the nave; yet he will not allow it to be elder than the conquest, but built by the Norman Lanfranc, made Archbishop 1070; and Ernulph, who built the nave, was preferred to be Abbot of Peterborough in 1108. But all this difficulty is owing to his strong persuasion, that though building on arches was in use among the Romans, it was not so in England after their departure, till the Normans introduced it from France.

Had he known that at Oxford is a vault called Grymbald's Crypt, built about King Alfred's time, if not earlier, in the very same taste with that under our choir. This might have removed his doubts, and convinced him, that it is indeed far elder than the nave: and thus (allowing, as he does, for damages to the upper works by fire, and the additions and alterations

made at repairing those damages) it will appear to be the structure which remains standing in our days.

(g) Anselm, Mr. Somner says, succeeded Lanfranc as in his see so in his piety; and, by his care, cost, and prudence, this fabric was much enlarged. But if the present walls of the

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choir are the same as what Lanfranc repaired, he might better have understood Edmer's word *auctum* improved than enlarged, unless we suppose he removed the high altar more to the east than it stood at first: if he did this, and raised it up to the present height, this was certainly a very great augmentation of the beauty and grandeur of the choir, and will account for the placing of two massive pillars in the undercroft, where they cannot possibly be looked on as a part of the first design, but plainly, as added on some occasion which required an extraordinary strengthening of the arches under a new load laid on them.

(h) This expression one would think sufficient to ascertain what part it was that Conrad finished in so magnificent a manner, after Ernulph was removed to Peterborough, and Anselm dead.

Mr. Battely, indeed, is fond of representing them all as partners in this great work, and builders of the whole, when he says, page 13, they were equally benefactors to it; and that it was built at the same time, and by the same hands that set up the other half of the church, namely, the nave, the cross isle, and Angel steeple.

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But here, surely, he is very much mistaken: the walls of the choir, even at this time, have marks sufficient to justify the opinion, that they were built before the days of Anselm, or his predecessor Lanfranc.

If we ascribe the removing and raising the altar, the pavement at that part with beautiful and costly stones, the adding the west cross isle and nave, and building the Angel steeple, to Anselm and the Priors Ernulph and Conrad, and the magnificent finishing of the whole by the last of these, after Ernulph was made Abbot of Peterborough, and the Archbishop dead, I trust reason and history will join in confirming our opinion.

Thus will these zealous benefactors receive the honour justly due to them, unblemished by the absurdity and extravagance of so much casting down and demolishing, as Mr. Battely cannot avoid owning there was room to accuse them of.

(i) If he wrote thus to make his reader believe that the first mass the Archbishop ever said was a private one in this chapel, and that on the day of his being consecrated, I must own it

has not that effect on me.

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I have, indeed, in my former edition, page 208, called it the day of his consecration; but the more I consider the story as Gervase relates it, the more does that want of probability strike me, which prevents my thinking the tales of monkish writers may always be depended upon as true and indisputable.

I think it is agreed on, that the day of Thomas Becket's consecration was Whitsunday, a festival on which we may believe high mass was celebrated in the choir, with more than ordinary solemnity, and that he was present and assisting at it. To this were added, the ceremonies of his consecration and inthronization, and a great deal of time spent in receiving the compliments and congratulations of many of the prime nobility and gentry who attended to act, on this occasion, as his great officers, and to perform the services, by which several of their estates were holden. These, we find, took care to appear at such times with equipages, calculated to do honour to the prelate, and display their own bravery and fortune.

All these were to be entertained by the Archbishop, and so were many other illustrious visitors, who came to see the show, to pay their respects, and partake of the profuse feasting,

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which exceeded every thing of the kind in our days, unless we except royal coronations.

Does it appear in any degree credible, that the Archbishop would contrive to add to the fatigues of such a day, by saying a private mass in a chapel, before he went to the more solemn one in the choir, or that he could find time to do it if he would?

Or does it seem at all more so, that he who knew how to maintain his dignity in the highest post of the law, and was now placed as high in the church, would neglect saying mass during the whole week of his having been in priests orders, that he might do it, as a novice, on the busiest and most crowded morning he could ever expect to see?

On the other hand, to suppose the words *primam missam* spoken of the chapel rather than the Archbishop; that he consecrated it, and said the first mass that was said there, is far from being repugnant to reason or to history, even that of Gervase, and shows what might make this Saint so fond as he says he was (both before and after his banishment) of celebrating mass, of hearing that part of the service called the hours, and offering up his prayers in this place.

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This will also account for the extraordinary care taken of the materials of the altar, when

this little chapel (after having been kept entire some time, out of reverence to St. Thomas) was pulled down, and the more magnificent one now standing erected in its room.

An altar to St. John the Apostle, he says, was raised of these materials; and that we may not impute this to the reverence the monks paid to the Holy Trinity, or to the altar, on account of the masses which had been celebrated on it, he adds, that this was done, lest the memory of St. Thomas, having frequently celebrated those masses on this holy stone, should be worn out.

The new-erected chapel seems, in a short time, to have become entirely devoted to his honour. We find no appearance that an altar to the Holy Trinity was ever erected in it. The martyr's relics were soon lodged here; his shrine became an ornament to it of inestimable value; the richly coloured windows of it contained the history of his life and death; and not only this chapel, but the whole church, though dedicated to Christ our Saviour, was called after St. Thomas's name.

But here I find myself rambling beyond the period of time of which this and the foregoing

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chapter were designed to treat. Let me return then to the time of building that chapel, which I suppose to have been consecrated by Thomas Becket, for the reasons I have given my reader, without any thoughts of disputing his liberty to judge for himself, as I do; but hope he will allow, that the consequence I form from the premises I have laid before him (though, perhaps, with less regard to Gervase's way of telling the story than some are willing to pay) is by no means absurd or unreasonable.

Becket's death happened Dec. 28, 1170; the fire on Sept. 5, 1174.

The adding this and the foregoing chapter to my former work, I fear will be attended with some tautologies, which I have taken what care I could to avoid; to new model the whole would be a task too difficult for me to undertake, so late in life, with any prospect of success.

For this I hope my reader will be so kind as to make some allowance.

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<58> CHAP XIII.

Of the Fire 1174.

I SHALL now show why I think the history of the church being burned in 1174, rather overtold.

Mr. Somner mentions it somewhat slightly, and finds not at whose cost it recovered itself; saying, that the Pope's bulls shortly after provided that the offerings to the then newly murdered and canonised Archbishop, Thomas Becket, should go and be converted for the repairing of the church. One cause haply says

he, why it was called St. Thomas's church.

Mr. Battely thinks otherwise, and is more particular in relating the destruction and rebuilding of it, taking his account of it from Gervase, one of the monks, an eye-witness, who gives a very circumstantial and florid one, but perhaps not quite so true as might be wished.

<59> When the monks wrote in praise of their friends and benefactors, they might find good reasons to magnify, as they might to aggravate their losses, when any misfortune befel them, and

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did not scruple to embellish with miracles upon occasion.

Accordingly, Mr. Somner tells us, from their authority, 'that while Archbishop Odo was repairing the roof of this church, which was the work of three years, it was by his prayers preserved from the injury of all weathers, then very tempestuous in neighbouring parts.' And again, 'that when, on the day of St. Augustine's translation, 1271, there were such terrible thunders and lightnings, and such an inundation of rain, that the city of Canterbury was almost drowned; the flood was so high in the court of the monastery (of St. Augustine) and the church, that they had been quite overwhelmed with water, unless the virtue of the saints, who rested there, had withstood the waters.'

Something more of the same kind will soon come in our way.

An 'Historical Description of our Cathedral,' lately published here, gives a translation of Gervase's account of the burning and rebuilding of it. This I shall take occasion to quote, but see none to reprint.

Gervase says, 'he neither saw the choir, [I suppose Lanfranc's] nor found it described by

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any one; and that Edmer had mentioned it, without giving any account of it, as he had done of the old church.'

<60> To have seen it before Archbishop Anselm, Prior Ernulph, and Prior Conrad's additions and improvements, Gervase must have been an old man when he wrote, for **Anselm died 1109, and Conrad was translated from this Priory to the Abbey of St. Benedict, of Holm in Norfolk, in 1126.**

But when Conrad's expences on the choir had made it so much more magnificent than it was at first, that Lanfranc's name was almost forgotten, writers might think themselves better employed in pompous encomiums on him and his munificence, than in telling what appearance the church had made before his embellishments were added to it.

Accordingly Gervase has helped us to a description of the glorious choir of Conrad, which may be found in page 10 and 11 of Mr. Battely's supplement, but says nothing that can

lead us to believe Lanfranc's church had been destroyed, that this might be erected.

He writes as an eye-witness, and was certainly thought a person well qualified to paint the mis-

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chief done by the fire, the distress and almost despair to which the monks were driven, in the strongest colours, as well as to extol their diligence and zeal in restoring their church to its former splendor as fast as they could surmount the difficulties they laboured under; and so to invite benefactors from all parts of Christendom to bring, or send contributions toward their assistance.

The account then that he gives amounts to this:

'On Sept. 5, 1174, three small houses on the south side of the church took fire, and the wind blowing a storm from that quarter lodged some of the sparks which arose from them between the leads and the ceiling of the cathedral; this not being observed, they kindled a fire there, which did not show itself till its violence was such, that there was no possibility of putting a stop to it.

<61> 'The leads were melted, the timber-work and painted ceiling all on fire fell down into the choir, where the stalls of the monks added fresh fuel in abundance; so that the flames, increased by such a heap of timber to fifteen cubits, burnt the walls, and especially the pillars of the church.'

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He adds also, that 'not only the choir was consumed in these flames, but also the infirmary, with St. Mary's chapel, and some other offices of the court.'

That the stone walls and pillars which were exposed to so violent a fire, must be very much damaged by it, no one will doubt.

But when he tells us, that, 'on consulting with artists about the repair of it, it appeared, that all the upper works must be taken down and rebuilt;' or, as Mr. Battely says, page 15, (I suppose from some other author) 'it was resolved, that all must be taken down to the very foundation;' I think we have, at this day, evidences enough to show this is a great deal more than is truth.

Most of them indeed are within the building, and so will be more properly produced when we come there; but they are not all so.

The south side of that tower staircase, which stands in the angle made by the west wall of the upper cross isle with the south wall of the church, shows what was the height of that isle before the fire by a sloping crease or chasing, plainly to be seen, and as plainly designed for receiving the lead of the old roof; so also does a row of

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stone corbels, on the west side of this tower, at a proper height for bearing a gutter to carry off the rain which it should receive from the roof of the choir in its side isle.

<62> As the wind then blew, this tower could be in no danger from the fire, the whole of it being of stone, (except the doors) till we come to the platform, on which the spire stands. This, indeed, is built of timber and leaded, but so much higher than the roof of the old church, that it is not unlikely the storm, at south, might prevent the flames from rising so as to reach it.

That the timbers of the church roof were consumed, we may well believe, but not so easily that the upper works of stone should suffer much by the fire; and that this particular tower did not, there is ocular demonstration, the additional story of the present building being connected to it by a strait upright joint from that height to which it had been carried up with the cross isle of the old church.

Indeed, Gervase's own account of the repair shows plainly enough, that the destruction was by no means such as Mr. Battely thought it, as will soon appear; but first let us see what success attended the tragical representation the monks gave of their misfortunes.

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Papal bulls were soon issued out to their assistance; numbers of votaries, from all parts, and of the highest ranks, crowded to visit the newly canonised St. Thomas Becket, in the undercroft, long before the repairs were finished.

For, as Mr. Battely tells us, page 18, 'Philip, Earl of Flanders, came here in 1177, whom the King [Henry II.] met, and had a conference with, at Canterbury. In June, 1178, the King, in his return from Normandy, paid another visit to his sepulchre; and, in the next month, William, Archbishop of Rheims, came over from France, with a large retinue, to pay his vows to St. Thomas at Canterbury, where the King met and received him honourably.

<63> 'In 1179 Lewis VII. King of France, landed at Dover, where our King expected his arrival. On August 23, these two Kings came to Canterbury, with a great train of nobility of both nations, and were received by the Archbishop and his comprovincials, the prior and convent, with great honour and unspeakable joy.

'The oblations of gold and silver, made by the French, were incredible. The King came in manner and habit of a pilgrim; was conducted to the tomb of St. Thomas, in solemn procession, where he offered his cup of gold,

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and a royal precious stone, with a yearly rent of 100 muids of wine, for ever to the convent, confirming this grant by royal charter, under his seal, delivered in form.'

By the help of such noble and munificent be=

nefactors, they soon found themselves encouraged not only to repair all the damages Lanfranc's church had suffered, but to make it far more glorious than ever.

<64> A vast deal of this work was done in eight years after the fire, though the first had been spent in consulting with workmen, taking down ruins, and clearing away of rubbish. Then the artist, William of Sens, (as Gervase tells us) 'erected four pillars, two on each side, before winter, and when that was over, two more, and turned arches and vaults over them, &c. This manner of proceeding shows, that he had no foundations to lay, and that his work was to be carried on from above the pavement only, of which we shall have other proofs hereafter, beside a strong one, in the account of those visits to the tomb of St. Thomas, in the undercroft, which necessarily supposes that to have been **little** hurt by the flames, if at all.

The reception also of so many Princes and Prelates as came hither, (within three or four

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years after the accident) in a manner suitable to their rank, shows, that the damage done to the Prior's lodgings, and other offices of the monastery, was not long in repairing. These things, as of more immediate necessity, we will suppose to be done first; and yet we are told, that by the end of the third year, some arches and vaults were turned. The wall therefore of the church was certainly not to be rebuilt on this occasion, and this is the wall which remains to our days, for ought that appears in history to the contrary.

On May 22, 1180, 'the church was in some danger from fire again,' as my guides say, who perhaps would have taken no notice of it, for it did no mischief, if they had not thought the miracle, by which it was preserved, a story worth the telling, and as such I give it my reader.

Mr. Somner's account of it, from Gervase, page 89, is as follows:

'A fire did break out in the city, and burnt many houses; it drew toward Christ Church; the monks were under great consternation; the danger seemed to be greater than human aid could prevent. They betook themselves to divine help, and particularly to the protection of St. Owen, whose holy relics are, with much as=

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surance, [*magna opis fiducia*] brought forth, and placed against the flames. The success was wonderful; for the flame, as if it had been driven back by a divine power, retreated, and made no further progress.'

<65> Mr. Battely, in page 17, tells us the same story from Thorn. He says, that 'the fire raged so vehemently, as to become irresistible; that the flames hovered over the church of the Holy Trinity, and threatened immediate ruin:

all human aid failed; when, behold, the coffin, wherein was the body of St. Audoenus, was carried forth, and placed before the fire; by virtue whereof, the flames returned backward, as if they had been forced by the blowing of a strong wind, and did not presume to make any nearer approach to the church.'

As this tale ascribes the miracle to the divine power of St. Owen, and makes his assistance necessary to the Almighty on this occasion, we hope it will be no impeachment to a man's Christianity, to treat it as false and fabulous.

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CHAP XIV.

Description continued.

TO return to our walk in the church-yard. At the south end of the upper cross isle we see two doors, which lead down to that very ancient vault under the choir of the cathedral, which I have supposed (**Chap X.**) to be at least as old as the days of King Alfred, and is now the French church, of which I shall have occasion to say more when we visit the inside of the building.

A little more eastward is the tower, called that of St. Peter and St. Paul, till St. Anselm's shrine was placed in it, and it became his chapel.

This, and one dedicated to St. Andrew, on the north side of the church, have been much more lofty than they are at present.

<66> They are looked upon as older than the rest of the building, partly, perhaps, from their maimed appearance, their upper parts having been lost, nobody knows how long ago, and partly from the accounts of the church being so often rebuilt (from its foundation) gaining more credit than they seem to deserve.

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In 1755, the Antiquarian Society published a drawing of this church, made by Edwyn, a monk, before the fire in 1174 *. In this these towers are described as finished, and very lofty, as well as built of stone like the rest of the walls and the staircase towers, and consequently as little likely to take fire. As to their age, no marks appear either within or without side of them, from whence we may judge them of a greater antiquity than such other parts of the building as are continued from them, in the very same taste westward, and probably were so to the eastward also, round the end of Lanfranc's church, when finished here in a circular form, toward which it began to incline at these towers, according to the plan which Mr. Batteley has published of it, which I take to be a very just one, except in respect of the body there added, for the walls of that never ranged with those of Lanfranc's building; the present body being narrower than the choir part, and a strong proof still visible that this is wider than that

which was before it.

The church-yard in which we have hitherto been, was formerly the place of burial, but of that no memorials are now to be seen. Some years ago indeed an old table monument was

* See Appendix, No. VII.

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standing a few yards from the wall toward the west end of the body, which had marks of being once inlaid with a figure and fillets of brass, but no tradition remained of the person's name who had been interred there. It fell to pieces by degrees, and the rubbish of it has been cleared away.

<67> From the south-west corner of St. Anselm's chapel a wall crosses our way, with a very ancient arch in it, corruptly called the centry gate, as parting the cemetery or burying-place of the laity from that of the monks, and the garden of the convent, at present called the Oaks, (though no trees of that kind have been growing there within the memory of us or our fathers) or perhaps from the sanctuary it led to.

When we have passed this gate, the church makes a different figure from what it has hitherto done; for what we see now was added to the church by the monks when they had repaired the damages done to it by the fire in 1174.

In the assignment of prebendal houses in 1546, each of them had a spot of ground for a garden allotted here.

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CHAP XV.

Of the Chapel of the Holy Trinity, sometimes called that of St. Thomas Becket.

THIS fine chapel may be looked on as a separate building, adjoining indeed to that so lately repaired, and equally lofty, but in a different stile, and by no means inferior in beauty.

Here by the way we may observe, how perfectly well skilled the monks were in the art of raising contributions. For seven years their building had gone on very well; but on the eighth (the ninth from the fire, for the first was spent in making preparations) they could proceed no farther for want of money. This might be true; but if not, the stopping of the work was an excellent stratagem for raising supplies.

<68> A fresh tide flowed in, and brought so much more than was necessary for the repair they were engaged in, as encouraged them to set about a more grand design; which was to pull down the east end of Lanfranc's church, with a small chapel of the Holy Trinity adjoining, to erect a most magnificent one instead of it, equally lofty

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with the roof of the church, and add to that

another building in honour of the new object of their devotion.

And in this they acted very prudently, for while they were thus employed, votaries continued to bring their oblations in abundance, and St. Thomas had visitors who soon enabled the monks to erect a chapel on purpose for the reception of his relics.

Though Mr. Somner justly observed, that this chapel appears less ancient than the choir, by the manifest difference of one structure from the other, Mr. Battely tells us, 'all the work at the east end of the church (except the chapel of King Henry IV.) is one entire building of the same age with the choir,' which he says was burnt down, and rebuilt in ten years, viz. in 1184; and that in 1220 * 'the ceremony of removing the Saint was performed on July 7,

* The delay of this ceremony for so many years seemed strange, till my correspondent W. and D. in some measure accounted for it, from 'the monks being obliged to wait till they had an Archbishop so zealously attached to their interests, as to be willing to fill their coffers, though in so doing he impoverished his see.

'Richard, the Prior of Dover, he observes, died before the chapel was finished: Baldwin was involved in perpetual disputes with the members of the convent: Reginald did not live long enough to hear of his election being confirmed

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with the greatest solemnities and rejoicings; the Pope's Legate, the Archbishops of Canterbury and Rheims, with very many Bishops and Abbots, carrying the coffin on their shoulders, and placing it in his shrine.

'King Henry III. graced the show with his presence, and the Archbishop, Stephen Langton, was so profuse on the occasion, as to leave a debt on the see which his fourth successor could hardly discharge;' for as to the oblations, the disposal of which was looked on as a primitive right of Bishops, the monks had here got the management of them into their own hands.

In this sense therefore we must understand his expression, 'that all this work was done at the proper costs and charges of the convent;' other=

by the Pope: and Hubert, though he was not so inveterate against the monks as Baldwin, revived the obnoxious scheme of establishing a college of secular canons at Lambeth.

'But as Stephen Langton was a creature of the Pope, and raised to the primacy by his Holiness's arbitrary nomination, it is no wonder that he should be well disposed to pay this high honour to the precious remains of the martyr to the pretended rights of the Roman Pontiff, but might judge it expedient to postpone the solemnity till Henry III. was upon the throne; for though that monarch graced it with his presence, King John would never have attended.'

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wise he seems to agree with Mr. Somner, who says, in page 19, 'the expences of finishing and

rebuilding the choir appear plainly to have been supplied from the many and liberal oblations made at the tomb of St. Thomas, so that the church was for some time called by his name.'

But if any of them thought the money laid out in repairing and adorning their church so much out of their own pockets, they might comfort themselves, that the cost was not greater than the worship; devotees to the Saint increased every day, and offerings came in so fast that his shrine grew famous for its riches as well as its holiness.

Erasmus, who visited it, tells us, 'a coffin of wood which covered a coffin of gold was drawn up by ropes and pullies, and then an invaluable treasure was discovered; gold was the meanest thing to be seen there; all shined and glittered with the rarest and most precious jewels, of an extraordinary bigness; some were larger than the egg of a goose.'

At the east end of the chapel of the Holy Trinity, another very handsome one was added, called **Becket's** crown; some suppose from its figure being circular, and the ribs of the arched

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roof meeting in a centre, as those of the crown royal do; others, on account of part of his skull being preserved here as a relic *. Two very large newel staircases of stone lead to the top of this building, and probably were designed to have been finished in spires or handsome turrets; the chapel itself also was carried on above the first design of it, and might have made a noble room. The windows of it were so far finished, that the iron grates for the glazing were fixed, and most of their arches turned, when King Henry VIII. put a stop to the works and oblations at once, seizing on the treasures and estates of the monastery, and providing for the members of it as he pleased; establishing the cathedral on a new foundation of a dean, twelve prebendaries, with other officers and servants, many of which preferments were bestowed on the monks, while others had pensions or provision assigned to them elsewhere.

* This must have been a counterfeit relic, if what Mr. Somner tells us from Stow's Annals of Henry VIII. is true, that 'when by order of Lord Cromwell, his bones were taken out of the iron chest which contained them, that they might be burnt to ashes; they were found, scull and all, with the piece that had been cut out of it, laid in the wound. So must also the whole face of the blessed martyr, set in gold, and adorned with jewels, which Erasmus says was shown here, unless he speaks of a copy or picture of it.

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The church now recovered its ancient name of Christ Church; additions in honour of St. Thomas were no longer thought of, and his crown made but a ragged appearance till about

1748, when Captain Humphrey Pudner, of this city, gave an hundred pounds towards completing it, which money was laid out in bringing it to its present figure.

The north side of the church differs little from what we have been examining, but is not so accessible, nor ever was; for here were the offices of the ancient monastery, some parts of which still remain, converted to dwelling-houses. Here also is the library, the audit-room, the chapter-house, and the cloyster. The description of these, and what else is worth notice within our precinct, I shall next enter upon.

<71> CHAP. XVI.

Of the Precincts of the Cathedral and the Archbishop's Palace.

FROM Christ Church gate to Burgate nothing of the old wall on the south side of our precinct is to be seen; houses and shops on the north side of that street having quite hid the place of it, as mentioned already in **Chap. VIII.**

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Another wall, parallel to that of the city, separated Queningate-lane from our precinct as far as to Northgate church, and was our eastern and northern boundary, till the city wall became so, by a grant of that lane to the church from King Henry II. confirmed afterwards by charter of Henry IV.

The western wall is to be seen from Northgate, for about an hundred yards, where a turning to the left leads to the ancient gate of the priory. Here the wall of the archiepiscopal Palace crosses our way, as mentioned in **Chap. VIII.** and therefore this may be the proper place for speaking of what is to be seen there; the rather, perhaps, because Mr. Somner tells us, that 'for many years one precinct was the habitation of the Archbishop and his monks; and that when King Ethelbert had given his palace to St. Augustine, he converted that and the neighbouring church to a cathedral and monastery, where they lived in common, as one family, till the coming of Lanfranc; for no mention of such palace, or several habitation for the Archbishop, is to be found before his time;' and adds, 'that little or no part of it was left to be surveyed when he wrote.'

The same may now be said of what had the appearance of a palace in his days. Entering

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<72> the great gate, we find the court converted to gardens and a timber-yard; turning to the right we see the north porch of the great hall, now a dwelling house, with no entrance on this side. The communication of this house with the town is by a handsome gate, (not a great one) with a stone portal, opposite to St. Alphege-lane; and at the east end of the garden

a door, broken through the wall, makes a passage to the cathedral, and to the neighbouring houses in the palace. This was the upper end of the hall, and along it runs a terrace, raised on fragments without number of little pillars, of the Petworth marble, once perhaps the ornaments of the great hall, but now laid on one another, like billets on a wood-stack, the ends of which were visible till some years ago, when a tenant of this house raised a turfed slope of earth against them, to give the garden a better appearance.

This garden had at the east wall of it two niches, adorned with pillars and canopies of Petworth marble, still maintaining the appearance of grandeur, and perhaps designed for buffets, answering the ends of two long tables in that refectory, where so many persons of the highest quality, and even sovereign Princes, have been feasted with all the magnificence suitable to their exalted rank, so lately as to Queen

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<207> Elizabeth's time; many of which entertainments have been thought worth recording in history, with such accounts of the number of guests, as show there were other rooms for some of them to dine in. The niches are demolished by a late reparation of that wall, in pulling down the upper part of a wall so built, and leaving a flat top with no covering, may be called a reparation.

<72> Archbishop Langton was founder of this hall, and left his see so much in debt by the excessive expences he was at on the translation of Thomas Becket, that it cost his fourth successor, Boniface, 22,000 marks, or 14,666l. 13s. 4d. to clear it. Mr. Somner gives us a speech of his on this occasion, as follows:

<73> 'My predecessors built this hall at great expences; they did well indeed; but they laid out no money about this building, except what they borrowed. I seem indeed to be truly the builder of this hall, because I paid their debts.'

After so much destruction and so many alterations as have happened here, it is hardly possible to form any conjecture of what this palace has been; but against the wall at the east end of the great hall, we see the remains of a cloyster, of five arches on this side, which were

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eleven feet wide. The crowns of these appear about four feet above the ground, all below being buried in the rubbish, which makes the present foot-way.

Some years ago an attempt was made to improve and level this way, by digging and carrying off this rubbish, and the work proceeded so far, that the upper part of a door-case, and a whole window-frame just by it, both of stone, were discovered; and the search would probably have been continued down to the pavement, if

somebody had not cunningly observed that sinking so low might endanger the foundations; this was attended to with great gravity; a stop was put to the work, and the stuff not carried off was spread upon the place from whence it had been taken.

Walking from thence southward, we see on the left hand a lofty house, where the cellerar of the convent had his apartment.

<a> Mr. Somner says, 'King Henry VIII. in his new erection and endowment of the church, expressly reserved it for himself and his successors, by the name of the Cellerar's Hall, and the Cellerar's Lodgings.' But they are since come to the see, and laid to the palace. Some re=

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mains of these buildings are still to be seen from the east side of the cloyster.

<74> Opposite to this were some stone steps, which led up to the Archbishop's civil or temporal court; the only part which Mr. Somner supposes to be as old as the time of Lanfranc.

The Dean and Chapter had such a court for their jurisdiction, and so had the liberty of St. Augustine's monastery, with each of them a goal, till the practice in these courts did not make the lawyers amends for the expence of their commissions.

Proceeding a little farther, we come to another lofty house, opposite to the west door of the cloyster, built or repaired by Archbishop Parker, as appears by his arms on the south side of it toward Christ Church gate, as well as in some places within doors. This, and a considerable remain of a noble gallery between it and the great hall, with several other parts of the palace, escaped the fury of the Saints in the grand rebellion; for when they had killed the right owner, and taken possession of his spoils, their zeal for destroying cooled by degrees, and they had wit enough to find out that good houses were of more value than the rubbish of them:

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and it may perhaps divert my reader to hear, that he to whose share this fell, used to date his letters 'from my palace at Canterbury.'

From this house to the Arundel steeple is a strong and high wall, embattled, which once cut off the communication between the palace and the church-yard, till a door was broken through it in the last century. In the wall between the house last mentioned and the cloyster, we may discover marks of a sheltered way, by which the Archbishop might go to the church without being incommoded by bad weather.

<75> From the restoration the site of this palace has been held by lease of the Archbishop. It has several dwelling-houses in it, and a Methodist meeting, besides pieces of ground made use of for carpenters and masons yards, gardens, &c. but I have confined my description to such

particulars only as may shew something of its former state.

The Arundel steeple, at the north-west corner of the church, is joined to that part of the palace where we see the arms of Archbishop Parker, by the high wall just now mentioned; yet this wall was not the boundary of the palace here, as I shall shew presently; but first, it

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may not be amiss to take notice of the appearance the Arundel steeple makes to those who see it from the Archbishop's palace.

CHAP. XVII.

Of the Arundel Steeple.

THE structure of this is so utterly different from any thing near it, that Mr. Somner and Mr. Battely, instead of accounting for this, disagree about the age of it. History was no help to them, and the building itself perhaps they did not duly consider.

A view of it as now standing may enable us to form an opinion, how far Mr. Battely is right, in supposing it built when the body of the church and the Oxford steeple were so.

Resemblance of stile here is none, except that on the north side, one window is made suitable to those on the same side of the body with which it ranges; but all other openings are of a much ruder form, and can never be supposed the work of such artists as raised the elegant structures adjoining.

<76> It seems rather, that the interruption of Archbishop Sudbury's design happened while this

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tower was standing; and that the rebuilders, judging it capable of such alterations as might make it appear (within side at least) of a piece with their new work, thought it better to take that method than to pull down the whole.

Whether this experiment caused the cracks in the old tower, which required its being strengthened with so much iron work as we see, or whether the unskilful hanging of the heavy Arundel bells made that necessary, does not now appear: I have heard the latter mentioned as the cause of those cracks; whichever it was, the building is much disfigured by them.

Upon this tower was a lofty spire, as is seen in the old prints of the church; but the terrible November storm in 1703 having done some damage to the leading of it, it was judged necessary to be taken down, and was soon after, as low as to the platform and balcony, which now make the top and finishing of it.

CHAP. XVIII.

Of the inside of the Precinct.

THE wall which joins the Arundel steeple to a part of the Archbishop's palace,

looks (as I have already observed) like a bound

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dary between the two precincts, but it is not so; for when we have passed through the door made in it, on our right hand is a little low tower of stone, **with battlements still to be seen, though the tower itself is hardly visible, having a barber's shop with an upper room built against it.**

<77> It stands exactly opposite to the great west door of the church, and within a few yards of it; yet this belongs to the palace, the bound line being a very capricious one, (as marked in the plan) till it abuts against the wall which separates both these liberties from that of the city, near the Red Pump.

We are now got into the church-yard again, the inside of Christ Church gate facing us, with a causey leading from this gate to the south porch at the Oxford steeple; almost opposite to which is a small stone house, with a cistern in it, which had a common cock for the use of the church tenants in this neighbourhood, and was supplied with water from the great reservoir in the Green Court. Of this convenience they have been deprived several years, though the pipe which served it still remains, and a small expence would restore it: but if this cistern was enlarged, so as to receive all the water that runs waste every night from that in the Green Court, it would not only be a greater benefit to the

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<a> neighbours than ever, but might be very serviceable in case of accidental fires here.

In walking eastward we pass by the house of the eighth prebendary, near which is a mount, planted with shrubs and flowers, being part of his garden. Here was once a belfrey, the rubbish of which has raised the ground to such a height, that the plantation is seen over the wall.

His house is in the plan marked VIII. the number of his stall; which rule is observed in the rest of the prebendal houses, all the houses in the precinct which have no mark being held by lease of the Dean and Chapter.

<78> When we have passed the cemetery gate, we are got into the Convent-garden, or Oaks, where, on the right hand and west side, stands an old building, once the school, but now fitted up for the plumbers use, with proper conveniences for casting sheet lead towards the repairs of the church. The house and garden just by this belongs to the ninth prebend, and that almost over against it to the third; along whose wall is a gravelled walk, well shaded with high and spreading lime-trees on its west side, and in the summer time much frequented by good company. At the end of this walk is a door into a bowling-green.

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The south side of this square (if it may be

called one) is bounded by the garden wall of a private house, which has one door into the Oaks, and another into Burgate-street; the north side by the wall of the church timber-yard, and that of the first prebendary's garden, and then by that of the eleventh prebendary's fore-court: between these two is a bricked passage, by the east end of the church, to that part of the precinct on the north side; but before we proceed thither, it may be proper to observe, that the eleventh prebendal house is a strong and lofty building of itself, and was once called the Honours, a name, which, Mr. Somner says, never occurred to him in any record of the church, before the division [of prebendal houses,] but supposes it the prime part of the prior's seat. Mr. Battely says, it was called the great chamber of the prior; that he had a bed-chamber here, with other convenient rooms to reside in on some grand and solemn occasions, when he appeared in state. John Elham, prior *, died in the Maister Honours, and so did John Bokynham *, who, quitting his Bishoprick at

* John Elham was prior from 1446 to 1449.

* 'John Bokynham or Buckingham,' Mr. Somner says, 'was, in the time of King Richard II, Keeper of the Privy Seal, and afterwards Lord Bishop of Lincoln, from whence, in the year of our redemption 1397, Pope Boniface IX. bearing him a grudge, translated him per force unto

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Lincoln, retired to this monastery, and dwelt at his own charge in the Maister Honours.

<79> It seems therefore this building was, upon occasion, made use of for the reception of persons of quality, in a manner suitable to their rank, and where their residence would very little, if at all, disturb the prior and his people in their quarter.

This may have been called the Master Honours, to distinguish it from a range of buildings (now the houses of the fifth and sixth prebendaries) parallel, and very near to it, called also the Honours, and quite conveniently placed for receiving and accommodating the retinue of such noble guests near at hand, without crowding the grand apartment.

It is probable this apartment was richly furnished, for some of the windows of the ground floor shew, that, beside the iron bars to which the glazing was fastened, additional gratings

Litchfield, a Bishopric not half so good, which he refused to accept, and chusing rather a retired monastic course of life, became a monk of this church, where he spent the rest of his days, and was buried, by his will, at the lower [west] end of the body.' His grave-stone there (a very large one of marble) was once inlaid with brass, but is, as all others of that kind are, robbed of the brass figures and inscriptions which once adorned them.

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have been fixed there, which must have been

for security rather than ornament.

The bricked passage here brings us to the door of the sixth prebendary, with a small court before it, on one side of which is the east window of the infirmary chapel, now closed up, as are some arches of much older windows, still to be seen in the same wall.

<80> A little to the left is a covered passage, at the entrance of which we may see, almost overhead, but nearer the corner of the wall, a maimed figure of a man sitting, who, in Somner's time, held a scroll in his hand, with the words *Ecce me major*, designed probably for St. John Baptist, to whom this chapel was dedicated. **See Chap. XI.**

The room over it belongs to the first prebendary, and a turning westward in the passage, brings us to one front of his house, which lies in a line parallel to the easternmost part of the cathedral, where was the shrine of St. Thomas: under which are vaults, that for spaciousness and beauty would make a finer parish church than any in the city. These were allotted to this prebend at the division and distribution of houses to the Dean and Prebendaries, made in their chapter November 1546.

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A manuscript concerning this division, which I am favoured with the use of, enables me to give some account of these vaults, which may deserve a chapter to itself.

It is kept, with other curious papers, by the Rev. the Dean of Canterbury for the time being.

CHAP. XIX.

Of the fine Vaults allotted to the First Prebendary.

THE manuscript appears to be some of the materials Mr. Somner had collected toward a second edition of his *Antiquities of Canterbury*. It contains some orders of chapter then made, written in print hand, to distinguish them from his notes, which take up a much greater part of the book, and in which, among other things, is a list of the Deans and Prebendaries, to the time of Dean Bargrave, (now living, as he expresses it) which is continued by the copyist down to Dr. Egerton, installed November 25, 1724.

<81> Many things might contribute to prevent Mr. Somner's publishing his second edition: the troublesome times, the multiplicity of busi-

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ness after the restoration, when being made auditor, he had the confusion of many years to reduce into order (if that was possible) the misnumbering the prebendal houses, and the many changes among the incumbents, must have been great hindrances to his design, and so too might the difficulty be which he found in reconciling

the notes to the text, of which a remarkable instance occurs in the allotment of these vaults to the first prebendary.

The text says 'he is to have the vault called Bishop Becket's tomb, under our Lady's chapel.' Mr. Somner, in the manuscript I have just now mentioned, not knowing how to make this consistent with his account that Archbishop Becket was buried a few steps above the Lady's chapel, taxes the scribe with a mistake, and says, 'he should have written above our Lady's chapel,' for so it is, being the very uppermost part of the undercroft.

But even this correction did not satisfy him so well as to be placed among the additions he wrote in the interleaved copy of his book, now in our church library, which Mr. Battely inserted in his edition, and noted them with [W. S.]

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I shall endeavour the best I can to clear up this matter, from the history of the Archbishop's death and burial.

We are told that the assassins, after murdering him and plundering his palace, threatened to return, and cast his body for a prey to birds and beasts; and that for fear of this, the monks buried him privately the next day, in the vault under the east end of the church, and in a new tomb (*sarcophagus*) of marble.

<a>
<82> Why the monks should be apprehensive that these ruffians, after having made their escape, should be in haste to show themselves again in a city exasperated against them; how a new tomb of marble should be prepared in a few hours, or how such a monument should be better to conceal his remains than a common grave *, I shall not trouble myself to guess: but when

* To such as doubt whether he had a grave, I shall relate what I heard many years ago from an eye witness of undoubted credit, whom the learned Archdeacon Battely invited to see a stone in the undercroft taken up, under which they found a grave, with no remains of corpse or coffin, but all perfectly clean, which is not to be wondered at; for the earth which had filled up this Saint's grave might be as valuable as the rubbish of that door of St. Peter's cathedral at Rome, which the Pope breaks open on every Jubilee, and which is so scrambled for, that some are often crowded to death in the riot.

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their fears were over, when their prelate was become St. Thomas, and an object of adoration, no doubt but they hastened to distinguish a place where his votaries might offer their prayers and gifts, till a proper one might be provided for that purpose, and the reception of his relics; and before that could be done, such rich oblations were made, as furnished them with money enough not only to repair the damages occasioned by the fire, but to make the magnificent

additions at the east end of the church.

The place of his burial they distinguished by an altar, called the altar of the tomb of St. Thomas; but as this could not be his tomb under the chapel of our Blessed Virgin, what was so must be hunted out by conjecture; how far mine will go I submit to my readers,

<83> Let me then suppose, that the circular tower added to the east end of the chapel of the Trinity, and to this day called Becket's crown, was erected in honour of him; that the ground-room of it was designed for a chapel to be dedicated to him, and an altar-tomb to be prepared there for the reception of his relics, when it should be thought proper to remove them thither.

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That this should be called the tomb of St. Thomas, rather than his chapel, by way of distinction; for other churches might soon have chapels and altars of St. Thomas, but his tomb was to be found here only.

That therefore this place was called his tomb, even while it was carrying up, and communicated its name to the adjoining vault through which was the way to it, as his shrine did that of the martyr to the whole church not long after.

That over this chapel should be one of our Lady, perhaps in memory, that when he was beset by the assassins, he had his last farewell to her, at the point of death, (as Erasmus expresses it) at the foot of her altar in the place called from thence the Martyrdom. **Chap. XXXI.**

That there was such a chapel in this tower, I think we have proof sufficient; the place and dimensions of an altar here are plainly to be seen in the pavement, and the steps up to it still remain: that it was an altar of the Blessed Virgin we may reasonably suppose, from a picture of her still remaining in the stained glass of the window, before which that altar stood.

If the only difficulty to be removed is, that no signs of a tomb appear in the place I would

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call by that name, I think a very good reason may be given for his never having had one there.

<84> Before this tomb could be erected, his votaries came in such numbers, that the chapel, designed for their reception, was by much too small for that purpose; the monks therefore acted very prudently in leaving that unfinished, and translating the body to the chapel of the Trinity, which would receive hundreds of people at a time, and where his shrine, with its ornaments, might be seen on all sides.

If we allow, that after this was done, the name of his tomb was not forgotten, but continued to the time of the reformation, we may be as well satisfied, that this was the vault called Bishop Becket's tomb, under our Lady's chapel, as that it is the vault which was assigned in

the division to the first prebendary, and has be=longed to his successors from that time to this; which last circumstance perhaps is as strong jus=tification of my conjectures as they are capa=ble of. *

<207> * The accounts we have of the burying-place of Archbi=shop Becket are not easily reconciled to one another. Mr. Somner says, in his book, it is a few steps above the Lady's chapel in the undercroft; and in the manuscript I have quoted, that it was at the very uppermost part of the under=croft; meaning, I suppose, near the circular wall at the east

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CHAP. XX.

Precinct continued.

TO proceed on our walk. On the left hand side of the alley we are now got into, we see a row of pillars and arches, once a part of

end of the old church. But he mentions the assignment of the fine vaults to the first prebend, in a manner which does not distinguish them from that in which is the Lady's chapel; whereas they are parted by a straight wall, at least eleven yards from the upper end of that chapel, built between the two eastern towers of Lanfranc's church, instead of the cir=

<208> cular one Mr. Battely has given us in his plan of it, with another of the undercroft in the same plate; by comparing of which two, we shall find, that if in the latter we draw such an arch between those towers as we see in the former, the line will coincide with the altars of St. John Baptist and of St. Augustine, and that of St. Thomas between them.

This place is under the new chapel of the Holy Trinity, and was so under the old one, as we find by the altar of it in Lanfranc's plan.

But Gervase says, that Archbishop Becket was buried in a little chapel added at the outside of the circular wall I have been speaking of, in which St. Thomas was particularly fond of performing his devotions.

And now, whether this extraordinary Saint's body was inclosed in a new *sarcophagus* of marble, provided (miracu=ulously we may think) to receive it the very next day after his death, or whether it rested in a grave till the time of his

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the infirmary and its chapel, but now walled up, making the north side of the first preben=

<209> translation, and what was the place of that grave, I leave the reader to judge, if the lights I have been able to give should tempt him to such an enquiry. **Some consequences of his death may shew how insolent the Pope's resentment was, and how superstitious and abject the King's submission.**

The accounts of St. Thomas's death in the *Decem Scrip=tores* tell us, the Pope (Alexander II) and the King (Hen. II) were so shocked at the news of it, that they spent some days in fasting and prayer, shut up and hardly suffering any one to come near them.

The King in particular did neither eat nor speak in three days, and kept himself in sad and solitary retirement for five weeks.

For all this, the Ambassadors of rank and address, whom he sent to clear him of the guilt of it, were roughly denied

admittance by the Pope and some of his Cardinals, nor could by any intreaties get to the sight of his Holiness, till they made their application in proper form (*Romano more*, as Gervase calls it) and with difficulty obtained that favour at the price of 500 marks.

Then on swearing (by decree of the court of Rome) in the name of the King, that he would submit himself to the judgment of the church, they prevailed that neither he nor his kingdom should be laid under sentence of suspension or excommunication.

It is well known the King carried his submission so far as to offer himself to be whipped by the monks in their chapter (see **Chap. XXX.**) Some of the writers say, that not only

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dary's house, and that of a minor canon adjoining to it.

On the right hand is the new-built house of the fifth prebend; and then that of the second, mostly of modern structure, but the hall of it was that of the old infirmary, a large and handsome room, open to the roof, built (according to Mr. Somner) about the year 1342, and still in good repair. The free-stone arches over the door and windows of it, are strengthened by others just above them of flint, curiously cut, so as to resemble bricks set on end.

<85> Proceeding still westward we come to an entry, called a dark one, (and indeed was much more so formerly than it is now) with a door on the left hand, leading to the cloyster, which is shut up every night. On the right is the way to the *Curia Prioratus*, now the Green Court, in going to which we pass by two stair-cases, that of the library locked up, and just by it another, with an arched door-case, once leading to the *Camera Vetus Prioris*, by Eadwyn's drawing *

the monks, but the Bishops, and other religious persons present, lent their hands to this penance, some giving him three lashes, others five.

* This plan, which I may often have occasion to mention, is found among the manuscripts of Trinity College in Cam-

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now to the house of one of our six preachers, which is over head here, and was given up for that use by Dean Godwyn, who had house-room enough without it.

Mr. Somner finds no priors here before Henry Abbot of Caen in Normandy, brought hither by Lanfranc. Before that time the church had Deans: Celnoth, the first of them, was afterwards

bridge, in a very curious triple psalter of St. Jerome, in Latin, written by the monk Eadwyn, whose picture at the beginning of it, and whose attempt to draw a representation of our church and monastery, as they stood between the years 1130 and 1174, makes it probable he was one of the monks here, and the more so, as neither of the drawings has any kind of relation to the psalter and other sacred hymns, written in the book itself.

In an inscription round his portrait, Eadwyn styles himself the Prince of Writers [*Scriptorum Princeps*;] but however proud

he might be of his penmanship, this does very little honour to his skill as a draughtsman, for it is neither a plan, an up-right, or a prospect, and yet it shows plainly enough, that this is the church and precinct he would have drawn, if he had known how to execute such a design.

In the year 1755 the Antiquarian Society published prints of these two drawings, with an account of them and of the plan; adding, that the book was given to Trinity College library, by Dr. Neville, Dean of Canterbury, who was also master of that college, and a great benefactor to it; and that in an index of books, formerly belonging to that cathedral, mention is made of *Tripartitum Psalterium Eadwyni*.

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Archbishop, and died 870. He mentions two others, but could not complete the succession.

<86> He supposes they were first called Lord Prior, about 1378, when Pope Urban VI. granted to John Finch and his successors, the mitre, tunic, dalmatic, gloves, and ring, and in the next prior's time completed the episcopal habit, by adding the sandals and the pastoral staff. But these marks of distinction were to be used only in absence of the Archbishop.

He adds, that the Lord Priors sat as spiritual Barons in Parliament. This Mr. Battely contradicts, on Mr. Selden's authority: but whatever his rank might be, his income was a lordly one, being valued at the suppression (not to the worth, says Mr. Somner) at 2489l. 4s. 9d.

CHAP XXI.

Of the Deanry and Green Court.

AS the income of the Lord Prior was great, his apartments, now the deanry, were spacious accordingly, taking in not only all the east end of the Green Court, but part of the sides adjoining, as does the deanry now, marked in the plan (with its offices) by the letter D.

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Great part of it was destroyed by fire, in Dean Godwyn's time, whose name, and the date 1570 recorded in stone, on two heads of the house, show when and by whom it was built.

A chamber over the north end of the Dark-entry, (which has been called the Dean's study) with a newel stair-case of stone up to it; another such stair-case within the house, at the south end of Dean Godwyn's, serving for back stairs to that, as well as a way to some rooms of longer standing; another still at the north end, with two small tenements, near the corner of the Court, belonging to the deanry, appear to be of antiquity, and perhaps as old as Eadwyn's drawing.

<87> The north side, according to him, was taken up by a long range of building, which was the brewhouse and bakehouse of the monastery, and a gate which he calls their granary. The gate we see over against us, as we come out of the Dark-entry, may be that he speaks of, and the room

over it is very fit for the use he mentions. The range (which is continued eastward from this gate) has other offices belonging to the deanry, not looking into the Court; westward of that gate is a tenement, of which the granary just mentioned is now a part; next to this is the

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water-house *, wherein is a cistern, furnishing almost the whole precinct with excellent water by pipes laid to the houses, and furnished itself by pipes from springs about a mile off; then the Dean's brewhouse, from whence the water-house was taken; and here the range is broken, a room (as tradition says) once called the Dean's great hall, having been demolished by the zealous puritans, for being profaned by the King's scholars having acted plays there.

A neat little dwelling-house fills up part of the space where that stood, and belongs to the house of the fourth prebendary, which, with its offices, reaches almost to the porter's gate; but before we come to that, a turning at the corner of his stable yard, leads to a curious old arch, the gate of the *Domus Hospitum*.

<88> CHAP. XXII.

Of the Strangers House and Hall, *Domus Hospitum*.

THIS was the place appointed for the entertainment of such poor pilgrims as had

* This water-house was parted from the Dean's brewhouse (which had room to spare) about 60 years ago, before which time the conduit was a square building, like a coun=

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lodging and diet at the expence of the monastery *.

It is above forty feet broad, and was not less than 150 long, situated in a corner least likely to interfere with the privacy of the monks, or the business of their servants, and is one of the buildings which I suppose were raised by Lanfranc over vaults of greater antiquity, these being just such as those under the choir, but on plainer pillars.

A covered way or pentise led from this hall to the offices of the cellerar, for he had the care of them, having a steward and servants, who furnished their tables with commons provided on purpose; what was left at the tables of the prior, &c. being distributed among the poor at the Almonry, of which I shall speak by and by.

This pentise not only prevented the inconveniences which they who carried their messes

try pidgeon-house, and stood in the court so near the prebendal-house as to be an inconvenience there, as well as a disgrace to the whole court beside.

* Our monks being of the order of St. Benedict were by his rule obliged to keep hospitality, and find entertainment at bed and board for such strangers and pilgrims as should

crave it of them.

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might suffer, by being exposed to bad weather, or crowded by people who had no business with them, but might keep the pilgrims themselves from straggling in their way through the pentise-gate to the cloyster and church *.

<89> The hall was a very large and lofty room, much like some of our parish churches, having one third of its breadth parted by pillars and arches of stone (like a side isle) which were continued for the length of the whole building, and are to be seen in what remains of it.

<a> It was called the North-hall, or Hog-hall, which Mr. Somner would derive from the German word *hog*, signifying 'high' or 'mounted.' My reader perhaps may think he need not have gone so far for a probable conjecture, but that it was at least as likely to get this nick-name from the greedy and hoggish behaviour of such company as was usually fed there.

The number of vaults under this house, was three in breadth, and ten or more in length, till

* It was about eight feet wide within, the roof supported on the west side by the wall which parts this precinct from that of the Archbishop's palace; on the east by substantial posts, nine or ten feet high; the timbers and framing fit to last for ages; it has done so already, and seems likely to do so still.

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the hall was demolished. The porter of the Green Court gate had his lodge on the south side of that gate, but (I suppose, on the building a house for the tenth prebend) was removed to the opposite side of it. Three of these vaults, the breadth of the building, and the three next to them, are taken up by this lodge, and a way to the Almonry, or Mint Yard, (to be spoken of in its place) and two more, on the right hand side of this way, were the prison of the Dean and Chapter, (whose court the steward of their liberties held once in three weeks, for deterring causes under his cognizance, in the building above) but this being little better than a dungeon, a more airy one was provided in the church-yard.

I have already observed, that this court has been disused some time, as well as those of the Archbishop's and St. Augustine's liberties.

<90> The arch of the lodge, which is clear of the gate, is adorned with carved mouldings, so **were** they on our left hand when we go toward the stairs of the strangers hall, though now **al=** **most entirely** hidden by brick-work. The gate at the foot of those stairs, is arched in the same taste; the stair-case is about six feet wide, covered over head, and windowed with little pillars and arches like those we see in such abun=

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dance about the most ancient parts of our church.

<a> The stone steps, being greatly worn, were within memory replaced with square tiles, as the carved pillars of marble on the south side (much decayed also) were with plain ones, and they on the north closed up by a plaistered wall.

In the wall on the south side of this stair-case, is a door which leads down to a vault, where, by Eadwyn's drawing, was a well or a bason, of which nothing is now to be seen. This vault is under the landing place at the head of the stairs, which is a room with several doors, one over against us, leading to the room where the steward's court has been kept, as others on each hand do to the lodgings on the south, now houses for two of our six preachers, and to the hall of the strangers on the north.

This part (being more than half the building) was once the house of the ninth prebendary, fitted up for his use by floors and partitions, and afterward by exchange became that of the auditor; but was so disagreeably situated and contrived, that a late one chose to let it at a low rent, and pay a higher for one not a quarter so large, but more pleasantly seated, in the Green Court.

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<91> About the year 1730, he agreed to give up his interest in this huge building to the Dean and Chapter, on being allowed the rent he paid for that wherein he dwelt. On this the hall, between fifty and sixty feet long, and about forty broad, was taken down with the vaults under it, two chambers, which had been added to the prebendal house, over a room in the Mint Yard, the kitchen of one of their tenants, disposed of to that tenant; the opening left at the demolition of the hall made up, and a low building added for a brewhouse. After this was done, and the materials of the fabric sold, the house was restored to the auditor again.

On this he, being a proctor in the ecclesiastical courts, got the register's office removed from the rooms over the Butter-market, in St. Andrew's parish, to this place, and here it continues, but is still assessed to the land-tax in that parish, according to a rate confirmed by act of parliament while it was kept there.

This auditor was not the first person who thought the house too dull to live in; Dr. Turnbull, the third prebendary in the ninth stall, had got that in the Green Court which is now the house of the twelfth prebend, and (in 1558) given up his proper one for the use of the grammar school, (it being exceedingly fit

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for that purpose while the hall was standing) and the old school in the Convent-garden had been assigned to the twelfth prebendary, who was to have Mr. 'Cok's lodging with the plumery,' (which

is the name and use of the old school to this day)
'and the close and garden upon the hill to the school
garden.'

<92> But the school did not long continue here;
for when Dr. Bullen, who succeeded Dr. Turn=
bull in 1566, took possession of this house as
his right, he represented the danger the school
house (as it seems this was still called) was in,
by reason of annexing the house (used for the
grammar school) to it with dogs of iron; it
was therefore agreed in Chapter, 1572, that his
house should, at the charge of the church, by
making buttresses against the wall adjoining to
the school, be made defensible, &c. I shall
have occasion to say more about this when we
come to the Mint Yard, but first shall mention
another prebendary who could not reconcile
himself to living here.

This was Dr. Nixon, installed in 1689, who
exchanged it for that of the auditor in the Con=
vent-garden, though at the expence of building
a new one there **for himself and successors.**

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CHAP. XXIII.

Of the Almonry or Mint Yard.

THIS is a little court at the west side of the
strangers-hall, while that was standing.
Here all the fragments and relics of meat and
drink left at the tables of the refectory, of the
prior, of the master or cellerar, of the infirmary,
and of the strangers-hall, were to be disposed of
to no other use but that of the poor.

The monk who had the care of this distribu=
tion, Mr. Somner says, was called Dean of the
Almonry, and names several churches given to
its endowment. It had its chapel in it, and
lodgings for the chaplains.

When King Henry VIII. had ejected the
monks of the cathedral, and appointed houses
in its precinct for the Dean, Canons, &c. of his
new foundation; he kept this court for his own
use, and had a mint here, of which it still bears
the name.

The way to it from the Green Court is
through three of the arches under the *Domus*
Hospitum, (as already observed) and when we
come into the little court, we find on the east

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<93> side of it, the range of building which Dr. Bul=
len complained of, as in the foregoing chapter.

The iron dogs still remain in the west wall of
the strangers-hall, which was left standing, and
by mere accident it was discovered, that the
buttresses of that hall were of later date than the
hall itself.

The house 'now used for the grammar
school' (as Dr. Bullen called it) has been for
many years let in two tenements. The occu=
pier of that next to the city wall wanting a
chimney to his hall, cut a tunnel for it in the

thickness of a buttress, at the north-west corner of the old building lately demolished, and among the rubbish that came out, found large fragments of stone windows, like those in the body of the church. This was wondered at, because that kind of windows is thought of later date than the days of Lanfranc, who built the hall; but the supposing these the buttresses erected in Dr. Bullen's time, makes that plain which could not but seem very unaccountable to those who thought the hall and its buttresses of the same standing.

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CHAP. XXIV.

Digression.

PERHAPS my reader may think, that when I talk of Lanfranc's structures as being erected on vaults standing long before, and mentioning other parts of the building in and about our cathedral, as of greater antiquity than is generally supposed, I seem too forward in giving them so early a date: if he does, I hope he will excuse my adding some reason for my opinion to those I have already given.

<94> Mr. Somner tells us from the monk Edmer, 'that Lanfranc built Christ Church in Canterbury; the wall which does encompass the court, with all the offices belonging to the monastery within the wall thereof;' adding, 'that most of our monasteries were of wood, till, upon the Norman conquest, such timber fabrics grew out of use, and gave place to stone buildings, raised upon arches, a form of structure introduced by that nation.'

But if the account we have of Grymbald's crypt be true, this is an unanswerable objection to what is here asserted. Grymbald's is cer-

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tainly a stone building, and arched, and prior to Lanfranc's coming by almost 200 years.

Our crypts under the choir are exactly in the same taste; not that of the Normans; theirs was plain, or very sparingly adorned, whereas his (if I may call it so) was profusely embellished with grotesque decorations of whim and fancy. It can hardly be supposed, therefore, that the same architect designed both the undercroft and superstructure of our choir; or, that any architect would bestow a great deal of time and expence in extravagantly adorning the vaults under a building to be erected over them in a very chaste and simple style.

Mr. Battely says, 'that from the time of Augustine, for the space of 340 years, he could not find, in any printed or manuscript chronicle, the least mention of the fabric of this church, so that nothing it seems remarkable did befall it worthy of being recorded.'

But surely a great deal might befall it, and be recorded to, of which the memorials might be

utterly lost and destroyed in the miserable con= fusion during that period and several years after; when the Danish invaders ravaged our country with fire and sword, and Canterbury seems to have been a distinguished object of

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their fury. All that was combustible was burnt by them; the roof of our cathedral they took particular pains to set fire to, and probably de= faced the walls of it as much as they had time for. Beside this, Edmer says, 'an accidental fire, about three years before Lanfranc's arrival, not only did great damage to the building, but still greater in destroying the charters and muni= ments of the church;' with these we may rea= sonably suppose whatever historical accounts the monks had of it perished.

But if Lanfranc at his coming found the dis= position of the old offices so well adjusted, as it appears to have been by their undercrofts still remaining, and some of their walls fit for his purpose, we can hardly suppose one who had such great designs to execute, would be at the expence and trouble of pulling down and clear= ing away what might be of service in his present undertaking; and thus we may account for his having completed so great a work in eight years.

I own this is a conjecture, and submitting that and the probability of the grounds, on which I build, to the candid consideration of my rea= der, proceed to the descriptive part of my work.

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CHAP XXV.

Of the King's School.

I FIND myself accused (too justly I fear) of saying, in my former edition, less of this school than one who was educated at it, and a King's Scholar, ought to have done.

I must endeavour to make amends by the best account I can give of this ancient and royal foundation.

The latter of these titles I can trace no far= ther than King Henry VIII. who new-modelled the establishment of our cathedral; and by whose statutes, as corrected, explained, and confirmed by King Charles I. both that and its school are regulated.

As to the former, Canterbury perhaps need not give place to any nursery of learning in the whole kingdom.

Archbishop Theodore (according to Lam= bert in his Perambulation of Kent) by licence of Pope Vitalianus, who died anno domini 669, founded within this city a school or college, wherein he placed Professors of all the liberal

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sciences. If so, here was in effect what we call an University more than 200 years before King Alfred founded that at Oxford, anno domini 886.

How eminently Canterbury was the seat of literature many hundred years ago appears by the history of the noble Aldhelm, who came hither from the court of Ina, King of the West Saxons, (whose nephew he was) to study under Adrian, Abbot of St. Augustine's; and who was no less distinguished by his learning than by his rank; being, as he himself boasts, the first who introduced the study of Latin poetry into his country. See Dr. Gale's *Scriptores* XV. Vol. I. page 342. He died Bishop of Shirborn, anno domini 709, as Bede tells us, page 244 of that volume.

That Augustine settled a school here very early can hardly be doubted. Mr. Somner has given an account of a suit in 1321 between Radulph rector of the grammar-schools of the city of Canterbury, and Robert rector of St. Martin's near Canterbury and of the schools there; when sentence was given in favour of Radulph, reserving to Robert the right he claimed as immemorial of teaching at St. Martin's, but restraining the number of his scholars to thirteen; which may best be accounted for, by supposing this the number of those instructed

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at St. Augustine's school there, and thus fixed in respect to his memory.

Mr. Camden says, it is incredible how much Canterbury flourished both by reason of the archiepiscopal dignity; and of the school founded here by Theodore: of which Radulph was probably rector: and which seems to have been continued in this monastery till our days (though not always under the same roof) with little disturbance, till the rebellion in the last century.

But as I have been hunting the general state of literature in our parts toward the earliest times, I shall continue that pursuit a little farther, before I say more of our school in its present condition.

Cæsar at his arrival in Kent found the Druids in high esteem here. These were the most ancient schoolmasters, judges, priests, and philosophers, which history gives any account of in our parts. To these, he says, the youth came in great numbers, and had them in great honour. All divine offices and sacrifices, whether public or private, were under their care; almost all causes, whether criminal or concerning property, were determined by them: and they, of whatever rank, who refused to submit to their sentence, being driven from their sacrifices, were detested and shunned by all men as reprobates.

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Their fame also was spread so far abroad, that strangers came from distant countries to study under their direction.

His account of them is so particular, as shows they were little known in Italy; but it seems quite otherwise in respect to Greece, with which

they seem to have had great connection: they used the Greek alphabet, and probably spoke that language; for they took their title from the Greek name of the Oak, a tree which they held in religious veneration, and the Greeks thought animated by their *Hamadryades*. Some confirmation my opinion may perhaps receive from the fair Athenian coin, dug up a few years ago in forming the works for the defence of Chatham Dock (now neglected and in ruin) a print of which is given in the History and Antiquities of Rochester, published in 1772; which is so far from being an 'unique,' that I myself have had the fellow to it these many years, and have seen two more, a silver and a copper one.

How far the order of Druids spread itself, may be as difficult to ascertain as the antiquity of it. Cæsar supposes their system brought from Britain into Gaul. The late curious and learned Capt. Armstrong thought the Celtic Druids prior to the British. His History of Minorca, and Mr. Rowland's of Mona Antiqua,

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give such views of druidical monuments in those islands, [huge mounts of large unhewn stones, and altars almost as rude] as plainly indicate their superstitions nearly related.

Mr. Rowland has many ingenious arguments to prove, that Mona was the capital seat of these famous philosophers; but undoubted tokens appear of their having resided at several other places in Britain and Ireland.

Such tokens found about Canterbury, as well as the situation of it in the way of travellers from the continent, may well prove this to have been one of them; and that they lived and taught here before any history of the place was or perhaps could be written.

For when Cæsar mentions his finding the Greek alphabet in use here, he adds, that the lessons of the Druids to their disciples were not committed to writing, but must all be learned by heart, which must take up a great deal of time and labour.

This he observes might be to conceal their mysteries from the vulgar, or to continue them fresh in memory: there might be other reasons too, as aversion to changing the method which had cost them so much trouble and attention for one less

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tedious and difficult; or pride in treating literature as a novelty, if compared with their rules and customs.

If it was really so, it will be in vain to continue this search any further: let us then return to the more immediate subject of our chapter.

King Henry VIII. founded this school for a master, usher, and fifty scholars; who were to eat at the common table, which the provision made by him for it could not long maintain. The fifty scholars are elected only at the No=

member chapter, as many as may supply the vacancies of the ensuing year; they must be between the ages of nine and fifteen; they receive each a stipend of four pounds a year; and hold their scholarships for five years. Beside this there are two scholarships for relations of the family of Heyman; of which, and some scholarships in the University of Cambridge, to which the scholars from this school have a title, a larger account will be given in the Appendix, No. VIII. They suffered not only in the suppression of the common table, but from the founder's discharging the Dean and Chapter from the expending 200l. per annum, in the support of twenty-four students in Oxford and Cambridge, of which it may reasonably be supposed they would have had a share, which in his foundation he had ap=

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pointed them to find. Intending to found two colleges (as he says) in those Universities, he took from the Dean and Chapter several manours, the Almerly House in the city of Canterbury, and Canterbury College in Oxford, and discharged them as I said before. This was done 1546 *. And within these thirty years they, in common with the scholars of Christ's Hospital, London, have lost the benefit which they had until then received, by alternately supplying the vacancies in Mr. Colfe's ten exhibitions (as will be stated more at large in the Appendix, No. VIII.) by the Leatherseller's company, who are the trustees, having totally suppressed them, alledging that the estate is insufficient. If by the 'Almerly' which King Henry reassumed is meant the Almonry, now called the Mint Yard, that reverted again in this manner, according to the parliamentary survey taken 1649; Queen Mary, in 1557, gave it by letters patent to Cardinal Pole; he being thus seised of the premises in fee, by his will devised it to Aloisius Priobus in fee, and made him his executor; and

* In the same deed the King grants them in consideration, that their water which used to be conveyed from his park to the convent is of late spoiled by the deers coming and soyling in it, that they shall have the pipe, that doth conduct and convey the water from the said park to the scyte of the late St. Augustin's monastery, *in perpetuum*.

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thereupon he, by his deed indented, dated 30 July 1 Elis. [1559] gave it to the Dean and Chapter for the maintenance of the school there *.

A compleat list of the honourable and illustrious families who have sent their sons to this nursery, or of others, less distinguished by birth and fortune, whose own parts and industry have raised them from hence to high posts in church and state, would be a valuable ornament to a larger and more pompous work than I should venture to undertake: but it would be unpar=

donable to omit mentioning one of those heroes in learning, of whom any school and any nation might very justly be proud: I mean the famous Dr. William Harvey, whose important discovery of the circulation of the blood in animals, has given new light to the study of medicine, as well as of that more sublime philosophy which teaches us to admire and adore the wisdom of God in the creation.

** Habendum et tenendum eisdem decano et capitulo et successo-ribus suis pro termino 500 annorum, plenarie complendorum ad solum usum et intentionem ad inveniendam et manutenendam schoolam ibidem pro pueris durante termino predicto in bonis literis instituendis reddendo unum granum piperis, &c.*

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CHAP. XXVI.

Description of the Precinct continued.

<96> THE buildings on the east * side of the Mint Yard, we find were used for the grammar-school in Dr. Bullen's time, [about 1566.] And the common table kept for some time in the Green Court, at the house assigned to the twelfth prebendary, being soon disused, another was appointed there for the schoolmaster and scholars, with whom the minor canons were to have their commons, the precentor (or in his absence the senior minor canon present) being to sit uppermost *.

The mint also was here, as was discovered by digging in the back-yard of this house, near the

* When the bearings of these places are distinguished by the cardinal points of the compass, it is not that they are precisely so situated; the plan shows the contrary: but perhaps this way of expression may answer its purpose at least as well as one exactly accurate.

* This common table was of no long continuance, but the leases now granted of the building are by covenant void, if the Dean and Chapter shall appoint commons in the Mint Yard, as heretofore, for the hall extended almost as much of the length of both, as appears in the Mint Yard.

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city wall, to set down a post; when, a little below the surface, an arch of brick was found big enough for a man to crawl into; it was hoped this would prove a good sewer for the house, which was much wanted: the discovery was pursued till the workman found the arch turned with plain tiles, which, with the mortar they were laid in, were vitrified into one mass by the violent fires which had been kept there; this was therefore looked on as remains of a flue for melting the metals for coinage.

This and the school must have been very inconveniently placed so near to each other, and accordingly it was decreed in chapter, 1581. 'that suit should be made to the Queen, that the school might be placed out of the mint, in some other place within the site of this church *.' I suppose the chapel of the Almonry, with its

appendances, was appointed for the school-house in answer to this petition, and here it continues to this time, taking up almost the whole south side of the court.

* Mr. Folkes, in his table of English silver coins, p. 53, note, says Queen Elizabeth coined no money at Canterbury.

Is it not more probable that he may have been mistaken, than that such suit should have been made to the Queen, respecting a mint which was not in being.

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<97> On the north-side of the court is the kitchen of the house where the common table was kept, with a chimney large enough to provide for such a table. This, and the garden of the house, with an out-room belonging to the second schoolmaster, reach to the fore yard of his house, which extends now to the chancel-wall of Northgate church. Under one of his chambers is a gateway into the street, with the date 1545, in figures of iron let into the wall; a little before which time this end of Queningate-lane was granted to the Almonry, and, I suppose, the gate was made to remedy the inconvenience the neighbourhood must otherwise have suffered by carrying on his house to Northgate chancel.

At the south end of his house is the garden of the upper master; **adjoining to which is** a modern-built house of brick, on a church lease; then a little low-built one for a minor canon, **that joins to the school-house, and completes the square.**

Return we now to the Green Court, where, at our right hand, is the old *Porta Prioratus*, now the Green Court gate. Mr. Somner looked on this as built by Lanfranc, but the carved ornaments of the arches give them the appearance of greater antiquity, whatever alterations may have been made in the superstructure.

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In the gateway itself we see arches, now walled up, opposite to one another; they on the south side answering those under the *Domus Hospitum*, of which the western one was for communication between that and the cellerar's offices by the pentise; the porter's lodge was on this side, as before-mentioned, till the erecting a house for the tenth prebendary, when he removed to the other side of the way.

<98> This house, being a small one, had the chamber over the great gate added to it, and a garret or two of the *Domus Hospitum*; and beside these, just such another old tower as that over against the west door of the cathedral, (see **Chap. XVIII.**) and as capriciously placed; for as the former stands in the church-yard and yet belongs to the palace, so this is on the Archbishop's side of the wall which divides the two precincts, and is part of a prebendal house.

It was little taken notice of till a few years ago, when the incumbent prebendary, disliking

the ragged appearance of some rooms which had been raised over it, determined to build handsomer ones in their place; in doing this the old tower was plainly discovered, but the improvements he made were such, that it is now no more distinguishable.

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The walls of gardens belonging to this house and that of the seventh prebendary, are on our right hand as we go from these parts toward the church, the way to which is through an arch, now without a name; but in the appointment of a house for the seventh prebendary, he was to have the whole lodging, from the larder-gate (which is this) to the pentise-gate, with the chambers there called 'Heaven and Paradise,' and so through the **Fratery** * to the cloister, and all the **Fratery** to the dortor-wall, the common kitchen, with all manner of houses, cellars, and lofts.

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<99> This building, which is 120 or 130 feet long, seems designed not only for offices, but for those also who belonged to them, and some by their names very agreeable ones. The ground rooms are but indifferent; the upper ones of late years fitted up so as to make a very handsome appearance.

* The **Fratery** (in Mr. Somner's **manuscript** book called the *Fratria*) was the refectory or dining-room of the monks; Edwyn gives us a *locutorium* or parlour just by it. In 1547 Mr. Goldson, prebendary in the third stall, obtained a royal grant of six score and ten pounds, to be allowed him out of the lead, timber, &c. sold or otherwise spent of the late **Frayter-house** and all the materials left of it, to build him a convenient new prebendal house, and he received 130l. in compensation for what had been done.

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On the south side of it was the common kitchen, now a garden, where remains of some arches seem to show it was a lofty octagon.

At the south-west corner of the garden where the kitchen stood, is an alcove, so much like a chimney, that it is often looked on as what was built for that purpose; the span of the arch is twenty-six feet, the spring three and a half. The mantle-piece (if I may call it so) of brick-work, about two feet deep, is so neatly jointed, so curiously moulded, and the colour so fresh, as to destroy the appearance of antiquity; neither is it within the bounds of the kitchen wall, if that was an octagon; nor could any other form admit of this as a chimney, without making the kitchen the common thoroughfare of all passengers between the strangers house and the cloyster. The jambs and back of it are of squared stone and flints, the breast above the arch of common bricks laid in courses; it is tiled over head, ceiled and plaistered, with a bench wainscotted at the back.

Of the **Fratery** hardly any thing is to be seen,

except a few little pillars and arches by way of ornament on the wall between this and the dortor. The garden, over which this stood, reaches to the north wall of the cloyster, into which it has a door.

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<100> The pentise-gate is an arch under the west end of this house, which reaches to the Archbishop's palace. Through this gate was the way of the strangers from their hall to the cloyster; where (over against the door just now mentioned) are two arches, of a different structure from all the rest, supposed to have been cisterns for the pilgrims to wash at in their way to church, **or perhaps for the monks in their way thither from the refectory; for so they are placed.** Remains of lead in the joints of their stone-work, and a hole cut in the wall of one of them fit for a waterpipe, seem to countenance this tradition.

The old larder-gate is now the common way to the church for those who live on the north side of it, eighteen or nineteen stone steps here leading us up to a paved alley, once a gallery of the dormitories, dortors, or lodging-rooms of the monks, now for the most part ruins or gardens, and next to be treated of.

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CHAP. XXVII.

Of the Dortors.

THERE were two dortors or lodgings for the monks; the great one was, by decree of chapter 1547, taken down, and the materials employed in fitting up houses for those of the body, who were now to have dwellings to themselves. Every thing that could serve for this purpose, had been disposed of long ago. The stone walls were not worth pulling down, and what remains of them may help us to form some judgment of the building which once stood here.

<101> They inclose a space of 105 feet from north to south, 78 feet and a half from east to west within the walls. The lodgings were raised on vaults, (as most of the rooms for receiving the monks, or those who should visit them, seem to have been) and perhaps were galleries round a little court, cloyster fashion, the wall between the south gallery and the chapter-house rises much higher in the middle than at the ends, and has remains of two * Gothic windows, which

* Ignorance of the terms of art proper for describing these old buildings will, I hope, excuse my substituting such as I can for distinction:

For example – by Gothic windows, I mean those where the lights are narrow, and divided by muntons of stone, into

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show that the building at this part was once very lofty. Of the north wall only enough re=

mains to inclose that side of a garden over the vaults, which once supported the gallery at this end of the dortor. The vaults at these two ends of the square were in two if not three ranges: – the south one is the passage from under the library to the cloyster; that parallel to it was used as cellars for two houses that stood over them, and sheltered them from the weather, but were pulled down some years ago, and the vaults of it lately filled with rubbish.

The east and west walls of the square appear to have been alike, as the ends of them next the church have windows in the Norman stile, now walled up. A cornice above these windows

one or more stories, to the springing of the arches, and afterwards by fancied framing up to the mitred top, as in the body of the church. Those which have circular arches with little or no ornament, unless perhaps a slender pillar at the inward corners of the wall, and a moulding from one of them to the other, at the turn of the arch, as I suppose them of Lanfranc's building, I shall call the Norman style. These we see along the side and cross isles of the choir. And where I meet with arches of doors or windows very much embellished with mouldings of indented or richer carving, I shall call them the Saxon taste. The arch of the cemetery gate, that of the strangers house and hall, and those I have mentioned under the remains of that building, are of this kind, and many others to be taken notice of as we proceed.

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seems to show, that the old walls here have not lost much of their first height; and that part of the south wall, which shows the remains of Gothic windows, was in all probability an addition of after-times to the first design.

<102> The west wall of this quadrangle has suffered much by time, the east one much less so, though it has been considerably lowered about the middle of its length, if it was once all of a height, as to all appearance it was. The north wall in the same stile, both as to cornice and Norman windows, makes an angle with it at about 105 feet from the south one, as already observed; the east wall is still continued, so as to make the west end of that remainder of the lesser dortor, which is now the house of the twelfth prebendary, but was ill fitted to receive a family, till some addition of lower buildings was made to it as far as the gate of the larder.

The name of that gate shows what office it belonged to, as the hooks for hinges, still remaining, do that it was to be shut and opened on occasion; it was hardly designed therefore as the common way to church; if there was a way between that and the Green Court, it must have been by the east gallery of the great dortor, with steps by the west end of the little one, where is now the kitchen of the

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prebendal house. These would have been in a straight line with the gallery; but when the ne=

cessary additions were made to that house, I suppose the way was skewed off with an angle as we now see it, and the steps removed so as to lead to the larder-gate, of no use at present, unless as an abutment to the slight building at the east side of it *.

<103> The bricked alley is over vaults of the old stile, of which we have such numbers hereabout. A single range of them might perhaps serve for the east and west galleries of the dortor; for these sides of the quadrangle are twenty or thirty feet longer than the north and south ones.

The range of high building from the Dark-entry toward the larder-gate, is part of the little dortor; the east end of it was the necessary-house of the dormitory, and is now converted into houses for three of the minor canons; the rest of it (as already observed) is now a prebendal house: this and two other parallel galleries, seem to have been what went by that name.

* The present steps were laid within these threescore years; the old ones being in one steep flight without a landing-place, and much worn, made this improvement a very necessary one.

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Of the second gallery the north wall is almost all that remains to take our view; it is as high and thick as that of the first, with several windows in it, and is not above six feet and a half from it. In this space was a chapel of that breadth, with an arched door at its west end, now walled up, but to be seen in the bricked alley. On each side just within this door is another, opening into the two dortors between which it stood, and a fourth on the north side, near the altar, where is a handsome Gothic window of two lights, niche fashioned at the top, as were most or all the windows of that kind. The length of the chapel is about twenty-two feet within the walls, the height about **between** eighteen feet and a half; it is now converted into a staircase and two small rooms, one over the other.

Twenty or thirty feet from the west door of this chapel is a larger, bricked up on the side next the alley, but on the other showing a fair arch and piers of free-stone. This might lead into a passage between the second and third galleries of the smaller dortor. The wall which divided them from the great one, seems to show that the middle one was arched or ceiled, with garrets over it; and several years ago a part of that wall flaking off, discovered the back of a chimney belonging to the third, within the

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<104> thickness of the wall; these two covered the whole breadth, if not the length of the twelfth prebendary's garden.

At the south end of this wall, where it joins

to that side of the great dormitory, and is now the north one of the chapter-house, is a larger door than those I have mentioned, **an arched one**, which was the way the monks went from their dormitories to the choir.

By the larder-gate in the Green Court, the steps I have been describing, and the alley that runs along by the side of this wall, is the common way to this door of the church for the inhabitants of the north side of the precinct, as well as for others who live in this quarter of the city.

CHAP XXVIII.

Of this way to the Church and to the Cloysters.

ON our right hand before we come to the library, are two doors into the chapter-house, opened only as occasion requires: these I will mention again when I describe the chapter-house.

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Over against the arched door just mentioned, is that of the library, with a covered passage between them, which, making an angle, leads into the church at a north corner of the east cross isle.

<105> At this angle we see on our left hand a circular building, about seventeen feet diameter, cieled in form of a cupola, not mentioned by Mr. Somner or Mr. Battely, perhaps because they thought the vulgar tradition of its having been erected in memory of a bell of that size, cast abroad and lost at sea, too ridiculous for notice; and so should I, were it not that the place is known by the name of Bell Jesus to this day.

The foundation of it is in the garden of the preacher's house, mentioned **Chap. XX.** and seems to have been designed as a master-piece of workmanship, though executed with little judgment.

It is a vault raised on stone pillars instead of walls, forming a circle, and supporting arches adorned with indented mouldings about two feet deep. Four other pillars stand in the middle, so as to leave a space between them about twenty inches square, if they were truly placed. Ribs are carried from these to the outside ones, which are seven in number; a wall on the east

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side either hides an eighth, or supplies the place of it, supporting an end of one of these ribs; the shafts of these pillars are plain, the capitals and plinths of two of them carved; but while the builder showed his fancy in elegance, he forgot that strength also ought to have been considered; and accordingly it has been found necessary to remedy this oversight by walls and buttresses, till the first design is not easily to be discovered.

Eadwyn's drawing will perhaps give us some hints toward **conjecturing** for what purpose this was erected.

He makes it a kind of octagon, with two pipes or jets of water in it, one higher than the other. The lower one might be useful on the ground floor; the other might be designed to represent a pipe carried up between the four pillars to the upper room, to supply a font there; nor is this at all improbable; for, as I am informed, several baptisteries abroad are built separate from the churches to which they belong; that of the cathedral at Florence particularly, which is very magnificent and of a circular form. I shall therefore venture to **suppose** this the old baptistery *.

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* In the Gentleman's Magazine for 1775, page 529, Academicus, of Oxford, has obliged me with some remarks,

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<106> Just by it is the door of the library, a handsome gallery of modern building, well fitted up and furnished. The present brick walls are raised on ancient ones of stone, and here was once a chapel called the Prior's chapel *.

Proceeding from hence toward the church, just before we enter it we see an arched door on the left hand, which for many years was of no use; but about fifty years ago a staircase was built to it from the room under the library, for the convenience of those who live on the north and east parts of the precinct, till which time the prebendaries and their families in that quarter used to come to church through the library, while they who had no keys to it went pretty much about to any of the church doors.

to which I hope I have paid proper regard; but had he seen this dome, observed its ceiling sprinkled with stars once gilded; that it was built with a spacious arch, never designed to be shut up; and that it made one end of Archbishop Cuthbert's building, with baptisteries, &c. erected about 471, as observed Chap. XI. he would hardly have believed so public and elegant a chapel designed for combing of heads, and washing of hands and faces, (as some have done) and allow my conjecture of its having been a baptistery full as reasonable as any that have appeared to the contrary.

<210> * About the beginning of the reign of King George I. Stephen Hunt, Gent. left his study of books to this library, excepting such as would be duplicates to what were there already.

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By these steps we will go down, and so through the Dark-entry to the cloyster, leaving on our left hand a turning to the great door of the undercroft (to be described by and by) the arch of which is adorned with the device of Prior Goldstone under a mitre.

CHAP. XXIX.

Of the Cloyster.

MR. Battely supposes **this** building to have been erected at the same time with the body of the church; but appearances to the contrary are very strong if not quite convincing.

<107> The cloyster is a very beautiful square building, curiously arched with stone. On its west side was the cellarer's lodgings with communications into it, now walled up, but part of his house is still to be seen from hence, now one of the tenements in the Archbishop's palace. The north side has more remains of antiquity than any of the others. Two very handsome arched door-ways are here, one of which seems to have opened into the vaults under the refectory; the other I have already mentioned as the way from the pentise into the church by the cloyster. I have also mentioned the cisterns here as being under arches of different construction from the

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rest; but all the arches are of the same breadth, and are supported by little pillars, three in one, with one capital and fifteen ribs springing from each capital; at the intersections of these ribs are abundance of escutcheons, with the arms I suppose of benefactors to the church, about six hundred and eighty-three in number *. That these arches are not of the same age with the walls from which they spring, I think appears at first sight, for not one of the doors which open into them answers the window over against it, or the middle of the walk leading to it; and indeed if the artist had endeavoured to make the divisions of his work comply with those openings, he must utterly have destroyed the beauty and symmetry of it.

The north walk is what remains of a former cloyster, having a range of stalls with small pil-

<210> * A very curious observer has taken notice, 'that we see no part of the roof adorned in this manner before the buildings of prior Chillenden's erection.' It seems to have been a part of the Gothic taste, and was certainly an excellent method of inviting contributors to his works by such lasting memorials of them and their families; we have such numbers of them here, and in those other parts of the church, which I venture to call in the Gothic stile, that it would take a pretty large volume to give an account and description of them, especially if those in the windows, and some painted in colours on the walls of the Virgin Mary's chapel in the undercroft, were added to them.

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lars between them supporting arches; every fifth of which is divided from those on each side of it by a wall, perhaps by way of distinction for some person of superiority. These run along the whole side within a few feet, except where the doors I have mentioned break in upon their order, and where the designer of the present one found it necessary to do the same for preserving the uniformity of his work.

<108> In the east wall were five openings: one with

a Saxon arch, which went under the western gallery of the great dortor, now walled up; another into what we call the long Dark-entry, under the south gallery of it, as has been already observed; a third into the chapter-house; a small one into a stillatory *; and a large one at the south end, which has been much enriched with carved work, and had a statue on each side of it, as well as figures of angels with censers in the spandrils above it.

Some of these ornaments are hidden by the arched roof of the cloyster, but were discovered on repairing the leads there some years ago, as was the stone frame of a circular window over

* Stillatory is the name our workmen give to spaces between the buildings of little use but to receive the rain which runs from the roofs, and convey it to the common sewers.

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the middle of that door, of which nothing is to be seen from within. It appeared also that the north wall of the body of the church was built against part of them, and consequently that the present body is wider than that which was standing when the door was made.

That this door was more adorned than any other of the church is not to be wondered at, if we consider that it was the way by which the Archbishop used to go to the choir from his palace, except upon extraordinary occasions, when he was to be received by his chapter and other members of the church in their formalities, at the west end of the body and conducted by them in solemn procession to his throne in the choir; a ceremony still observed when he comes to be enthroned, or to visit his cathedral.

<109> For this purpose is a door pretty near his palace, but not within the cloyster, which it is not fit we should leave without looking into the chapter-house on the east side of it.

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CHAP. XXX.

Of the Chapter-house or Sermon-house.

THIS is not raised over vaults, (as most of the rooms were in which the monks used to meet) but on a level with the cloyster, opening into it by a large door, which has on each side three arches, like windows, supported by pillars of a curious kind of stone, which have lost their polish and their beauty, so as not to take the eye of every one who passes.

<210> Mr. Somner says, 'In the time of Prior Henry of Eastry, viz. about 1304 and 1305, the whole choir was repaired with three new doors, &c. as was the chapter-house with two new gabels; all which cost 839l. 7s. 8d.' and to him Mr. Battely ascribes the curious screen at the west door of the choir.

<211> If he **built** that, the Gothic window-fashioned ranges above the setting off of the walls which

separate the side-isles from the choir are probably his work, and he to be looked on as introducer of **this** taste into our church.

As to the gables of the chapter-house, though they could hardly want repairing within an hun-

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dred years of his death, yet the name of Chillenden in the stone-work of the great window at the west end of it, seems strongly to mark its having been built when he was Prior.

<109> Accordingly Mr. Somner says this is questionless, and quotes his epitaph to prove it. He styles him a matchless benefactor to the church, and says he was buried in the body of it, a stately pile, and chiefly of his raising.

Nor is it unreasonable to believe, that when the monks found the elegance of Chillenden's performances **likely** to eclipse the beauty of their chapter-house, notwithstanding Prior Eastry's late improvements of it; rather than this should be done by any **part of the** building so near it, and particularly **by** the cloyster, the passage to it, **they chose** to have the whole new modelled by the artist with whose works they were so highly delighted.

If this was mere conjecture, the name of Chillenden, and the sameness of stile here, and in the cross-isle and body, would show it not ill-grounded: but the arms of the Archbishops Courtney and Arundel in the stone-work **and** painted glass **of the windows**, and on the curious ceiling of this room, are, I believe, proofs sufficient to put an end to all doubts of this matter.

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<a> Perhaps the escutcheon with **the dog sejant** within a border engrailed, which is here ranked with those **of the** two Archbishops, was the arms of Chillenden; and if so, we may suppose it placed here (as well as at the door near the font) in memory of his being a munificent contributor toward the work: and that his name at the window was to record him as the architect. For when we consider the vast expence of these works, and the sums raised for bringing it to perfection; that Archbishop Courtney obtained of King Richard II. and some of his friends one thousand pounds toward them; **that he** gave one thousand marks himself; Archbishop Arun-
<110> del the like sum; and the monks all that they were able; **we can hardly suppose** this worthy Prior the most magnificent contributor in point of his donations. But if to these we add his happy talent in designing, and his care in seeing his designs properly executed, here we may well look on him as justly deserving the title of a matchless benefactor.

As he was made Prior about nine years after the murder of Archbishop Sudbury, we may well believe he was a monk long before he arrived at that honour; **and that** he applied himself to the study of architecture in the most elegant

taste of those days, early enough to be concerned in the works which that **prelate** lived to finish,

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as well as those of his two successors. **Indeed** the similarity of stile makes **this** highly probable; but how far the chapter-house may be looked on as **of** his erecting, will best appear by a view of that structure itself.

It is very lofty and spacious, **being** about ninety-two feet long within side, thirty-seven broad, and **fifty-four** high from the pavement to the middle pannel of the cieling, which is said to be of Irish oak, and is composed in squares so large, that twelve of them reach the whole length of the building, and seven, joined with proper angles, form the breadth almost like an arch. **These large squares** are not plain, but filled with small pannels framed in a well fancied pattern, with escutcheons and flower-work, painted, carved and gilt.

The roof is so judiciously contrived, that no girders prevent the having a fair and open view of the cieling without any incumbrance.

The room is almost surrounded with arches or stalls, divided by pillars of Sussex marble. Thirteen of these, which take up the whole breadth of **it** at the east end, have **Gothic** pyramids of stone above them, adorned with pinnales, carving and gilding.

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<111> The stalls on each side are thirty-five in number, five of which, next to the east corners, have had the * capitals of their pillars and the spandrils between their arches gilt; the rest in other respects are much the same; **the** spandrils filled with a carved kind of **quatrefoils**, then a sort of architrave and cornice, **and** above them a **little** battlement fourteen or fifteen feet from the floor; and this reaches to the west end of the **room**, where is the great door with three arched windows on each side, now boarded up.

To the height of this cornice I look upon the walls as remains of a former chapter-house, erected while these little pillars and arches were a favourite ornament in church-work; how long they were so I shall not pretend to guess. The door is properly placed in regard to the room; and I doubt not but a former cloyster complied better with it than the present one does; but when Prior Chillenden in designing the new one found it impossible to divide his arches, so as to answer all the openings into them, he neglected them all, and determined to make his work uniform to itself.

* One of these stalls at the north east corner, and another near the pulpit, have had doors cut through them, probably on the room being converted to a sermon-house at the reformation.

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The deformity occasioned by the places of this and the other doors was therefore owing not to choice but necessity.

Above this arch is a kind of ornament, designed perhaps to conceal or disguise the irregularity; how well it answered that purpose any one may see.

At each end of the chapter-house is a window, as wide and high as the building would allow of, in the same taste as those in the body and western cross-isle of the church; so are four smaller ones in the south wall, which let in less light, the church standing so near them. The north wall being that which divided this room from the great dormitory, has no openings, only blind windows, or framings of stone-work, in the same pattern with those opposite to it for the sake of uniformity.

<112> In all these windows are some remains of coloured glass, and the upper lights of the west one have several handsome emblematical figures, with the nimbus or circle about their heads, and symbols in their hands, representing the orders of the hierarchy, with the titles *Cherubim, Seraphim, Angeli, Archangeli, Virtutes, Potestates, Diminationes*, remaining below many of them.

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<113> The chapter-house, as Mr. Somner tells us, was not only the place for capitular meetings, and treaties about church affairs, but also for the exercise and execution of regular discipline: that, for example, which is said to have been inflicted on King Henry II. when, as history informs us (after he had submitted to such penances as the Pope had enjoined him, and was formally reconciled to the church by two Cardinals sent from Rome for that purpose) finding his affairs in confusion, and himself brought into great straits, he resolved to seek for help to St. Thomas; so came from Normandy to England, and as soon as he got sight of the church, alighting from his horse, walked (barefoot and clad like a penitent) three miles, and through the streets of the city, till he came to the tomb of St. Thomas; the convent being summoned to meet in the chapter-house at his request, he offered his naked back to be scourged by the monks, which was done in the usual manner; after which he had great success.

When, instead of a numerous fraternity of monks, the chapter was reduced to a Dean and twelve Prebendaries, such a large room being not required for chapter business, this was fitted up for a sermon-house, with a pulpit, pews, and galleries, so early as that the chief gallery, with latticed casements, (the royal closet when the

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King or Queen should be here) is dated 154<4> the 36th of Henry VIII *.

<114> This was the use of it for many years; and after prayers in the choir, the congregation was

to come hither to hear the preacher; but the indecency and disorder of such removing during divine service, and the inconvenience they who had attended it there suffered, in finding the seats here taken up by people who refused to join with them in the public worship of God, was thought a very sufficient reason for having the whole service performed in one place; accordingly it is so performed in the choir, unless on occasions of cleaning or repairing it *; but this still retains the name of the sermon-house.

* The building seems to have suffered by breaking doors into it on this occasion, especially at the north-east corner, where a crack in the walls appears to be owing to the opening a door on each side of that corner, and too near to it. These doors are taken notice of in **Chapter XXVIII.**

* In very wet seasons, when the waters have sometimes come into the French church, this has been lent to that congregation.

It was so to the Hanoverian regiments quartered here in 1756, and afterwards to the Hessians who succeeded them.

And since that to St. Andrew's parishioners, while their church was pulling down and rebuilding.

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In King James's time the Lord Chancellor Jefferies informed the chapter, that the Presbyterians had a petition before the King and council, representing this as a place of little or no use, and desiring they might have it for their meeting-house. The person who was intrusted with this message, being a member of the choir, proposed the making it the chapel for early prayers, which are read every day in the week, and till then were in the choir. 'This will do,' says the Chancellor; 'advise your Dean and Prebendaries, from me, to have it put to that use immediately; for if the Presbyterians don't get it, perhaps others will whom you may like worse.'

<115> This is now the constant use of it. As to the capitular business, the Archbishop's visitation of the cathedral is held here; the statutes are publicly read on June 22, when all the members of the church are summoned to attend; and other chapters which are opened here, are adjourned to a more convenient room built for that purpose, and called the audit-house.

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CHAP XXXI.

Of the Inside of the Church.

WE now enter the body of the church by the porch at the foot of the Oxford steeple, in company I will suppose with some of our colonists just arrived from America, in their first visit to England; persons blessed by providence with a capacity to be struck with the sight of what is grand and beautiful, without troubling themselves to consider, whether the grandeur and beauty with which they are charmed be

owing to the rules of Grecian or Gothic architecture.

At the first entrance with such into this noble structure, how have I enjoyed their astonishment! How have I seen the countenances even of their negroes sparkle with raptures of pleasure and admiration! Raptures which no language but that of the eyes is capable of expressing.

The fine arches over head, so moderately adorned with well-proportioned ornaments; the lofty pillars, so well disposed for distributing that light which the windows admit in great plenty, and the agreeable length of the walk between them, which augments the pleasure of

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<116> it, till we arrive at the flights of steps which lead up to the door of the choir, and give us a view of the rich screen at the entrance into it, as well as of the cross-isles on each hand, built in much the same stile with the body, and the dazzling height of the inside of the noble tower called Bell Harry steeple (perhaps the most perfect thing of its kind any where to be seen) All these particulars, so finely adjusted, can hardly fail of giving great pleasure to those who survey them with any degree of attention.

Can the admiration of these beauties, and being charmed with them, be owing to the want of taste? No sure. One instance to which I myself was witness puts this out of all dispute, with me at least. I shall give it here.

Many years ago I had the pleasure of taking a walk with an eminent builder in this part of our cathedral. The person was Mr. Strong, son of him who was master-mason at St. Paul's in London, during the whole construction of that justly admired fabric, brought up under his father to the same business, and his successor, in the works of the Royal Hospital at Greenwich.

He could hardly be prejudiced in favour of the Gothic taste, and was undoubtedly a com=

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petent judge how strength and beauty were properly considered in works of such magnificence.

<117> When he came to make his observations here, and especially in the upper works, I was presently convinced that an artist sees with other eyes than they do who are not such, and the eagerness of every step he took in examining and noting down the proportions of what he saw, with his passionate exclamation at my not being then able to satisfy him who was the designer of that stately tower, in one of the galleries whereof we were standing and admiring it, showed sufficiently how worthy he thought this forgotten architect of all the honour that could be paid to the memory of so exalted a genius.

But we will leave those who can see no beauties in architecture, except such as they can tell the rules of, to the enjoyment of their own de=

licacy; and begin our walk as they who show the church to strangers usually do.

And here it may not be amiss to apprise my reader that, as I suppose him attended in his walk by one of them, I shall not load my book and enhance the price of it by a description of what he is seeing and hearing their account of, or by copying epitaphs; which, though they may contain some truths, are (like dedications)

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generally looked on as specimens of the writers skill in flattering panegyric, rather than just characters of the persons to whom they are applied; nor on the other hand shall I overlook whatever I think particularly remarkable, whether other writers have taken notice of it or not.

To begin then. **An observer of any curiosity standing at this end, will discover two parallel lines cut in the pavement, about eight feet asunder, but in several places interrupted by grave-stones, or the removing some of the paving slabs from their first places.**

These seem designed to show what room should be kept clear for public processions.

In Drake's plan of the old body of York Minister, we find many circular stones placed in order, that the members of that cathedral might know where each should take his standing before they began their walk.

In the north-west corner of the body, and under the Arundel steeple, we see within a partition the consistory court, where sometimes the Archbishop in person sits judge, at others his commissary, or a surrogate, as occasion may require. A little east of this is the door I mentioned in describing the cloyster, as that where

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the Archbishop enters the body when received there in form by the chapter at visitations: but what more attracts our attention is the font *, of which Bishop Kennet, in his Life of Mr. Somner, printed with his Treatise of Gavelkind in 1726, gives the following account: 'When the beautiful font in the nave of this cathedral (built by the Right Reverend John Warner, Bishop of Rochester, late prebendary of Canterbury, and consecrated by John Lord Bishop of Oxon 1636) was pulled down, and the materials carried away by the rabble, he (Mr. Somner) enquired with great diligence for all the scattered pieces, bought them up at his own charge, kept them safe till the King's return, and then delivered them to that worthy Bishop, who re-edified his font, and made it a new beauty of holiness, giving Mr. Somner the just honour to have a daughter of his own first baptized in it *.'

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The mural monuments on this [the north] side of the body are of Thomas Sturman, audi-

* Mr. Somner says that till this was given the church ne-

ver had a fixed font.

* The good bishop it seems did not long delay this second donation; for by the church register it appears, that Barbara, the daughter of Mr. William Somner, was baptized Sept. 11, 1660.

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tor of this church; of Orlando Gibbons, organist to K. Charles I. of Adrian Saravia, a prebendary; of Sir John Boys, founder of Jesus hospital; of John Turner and of Richard Colf, both prebendaries here. On the south are those of John Porter, Esq; John Sympson, Esq; gentlemen who died inhabitants of our city; and another of the name of Berkley.

Beside these three ancient table monuments stand near the east end of the body, between some of the pillars which divide that from its side isles. In the plans given in Battely's and Dart's books, they are set down as those of the Archbishop's Islip and Wittlesey, and a Dr. Lovelace. The brass figures and inscriptions with which they were inlaid have been torn off, so that it does not appear how justly these names are applied; but Mr. Battely was certainly mistaken, when he mentioned the tomb over against Islip's as that of Wittlesey, for the figures on this were plainly those of a man and his wife.

<119> To these we may add two handsome monuments in a little chapel on the south side of the body, built without the wall, but with a door and windows into the church, once a chantry of the family of Bruchelle or Brenchley, and called by that name; but, when running to ruin, repaired by Dean Nevil, who fitted it up

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for the burying place of his own family. On the east side is the monument of himself and his brother Alexander; on the west that of his father Richard Nevil and his wife, and Thomas his brother, the parents and uncle of the Dean. The chapel is now called Nevil's chapel.

The east end of the body and its side isles were parted from the rest of the church by strong iron **grates and doors**; and while devotion to St. Thomas Becket crowded the city with pilgrims of all ranks and countries, and made the cathedral a treasury of gold and jewels, securities of this kind were no more than necessary in many parts of it; and several of them still remain; but these were taken away about twenty-four years ago, and the view to the choir much improved by the removal of them, and **by** some alteration made in the steps by which we ascend to it. But before we leave the body it may not be amiss to observe, that, in those blessed times, the Saints of which thought that to defile the dwelling-place of God's holy name, to break down the carved work thereof, and make havock of its ornaments, was the properest method of showing what honour they thought due to him; not only the fine font

here was demolished, but the monuments of the dead were defaced and robbed of what would

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fetch money at the braziers, and the building itself was converted to a stable for their troops.

<120> In going from hence toward the choir, three or four steps bring us to a landing-place, at each end of which are other steps into the two wings of the western cross-isle of the church. That on the north side is usually shown first to strangers, and is called the Martyrdom; for as the great door of the cloyster by which the Archbishops used to come from their palace to church was here, this was the place where Archbishop Becket fell into the hands of those who killed him. That part therefore where he fell was separated from the way to the choir by a stone partition, on the door of which **was** written the following lines:

*Est sacer intra locus, venerabilis atque beatus,
Presul ubi sanctus Thomas est martyrizatus.*

TRANSLATION:

<212> 'The place within as sacred we revere:
Blessed St. Thomas dy'd a martyr there.'

<120> A grave was dug here in the year 1734, so near this partition, that the foundation of it gave way; to prevent mischief therefore it was taken down, and the way laid open to it.

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Against the north wall of this isle are two handsome monuments; one of Archbishop Peckham under an arch, which (as well as the piers which support it) has been adorned with carving and gilding. These are of stone; but the cumbent figure is of oak, on a slab of the same, very sound, though almost 500 years old, if originally made for this tomb, which some have thought doubtful. At the feet of this is a larger and more lofty one of Archbishop Warham, who lies here in a chapel of his own erecting for that purpose*.

<121> Above these two monuments is a very large window, once **remarkably** rich in coloured glass, and accordingly a fine subject for the godly to work upon. The following account

* This chapel was a small one; the arch between the east end of the tomb and some niches opposite to the feet of it was the communication between that and the church; more of those niches remain on a buttress without side of the wall, and show what was the breadth of it. The holes in the church-wall show where the ends of its rafters were laid, and a little arched door in the cloyster was probably the way for the priest to go to it without trouble, however the Martyrdom might happen to be crowded.

A sort of rose in pierced-work in the wall, above the knees of the Archbishop's figure, might be a peeping hole, through which the officiating priest might see what witnesses were present at his saying mass.

of it is taken from that of Richard Culmer, (commonly called Blue Dick, but styling himself a minister of God's word, and Master of Arts) the man who demolished it. 'The commissioners fell presently to work on the great idolatrous window, standing on the left hand as you go up into the choir; for which window (some affirm) many thousand pounds have been offered by out-landish Papists *. In that window was now the picture of God the Father and of Christ, besides a large crucifix, and the picture of the Holy Ghost in the form of a dove, and of the twelve Apostles; and in that window were seven large pictures of the Virgin Mary, in seven several glorious appearances; as of the angels lifting her into heaven, and the sun, moon, and stars under her feet, and every picture had an inscription under it, beginning with *Gaude Maria*; as *Gaude Maria sponsa Dei*; that is, 'Rejoice Mary, thou spouse of God.' There were in this window many other pictures of Popish Saints, as of St. George, &c. but their prime cathedral Saint, Archbishop Becket,

* A stranger, who had seen Westminster Abbey, being told that a Spanish Ambassador had offered ten thousand pounds for this window, observed, that if it was the Ambassador who lies unburied in that Abbey, he thought the story not at all incredible; because he who never designs to pay may offer any price for whatever strikes his fancy.

<122> was most rarely pictured in that window, in full proportion, with cope, rochet, mitre, crosier, and his pontificalibus. And in the foot of that huge window was a title, intimating that window to be dedicated to the Virgin Mary: *In laudem & honorem Beatissimæ Virginis Mariæ, Matris Dei, &c.*

In describing his own performance he says, 'A minister was on the top of the city ladder, near sixty steps high, with a whole pike in his hand, rattling down proud Becket's glassie bones, when others then present would not venture so high.'

One circumstance, which he did not think proper to insert in his book, may perhaps deserve a place here.

While he was laying about him with all the zeal of a renegado, a townsman, who was among those who were looking at him, desired to know what he was doing; 'I am doing the work of the Lord,' says he; 'then,' replied the other, 'if it please the Lord I will help you;' and threw a stone with so good a will, that if the saint had not ducked, he might have laid his own bones among the rubbish he was making; and the place perhaps had been no less distinguished by the Fanatics for the martyrdom

of St. Richard Culmer, than by the Papists for

<a> that of St. Thomas Becket, though his relics might not have turned to so good an account *.
<123>

As to the present state of the window, it is in the Gothic taste, with a multitude of lights or pannels of glazing; the three lower rows of which are considerably large, and seven in a row. The middle one is almost all of coloured glass, the others of plain, except some escutcheons of arms in each pannel.

The coloured range has in its middle pannel the arms of the church under a canopy at present; but probably had once a crucifix, or some

* Mr. Somner tells us that Roger, keeper of the altar of the Martyrdom of St. Thomas, was by the monks of St. Augustine's chosen to that Abbey, in hopes he would bring with him some special relics of the martyr, and that he conveyed to them a great part of his blood that was shed, and a piece of his crown that was pared off; and that the monks of the cathedral resented it very highly, till appeased by a composition to make satisfaction for the relics so purloined.

Prior Benedict perhaps obtained the Abbacy of Peterborough by the same means; for thither he carried the stones stained with St. Thomas's blood, and made two altars of them there, within seven years of the assassination. However, chips and dust from the present pavement have been picked up with great devotion, and may be of no less value and efficacy than what was carried to Peterborough almost six hundred years ago.

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thing else as odious in the eyes of St. Culmer, for all the figures on each side are kneeling towards it.

These are supposed to be of King Edw. IV. and his family, in as large life as their places permit. The King is next the centre pannel to the west; in those behind him are Prince Edward and Richard Duke of York. On the east side is the Queen, in the next three Princesses, and in the last two others all have crowns or coronets except these two.

The figures and inscriptions under them have been defaced and ill repaired.

Above these large lights are several ranges of little ones, capable of one small figure only: their height and size have preserved them from being broken, but the figures are not very distinguishable.

A screen of stone-work divides the Martyrdom from a fine chapel of the Virgin Mary, now called the Dean's chapel, as several of our Deans are buried there. Mr. Somner says it was called the new chapel of the Blessed Mary in 1542; and Mr. Battely, that it was built by Prior Goldstone; this must therefore have been the first Prior Goldstone. It is an elegant piece

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<124> of work, with a great deal of carved foliage at the east window, against which is a monument of Dean Turner. The side walls are divided by a pilaster in the middle of each, from whence

some of the ribs of the roof spring, so that each side is as two arches. Both the pilasters have had niches on each side for statues, correspondent to others at the corner of the chapel. Under the south arch at the east end is a monument of Dean Boys, with his figure, sitting as in his study and meditating. Opposite to this is that of Dean Bargrave, in a taste not common, being his portrait painted on copper in a beautiful frame of white marble, and just by this is a passage into the chapter-house, through which strangers are usually led to have a sight of it.

The two western arches have only table or altar monuments close to the walls; that of Dean Rogers on the north side; and on the south Dean Fotherby's, adorned with skulls and other human bones on the side and ends of it; but at each of these many of the first ornaments have been cut away to make room for something that required a great deal more than these tombs take up, both in length and height, whether monuments or altars does not appear; I should suppose the latter, and that on the south side (particularly) might be set off with ornaments high enough to conceal a hole about the spring-

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ing of the arch, so contrived, as not even now to take the eye of every one who visits this chapel.

In the north side isle of the choir is the door of a flight of steps, within the substance of the wall, which leads up to this hole and no farther. At the landing-place a man may stand and see through the hole, or put his arm through it as far as the thickness of the wall permits; but that will prevent his looking down into the Virgin's chapel, or being seen from thence.

<125> What purposes this was contrived to serve can only be guessed at.

If it was made any use of in carrying on the imposture of Elizabeth Barton, which cost the cellarer Dering his life, (see **Chap. IV.**) he might very justly deserve the punishment he suffered.

Dean Potter, who died in 1770, is buried also in this chapel, under a grave-stone of black marble. **The east window of it abounds in memorials of Archdeacon Bourghier, who died in 1495, and was buried here. See Somner, p. 321.**

Returning into the Martyrdom, we see on our left hand the monument of Alexander Chapman, D. D. and prebendary of our church; set up, as Mr. Somner says, 'by the wall where some-

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times stood an altar, called the altar of the Martyrdom of St. Thomas;' which, together with the place, Erasmus saw, and hath left it thus described: 'There is to be seen an altar built of wood, consecrated to the Blessed Virgin, small, and remarkable in no other respect but as it is a monument of antiquity, which upbraids the luxury of these present times. At

the foot of this altar the holy martyr is said to have had his last farewell to the Blessed Virgin at the point of death.'

At the corner by this monument we go down stairs to that part of the undercroft called the French church; but before we leave the Martyrdom we may observe, in a compartment against the west wall of it, the epitaph of the Rev. Mr. John Clerke; and in another, on the south side, that of Mrs. Priscilla Fotherby.

To which I shall add, from Mr. Somner, that 'in the year 1299, on September 9, Robert Lord Archbishop of Canterbury celebrated the nuptial solemnities between our Sovereign Lord Edward King of England, and Margaret sister of the King of France, in the entrance * of the

* That marriages were usually celebrated at the church door, appears from Chaucer's 'Description of the wife of Bath:'

'Husbands at the church door had she five.'

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church toward the cloyster, near the door of the Martyrdom of St. Thomas.

The two leaves of the Martyrdom door joined in one, make that which opens into the French church. The verses on them, before-mentioned, were pretty legible till lately, when they were whitewashed over.

CHAP. XXXII.

Of the French Church.

'THIS,' says Mr. Somner, 'being spacious and lightsome, hath for many years been the strangers church *, a congregation for the most part of distressed exiles, grown so great, and yet daily multiplying, that the place in a short time is likely to prove a hive too little to contain such a swarm.'

It is under the west part of the choir, as observed in **Chap. X.** where I have given my

* These strangers fled hither from the cruelties of the Inquisition in the Spanish Netherlands, in the reign of King Edward VI. who received them kindly, and granted them protection. Such of them as chose to settle at Canterbury joined a petition to the magistracy, of which Mr. Somner gives a copy from the city archives, under the title of 'Ar-

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opinion in regard to its antiquity, with my reasons for it.

The odd variety of the pillars which support the pavement over head, and of their capitals,

titles granted to the French Strangers by the Mayor and Aldermen of this City,' but without date.

The articles are only four.

The first humbly begs that they may be allowed the free exercise of their religion, with a church and place of burial.

The second, that (to keep out such as may give public offence) none may be admitted to settle among them, without

sufficient testimonials of their probity.

The third, that their schoolmaster may be permitted to instruct their children, and such others **that** desire to learn French.

The fourth enumerates different branches of the weaving business, by which they propose to maintain themselves.

Their congregation then consisted of a minister, a schoolmaster, a director of the manufactures, twelve housekeepers, and three widows.

Queen Mary's reign dispersed them; but when Queen Elizabeth re-established the protestant religion, England again became their asylum, and she is said to have granted them this croft for their church. The unchristian spirit of Popery, and the barbarous persecution in the Low Countries and France, drove them hither from time to time in such abundance, that in 1665 here were 126 master-weavers, and King Charles the Second granted them a charter. They maintained their own poor (as they do still) at that time

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is taken notice of in that **chapter**. The shafts of them are about four feet in the girt, and as much in height, but with plinth and capital not less than six and a half. From hence spring the arches, which are nearly semicircular, and make the height of the vault about fourteen feet.

All above the capitals is plain, and without ornament of any kind, till we come to the south cross-isle, where the doors are by which the congregation come into it from the church-yard.

Here, in 1363, Edward the Black Prince (with licence of King Edward III. his father)

near 1300, and employed 759 English. By the removal of most of their descendants to Spitalfields, and the uniting of others with English families, they are so reduced, that at present here are hardly ten master-weavers, and about eighty communicants.

They have two ministers; the present ones are both episcopally ordained, but do not use the liturgy of the church of England, having a prescribed form of prayer and administration of the sacraments, the same as is used by the Calvinists in Holland, and receive the communion sitting at a long table.

At first they maintained their ministers; at present they have an allowance from the crown with some estate in land and money, beside which their people contribute something toward their support.

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<128> founded and endowed a chantry * for the benefit of his soul, and made a very considerable alteration in the Gothic taste, with ribs curiously moulded, and having carved ornaments at their intersections, among which one has the arms of the Black Prince, another the face of the Lady Mohun, whose monument we shall soon come to, and see her figure on it with a head-dress of much the same fashion. She also endowed a chantry here in 1395 *. Mr. Somner says, this chapel was once parted off from the rest of the undercroft with gates and bars; but it is now laid open, and no tokens of its former splendor

remain, except the roof just described, and a very elegant column in the middle of the vault, supporting the ends of those ribs which spring to it from the walls on all sides.

* This was called the Black Prince's chapel.

* The endowment of the Black Prince's chantry was Vauxhall Manor, near London. The house for his two chaplains is mentioned in **Chap. VIII.**

The Manor of Selgrave, purchased by Lady Mohun, was settled on her chantry with licence of the same King.

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CHAP XXXIII.

Of the rest of the Undercroft.

EASTWARD from the French church, is what Mr. Somner calls 'the Lady Undercroft,' now of little use but as a storehouse for the church workmen, but formerly so much celebrated, of such high esteem, and so very rich, that the sight of it, debarred to the vulgar, was reserved for persons only of great quality *. Erasmus, (says he) who by especial favour, (Archbishop Warham recommending him) was admitted to the sight of it, describes it thus:

'There the Virgin-mother hath an habitation, but somewhat dark, inclosed with a double

* The difficulty of getting a sight of this chapel in Erasmus's time, may seem to clash with my opinion of its having been the place of universal resort, while St. Thomas rested in his grave here; but perhaps it may be accounted for by a conjecture which I submit to my reader. While multitudes were crowding thither with offerings to the martyr, the more visitants this undercroft had the better; and surely so elegant a chapel of the Blessed Virgin could not but attract their notice, and invite them to visit her too, for this is the light in which the Papists look on all the prayers and offerings made at the altars and images of their saints: but when Becket's

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sept or rail of iron, for fear of thieves; for indeed I never saw any thing more laden with riches; lights being brought, we saw a more than royal spectacle; in beauty it far exceeds that of Walsingham.'

The iron fences are now gone, as well as the riches they were to secure, but the stone walls of it, of open Gothic work, are remarkably neat and delicate. These walls are only at the sides and east end, the west one having (for ought that now appears) been left open.

This chapel was built by Archbishop Moreton, who died in 1500, and, as Mr. Collier tells us, was buried under the choir, in a fine chapel built by himself; and the structure confirms this; for though, as Mr. Somner says, the Blessed Virgin had a chapel in the crypt in 1242: the Gothic taste and elegant finishing of the present one may well make it supposed the

remains were translated to another part of the church, this

chapel being not in the way of being seen, might become neglected and forsaken. The surest way to prevent this evil was to shut it quite up from those who were like to come to it empty-handed, and make the sight of it so extraordinary a favour as might expect extraordinary acknowledgments; admitting to it only such as were likely to make presents to the Blessed Virgin, fit to be seen, and registered with what others had given before them.

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<130> work of Prior Goldstone II. And Mr. Battely gives us an abstract of his will; where he appoints that his body should be buried in his cathedral before the image of the Blessed Virgin Mary, commonly called our Lady of the Undercroft. His grave-stone is still to be seen there; but his monument is between two pillars near the south-west corner of this chapel.

A step near the middle pillars (for it has three pillars on a side) divides the chancel from the body of the chapel. A door is here on each side, with a bench of stone reaching from it to the western pillars.

These pillars have their shafts longer and embellished in a different manner than those in the French church; having, instead of capitals, an embattled cornice over them, reaching to the ends of the chapel. The arches which they support are quite as plain as those above described, except at that part near the altar, which has been enriched with escutcheons of arms and other ornaments; among which are several stars with painted rays, issuing from convex mirrors in their centers, which might make a very pretty appearance in a place that was to be seen by candle light.

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Two other doors opened into this chapel, near the altar which is destroyed, but the niche over it for the statue of the Virgin still remains, as does the pedestal on which her image stood, adorned with small figures in relievo of the annunciation, and some other parts of her history much defaced, but not quite so.

On the south side of this chapel (but not within it) is a handsome monument of Joan Burwash, Lady Mohun, prepared and set up at her own cost. Her figure laid on it has been defaced by some of the slovenly workmen.

<131> The monument of Isabell Countess of Athol, not far from this, has suffered much also within these few years; three handsome pannels of alabaster on the north side of it, with ensigns armorial upon them, dropped off, and lay beside it some years, entire enough to have been replaced at little expence; but they are now lost or destroyed.

Archbishop Morton's monument in this part of the undercroft was a fine one till the great rebellion; but the zealots of those times (who spared those of the ladies) defaced this shamefully.

Behind Lady Athol's monument, and under the chapel of St. Anselm, is another chapel, now divided into two rooms by a stone wall; the outer one is square, with a pillar in the midst; and here the elders of the French congregation meet and consult on vestry affairs *. A smaller pillar between two arches parted the rest of the chapel from this before the wall was built, and is still to be seen within side. The French clerk keeps the key of this vestry; and when strangers have a mind to see the place, by removing some parts of the bench here he opens a square hole, through which you crawl on your hands and knees into a dark semicircular room, where candle-light discovers remains of some very ancient paintings. The roof has in a compartment a figure designed for the Almighty, with a wheel, the emblem of Eternity, under his feet; an open book in his hand, where are the words *ego sum qui sum*, and four angels adoring round it. What was on the wall at the altar is irrecoverably lost; but an arch over it has on the key-stone seven stars in a circle, and four pannels from it on each side, with the figures of seven angels, seven churches, and seven candlesticks, and in the eighth St John writing his Apocalypse.

* The deacons have another vestry parted off from the Black Prince's chapel, for the duties of their office and paying their poor.

On the north side are some groups of figures, relating to the nativity of St. John Baptist, with labels and mottos.

<132> Below these on a kind of cornice was, *Hoc altare dedicatum est in honorem Sancti Gabrielis Archangeli*, hardly legible now: for when the views were taken for Mr. Dart's description of Canterbury cathedral, the draughtsman employed here by wiping the inscription in hopes to get a better sight of the letters defaced it pretty much. In the drawing he made of this what he has added on the south side is mostly by fancy, little remaining of what was painted or written there.

The piers on each side of the print could not be put in their proper perspective; they are painted with palm branches and cherubims, with eyes in their wings and bodies, standing on winged wheels; which I suppose made Mr. Dart take them for figures of St. Catharine.

In leaving this vault one can hardly avoid observing, that the partition wall, though fair enough on the other side, on this is remarkably rough; which circumstance, with the obscurity of the passage into it, makes it seem to have been run up in a hurry, to conceal things of value upon some sudden emergency. On mention-

ing this formerly to an old clerk of the French church, he said he had dug there, and could find nothing but bones.

Two very strong pillars near the east end of the Virgin Mary's chapel seem by the oddness of their placing to have been added to enable the arches over them to support some very great weight which rested on them; perhaps an altar-piece of stone. Whether such a one was ever erected, or only designed, we have no account; but at present they seem of little or no use. The letters I H S, in a very ancient character, are written on each of them. **See Chap. XII.**

<133> Before we leave the undercroft it may not be amiss to observe, that as this is the foundation from which Lanfranc raised his choir, so it shows that the east end of his church was circular. Mr. Battely's plan of Lanfranc's church makes it so, with a chapel and altar of the Holy Trinity there*.

Gervas mentions another so dedicated without side of the wall. By the place and square form

* Mr. Bentham, in his curious account of Ely, observes, that the old Saxon churches generally turned circular at the east end. His plan of the old conventual church, built in 673, and repaired by King Edgar in 970, shows how that was twice so finished, and so does that of the cathedral, as originally built about the time of the conquest.

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of this as under Eadwyn's view, it seems an addition made not long before Gervas wrote.

We usually return from this undercroft through the same door by which we entered into the Martyrdom, and pass from thence to the south-cross isle, through an arched way called the Whispering Entry, under the great flight of steps from the body to the choir; or else by the foot of that flight; which I should rather chuse, as my stranger will be entertained with a fair inside view of that noble tower Bell Harry steeple, very lofty and spacious; not crowded with ornaments indeed, but by no means so plain as to stand in need of them.

To look up to the arch over-head from the foot of these steps is much more agreeable to many, than to do it from the landing-place at the top of them; where the descent so near our feet, and the height of what we see so perpendicularly over us, is apt to confuse the sight and make the head giddy; or, if it does not so, the very posture soon grows painful to the neck and eyes*.

From hence also we see the fine screen at the west end of the choir to more advantage than

* A pleasant and effectual way to avoid the inconveniences here mentioned, is to hold a pocket looking-glass before

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<134> when we are on the landing-place at the foot of it. It well deserves our attention, though it is

the breast, in a posture pretty near level; looking down to this will give no pain to the head, the neck, or eyes, and prevent the unsteadiness of the sight in a constrained posture.

The pocket perspectives, or opera glasses, contrived to give a view of objects at which they do not seem to be pointed, are very convenient for the examination of ceilings and arches enriched with paintings or sculpture; but they are not every where to be had, and require some practice before they can be made use of readily.

Another hint may perhaps be welcome to my reader, which every one, even among the curious, is not acquainted with, though of great service to such observations, as we are here engaged in making.

I mean the help we may receive from perspectives in regard to objects at a small distance, as monumental inscriptions a little out of the reach of the eye, or partly defaced; mottoes, or any other devices in windows, which we wish to see at a less distance, may be brought to that distance by the help of a common perspective made in joints, to be lengthened as occasion requires.

Many may be glad to know, that no perspective fits all eyes and all distances at one certain length. They, which are made with sliders to draw out, are beyond all comparison more useful than those which are not so; and a man who has a very good telescope may think it a bad one, for want of knowing, that the less distance the object is, the greater length he must draw his instrument to.

The maker usually marks his sliders to the length which answers some particular object within view of his shop or

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<135> somewhat mutilated, and clogged with whitewash in abundance. Mr. Somner supposes it built about the same time with the body of the church; and indeed the stile very much resembles that of the church porch under the clock,

work-room; and in doing this must be determined by his own eye. If that of the buyer be similar to his, he too will see an object at the same distance just as well; but if not, or he uses his glass without an allowance for the different distances of objects, his disappointment is not owing to any fault of his instrument or its maker. And this rule holds in perspectives of all lengths, as well as reflecting telescopes; so that the same instrument which will discover Jupiter's satellites, or Saturn's ring, may be made use of to read a letter or note twenty yards distant or less, either by drawing out the sliders of the former to the length required, or by regulating the distance between the two speculums of the latter, till we have hit on the proper one.

To make the experiment, take one of those pocket telescopes which shut up to about nine inches, and draw out to two feet, or something more, (which is the most convenient size for all purposes that I know) set up a printed or written paper in a good light, at fifteen or twenty feet distance from your stand, which should be where you have something to steady the hand which holds the glass; draw the sliders beyond their marks, till you have gained about an inch in the length of the whole; then look for the object, which will probably appear not distinct, but will soon become so, if with the hand next your eye you lengthen or shorten the tube, (not by pulling or thrusting, for screwing does it more easily and gradually) and your eye (which should continue

looking through) will presently discover which way it wanted helping, and gain the point desired.

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supposed of Archbishop Courtney's building. It is rich in Gothic flutings, pyramids, and copied niches, in which stand the statues of six crowned Kings, five holding globes or mounds in their hands, and the sixth a church.

Some have supposed these the memorials of so many Princes during whose reigns the church was building, and that the figure of it was designed to distinguish him under whom it was finished. If by this finishing we understand that of the body in Archbishop Courtney's time, to which King Richard the Second contributed, (see Chap. XXX.) this may be a statue of him. His five predecessors were King John, Henry the Third, Edward the First, Second, and Third. There is no judging from the figures in their present condition whether they have ever borne any resemblance to those Princes: but if, as Mr. Battely says, this screen was built by Prior Henry of Eastry, who died in 1322, the sixth year of Edward the Second, the opinion that the figure holding a church is King Ethelbert, and the others so many of his successors (unless that at his right hand, more delicately featured than the rest, was designed for Bertha his Queen) seems more probable.

The area here is about thirty-five feet square, with proper supports at each corner for the

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stately structure that rests on them. The two western pillars are Gothic, enriched with great variety of flutings in that style, as are the sides of the two eastern supporters which face toward these. There seems to have been some failing in the south-west pillar, and a great deal of care has been very judiciously taken to prevent any ill consequences of it, by adding stretchers of stone-work on all sides to stiffen it, beside other helps less in sight to discharge some of the load from hence to other parts of the building.

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The stretchers are very substantial and deep walls of stone, pierced in such patterns as make them in some measure an ornament. They are carried on arches from this pillar to two other principal ones, one eastward of it, the other north; they finish at top with a cornice embattled above an architrave, adorned with the motto and device of Prior Goldstone II. in large text letters,

*Non nobis Domine, non nobis, * set * nomini tuo da gloriam.*

Besides these larger strengthenings, smaller ones in the same taste are carried on north and

* In this place being the middle of the line is inserted Goldstone's name in a rebus, thus, T, a shield charged with three Gold-stones, P in gold; that is, Thomas Goldstone Prior.

* It is so in the stone-work.

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south to the walls of the church, and others to the pillars next these principal ones westward, some of them seeming more for the sake of uniformity than security: on the north side of the tower no such assistance has been thought necessary.

These precautions, with other discharging courses of masonry in the upper works, seem to have effectually provided against all the danger that was apprehended, **but might prevent the hanging a ring of bells in this tower.**

Above the great arches of this tower are several smaller ones, or windows into a gallery running round it, with doors on every side opening into the building between the stone arches and the leaded roof.

Another gallery which is over this has only a parapet or breast-work; from these is a pleasant view of what is below to **those who** do not find looking down from such a height disagreeable.

<137> From hence the walls between the windows are carried up very plain for a considerable height, till the vault of the roof begins to spring on ribs from corbels in piers between the windows and capitals of **the** pillars in each corner,

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embellished with painting and gilding, as are the corbels.

In the middle of this vault is a circle of five or six feet diameter, for hoisting and lowering bells, or whatever is necessary for repairs of the roofing; having a hatch or trap door to keep it shut, handsomely framed, painted and gilt, with the church arms in the centre of it.

In four pannels of the stone-work round it are the letters and device by which Prior Goldstone's works are distinguished in other places. This part also is so enriched with colouring and gilding, as to close the prospect from below in a beautiful manner.

From hence we go down to the south wing by a few steps, where are two monumental compartments against the principal pillar, one for Frances wife of Dr. Holcombe, a prebendary of this church, another for himself. The next we see is for Mrs. Jane Hardress, of a very ancient and honourable family in this county, now almost extinct.

Near the south-west corner is the door of a stair-case leading to the upper works. These are not in the usual walk of such as come to see the monuments; but as we have just been view=

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ing the inside of the great tower from below, perhaps this may be the best place for what remains to be added concerning that noble structure to what is said of it **Chap. X.**

<138> CHAP. XXXIV.

Of the Great Tower called Bell Harry Steeple.

TO the top of this tower we go up by the winding or newel stair-case just mentioned, from whence, at about seventy-six steps from the ground, is a turning to the * Chimes, (as the Oxford steeple is usually called) and about thirty-seven steps more lead to a turning over the arch of the south wing, and so to the first of

* In this steeple, as mentioned in Chap. X. is the ring of bells, which daily give half an hour's notice of service-time by chiming; after which, a quarter of an hour before prayers, Bell Harry is tolled for ten minutes, so that they who would come to church have as timely notice as can be needed.

The bells were formerly rung from a loft or gallery in the body of the church, and the holes by which the ropes came down are still to be seen in the arch.

Afterwards the ringers stood above the arch, but the loft remained, and another under it, so that the part under this steeple was incumbered with two very unsightly galleries; a stone stair-case to the first, a wooden one to the second, and

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the galleries mentioned in the preceding chapter; in the south-west corner of which is the foot of another newel stair-case, continued to the platform at the top of the tower.

This stair-case is narrower and not so well lighted as that we have already come up; neither are the steps so good, being much worn, especially as we come toward the top.

<139> Ascending these stairs, and passing by an opening into the second gallery, seventy-five steps more carry us to a turning to the wheel loft; so called from an axis or barrel, with a great wheel for men to walk in and hoist lead, timber, &c. for repairs from below.

This loft is open only as occasion requires.

The wheel and its tackling stand on a floor of strong timbers, about the level of the door at which we enter. A slighter floor is laid about

from thence a long ladder through the circle in the arch, for hoisting bells, &c. where was a trap-door for their security while ringing.

All these incumbrances disfigured the place till within these forty years, or thereabouts, when they were taken away, and the materials of the lofts were employed in flooring the arch of the south side-isle, over which people go to ring or chime.

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ten feet below this, and just above the vault which we have been admiring the beauty of from the ground.

This might be a very good floor for a ringers loft, and the loft itself must have been a very pleasant one, having round it sixteen very neat closets in the thickness of the stone wall by which they are arched over head. They are four on a side, each three feet seven inches wide,

and seven feet and an half deep to the two little windows of each in the remaining thickness of the wall, which furnish a surprisingly agreeable variety of prospects every way.

<140> The whole above the wheel loft is open to the timbers which support the leaden platform; but there are corbels in the walls for another floor to rest on, and a very particular provision is made still higher for timbers fit to bear the weight of a ring of bells and their frames *; **which** is a large square hole in each of the three solid towers at the corner of the building, and a strong foundation of brick-work at the

* Mr. Battely says here was a ring of bells, and gives an account of a vast quantity of metal sold by King Henry the Eighth, being part of five bells late in the great belfrage of Christ Church in Canterbury. But his record does not show that this was ever called the great belfrage; the church had

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fourth for supporting the ends of timbers there, without cutting into that corner where the stair-case tower is.

Returning to that stair-case, about sixty-two steps more land us on the leaden platform, which gives us a delightful view of the fine country around it, while the tower itself enriches the prospect of every part of that country, from whence it is seen, both far and near. Its stately height, curious parapet of embattled and pierced work, the four magnificent pinnacles at the corners, and the singular elegance of its proportions, as well as of its ornaments from the roof of the church all the way up, striking every eye that sees it, and making the best judges of such works the most ready to rank it among the most perfect of its kind.

Before I close this head, I must observe, that the views hitherto published of this tower and

another, a separate building, (see **Chap. XVIII.**) with some huge bells in it, which might be the bells Mr. Battely speaks of; but it is very likely that the defective pillar of this tower discouraged all attempts to furnish it with a weighty peal.

The only bell here hangs above the leaden platform, and is called Bell Harry. It is tolled every day, as often as service is read, but never rung out, except to announce the death of the King, the Queen, or the Archbishop.

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church fall very short of doing justice to them; but if a new drawing was now to be made of them, they might appear still less to advantage in that, than they do in those we have already.

CHAP. XXXV.

Continuation of our Walk among the Monuments.

NEAR the stair-case door above-mentioned is another, called the south door, opening into the church-yard. In the corner between

<141> this and St. Michael's chapel, is the monument of Dr. John Battely, Prebendary of this church and Archdeacon of the diocese.

St. Michael's chapel is what we visit next.

Over the entrance of it is a projection seemingly designed for an ornament, but is indeed a very substantial foundation for an organ loft, of much greater antiquity than Archbishop Sudbury's time, and one of the proofs that this munificent prelate carefully avoided pulling down, where only repairing or casing was necessary; and at the same time was equally careful that all, which he did, should be finished in a rich and elegant manner. This, with other remains prior to Archbishop Sudbury's improvements, and visi=

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ble enough in these days, are already taken notice of in Chap. X.

The projection is faced with wainscotting painted; the two front pannels are pictures of St. Augustine and St. Gregory in stone colour: two other pannels returning to the wall had each of them an angel; but one of them having been broken and repaired, both were painted over of a dark colour, and a ground of the same being added to the figures, they now appear more to advantage than they did before. **Three round holes here seem marks of musket shot, probably from the saints of the grand rebellion.**

The chapel of St. Michael is often called the warriors chapel; several memorials of military men being preserved there, whose bodies are not so. It is parted off by iron grates and doors; where entering we find the middle of it taken up by a fine old monument of Sussex marble, with three figure in alabaster lying upon it. The first is John Beaufort, Earl of Somerset, in armour; the second Margaret daughter of Thomas Earl of Holland, his wife; the third Thomas Duke of Clarence, her second husband. He also is in complete armour.

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<142> Round the sides are the monuments of Colonel Prude, killed at the siege of Maestricht 1632. One of Sir Thomas Thornhurst, killed and buried at the Isle of Rhee 1627. Two others of the Thornhurst family; one of Mrs. Anne Milles; then a very remarkable one of Archbishop Langton, appearing as a stone coffin above the ground; it has had an iron fence round it, but whether it was within or without the first chapel here does not appear; at present about half the length of it is in the thickness of the wall with an arch over it now made up. Next to this is a bust and inscription for Sir George Rooke buried in St. Paul's church, (see Chap. V.) On the south side is a monument of several of the Hales family, one of which died at sea, and the manner of his being committed to the deep is shown here.

The last monument in this chapel is a handsome marble one of Brigadier Francis Godfrey, buried here 1712.

North of St. Michael's chapel are two staircases, one leading down to the French church, the other up to the isle on the south side of the choir. At the corner made by this turning a plain monument of two tables of marble is set up against the wall for Mr. Herbert Randolph, one of our six preachers.

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If any thing is observable at the two staircases just mentioned, it is that the doorway into the French church on this side is a mitred Gothic arch, but that in the Martyrdom is a circular one, with such kind of ornaments as I suppose characteristic of the Saxon taste.

<143> The undercroft (as my reader knows) I look on as prior to Lanfranc's time by almost two hundred years; supposing it built by the same hands that erected the curious crypt of Grymbald at Oxford.

By the best accounts we have of the temples of the ancients, they were often built with circular recesses; and the great Sir Christopher Wren seems to have beautified St. Paul's cathedral with such numbers of them in conformity to that ancient stile.

If therefore Mr. Battely, when he told us from Osborn that the church here in Odo's time was the very same fabric that was built by the believing Romans, had appealed to his plan of Lanfranc's church, to show how agreeable that was to the Roman taste, and inferred from thence that part of their work was remaining not only in Odo's days but even to our time; this conclusion would seem supported by better proofs than several, which we find in his book.

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But here perhaps I am getting out of my depth. I shall therefore go up the stone steps to that which I shall not scruple to call Lanfranc's church; because here it is plain he repaired or rebuilt, though it may be difficult to determine how much of the building was of his erection.

<144> As soon as we land here we may observe against the wall a row of little pillars * rising from the pavement, with arches above them, correspondent to that without side, which I have compared to a girdle in Chap. X. probably of the same age and workmanship, though time and accidents may have in some measure abated the resemblance. I cannot look on these as of Lanfranc's building; but must observe (though I do not find others have taken notice of it) that whenever this part was built the whole floor was level, or very nearly so; and the range, though sometimes interrupted, may be traced as far as the chapel of the Trinity, so as to justify this observation beyond all doubt.

Above this range the windows are in what I call the Norman stile, (see note **Chap. XXXII.**)

<212> * Gervase says, 'no marble pillars were to be seen in our church till after the repair by W. of Sens, and then they abounded here without number.' I suppose he speaks of the little pillars of Sussex marble, which are very numerous.

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because we find such in all remains of buildings ascribed to Lanfranc; as the dormitories, the hall and lodging for strangers, and the south side of the infirmary.

Here therefore I will suppose Lanfranc began his repair of the church; not destroying any part of the old building, which was fit to be left standing; but finishing all according to his own taste from the great tower to the east end of the whole building.

This required no alteration of the old plan; and therefore I should think Gervase's description of Lanfranc's church, as finishing in a circular form with eleven pillars on each side to support the roof, as just a description of that which was gone to decay in Stigand's time. This agrees perfectly well with the present state of our undercroft, and with the plan Mr. Battely has given; except that he has forgotten the two stair-case towers at the corners made by the cross-isle; and has added a body, which I shall soon have occasion to speak of particularly.

That great repair of the choir and the offices, which some have represented as quite rebuilding them; the raising a wall round the precinct, which might be entirely his work; as well as

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providing a palace for the Archbishop (who, according to Mr. Somner, had lived in common with the monks till Lanfranc's time) which might require a structure to be erected on purpose: these were very great things to be executed in seven years; and therefore I suppose he left the body in the same condition as Stigand had done, while he was completing these more important works.

<145> As to **Anselm's** pulling down and rebuilding Lanfranc's church, **which** Mr. Battely tells us he did, it has not the least appearance of probability; as I have shown in **Chap. XII. note (e)**; and this account of it seems entirely grounded on his notion, that by the fore-part of the church we are to understand from the great tower to the east end.

If, instead of that, we suppose the fore-part of the church to be that which extended from the great tower to the west front, all the difficulties attending his scheme will vanish.

Let us then consider things in this light. It is plain there was in those days a great tower where the present one stands. I think it needless to copy the descriptions given of it, and shall rather show what I suppose were the works

which Anselm had designed, and which the

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Priors Ernulph and Conrad magnificently finished.

Eadmer's account is, that Ernulph erected the ruinous fore-part of the church which Lanfranc had built, [*dejectam priorem partem ecclesie quam Lanfrancus edificaverat*] in a most splendid manner.

This I should understand of rebuilding the body to the west front, which both Stigand and Lanfranc had left in a ruinous condition, or quite fallen down.

<146> Mr. Battely by his plan supposes Lanfranc had built a body; and by his history, that Ernulph pulled this down and rebuilt it; though his interpretation of *priorem partem* seems to confirm this with the choir. However, the history shows plainly enough that the body of the church was what he and Conrad rebuilt and finished, perhaps in the manner Anselm had designed. Possibly it might be after his designs that Conrad adorned the ceiling of the choir in such a manner as made Lanfranc's name forgotten.

That Lanfranc ceiled his choir may perhaps be a doubt; probably he did: but if that was not left to be done by Conrad, the rich paint-

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ings with which he adorned it to make it a representation of heaven, might occasion it to be called Conrad's glorious choir.

All beauties of this kind were destroyed by the fire in 1174; in the choir especially, where it raged so, that the lead from the roof was melted into the joints of the pavement, as appeared at the pewing of the choir about the year 1706; when some alterations being made in a part of the pavement, as much of that lead was picked up by some of the workmen as made two large glew-pots.

Here therefore the fire was stopped; and we shall soon see other proofs that the damage done by that fire was by no means such as required the rebuilding the church from the foundation.

The choir is separated from the side isles by a wall and the range of columns, which support the upper works. The wall is of stone, (not marble, as Gervase represents it, *Decem Scriptores*, col. 1294, l. 54.) solid to about eight feet high; above which is a range of open Gothic work for about six feet more, finishing at the top with a battlement.

The pillars are partly let into the thickness of this wall: the bases or pedestals they stand

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<147> on, are about eighteen inches high and five feet square, with a bench of stone carried on from one to the other. These particulars are taken notice of in Gervase's description of the old

church; and with others, presently to be mentioned, show how much of what is now standing agrees with that ancient design. He takes notice of the semicircular pilaster against the massive pier, or wall, from the east corners of the great tower; from whence the first arch on each side of the choir springs, and tells how many pillars continued this work to the circular end of the building; but when he places these pillars at equal distances he is mistaken*.

The pillars are alternately circular or octagonal; but very slender, considering what they bear, being not three feet and a half diameter.

* By a measurement taken in the north side-isle of some of these distances, they appear as follow:

	Feet	Inc.
From the semicircular pilaster to the first pillar	13	6
From that to the second	13	8
to the third	11	6
to the fourth	10	2
to the fifth, a principal	10	4

A sixth pillar on each side between this and the next principal one was, at the repair after the fire, by William of Sens, taken away to give the better opening to the cross-isle.

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The fifth pillar being an octagonal is adorned and strengthened at every face of it by a marble one of eight inches diameter, and all little enough; for the four that support the vault formed by the choir and eastern cross-ises are in height fifty feet, and the area included is about ten yards by thirteen. These pillars, which he calls principals, seem to have discovered their weakness, where arches of the side-ises thrust against them at about half their height from the pavement.

<148> But perhaps nothing is more worthy our notice here, than grooves cut in three of the pedestals of these columns of the south isle, and four in the north one, for receiving strong bands of iron let into the partition wall, and secured there by lead or solder, to enable them the better to bear what should be raised on them. These are no where to be found but on the sides of the choir; where by reason of the stalls the fire raged most violently; and they plainly show, that in the rebuilding the artist thought with this strengthening they might serve in the new work. The caution he took on this occasion was more prudent than necessary; for when it became the fashion for saints to show their zeal for the honour of God by stealing from his temple whatever would pay for their trouble at the braziers or smiths, a great

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deal of this ironwork was cut away; and probably more would have been, had it proved worth while.

The casing of the walls, visible enough to a

curious eye, in those parts where the fire was most violent, shows that this was all the repair they wanted. I have observed that the south stair-case tower could not suffer by that accident; the north one did not escape quite so well. In the top of that were some bells, most com=modiously placed in respect of the dormitories, which were near the foot of that steeple. The wind blew the flames of the roof directly to the south windows of it; so that the timber-works there were quite in harm's way: accordingly they took fire, **and** the bell-frames consumed the floor they stood on, and those of the lofts underneath. The marks of all this are still to be seen, as well as the stone stairs which led from these lofts to one another; they could not take fire, nor the great newel stair-case which led up to them from the ground. All the damage that **they** could suffer must be from the falling down of the bells when the lofts gave way; some of the uppermost of them were battered by that means; and, as no bells were afterwards hung there, they never have been repaired.

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Great part of the present church is therefore what was standing before the fire; and accordingly the account of the repairs consists in telling us how many pillars were erected, and arches turned, from time to time.

But when we are told the pillars were at this repair lengthened almost twelve feet, this is perplexing. It is not to be doubted, that when the stalls of the choir added such a quantity of fuel to what was fallen in from the roof, that the flames rose to fifteen cubits high, the upper ends of the pillars on each side not being defended by the partition wall, but exposed to the violence of those flames, might be damaged so as to require twelve feet of thorough repair; but if this was what Gervase meant by lengthening, surely he might have expressed himself better. **For** the height of the walls and roofs before the fire may be pretty exactly determined by marks to be seen at this day; **and** how such walls and roofs should ever be suited to pillars so much shorter than the present ones, I will not pretend to conjecture.

That new capitals were added more beautiful than the old ones, I can easily believe; and cannot help observing, that in some of these and **in** many of the smaller ones the architects seem to have had an eye to the more elegant

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taste of the ancient orders of the Greek and Roman buildings, as we shall see again when we come to the chapel of the Holy Trinity. At present we are in Lanfranc's building, on the top of the stairs which brought us to the south isle of it; where on the right hand is a door and stair-case leading up to a beautiful chapel over that of St. Michael, and in the same stile, being

part of Archbishop Sudbury's repairs *. The roof is of ribbed arches, and at the key-stones where the ribs meet are the faces of three members of the monastery, whose names and degrees were written beside them, but are now partly obliterated.

<150> The eastern one has remaining Tho. — * prior.

The middle one seems to have been Johns. Wodnesbergh.

The western one Willms. Molasch discipulus.

The room is now the singing-school and vestry of the choiristers, but was formerly an armory,

* Here I suppose was the altar of All Saints, which Mr. Battely, in page 27, places with that of St. Michael in the lower south wing.

* Thomas Chillenden was chosen prior in 1390. I have already shown that he was a very eminent architect, and pro=

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with racks for abundance of pikes. The arms have been taken away time out of mind, and part of the racks for them employed at other places.

Under the second window eastward from this door is the tomb of Archbishop Walter Reynolds, with his statue lying on it defaced; and at the feet of it, under the third window, that of Hubert Walter, in the same condition.

ably the person employed as such by Archbishop Sudbury, as well as by his successors Courtney and Arundel.

John Wodnesbergh, I suppose, was his chief assistant and **William Molasch** his pupil in the study of architecture, when this building was erected.

If it was finished in Archbishop Sudbury's time, the title, Prior, must have been added to Chillenden's name after his election to this dignity, which was not till that Archbishop had been dead nine years.

John Wodnesbergh succeeded him in 1411, as William Molasch did him in 1427.

It seems pretty remarkable, that within the compass of an hundred years there should have been six priors who made architecture their study, and of whose taste and skill we have many beautiful proofs at this time: but here the monks judged perfectly right: nothing could do greater honour to the society, or so well express their zeal for the house of God, the keeping and adorning of which was entrusted to their care, as chusing those to preside over them, who were best qualified to direct them in the discharge of that trust.

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Their robes were once neatly painted with the armorial bearings of their families; but time and whitewash prevent the remains of these from being discoverable. Above these large windows is a walk, which Mr. Battely calls a *triforium*, between the same number of smaller windows on one hand, and the springing of the arches and some little pillars of marble on the other, the way into it being by a door in the stair-case tower. Going on, the next monuments we see are on our left hand: that next

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the choir door is Cardinal Kemp's; at his feet is that of Archbishop Stratford, and then that of **Archbp.** Sudbury. These were once open to the choir, but are now hidden from it by the wain-scotting about the altar.

Opposite to this last the tomb of Archbishop Mepham makes part of a very elegant screen of stone-work, between this side-isle and St. Anselm's chapel; which is now divided into two rooms, one a vestry for the minor canons, the other for the lay-clerks; in the latter of which, under the great south window, is a raised part called the tomb of Archbishop Bradwardin, but without any inscription or ornament.

A newel stair-case here leads to a room over this chapel, a closet of which has a window

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looking into the choir with an iron grate. This has been shown as the place where John II. King of France was confined, when taken prisoner and brought into England by Edward the Black Prince.

The story is too ridiculous for confutation; but that the place has been used for a prison may very well be believed.

In all probability it was so for such of the monks as had deserved confinement by their irregularities. The room is pretty large and has light enough. It has a chimney and an oven; so it should seem they who were confined here were to dress such provisions for themselves as the convent was pleased to allow them.

<152> There is a door into a platform, where they might have fresh air and a pleasant prospect of the country: but at such a height from the ground, that any attempt to make an escape that way would have been very dangerous.

The grated window toward the choir, I apprehend, was made that they might be eye-witnesses of the performances of those sacred solemnities, which they were excluded from joining

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in, and was so placed, that they might have a fair view of the elevation of the host *.

Probably notice was taken whether they duly attended at their grate on such occasions, and how they behaved themselves there.

Whether any thing of this kind is to be seen in other churches I know **not**; but I believe my reader will allow, that my opinion concerning this room and the use of it is not without some foundation. **See Appendix, No. IX.**

At this chapel we see how the east end of the old church began to contract itself toward the circular form in which it was finished. Here also begins the ascent to the chapel of the Holy Trinity, which was added after the fire: but before we proceed thither, some notice should be

* In the church of Rome, at the **benediction** the priest **turning** from the altar holds up the consecrated wafer higher

than his head, and shows it to the congregation, who adore it on their knees; a small hand-bell being rung, to call the attention of the people to the elevation of the host.

In many of our parish churches, where particular families have their own chancels or seats in cross or side-isles, holes still remain cut slanting through the walls toward the altar, that such families might see **the services at the altar** from their proper places, without disturbing themselves or others by removing for that purpose.

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taken of the cross-isle, which we have passed in coming thus far.

<153> The floor of it is raised above the rest of the pavement a very small matter, more to be distinguished by the foot in walking, than by the eye; which I impute to the altering the arched roof of the Black Prince's chapel in the undercroft, mentioned **Chap. XXXII.** At the north side of the isle is a door into the choir between the Archbishop's throne, and the head of Archbishop Kemp's monument. The south is adorned with four rows of little grey marble pillars, behind the uppermost of which are two of Mr. Battely's *triforia*, which run quite round this part of the church, except where it is joined to the great tower.

Where these come over **the vaulting of** the side-isles there is all the breadth of them to walk in; but in other parts they are so narrow, and at such a height from the pavement, that many find them (especially in the upper range) very disagreeable, if not shocking and dangerous.

The west side is in the same taste; and here is a very handsome door to the stair-case tower so often mentioned. On the east are two lofty

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porticos for altars, over which the *triforia* are continued as above-mentioned.

The north cross-isle is so uniform to this, that one description may in general serve for both; where there is any difference, it shall be taken notice of when our walk brings us thither, after we have visited the chapel of the Holy Trinity, the crown of St. Thomas Becket, and the monuments of those royal and eminent persons whose bones are laid there.

<154> **CHAP. XXXVI.**

Of the Chapel of the Holy Trinity and Becket's Crown.

AS what has been said of these in Chapters **XV.** and **XIX.** relates rather more to the history than the structure of them, some addition to that may be necessary.

I have observed, that after repairing the mischief done by the fire the monks determined to erect a magnificent chapel to the Holy Trinity, instead of a small one, which was at the east end of Lanfranc's church. They did so; and their

architect took care that this work should be distinguishable enough from that to which it was

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added by the difference of taste, though by no means inferior to it in elegance and grandeur.

He raised it therefore over a most stately undercroft, about twenty-four feet pitch, designed (as it should seem) to be finished at the east end in a circular form: a form in use for the east end of churches from the time of the Saxons, as the curious describer of Ely Minster has observed. Its side-isles are divided from it by four pair of remarkable strong pillars on each side, the last pair disposed suitable to the circular design. Two slender pillars in the middle of the vault assist in supporting the pavement above.

The descent into this vault is now by eleven or twelve steps from without. Most of the windows of it have been bricked up; but it is still lightsome enough to see a crucifix with a person standing on each side of it over an arch, at the east end of the vault which opens into that, which I suppose the place called Bishop Becket's tomb, as lofty and about as lightsome as this; some of the windows here also being bricked up.

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Its form is a circle, about thirty feet diameter, the roof arched with ribs meeting in the centre. The groyns between the ribs of the

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arch are adorned with the capital letters I and M. *semée* (as the heralds call it) the I's are crowned.

The addition of it to the chapel of the Trinity seems an after-thought, in respect of the first design, whether it was erected at the same time with that or not.

Be that as it will, in the words of the allotment of it to the first prebendary it is not mentioned as a tomb, but as 'the vault called Bishop Becket's tomb under our Lady's chapel.' See **Chap. XIX.**

Having viewed these vaults let us now visit the buildings over them, raised so much above the level of the choir, that the ascent to them from the north isle is by seventeen steps, from the south by fifteen.

The pillars here (as in the undercroft) are in pairs, standing in contact two on one base or plinth, and their capitals (formed with a view to the Corinthian or Composite order) blended together, and supporting one impost or cornice, from whence the arches are sprung. Their shafts as well as bases and capitals are of marble, and the arches are some circular, others mitred; for the distances between the pillars here dimi-

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nishing gradually as we go eastward, the arches being all of the same height, are mitred to com-

ply with this fancy, so that the angles of the eastern ones are very acute *.

<156> The double *triforium* of Lanfranc's building is continued round the middle part of this chapel; but the side-isles have none, unless a walk a little raised from the level of the pavement may be called one, where the pillars are so detached from the side walls as to leave a way broad enough for the priests to pass on each side of this, and round the chapel of the Virgin Mary adjoining to it, without disturbance by any numbers of St. Thomas's votaries, who might be crowding about his shrine.

This walk, or a great part of it, was secured by a very handsome fence (if all of it was like that part which we see opposite to King Henry the Fourth's monument) where the entrance seems to have been; and remains * of the iron-work by

* Might not this be a perspective deception, designed to make such colonnades appear longer than they really are when viewed from the west end of them?

* On the pillars of the south side are no such remains; the tomb called that of Archbishop Theobald, **where it now stands**, blocking up that part of the walk.

The tomb of Cardinal Pole **does** the same in the Virgin Mary's chapel; but when that was erected there was no oc=

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which it was fixed are still to be seen on several of the pillars at the north side.

The west end of this chapel is parted from the place, where the patriarchal chair stands, by a fence of iron-work finished at the top with a rail or cornice of wood, painted with some of those ridiculous and trifling fancies with which the monks were every where fond of making the preaching orders of friars appear as contemptible as they could.

<157> The pavement here (which is raised a small step higher than that of the side-isles) has many circular stones laid in it, with figures very rudely designed and executed, of the signs of the zodiac and other fancies of the workman; and beside these, a curious and beautiful Mosaic, which has suffered much by the superstition of some, and the destructive curiosity of others, but has very lately been in part repaired.

It shows evident marks of the shrine having been visited by multitudes of people; and near the monument of the Black Prince we may see where a corner post stood of a rail or fence,

casion for such a conveniency, the show being over; for the shrine was stripped and demolished in 1538, and the Cardinal died in 1555.

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which was carried round the shrine, and kept the crowds at a convenient distance from it.

By the standing of the pillars here and their inclination to a circle at the east end one would suppose that an altar to the Holy Trinity was at first designed to have been placed thereabouts;

but there is no appearance that any thing of that kind was ever erected, though the chapel was built as one fitter for that purpose than the little one at the east end of the old church, pulled down purely to make room for this more magnificent one.

Perhaps this may be accounted for by what is observed in **Chap. XIX.** that before the monks had provided a tomb for him, they found he had more visitants than the place designed for it would ever receive; and therefore enshrined his remains in the spacious chapel built in honour of the Holy Trinity. The good success this experiment met with took up their whole attention; the chapel designed for his tomb was left unfurnished, and an altar to the Holy Trinity seems to have been no more thought of. This chapel of the Trinity was called St. Thomas' chapel; and even Christ's Church itself lost its name, and was called by that of St. Thomas.

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<158> A large arch at the east end of this opens into the place called Archbishop Becket's crown, where (as observed in **Chap. XIX.**) is a chapel (over the vault called Becket's tomb) which appears to have been that of our Lady, mentioned in the allotment of prebendal houses.

The building is circular, the ribs of the arched roof meeting in the centre (as those of the crown royal do) may have given it the name it bears. Here also is a double *triforium*, and the wall answering the openings between the little pillars hath been painted with figures of Saints at full length, with their names, now hardly distinguishable. The whole chapel indeed has been plentifully adorned with paintings; and remains of the same kind of ornaments were to be seen in many other parts of the church, till it was thought that whitewash would look better.

Whatever might be the reason of it, the enthusiastic mob of the grand rebellion did not play their game in this part of the church. The monuments here were not defaced by them; a great deal of the painted glass is still remaining. The figures are small, and so are the pannels that contain them; which with the iron-work fitted to them, are contrived with such a variety of patterns, as shows that the designers of them

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thought the having no two windows alike would add to the beauty of the building.

Mr. Somner was of opinion that, if the legend of Becket's miracles were utterly lost, it might be repaired from the windows on each side of the place, where his shrine some time stood, abounding altogether with the story thereof. It might be so in his time, but now it would be a vain attempt; very little of the coloured glass being left on the south side, and the

north having suffered in many places and been ill repaired.

<159> CHAP XXXVII.

Of the Monuments in the eastern Part of the Church.

WHEN we come up hither from the south isle, the first monument we see is that of Edward the Black Prince, son to King Edward the Third, very intire and very beautiful; his figure in gilt brass lies on it completely armed, except the head, on which is a scull-cap with a coronet round it, once set with stones, of which only the collets now remain, and from hence hangs a hood of mail down to his breast and shoulders. The head of the figure rests on a

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casque or helmet, joined to the cap which supports his crest (the lion) formed after the trophies above the monument, where are his gauntlets curiously finished and gilt, his coat of arms quilted with fine cotton, and at least as rich as any of those worn by the officers at arms on public occasions (but much disfigured by time and dust) and the scabbard of his sword, which could be but a small one. The sword itself is said to have been taken away by Oliver Cromwell. His shield hangs on a pillar near the head of his tomb, and has had handles to it.

One cannot observe how warriors were armed in those days, without wondering how it was possible for them to stir under such a load of incumbrances; and particularly how a commander could look about him and see what passed, when his head was inclosed in a case of iron resting on his shoulders, with only narrow slits at his eyes, and a few little holes something lower to admit air for breathing; with all these helps this casque is rather stifling to those who have tried it on, though not in action or in a crowd.

<160> No less unfit does it seem for giving or receiving orders and intelligence in the noise and confusion of a field of battle; but that this was then the fashion is plain, not only from this

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particular instance, but from the broad seals of several of our Kings and Princes, for many years before and after his time *.

As the choir and eastern parts of our church are built over vaults, the bodies which rest in these parts could not be interred in graves, but are inclosed in altar or table monuments raised above the pavement.

This of the Black Prince has a long inscription in old French prose and verse on brass plates, and fillets round the borders of the stone on which his figure is laid. The sides and ends of it are adorned with escutcheons alternately

* Mr. Sandford, in his Genealogical History of the Kings

of England, has given prints of many of these great seals, which show, that from the time of King John all the head-pieces were made so close as not to show the face; that particularly of this prince resembles this over his monument, except that it has more and larger air-holes. This fashion continued till the time of King Edward the Fourth, on whose seal we find part of his face open to be seen; as are those of his successors to King Henry the Eighth, the first that discovers the whole face by means of a visor to lift up, which seems to be the design on his seal.

This invention seems therefore of no earlier date than his days; and, if so, there is very little reason to believe that the suit of armour shown in the tower of London for that of the Black Prince was ever worn by him, or made till above two hundred years after his death.

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placed, one bearing the arms of France and England quarterly, with the file of three points for his distinction, and a label above it, on which is written *houmout*; the other his own arms, viz. three Ostrich feathers, the quill end of each in a socket, with a label crossing there, on which is his motto *Ich dien*; a larger label above the escutcheon having the same words on that too.

<161> These words perhaps were designed to express the excellent character he bore; *houmout* in the German language signifying a 'haughty spirit,' might represent him as an intrepid warrior, and
<213> *Ich dien*, 'I serve,' as a dutiful son. The canopy over it is painted with the figure of our Saviour now defaced, and the four evangelists, with their symbols in small compartments at the four corners of it.

<161> There seems to have been an altar opposite to this tomb, where masses might be said for his soul; a stone step very much worn being under a window there: and within memory his plumes and the arms of France and England, as on the monument, were in the painted glass here; the escutcheon with the feathers has long been broken and lost; the other was a few years ago taken away to mend a window at another place.

At the feet of this tomb and under the next arch is that of Archbishop Courtney of ala-

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baster, with his figure on it in full habit with his pall and crosier, but without any inscription.

Opposite to this tomb we see one of a singular form, so unlike all the monuments since the conquest, that I have met with the description of, that I should look on it as piece of Saxon antiquity rather than Norman; perhaps brought hither to be preserved as such after this chapel was built: it was designed to stand close to a wall but is not so here. It is shown as the tomb of Archbishop Theobald, but there is very little

<a> reason to think it so.

It has been conjectured to be that of St. Anselm, but of this there is no probability. His remains were deposited in the old chapel, at first dedicated to St. Peter and St. Paul; but, from

his being entombed there, called St. Anselm's chapel to this day. This chapel escaped the fire; and here it is probable his bones rested till the demolition of St. Becket's shrine, when it is much more reasonable to believe his remains shared the same fate, than that the commissioners
<162> for destroying all remains of superstition here, would remove his bones from the chapel where they had been worshipped to a more honourable place*.

* St. Anselm being a native of Piedmont, in King George the Second's reign the King of Sardinia desired to

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If Archbishop Courtney's monument is a very elegant one, that under the next arch is quite the reverse; it is that of Odo Coligny, Cardinal Chastillon, poisoned (as tradition says) by his Popish servants, when going to wait on Queen Elizabeth in 1571: probably to prevent his embracing the protestant religion, for which several illustrious persons of the Coligny family died martyrs about a year after in the execrable massacre at Paris.

It seems they, who appointed his remains to be laid in this honourable place, did not think it worth while to be at the expence of a decent repository for them; they are cased up in brick plaistered over in a manner not fit to be seen with the monuments among which it stands.

That of Cardinal Pole is what we come to next; this is a plain one and of plaister, but of

have his remains sent over to him, and his Ambassador had succeeded so far as to obtain leave and authority to have a search made for that purpose.

A person, commissioned to make this search, applied to a member of the cathedral, whom he thought best able to assist in his enquiry, and inform him whether this tomb might not probably contain the remains of that prelate; but was so fully convinced **by him** that all search after any such relics would be fruitless, **that** the monument was left entire, and the design laid aside. The writer of this account gives it from his own knowledge.

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a form not inelegant, and was adorned by some beautiful paintings on the wall, against which it stands; but these are sadly gone to decay, and little remains to be seen of them.

Cardinal Pole is the last Archbishop who has been buried in this cathedral. He lies in that chapel of the Blessed Virgin over the place cal=
<163> led Bishop Becket's tomb, so often mentioned already, and so far described as to want nothing more to be said of it here.

I return therefore westward, where are only two monuments on the north side of the Trinity chapel: the first we come to is one of singular beauty, said to be in part, if not the whole, designed and executed at Rome. In it are the remains of Dr. Nicholas Wotton of a noble family in this county, an eminent statesman and

an accomplished courtier; for he continued in favour and acted in a public character under four Princes, and as many changes of religion. He died Dean of Canterbury and York.

The last monument here is that of King Henry the Fourth and his Queen Joan or Jane of Navarre, who was his second wife, whose effigy lies on the right hand of his, under a canopy painted with three shields; one with the arms of **England and France** quarterly; another with the

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same impaling Evreux and Navarre; and a third with Evreux and Navarre quarterly: all these on a ground diapered with eagles volant, and the word *soverayne* as the King's device and motto; and ermines collared and chained with the word *atemperance* * for that of the Queen; so is also a table at the feet of the tomb, on which is the picture of an angel standing and supporting a large escutcheon charged with the same achievements. The devices and mottos just mentioned enrich the cornice of the canopy; but, what is particular, *soverayne* and the eagles are on that side where the Queen lies, and the ermines and *atemperance* on the side of the King.

<164> This monument has suffered shamefully within memory, much of the rich carving of the little alabaster canopies over the heads of the figures having been quite destroyed some years ago, and the figures themselves bearing many marks of the heavy hands, which have since been **trusted** to clean them.

Against the pillars at the head of this monument hangs a table, painted with the murder of Archbishop Becket, now much decayed: the

* In a book called the Calendar of Shypars, printed 1559, I find a long definition of the word *atemperance*, which shows that in those days it was understood to comprehend almost every accomplishment of religion and virtue.

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engravers of Mr. Dart's book have done what they could to preserve as much as can be made out of it; and indeed, if he had done such justice to the subscribers to his work as they did, his book would have been a much more valuable one than it is.

Opposite to this monument is an elegant little chapel erected without the wall, where was an altar for saying mass for the souls of this royal pair *. At present it is used as a place for lumber, where among other things is a large sun or glory, with the letters I H S in the middle of it. This was once an ornament over the altar, but taken down because it gave offence; how long ago tradition does not tell us; but if it had not been before the grand rebellion, Richard Culmer would certainly have been glad of so fine an occasion of showing his zeal against idolatry, and his book would as certainly have entertained us with the condemnation of it.

I have already observed that the place, where the patriarchal chair stands, is adjoining to this chapel; but before we go thither, it may not

* The altar of this chapel is taken away, but a cornice which was above it still remains: this was once adorned with such eagles as were on that of the monument, and over it some figures, now defaced, were painted on the wall.

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be amiss to add something to what has been said of the shrine, which was once the glory of the place we are now leaving, and attracted votaries and offerings without number from all parts far and near.

CHAP. XXXVIII.

Of the Shrine of St. Thomas Becket, and his Jubilee.

SOME account of this has already been given in Chapters XV. and XIX. with part of what Erasmus observed of the richness of its ornaments: to which he adds, that when this glorious show was offered to view the prior took a white wand and touched every jewel, telling what it was, the French name, the value, and the donor of it; for the chief of them were the gifts of monarchs, or persons of distinguished rank or fortune.

If vanity was mixed with the superstition of those days, this was a sure way of increasing the number and value of new decorations to the shrine, such as might do honour to future benefactors, were their station ever so highly exalted. Accordingly rich presents were continually flowing in: but then there were sometimes spring tides, called Jubilees: these were high festivals which

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the monks could not celebrate without express license from the court of Rome.

The word Jubilee signifies a solemn rejoicing. The Jews were commanded to keep a feast unto the Lord once in about fifty years; in which their dependance on him for all the good things of this life, and his right to direct them in the proper use of such plenty of those blessings as he should bestow on them, were to be gratefully and publicly acknowledged, by relieving the necessities of their poor brethren, by releasing bondsmen and debtors from their obligations, and such other acts of bounty and beneficence as are particularly enumerated in the XXVth chapter of Leviticus.

About the year 1300 Pope Boniface VIII. found that an improvement on this might be made by proclaiming a general release from the burden of their sins, out of what Rome calls the treasure of the church, to all who should properly apply for the plenary indulgences granted at such times; and by appropriating the money raised by such indulgences toward increasing the treasures of the church in the more common and

literal acceptation of the words.

The experiment answered so well that Jubilees were to be repeated; but to add to the solemnity

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of them this was to be done after a number of years, only once in an hundred according to his first institution; afterwards (for weighty reasons no doubt) the time was shortened to one half, one third, and one quarter of that time; so that now once in twenty-five years the Pope, with great ceremony and pompous procession, breaks open a door of St. Peter's church at Rome, called the Holy Gate; when all who enter at it fancy themselves in the sure way to heaven; and they, who can pick up any scraps of the rubbish made in forcing the door, look on themselves as happy in the possession of such valuable relics.

But, beside what is done at Rome, Jubilees have been sometimes granted to other churches in honour of Saints enshrined there; or on any motives, which the Pope should approve of.

<167> No wonder if the cathedral at Canterbury, where the precious body of St. Thomas (the Pope's martyr) was so honourably preserved, should have this favour granted it; and so it was several times, but as a favour not to be obtained without great application.

Mr. Battely says, he 'saw in one of the registers of this church, the copies of two letters, full of most pressing importunities, from the King to the Pope; and of two other letters from

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the King to the college of Cardinals; of another letter from the Queen; and another from the Prior and Chapter to his Holiness, containing their most humble and earnest addresses and solicitations for a grant of plenary indulgences, without which there could be no Jubilee.' And in the Appendix to his supplement, gives us copies of four letters from Rome, the originals of which are preserved in our archives.

They are written by the persons commissioned from hence to negotiate the affair there in the year 1520. The language of them is obsolete, and the letters too long to be inserted in this little book, so I shall give Mr. Battely's abridgement of them, which will show how ready the 'Holy Father' * was to confer spiritual blessings on his dutiful children; what respect the * 'Servant of the Servants of God' thought fit to show to a very powerful * King in communion with him; and what excellent use * 'the Successor of St. Peter' knows how to make of the keys **which** he values himself so highly on being entrusted with the keeping of. Mr. Battely's narrative is as follows:

* Three of the Pope's titles.

* Pope Leo X. * King Henry the Eighth.

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<168> 'The prior and convent had solicited a long time for a bull of indulgence, by John Grigge Doctor of Laws, their Proctor in the court of Rome. The King had sent a letter of supplication in this behalf to the Pope, which his Holiness did not vouchsafe to open, but remitted it to a Cardinal to report the contents of it. A letter also from Cardinal Wolsey was about two days after delivered to the Pope, which he was pleased to open and read, and thereupon to discourse with the proctor concerning the Jubilee.

'Gifts and money are sent for by the Proctor, that he might thereby purchase the favour of the Pope and of the Cardinals. Letters also from the Archbishop, with a certificate under the common seal of the Prior and Chapter, are required and expected. A cup of pure gold must be sent with all speed as a present to the Pope; for the Pope's sister told the Proctor, that she was sure such a cup would be very acceptable to his Holiness, and would much prevail with him to expedite the cause.

'After a tedious dilatory proceeding, and the expence of a vast sum in money and rich presents, the Jubilee was granted; but upon such terms as seemed hard and unreasonable, yet such as could not be resisted; namely, that the Pope should receive half the oblations made in the

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church during the whole year of the Jubilee. And herewith (as he observes) all Jubilees have for ever ceased to be celebrated in this church.'

For, not many years after, the King renounced the Pope's supremacy, and asserted his own; declared himself head of the church in his own dominions: and seized on what his Holiness had left as lawful plunder.

Mr. Somner gives us from Stow an account of the riches this shrine afforded, as well as of the total demolition of it; with the copy of which I shall close this chapter.

<169> 'It was built (says Stow) about a man's height all of stone, then upward of timber plain, within which was a chest of iron, containing the bones of Thomas Becket, skull and all, with the wound of his death, and the piece cut out of his skull laid in the same wound. See note on Chap. XV.

'The timber-work of this shrine on the outside was covered with plates of gold damasked and embossed with wires of gold, garnished with broches, images, chains, precious stones, and great orient pearls: spoils of which shrine (in gold and jewels of an inestimable value) filled two great chests, one of which six or eight

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strong men could do no more than convey out of the church: all which was taken to the King's use, and the bones of St. Thomas (by commandment of the Lord Cromwell) were then and there burned to ashes: which was in

September in the year 1538 Henry VII. 30.'

CHAP XXXIX.

Of the Patriarchal Chair, and the place it stands in.

THE patriarchal or metropolitan chair is of grey marble * in three pieces, carved in pannels; the seat is solid from the pavement. In this the Archbishop (or his proxy) is placed with much ceremony, as soon after the election as may conveniently be: the members of the church in procession attending.

<170> This solemnity is called his inthronization; and puts his grace in formal possession of the metropolitanical dignity, with the authority and profits thereto appertaining.

Formerly this was done with much more pomp and magnificence than it is at present:

* Gervas (according to Mr. Battely) describes it as of one stone.

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the King, the Princes of the Blood, with many others of the highest rank, both spiritual and temporal, being invited to it, and entertained in a manner little inferior to the royal banquet at a coronation, either in the plenty and variety of dainties, or quality of the noble persons, who attended as the great officers in right of manors held of the Archbishoprick by such tenures; and came with numerous retinues to the performance of their respective services. For example; the Duke of Buckingham, as Lord High Steward, came with a train of 140 horses, the day before Archbishop Warham's inthronization, to view the palace, and see that nothing should be wanting to the magnificence of the approaching solemnity, as Mr. Battely tells us *; who in his Appendix gives an account of the feast itself, with the variety and expence of the provisions.

But this was in the days of yore; I return to what is to be seen in our time. The place

* The Duke of Buckingham (the High Steward) attended as Lord of the Castle of Tunbridge; Lord Coniars and Mr. Stranguish performed the office of Chief Panterer for the Manors of Whyvelton, Semir, &c. Lord Badlesmere that of Chamberlain for the Manor of Hatfield, the son and heir of Roger de Mereworth not being knighted; Sir John Bluet (by appointment of the Lord Steward) executed the office of carver for the Manor of Caryton, as Sir Gilbert Owen (for the same reason) did that of cupbearer for Roger de Kirkby, Lord of the Manor of Horton.

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where this chair stands, is between the altar and the chapel of the Holy Trinity, and upon the same level with that, raised above the pavement of the altar by several steps.

<171> A flight of ten of these steps extends the whole breadth of the place to the walls which separate it from the side-isles: where at the east

end we see the capital of a stack of pillars, (whose shafts are hidden by these steps) of much the same construction with the four principal ones, where the eastern cross-ises and the choir meet; from these rises a plain sort of pier or column for five feet, where is such a marble plinth as those under the pairs of pillars in the chapel of the Trinity, on the same level, and supporting a pair just like them; as if that chapel was at first designed to have been continued thus far. Whether it was so, I shall leave others to conjecture.

Opposite to the stone chair we see the old altar-piece, now the lining of that to which it gave place about the year 1730. It is handsomely adorned with painting and gilding, and of a design which some think more suitable to a Gothic cathedral than the new one. **But if we consider the stalls and wainscotting of the choir, as finished several years before with an eye to the Corinthian or Composite order, as is also the throne given by Archbishop Tenison; we may**

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think that a Gothic finishing of the whole would have a more disagreeable effect than that which the architect has judged properest for the place.

I mentioned, Chap. XXXVIII. a star or glory long ago thrown by in the chapel of King Henry the Fourth. This formerly stood above the altar, raised on a post supported by cherubs of carved work, painted and gilt, with expanded wings on the foot and each side, which were here laid up with that, till taken out to help complete the design of its making a back-front to the new altar.

Mr. Battely tells us from Gervase, that at the east corners of the high altar were fixed two pillars of wood, beautified with silver and gold. Upon these pillars was laid a beam, which reached cross the church, adorned with gold: Upon this beam were placed the glory, [*majestas Dei*] the images of St. Dunstan and St. Alphage, and seven chests or coffers, overlaid with gold full of the relics of many saints. Is it possible this should be the glory Gervase speaks of and have lain here ever since the reformation?

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From hence we may go down to the north side-isle of the choir by seventeen steps.

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CHAP. XL.

Of the North Side-isle, and the rooms adjoining.

IN Chap. XXXV. I mentioned a row of little pillars, which I suppose to have gone (not without interruption) round the inside of Lanfranc's church: here we see some of them, and others are gradually hidden by the steps to the Trinity chapel, which are of later date.

At the foot of these steps a door opens into a vault, till of late years a store-room for the sacrist, now a place where coals are kept for the

audit-room and prebendaries vestry. The little light it has it receives from the door and two large windows looking down into the vault under the chapel of the Holy Trinity.

Mr. Somner supposes it the wax-house of the sacrist, who was one of the four great officers of the monastery, and whose charge was very extensive; for he was to see that the roofing of the church was kept in good condition; he had also the care of the sacred vessels, the vestments, ornaments, books, and utensils of the church;

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<173> he had also a subsacrist to assist him *, and a number of others under his direction; of whom Mr. Somner gives a list, with eleven several branches of duty in which they were respectively employed. The first he mentions is the keeper of the * wax-house, and the room I am speaking of may have been his store-room; but the windows of it being doubly grated with iron, make it seem designed for keeping things of greater value than wax and candles.

* Mr. Dart, in his Appendix page 8, mentions four subsacrist as having the church-ornaments in their custody.

* Tallow-candles have not always been thought suitable to the dignity of the church and the service performed there; that wax was looked on as more proper, when this officer was appointed, is pretty plain; and, if the making this wax into candles was a part of his business, he had enough to keep him employed; for, that the monks were no niggards of their light, will appear from an account of their expences in this article, which may perhaps be entertaining to my readers. 'The paschal taper contained three hundred pounds of wax: seven wax candles in seven branches, weighed fifty pounds; namely, six of them seven pounds apiece, and the seventh, in the middle, eight pounds: procession candles two pounds apiece, and on the feast of purification each candle weighed three pounds.' In giving this account Mr. Battely has thought it necessary to appeal to the words of the register as his vouchers: in his Appendix therefore he gives us a copy of it, where we find several more appointed for different occasions there mentioned, and some of them specified by terms which I cannot understand. The sacrist was to provide wax for these candles, the subsacrist to deliver them out.

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Passing by this door we see on our left hand the tomb of Archbishop Bourgchier *, erected at his own expence in his life-time, of grey marble, very curiously finished, and once adorned with statues; the hooks which fastened them in the niches where they were placed still remaining to be seen.

<174> In Mr. Battely's Appendix is the copy of a grant to Archbishop Bourgchier * from the prior and convent of the space between two pillars next to the altar of St. Elphege, where the furniture of the altar was then kept: on condition that he should erect himself a monument there becoming the honour of the church, and in the same space fit up a new repository, where

the things belonging to the altar might be properly laid up as usual.

Accordingly at the head of this tomb there is a cupboard, which might serve for that purpose; and did so in some measure, till the tapestry was taken away, behind which it was concealed, and the new wainscotting at the altar quite shut it up.

Mr. Somner, if ever he had seen this cupboard, might have observed that the finishing of

* So spelt on the monument.

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it had no appearance of being designed for things of show, and that it was by no means capable of receiving such numbers of relics as Erasmus mentions; and there is no appearance of any other place where such things could be put between the tombs of Chichley and Bourghier; whose names he has added to Erasmus's account of the relicary being to the north of the altar. I therefore venture to assign the rooms opposite to Archbishop Bourghier's tomb (which are north of the altar) for the repository of those treasures and curiosities which he was so entertained with seeing. One of these rooms is the old chapel of St. Andrew, now the vestry of the Dean and Prebendaries.

Adjoining to this vestry at the north side is the treasury, with windows doubly grated; over these rooms are chambers, and so I think there were over the old audit-house at the west side of them, and all perhaps little enough for the treasures and relics contained there. Erasmus speaking of the vestry says, an incredible number of rich embroidered vestments of silk and velvet was here to be seen; many candlesticks of gold; and the pastoral staff of St. Thomas, covered over with a thin plate of silver, very light, plain, and no longer than to reach from the ground to the girdle. Here also he was shown the relics, kept close under lock and key; such precious

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rarities as a number of bones, skulls, jawbones, teeth, fingers, and whole arms, all exhibited as objects of veneration.

Mr. Somner has given here an account of the relicary, which has made some think all these things were preserved within the rails of the altar at the head of Archbishop Bourghier's monument in a little cupboard, made for quite another purpose, as I have just now shown: to which I might have added, that treasures of this kind were not stowed like bones in a charnel-house, but are still preserved among the Papists in rich and curious cases: either for adorning of altars; or to be laid up in chambers prepared for their reception; where they who are thought worthy to see them may do it without disturbing the service or those who attend it. **Could the steps before the high-altar be then a proper place**

for exhibiting such a show as Erasmus was entertained with? Or could a cupboard less than a common sedan chair be fit to receive and keep them in any order? Whoever reads the inventories Mr. Dart has given us from the Cotton library of ornaments, vestments, and jewels committed to the care of the sacrist * and his

* Whether the sacrist had, or could have a lodging in any of these rooms, I shall not pretend to conjecture; several of them were built with chimneys, and so is a chamber over the south side-isle of the choir, the walls of which are em-

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<176> officers; and his account of the numbers of relics, and the magnificent manner in which they were preserved here, will easily believe that all the rooms I have mentioned were fully furnished, even supposing the old audit-room and the chambers over it to have been a part of this treasury, as in all probability they were: for till the reformation we may believe the chapter business was transacted in the chapter-house, fitted for a numerous body to assemble in on such affairs; but, when these relics were burnt to ashes, the treasures confiscated, and the chapter reduced to a Dean and twelve Prebendaries, one of these rooms (now cleared out) was much more convenient and suitable to that number than the old one, which would receive many hundreds of people; so now the chapter is opened there in form, and then adjourned to the audit-house. What use the old chapter house has been since put to, the reader has seen in Chap. XXX.

The present audit-house was built about fifty years ago. Over the door of it is a memorial

bellished, by painting of flowers intermixed with scrolls and mottos pretty much obliterated: three of these had names in them, one seems ETIAM SUBSACRISTA, and the others might be the same; there is also in a label ADJUTOR MEUS ESTO DEUS. The present use of this room is for locking up cordage and tackling for the church workmen.

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of Thomas Cocks, auditor and register of this cathedral about the beginning of the last century.

The last monument in our walk, westward of Archbishop Bourghier's, and under the great arch formed by the opening of the north cross-isle into the choir, is that of Archbishop Chicheley, founder of All Souls College in Oxford, made in his life-time at his own expence, and very rich in carving, gilding, and painting. His figure, as in full health, and in pontificalibus, is laid on a table of marble supported by Gothic pillars and arches; under which is a very emaciated one almost naked, which has occasioned it to be shown as that of the same person dead of a consumption. He lived to a great age, having been twenty-nine years Archbishop.

I have observed, Chap. XXXVII. that all

the tombs we have seen in the upper part of the church are raised ones, because the vaults underneath would not admit of graves being made there. This is an exception, for the figure of the corpse just mentioned lies little above the level of the pavement; which I think **can** be easily accounted for, by showing there was no such necessity of having a raised tomb here, as is in all the other places.

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Before the fire in 1174 one of the pillars, which divided the choir from the side-aisles, stood on this very spot; but in the great repair after that accident it was thought the church would look better without it. The pillar in the undercroft, on which that was founded, is still remaining; its dimensions are six feet three inches from east to west, and more than five feet the other way, beside a projection on each side of it; from hence on every side spring the arches which support the pavement over head: here therefore a grave might be dug in solid masonry every way capable of receiving his coffin without coming near the thinner part of the arches; so here he might very well be buried, and the inscription *hic jacet* says that he is so.

The effigies of the Archbishop, which is probably of alabaster or fine marble, is painted all over; and so shows better what the pall was than the uncoloured ones on our other monuments can do. An account of that, and the pastoral staff, may perhaps be entertaining to some of my readers; I shall therefore give such a one as I can in a chapter by itself.

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CHAP. XLI.

Of the Pall and Pastoral Staff.

THE pall (so called from the word *pallium* a cloke) was at first, as we find in Collier's Ecclesiastical History, (Vol. I. page 69) a rich robe of state; peculiar to the imperial habit, till the Emperors gave leave that Patriarchs should wear it. He shows that the Bishop of Rome got the power of granting it to others by degrees; and that Pope Vigilius, in 534, refused to confer it on the Archbishop of Arles, till he had gained the Emperor's consent: and adds some other like instances.

The Gallican church, he says, had a pall independent of Rome till 742; when Pope Zachary got a canon passed, that all Christendom for the future should own the church of Rome for the centre of communion, and live in subjection to St. Peter's see: and that the metropolitans should apply to Rome for their palls, and pay a canonical obedience to St. Peter's injunctions. About this time the rich pall was laid aside, and the Popes thought a less costly badge of subjection to them might do as well; which was a strip or list of white woollen cloth about

as broad as a garter, adorned with little crosses, and hanging round the shoulders, (as the rich collars of the Knights of the Garter, the Thistle, and the Bath do) with a piece of the same reaching from it toward the ground before and behind. A very trifle this in itself (though by no means so to the purchaser) and hardly worth the name of an ornament, but not granted by the Pope without earnest petition and vehement intreaty; and even then the Archbishop was to use it only on certain solemn times and occasions: the honour of wearing it at all times, and in all places, being by his Holiness reserved to himself alone, as Mr. Battely tells us; who has given us the form of the petition and of the grant, as well as of the oath, which was to be taken before the receiving it.

<179> The petition is from the church of Canterbury in favour of the elect, and the form short. What other kinds of vehement intreaty were required to get it delivered, or what attendance and expence it would cost to surmount the difficulties and delays, which the court of Rome usually found it worth while to make on such occasions, he does not say; nor could he find any account of the bill of fees: but Mr. Weever (in his funeral monuments) tells us, the fee of the pall was 5000 florins, at four shillings and

sixpence each, and twice that sum for the first fruits.

My reader will wonder how such a trinket should bear such an extravagant price, till he is informed, that it was declared to be taken from the body of St. Peter, which, to be sure, rendered it of great value; that the Pope having assumed the monopoly of it decreed, that the purchaser might not exercise the power and office, or even assume the title, of Archbishop, till he had received this badge of the fullness of his authority, or rather of dependance on and obedience to the Pope; to which at the reception of it he bound himself by a solemn oath; to be seen in Mr. Battely's book.

When the prelate died, this pall was to be buried with him; whether for his use in the other world, (as savages are said to bury weapons with their warriors) or whether for fear the successor should impute virtue to the relic, and think the trouble and expence of getting a new one unnecessary, I leave my reader to determine.

The pastoral staff on this (Archbishop Chicheley's) monument is not such a one as that which Erasmus saw of St. Thomas Becket (described Chap. XL.) for this is as substantial as that of

an halbert, as tall as the man, and has a cross at the top.

The forms, with which these *insignia* were delivered to Archbishop Dean, (as given by Mr. Collier, Vol. I. page 701) show what extravagant authority the Pope pretended to on such occasions; and with them I shall end this chapter.

The staff with the cross was put into his hands by a monk, commissioned by the prior and convent of Canterbury, with these words: 'Reverend Father, I am sent to you from the sovereign Prince of the world, who requires and commands you to undertake the government of his church, and to love and protect her; and in proof of my orders, I deliver you the standard of the King of Heaven.'

After this he received his pall by the hands of the bishop of Litchfield and Coventry, commissioned by the Pope for that purpose. It was delivered to him in this form:

'To the honour of Almighty God, and the blessed Virgin Mary, the holy Apostles St. Peter and St. Paul, our Lord Pope Alexander VI. the holy Roman church, and also of the holy church of Canterbury committed to **their** charge,

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we give you in the pall taken from the body of St. Peter a full authority for the exercise of your archiepiscopal function: with the liberty of wearing this honourable distinction in your cathedral upon certain days, mentioned in the apostolic bulls of privilege.'

CHAP XLII.

The North Side-isle continued.

AT the head of Archbishop Chichley's tomb is a door into the choir; but, before we leave this isle, we may observe some particulars in which it differs from the south one.

From the audit-house door to the corner made by the cross-isle, the range of little arches and pillars is discontinued; instead of which two large ones are hollowed in the wall, with desks for books to be read here; under which are cupboards, now shut up; to be mentioned again by and by. Probably this alteration was made about 1538, when King Henry VIII. ordered a translation of the Bible into English to be printed and set up in different churches, that every one who could read might be satisfied, nothing would be found there to support the exorbitant power assumed by the Pope over all

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Christendom *. A little pillar, once dividing these arches, is gone; but it is plain the place was made for two such books. Mr. Collier tells us in Vol. I. page 184, that Bishop Bonner ordered six of them to be set up in his cathedral of St. Paul. The porticos on the east side of this cross-isle, as well as of the south one, are also without such little columns. These have

all been chapels with altars, and some tokens of their having been so are still to be seen. One of these, supposed to have been that of St. Martin, has in the window his figure on horseback, cutting off part of his cloke to cover a naked beggar; the other, accordingly to Mr. Battely, was St. Stephen's, but that window has nothing remaining to confirm it, or that discovers what part of history it relates to.

At the north side of this cross-isle the range of arches begins again, and here makes a kind of stalls a little like those in the chapter-house, having a bench of stone covered with boards to sit on; one of which stalls is distinguished from the rest, being raised a step and boarded at the back and sides so, as to form an armed chair. Such a bench is also on the west side as far as the door of the stone stair-case and tower, answering that in the opposite cross-isle, already described.

* Tindal's Rapin, Vol. I. page 619, folio edition.

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<182> By these seats, and those between the pillars of the wall which parts this isle from the choir, it seems, as if the monks used to meet and converse here before service under the eye of a superior, till it was time to go into the choir together.

The door, by which the inhabitants of the northern and eastern parts of the precinct go to church, is at the north-west corner of this cross-isle; and over against that at the head of Archbishop Chichley's monument, which opens into the choir facing the archiepiscopal throne there.

But we shall not leave this isle without taking notice, that, beside the cupboards I mentioned near the audit-house door, here were several others in the niches formed by the little pillars in the north walls of it, in which the singing-men used to keep their surplices, and dress themselves here, while numbers of the congregation were coming this way to church.

Some years ago it was thought a less public place would be more convenient for this purpose; and accordingly a vestry was made for them in one part of St. Anselm's chapel, and the other fitted up for the minor canons; as already shown in **Chap. XXXV**. The cupboards in the niches are now walled up.

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Proceeding westward, we see two windows where the coloured glass has been indifferently well preserved; and thus far we trace the range of little pillars and arches; but lose it behind the stairs of the organ-loft, under which are more of the cupboards formerly used by the choirmen: and just beyond these is a stone step to the door in the wall, mentioned in **Chap. XXXI**.

Through this isle the Dean and Prebendaries usually go from their vestry to their stalls in the

choir, entering at the west door in the stone work screen, described in Chap. XXXIII. over which was the clock till the year 1762, when a new one was made and placed in the Oxford steeple with the dial of it on the south side; a much more conspicuous place than that of the old one, which could not be seen but **within** the church.

CHAP. XLIII.

Of the Choir.

THIS is thought to be the most spacious of any in the kingdom: being about one hundred and eighty feet in length from the west door to the altar; and thirty eight in breadth between the two side doors of it. The stalls for

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the Dean and Prebendaries are six on each side of the entrance; they are of wainscot, divided by neat pillars and pilasters fluted, with capitals of the Corinthian order, supporting arched canopies, and a front elegantly carved with crowns, sceptres, mitres, and rich foliage, with suitable frieze and cornice; the arms of the kingdom, the Archbishoprick, and the Dean and Chapter, (formerly of the Prior) show this to be part of what was performed after the restoration, at a vast expence in repairing the mischiefs done by the enemies of royalty and episcopacy. The wainscoting on each side, as far as to the Archbishop's throne, in the same taste, though not so rich in its ornaments, appears to have been done at the same time.

The old monkish stalls in two rows on each side of the choir remained till the year 1704, when an act of chapter was made for taking away them and some odd pews with which it was incumbered, and placing three ranges of seats or pews instead of them; which take up but little more room, and accommodate many more people *. This was executed in a very

* On the desk of the uppermost of these pews, at the south side, gilt iron-work is fixed for receiving the sword and mace: this being the place of the Mayor of the city, when he comes to church here with the Aldermen in their formalities; at which times the independence of the cathedral is acknow=

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handsome manner, and Archbishop Tenison, on this occasion, gave the present throne. The whole is of wainscot; the canopy and its ornaments raised very high on six fluted pillars of the Corinthian order, with proper impost. In the

ledged by lowering these *insignia* from the shoulder to the arm of the serjeants who bear them at the entrance into our precinct, and the sword is not placed erect as in our parish churches, and at St. Paul's cathedral in London.

Here also the junior prebendary sits, if the Dean and the whole Chapter happen to be at church together. Indeed it is his proper stall, in which every prebendary is placed at

his admission (unless two prebends chance to be vacant at one time) and on occasions of calling the body together by particular citations to each member, one is hung up here.

Though each prebendary is admitted to the house and stall of his predecessor, the number of that stall gives no precedence, they take that by seniority; except that, if any of them be a Bishop, he sits next to the Dean; unless he takes the office of Vice Dean, and sits in his stall as such.

I have observed, **Chap. VIII.** that Canterbury is a county in itself, with authority to try and condemn in capital cases, but yet some there are which cannot be determined in their court but by a judge of assize: when that happens, and the judge comes to church at the cathedral, he is received with the same ceremonies as the Archbishop at his visitation, and sits in his throne. On such occasions the pulpit, which is a moveable one, is placed over against the throne; at other times opposite to the organ-loft, as nearer the centre of the congregation; for which reason this is the place of it if the visitor himself preaches.

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Biographia Britannica the expence is said to have been 244l. 8s. 2d. which seems more likely than only 70l. at which the honourable Mr. Walpole rates it, and says the carving was by Gibbons. **This** perhaps may be doubted, as nothing here seems the work of so eminent an artist; the ornaments of the prebendal stalls have much greater appearance of being his performance. **He died Aug. 3, 1721. Vide Anecdotes of Painting, Vol. III.**

<185> At the right hand of the throne is a seat or pew for the Archdeacon, in which he is installed at his taking possession of that dignity, and attends the Archbishop when his Grace is at church. At other times, if a prebendary, he sits as such with his brethren, except on the festival of the Ascension; when, being by his office the preacher of the day, he takes his proper seat during the prayer time, and goes from thence to the pulpit.

When these alterations and improvements in the choir were made, it was thought proper to remove two steps which distinguish the west end of it from the presbiterium, or chancel, and place them three or four feet more eastward, and in doing that the lead, mentioned **Chap. XXXV.** was found. These steps reach from side to side of the choir, and the middle stone of the lower

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one has a semicircular projection, with a square hole in it, (now filled up) which seems designed for the reception of the foot of a large crucifix.

<186> West of these steps the pavement is of grey marble, in small squares, but eastward to the altar rail it is laid with large slabs of a very different kind of stone, a specimen of which appears in the wall near the northern entrance into the choir, perhaps placed there to lay a book on. It has so much appearance of the grain of wood, as to be taken by some for a petrification; but when the new pavement of marble was laid

at the altar, and many stones of this kind were taken up to make room for it, this notion plainly appeared to be a mistaken one, and many of them were capable of a polish little inferior to that of agate. The edges in curious *strata*, and the tops of many are beautifully clouded. The connoisseurs have called them by different names; some antique alabaster agate, others the Sicilian, and others the Egyptian agate, and the traveller Dr. Pocock, late Bishop of Meath, *diaspro fiorito*, the flowered Jasper.

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CHAP. XLIV.

The Altar.

DR. John Grandorge, one of our Prebendaries, who died in 1729, leaving 500*l.* to be laid out on the church, it was determined to employ that money toward making a new altar-piece; which was designed by Mr. Burrough, fellow of Caius college in Cambridge, afterwards Sir James, and master of that college. It is of the Corinthian order, very lofty, and well executed. At the same time a handsome wainscoting was carried from the altar-piece to the two side doors of the choir, in a taste designed to distinguish this part [the chancel, or *presbyterium*] from the rest of the choir. To this benefaction another was added, which was a new pavement of black and white marble, in a fancied pattern, beginning at the altar rail; at seven or eight feet distance from which is a noble flight of six steps of veined white marble, reaching the whole breadth of the place.

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Above these the pavement is continued in a pattern suitable to that below them, to the doors leading to the chapel of the Holy Trinity [between nineteen and twenty feet] and on the riser

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of the uppermost step is the following inscription: *In honorem DEI, hoc pavimentum legavit DOROTHEA NIXON, 1732* *. [To the honour of God Dorothy Nixon bequeathed this pavement.] To this her executor Mr. Randolph * was a contributor.

Near the high altar was that of St. Dunstan, whose body was had in such high account by Archbishop Lanfranc, that he removed it hither with great solemnity from its first sepulchre when he new-built the church. It seems fated not to have lain long undisturbed in one place. He died about the year 988, and Lanfranc's coming hither was about 1070: when the fire happened in 1174, his remains were again removed with those of St. Alphage, to the altar of the Holy Cross in the nave of the church; and after being newly habited, were brought

* Mrs. Nixon was widow of Dr. Thomas Nixon [see Chap. XXI.] She died 1730, and was buried in the body of the church. The date on the step shows when the pave-

ment was laid.

* Mr. Herbert Randolph, her nephew, to whose disposal her legacy was left, determined to have it a distinct piece, and to complete it himself, if his aunt's money should fall short of the expence. This proved to be the case, and the finishing of it cost him thirty pounds. He was one of our six preachers, died in 1755, and is buried in the south cross-isle. See **Chap. XXXV.**

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back again to tombs prepared for the reception of them at the opening of the church after the repair.

<188> The veneration paid to St. Dunstan was so great, and the offerings made to him so beneficial to the place where his relics were preserved, that the monks of Glastonbury (where he was educated) gave out that they were in their possession, and had been translated thither from Canterbury in 1012. They built him a shrine, and by such means turned that stream of profit from hence to their monastery.

This occasioned so much trouble, that in the reign of K. Henry VII, it was resolved his tomb should be opened, and on his remains being found there, Archbishop Warham sent letters to the Abbot and monks of Glastonbury, strictly charging them to desist from such pretensions, which order he was forced to repeat before they would pay obedience to it.

Mr. Somner, in his Appendix, gives the record of that scrutiny as 'a pretty relation, and worth reading.' It is so long and circumstantial, that an abstract of it may be more entertaining than the whole. It says, that April 20, 1508, by order of the Archbishop and Prior, three or four of the fraternity, men of distin-

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guished ability for the work and zeal, went about it in the evening after the church doors were shut up, that none of the laity might interfere; and before daylight discovered a wooden chest, seven feet long and about eighteen inches broad, covered with lead inside and out, and strongly guarded with iron bands and very many nails, immersed in the stone-work; and of such bulk and weight, that though six of their brethren were by the Prior added to their number, and they had called in other assistants, the chest was **the next night** with great labour raised above the stone-work; that when with much difficulty they had forced open this, they found a leaden coffin of elegant workmanship containing another leaden coffin almost perished, which was supposed to be the coffin in which he was first buried: within these two coffins they found a small leaden plate lying upon the breast of the body, inscribed with these words in Roman characters, HIC REQUIESCIT SANC-TUS DUNSTANUS ARCHIEPISCOPUS: 'Here rests St. Dunstan, Archbishop;' and under that a linen cloth clean and entire spread over

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the body.

Other circumstances I omit, thinking it enough to add, that they closed him up again and left him to rest till the reformation; when King Henry the Eighth sent commissioners to

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seize and destroy such remains of superstition; who demolished his altar and monument, and probably disposed of his bones as they did of St. Anselm's and St. Thomas's. Some remains of this monument are hidden by the new wain= scotting on the South side of the altar.

Leland tells us of a plate of lead inscribed, *Hic requiescit Thomas Dorobernensis Archiepiscopus, Britanniae Primas et Apostolicæ sedis Legatus; qui pro justicia et jure ecclesie interfectus est 4to calendas Januarii*: Here rests Thomas, Archbishop of Canterbury, Primate of Britain, and Legate of the apostolic see; who, **in the defence** of justice and the rights of the church, was slain the 4th **of the** calends of January, or December 29. He gives no account where it was found; perhaps in St. Thomas Becket's coffin, when his body was taken up for the translation: and it might be the custom of former days to enclose such lasting memorials with the bodies of their dead.

To the benefactions above-mentioned it may not be amiss to add such others, as have happened within the present century and the memory of the author.

Archbishop Tenison's gift of the throne in 1706, is taken notice of **in Chap. XLIII.**

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The middle space of our choir is illuminated by two brass sconces, of twenty-four lights each.

<190> That next the prebendal stalls, by the arms on it of Aucher impaled with Hewytt, appears to have been given by Sir Anthony Aucher *. That more to the east has the arms of Tenison, and is inscribed, 'The gift of Dr. Edward Tenison, Archdeacon of Carmarthen *, Anno Dom. MDCCXXVI.'

Capt. Humphry Pudner *, already commended as a benefactor, **in Chap. XV**, gave two handsome seats, which are placed at the west end of the body, and **several** glass lanterns to light the way from thence to the west door of the choir. He also, in 1753, when the organ was new built (excepting that the old front was preserved) was at half the expence, and would

* Sir Anthony Aucher, bart. of Bishopsbourn, died in 1692, leaving two sons. The elder son, Sir Anthony, died a minor in 1694; the younger, Sir Hewytt, died unmarried in 1726, and with him the title.

* Dr. Tenison was a prebendary here when he gave this sconce. He was afterwards Bishop of Ossory in Ireland.

* Capt. Pudner was a sea commander in Queen Anne's wars. He afterwards retired, and spent the latter part of his life in this city. He was a great lover of cathedral ser=

vice, and attended it as constantly as his health permitted. He did not live to hear the new organ, as that was not opened till Dec. 9, 1753, the day after his funeral.

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have contributed much more, if it might have been removed and placed over the choir door, but that was not approved of.

Near Archbishop Chichely's monument hangs a sconce of eight branches, for lighting the way between the prebendaries vestry and the choir, given by Dr. Shuckford *, 1747.

<191> The last benefaction was received about 1756, from the executors of Philip Bostock Weston, of Bostock in Berks, Esq; who by his will, dated June 26, 1727, left a legacy of forty marks [26l. 3s. 4d.] to be laid out in buying plate for **the communion table**: with which two very handsome patens silver gilt for the sacramental bread were bought; at the same time all the **communion** plate (except the two great candlesticks) was new gilt, which makes a very decent and handsome appearance.

One piece of the church plate is a cup, adorned with **the** figures of a lion, a horse (supporters of the Duke of Norfolk's arms) and of a talbot, (the Earl of Shrewsbury's) with a Latin inscription under the foot, which shows it

* Dr. Samuel Shuckford was a prebendary here. He died in 1754, and is buried in the body of the church.

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to have been the votive gift of Thomas Howard, Ambassador from King Charles I. to the Emperor, in his passage through this city, April 7, 1636. The Latin is as follows: *Thomas Howardus, sereniss. Mag. Brit. regis ad Cæsarem legatus hac transiens, 7 Aprilis 1636 votivum hunc Calicem Deo. Opt. Max. humillime obtulit, altarique hujus ecclesiæ cathedralis sacrandum reliquit.* The chalice is very elegantly finished, and probably had a cover as elegant, but what is become of that does not appear.

Thomas Howard married the daughter and coheir of Gilbert Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury. He was Earl of Arundel when sent on his embassy; but he seems to have thought in an humble offering to God his Christian name and that of his family were more proper to be made use of, than his title as a nobleman. On the other hand, his spirit was such as would not bear the treatment he met with at the Emperor's court, so he came home without taking leave. He was created Earl of Norfolk in the 20th year of King Charles I.

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<214> CHAP. XLV.

Of the Windows.

THE art of colouring glass is of great antiquity; some beautiful instances of it are

found among the beads of the ancient Druids; and therefore when Sir William Dugdale says, that 'painted glass was first brought into England in the reign of King John,' which began in 1199, and ended 1216, we must suppose he speaks of the use of it in windows.

Many parts of our church, afterward embellished in this costly and beautiful manner, were erected before this time; but when this art was known, we may well suppose the monks, who spared no expence in adorning their church by all the means they could think of, while offerings at the shrine of Becket were continually pouring in upon them for their encouragement, very soon embraced such an opportunity of making it appear more glorious than ever; the chapel erected in honour of the Holy Trinity, by what still remains, seems to have been particularly distinguished in this manner; but the designs show that it was so distinguished in honour of St. Thomas Becket, whose shrine was placed

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here, and whose history might have been completed from the windows of it.

This is not the case now. The buildings on the north side of it have, in some measure, preserved its windows from that destruction which those on the south have suffered from superstition, the wicked wantonness of unlucky boys, or of bigger and more unpardonable fools, who think there is wit in doing mischief, especially if that mischief is done to show their contempt of what is sacred.

It has already been observed, that the designer of these windows, to show the luxuriance of his fancy, formed his historical pieces in small pannels fitted to their iron framing, of such various patterns that no two windows were alike: but the variety and elegance of the Mosaic grounds and borders, and the richness of the colouring are more admired by the curious, and make the loss of what has been destroyed the more regretted.

Mr. Somner has given us an account of the subjects and inscriptions round the pictures of twelve other windows; the principal remains of which have been collected and put together in the two near the door of the organ-loft. These

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appear to have been in the same stile of painting with those in Becket's chapel.

The figures in both have been thought worth observing, on account of the resemblance the drapery of the figures bear to that in the famous hangings said to have been embroidered by the sister of William the Conqueror, and still preserved at Bayeux in Normandy; of which prints have been given by father Montfaucon in France, and Dr. Ducarel and others in England. These we may suppose to have been the dress of the times, and perhaps not much different from the

habits of the Romans.

As these two windows near the organ-loft are open to the inspection of every one, a particular account of each may not be unacceptable. The choice of subjects for the painter was made by collecting two or three histories in scripture, in which they thought they found some typical resemblance; or by annexing some allegorical picture to some one historical; and accordingly the inscription under, or about a picture, does not always belong to that, but in part, or on the whole to those which correspond with it.

The window next the organ-loft is divided into seven stages, each containing three pictures.

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I. 1. Balaam riding on an ass.

Over him is BALAAM. The inscription round is ORIETUR STELLA EX IACOB ET CONSURGET VIRGO DE ISRAEL.

2. The three Wise men riding.

They seem to be in doubt of the way. Over them the Star. No inscription.

3. The Prophet Isaiah standing near a gate leading into the City.

By his head YSA. The inscription is, AMBV= LABVNT GENTES IN LUMINE TVO ET REGES IN SPLENDORE ORT. BENIAM.

II. 1. Pharaoh and Moses leading the people out of Egypt.

Pharaoh sitting under the entrance into his palace, and an Egyptian standing by him. Pharaoh points to Moses; who is at the head of a group of Israelitish men, women, and children, conducting them out of Egypt: he holds his rod in his left hand, and points to the sea before them with his right. In the air before them is the miraculous pillar. Over Pharaoh is

PHARAO. REX EGYPTI.

Over the Israelites,

ISRL SEQUENS COLUMPNAM.

Over is

EXIT AB ERVMPNA POPVLVS DVCENTE COLVMPNA.

Under is

STELLA MAGOS DVXIT LVX XPS VTRISQ. RELVXIT.

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2. Herod and the wise men.

Herod sitting in a pensive attitude receives the account of the three wise men, who are standing before him; over their heads is the Star, and under them TRES MAGI. Over Herod, HERODES; behind his chair stands a person with his right hand expanded, as if in astonishment. No inscription.

3. The conversion of the heathens.

The heathens turning their backs on an idol temple (in which is an idol standing on a pillar) follow Christ, who is going up a staircase leading into a Christian temple; within which is a golden cross standing upon an altar, and before which on the ground is a baptismal font.

Over is,

+ STELLA MAGOS DVXIT. ET AB EOS HERODE REDVXIT.

Under,

SIC SATHANAM GENTES FVGIVNT: TE XPE SEQUENTES.

III. 1. Solomon and the Queen of Sheba.

Solomon on his throne with attendants receives the Queen of Sheba, who addresses him, standing before him: her attendants are on horseback. Under is

REX SALLOM: REGINA SABA.

Round is

HIS DONAT DONIS REGINA DOMVM SALOMONIS.
SIC REGES DOMINO DANT M[VN]ERA TRES TRIA TRINO.

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2. The wise men offering.

The Virgin sits in the middle with the child in her lap, but has been broken and badly repaired: on one hand are the wise men offering, over whom is the Star; on the other side stand the shepherds. No inscription.

3. Joseph and his brethren.

Joseph sitting in a chair of state receives on one side his suppliant brethren; on the other side stand the Egyptians. Over his head is

IOSEPH.

At the bottom is

FRS IOSEPH + EGIPTI.

In the round,

AD TE LONGI[NQVOS] IOSEPH ATRAHIS ATQ. FROPIN= QUOS.

SIC DEVS IN CUNIS IVDEOS GENTIBUS VNIS.

IV. 1. Lot and Sodom.

The destruction of Sodom. The angel conducting Lot and his two daughters; and his wife looking back. Over is

VT LOTH SALVETVR NE RESPICIAT * BETVR: PROHI.

Under is

SIC VITANT REVEHI: PER HERODIS REGNA SABEL.

* Misplaced for PROHIBETVR.

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2. The wise men warned in a dream.

The angel appearing to the wise men, who

are on a bed sleeping. The angel holds a scroll on which there remains now only HERODE. the letters SECU, before it being a patch. No inscription.

3. Jeroboam and the prophet.

Jeroboam sacrificing at an altar, by which stand several persons, turns to the prophet, who admonishes him. Over his head is

REX IEROBOAM.

Behind the prophet is

PPHETA.

Over is

UT VIA MVTETVR REDEVNDO: PPHETA MONETVR.

Under is

SIC TRES EGERUNT: QUI XPO DONA TULERUNT.

Over the prophet's head is

NE REDEAS VIA QUA VENISTI.

V. 1. Samuel presented.

Eli in the temple receives Samuel from Hannah. Over his head HELI SACERDOS: an attendant with the bullock, flour, and wine, for the offering. Round is

— GEMINVM. TRIPLEX. OBLATIO. TRINUM.
+ SIGNIFICAT. DOMINVM. SAMVEL. PUER. AMPHORA.
VINUM.

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2. Christ presented.

Simeon in the temple holds out his hands to receive Christ from the Virgin. An attendant stands behind her with the pair of turtle-doves for the offering. No inscription.

3. The Pharisees rejecting Christ.

The Pharisees going away from Christ, who holds a scroll.

NISI [MANDUCA] CAVERITIS CARNEM [FILII HOMINIS]

Over is

SEMEN RORE CARENS EXPERS RATIONIS ET ARENS.

Under is

HI SVNT QUI CREDVNT TENTANTUR SICQ. RECE[DVNT]

VI. 1. Virginity, Continenence, and Matrimony,

Represented by three figures, holding each a scroll, with their names inscribed:

VIRGO: CONTINENS: CONIVGATVS.

Over is

— ATA TRIA TRES FRVCTVS OPERATA.

Which belonged to another window now broken.

Under is

SVNT VXORATIS ET VIRGINIBVS VIDVATIS.

2. The three just men, Daniel, Job, and Noah.

Holding each a scroll, with their names inscribed, DANIEL: IOB: NOE. Three angels hovering in the air put crowns on their heads.

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Round is

[VERBA P]RIS SE[R]VIT DEUS [HIS FRV]CTVS SIBI CREVIT.

In the remainder of this round is a patch,

— REPROBANTUR PARS TADO
IN TELLVRE BO[NA TRIPLEX: SVA CVIQVE CORONA.]

3. The church, and Noah's three sons.

Over their heads [ECCLE]SIA : SEM:
CHEM : IAPHET. The figure representing the church holds a scroll, the characters on which are so placed that they could not be read. Cham holds a circular scroll, containing

+ PARTE NOE NATI MICHI QVISQ: SVA DOMINATI.

Over is

+ UNA FIDES NATIS EX HIS TRIBVS EST DEITATIS. +

Under is

VERIT: X EUM PRO SEODE ABELDESHBORAT.

VII. 1. The Sower,

with the thorns growing up. Over him

[SEM]INATOR.

2. The rich men of this world.

Two figures, (between them is written IVLI= ANVS MAVRITIUS) one crowned, with a vessel of gold heaped up standing before them.

The inscription is

[ISTI SPI]NOSI [LOCVPLETES] DELICIOSI:
NIL FRUCTUS REFERVNT QVONIAM TERRESTRIA QUE=
RUNT.

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3. The Sower and the fowls of the air.

No inscription.

The pictures preserved in the next window consist of large round pieces and half rounds alternately; the rounds I shall distinguish by the Roman, the half rounds by the Arabic numerals.

1. Jesus among the doctors.

Under is

IHS DVODENNIS IN MEDIO DOCTORUM.

Nothing round.

2. Jethro seeing Moses judging the people.

Moses sitting in a regal chair hears the Isra=

elites who are standing before him; Jethro stands attentive beside him. Over Moses

MOYSES.

Behind Jethro

IETHRO.

Round is

SIC HOMINES [AVDIT + SIC. HINC VIR SANCTVS OBAV= DIT.

GENTILIS VERBIS HVMILES SVNT FORMA SVPERBIS.

3. Daniel among the elders.

Over him DANIEL.

Round is

MIRANTVR PVERI SENIORES [VOC]E DOCERI.

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SIC RES[PONSA DEI SENSVMQ. STVPENT [PHARISEI]

4. The miraculous draught of fishes.

Christ bids the Apostles draw the net into the ship.

Under is

PISCATIO AP LORUM: RETE RVPITVR.

5. Noah receives the dove bringing the olive branch into the ark.

Under is,

NOE IN ARCHA.

Round is,

FLVXV CVNCTA VAGO SVBMERGENS PRIMA VORAGO OMNIA PVRGAVIT BAPTISMAQVE SIGNIFICAVIT.

6. The six ages of Man, SEX HOMINIS [ETATES.]

Represented by as many figures; over each was his title, INFANTIA. PUERITIA. ADOLESCENTIA. JUVVENTUS. VIRILITAS. SENECTVS. and the inscription, which was round it, has been rubbed off by injudicious cleaning; (as indeed have many words in other parts of the windows) and a fragment of another put with it.

VII. The Marriage in Cana.

Jesus at table with the guests; in the foreground stand the six water pots with the servant pouring water into them: in allusion to which are formed the allegorical pictures given in No. 6. and No. 8.

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8. The six ages of the Church.

Represented by six persons, over whom is written [MUNDI] SEX ETATES. You must begin with the person at the bottom, and you will find their names as you ascend, in the following order: ADAM, NOE, ABRAH, DAVID, IECHONIAS, the name of JESVS, the sixth person, is not written; his figure being every where distin=

guished by three bright spots in the red nimbus surrounding his head. The inscription round, which has suffered much in cleaning, is,

HYDRIA METRETAS CAPIENS EST QUELIBET ETAS
LYMPHA DAT HISTORIAM VINVM NOTAT ALLEGORIAM.

9. St. Peter with the Jewish Converts.

Peter sitting; by him, S. PETRVS; at the bottom sits a female figure; under whom is ECCL[ES]IA DE JVDEIS; under a building on one side are the Pharisees going away, over them, PHARISEI.

Round is,

VERBVM RETE RATIS PETRI. DOMVS HEC PIETATIS;
PISCES, JVDEI. QVI RETE FERANT: PHARISEI:

X. The calling of Nathanael.

This picture consists of two parts. In one is represented Peter speaking to Nathanael sitting under the fig-tree: over them is respectively, PHILIPP. NATHANAEL, FICVS. In the other is represented Jesus (distinguished by his nimbus) receiving Nathanael, Peter and Andrew standing by; over them PETRVS. ANDREAS. NATHANAEL. Nathanael holds in his hand a scroll containing

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VNDE ME NOSTI, in Christ's hand is a scroll broken, and illegible.

11. The Pharisees rejecting the Gospel,

Round is,

HI SVNT VERBA DEI QVI CONTEMNVNT PHARISEI.

Almost rubbed out.

12. The Gentiles seeking the Gospel.

Round is,

SOLLICITE GENTES SVNT VERBA DEI SITIENTES.

<216> The next windows, of which we shall take notice, are in that additional height which was given to the building after the fire in 1174, and are in a different style from those already mentioned; these contain in them each two figures: in those the figures are small and the compartments numerous: The range of these begins over the north side of the choir, and runs from the north eastern corners of the great tower round the cross isles and the Trinity Chapel, and back again to the great tower on its south eastern corner. The subject of them appears to have been the genealogy of our blessed Saviour. The upper half of the first window (beginning at the north west corner of the choir) is quite defaced and probably so for having been a design to represent the Almighty; the lower has the figure of Adam at his husbandry work, with his name to it.

Several of the rest are without figures; but where any are remaining, the style in which

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they are drawn, and the thrones on which they are placed, much resemble those of the Kings on the obverse of our earliest royal seals.

As many of them as remain are given in the following scheme; which is the best method I could find of showing the present state of them.

No. 9 and 41 are very large circular windows in the north and south heads of the building. That in the north has some figures in its compartments as below, which are worthy of examination.

<circular window with central panels numbered>

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1. 2. Two persons standing in two beautiful niches: one seems opening a book; on one side of his head is a Gothic M. on the other SO. The other holds on his left arm a resemblance of the mosaic tables; the two letters on one side of his head are indistinct, on the other side is GOG.

3 A Female figure, crowned, holding on her right hand a bird, on her left another. The title is rubbed off.

4 JUSTICIA stooping and holding in her right hand a pair of scales over a golden bag.

5 TEMPERANTIA, crowned, in her right hand a lighted torch, and in her left a cup.

6 A Female, in her right hand a sword, no inscription.

7 YSAIA.

8 JEREMIA.

9 EZECHIEL.

0 DANIEL. Each sitting on a throne. The eight last figures, which surround the two in the middle, represent the four greater prophets, and the four cardinal virtues. They are all well drawn, and their attitudes well varied. The circle is filled up with a beautiful mosaic bordering, and the rest of the window is plain glass, excepting the border.

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<217> <sketch plan of eastern limb with clerestory windows numbered>

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<218> DESCRIPTION
OF THE
WINDOWS.

ENTRANCE of the CHOIR.

NORTH SIDE.

1 Upper division. Plain.

Lower. ADAM.

2 All plain.

3 All plain.

4 Upper division IARETH.

Lower. ENOCH.

5 Upper. MATUSALE.

Lower. LAM[E]CH.

NORTH CROSS AYLE.

6 Upper. NOE.

Lower. SEM.

7 Border only remaining.

8 Border only remaining.

9 See page 324.

- 10 Plain.
11 Upper. EBER.
Lower. SALA.
12 Upper. PHALECH.
Lower. RAGAV.
13 Upper. THARE.
Lower. ABRAHAM.
FROM THE CROSS EASTWARD.

- 14 Upper. IVDA.
Lower. PHARES.
15 Upper. ESROM.
Lower. ARAN.
16 Upper. AMINADAB.
Lower. NAASON.
17 Upper. SALMON.
Lower. BOOZ.
ENTER BECKET'S CHAPEL.

- 18 Upper. JESSE.
Lower. OBED.
19 Upper. DAVID REX.
Lower. NATHAN.
20 Upper. ROBOAN.
Lower. ABIAS.
21 Upper. EZECHIAS.
Lower. IOSIAS.
22 Upper. IE.
Lower. Broken.
23 Upper. MA.
Lower. IOSEPH.
24 Repaired. Mixed glass.
25 Mixed. The East Window.
26 27 Mixed.
28 29 30 31 32 plain glass.
GO OUT OF BECKET'S CHAPEL.

- 33 Upper. SUS.
Lower. SHER.
34 35 Plain.
36 Upper. NERI.
Lower. NI.
ENTER THE SOUTH CROSS.

- 37 Upper. IOROBABEL.
Lower. RESA.
38 Upper. IOHANNAH.
Lower. IVDA.
39 Upper. IOSEPH.
Lower. SEMEI.
40 Plain.
41 The middle window almost all
plain.
42 Plain.
43 44 Plain.

- ENTER THE CHOIR AGAIN.
45 46 47 48 49 Plain.

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Only two windows remain to be spoken of,
and these are in a quite different taste from those
hitherto mentioned, in which the arches are

<219> what I call the Norman; as I do these the Gothic, being mitred at top and very large, with abundance of compartments in several stories or stages one above another divided by jambs of stonework, and each finished at top in form of the niches of that order.

One of these is over the western door of the body, the other in the chapel, called the martyrdom, which I shall speak of first, because I have already given some account of it in chapter XXIX, to which I shall add some observations upon it, avoiding as carefully as I can the repetition of what has been said already.

However zealous the destroyers were in defacing whatever they found here that related either to St. Thomas of Canterbury, or the blessed Virgin, they spared the beautiful memorials of King Edward IV. and his family; perhaps, because at that time (1643) they pretended to be good and loyal subjects to the King, whom they were contriving to dethrone and bring to the block; and had not declared those designs against royal authority, which afterwards occasioned so much confusion and bloodshed.

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But to describe the present state of this window:

The three lower stages consist of seven compartments each, and reach up to the turning of the arch; above which the upper part is divided into four rows more of small ones.

The first, or uppermost point of the arch contains two shields of arms, one of France and England, quarterly, the other of Canterbury, empaling the arms of Bourghier. *

<220> The second stage has ten prophets with caps on their heads, and dressed either in robes of crimson or blue, over which is a white mantle, with an embroidered border; or in a white under garment with a crimson or blue mantle over it; and their names under them, except that the first and last was too near the arch to admit of a name.

- 2 Jonas,
- 3 Daniel,
- 4 Esdras,
- 5 lost,
- 6 Jeremias,
- 7 Amos,
- 8 lost,
- 9 much broken,

* Quarterly; 1st. argent a cross ingrailed, gules, between 4 water bougets sable, for Bourchier; 2d. gules, a fesse argent between 12 billets, 4, 3, 3, 2; Or, for Louvain; 3d as the 2d. 4th as the 1st.

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The third stage has the twelve apostles, each holding in his hand either his symbol or the instrument of his passion, with his name underneath in the black letter, as are the others.

- 1 . . . deus, *
- 2 Tho.
- 3 Johes,
- 4 Andreas,
- 5 Jacob,
- 6 Pieter, *
- 7 Paulus,
- 8 Thomas,
- 9 Philippus,
- 10 Mattheus,
- 11 Jaco min.
- 12 lost.

The fourth stage has fourteen bishops in episcopal habits, with palls, their copes crimson or blue, each carrying a crosier in his right hand and a book in his left, with their names below.

- 1 S. Dionisius carrying his head on his left arm,
- 2 S. Wilfridus,
- 3 S. Augus episc.
- 4 S. Martinus,
- 5 Jeronymus in white, with a crimson cloak and a hat on his head, around which are rays.
- 6 . . . us,
- 7 Thomas,
- 8 Gregorius with the papal crown on,
- 9 Augustinus,
- 10 Anselmus,
- 11 Nicolaus,
- 12 Blasius,
- 13 Alphegus,
- 14 Audoenus.

<221> All these are in small pannels each just big enough to contain one of them. This and their

* I suppose Thaddeus.

* Query: If this spelling is not German; and may shew the artist was of that country?

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standing pretty far within the stonework, preserved them perhaps from the fury of Richard Culmer, when he was reforming here with his whole pike and long ladder.

The seven compartments of the three ranges below these, are larger and very deep, fit to contain figures little less than life.

The figures of the first design in the uppermost of these are utterly destroyed and gone, except that at the turning of each of the arches is the head of an angel, holding an escutcheon of arms before his breast, from whence we may form some conjectures concerning the figures which were below them.

The first is argent a cross gules, or St. George's cross, so we may suppose under this was the picture of that champion.

The second is quarterly, first and fourth, argent, a saltier, gules, between four martlets, sable; second and third, argent, a bend ingrailed, gules *.

The third Canterbury impaling a **chevron between** three crows, but the colour lost; as this was the bearing of Becket, here was probably his effigies.

The fourth has the monkish device of the Trinity, *Pater non est Filius, &c.* under which

* These are the arms of Guldeford, and have been put in the place of the original one, which was, Vest, 3 crowns, Or.

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we may suppose was the representation of God the Father, and of Christ, besides a large crucifix and the picture of the Holy Ghost in the form of a Dove, mentioned by Culmer, p. 21.

The fifth, gules, a cross fleurée between five martlets, Or, the arms of St. Edward the confessor, whose picture was undoubtedly under it.

The sixth, azure, the frame work over a well, Or.

The seventh is broken. There remains the foot of the T, or St. Anthony's cross with which the field was charged.

<222> Lower down in each division of the same range is a fine figure of an angel with golden locks and expanded wings, larger than those above, and holding before him a shield of arms; which by the bearings seem to belong to the royal personages in the range below, and to have been removed from their proper places at a general repair of the windows to those they now occupy.

The first is habited in a large and flowing white robe; his wings are azure, and his shield charged with the royal arms, viz. France and England quarterly, with a label of three points argent.

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The figure under this in the next stage, is that of Richard of Shrewsbury, and are either his own arms or those of his wife.

The second angel is habited and winged as the former; on his shield England and France, quarterly, and **the figure** below is Edward of York Prince of Wales.

The third is in a closer garment, on the bottom of which on the right side, is embroidered in gold a fleur de lis irradiated. In his shield is France and England, quarterly.

The fourth is in a close garment, like the third, his shield gules, three crowns, Or, per pale. This is over the broken compartment between Edward the IVth and his Queen, and seems in the removal to have changed places with the next who supports the Queen's arms.

The fifth angel has been broken, and is repaired with fragments of armour; on his shield are the arms of Castile and Leon, viz. quarterly gules a castle, Or, and argent, a lion rampant, purpure. This is above the picture of his

Queen Elizabeth.

These arms were borne in right of Edmund of Langley Duke of York, great grandfather of

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Edward IV, whose first wife was Isabel, the younger daughter and coheir of Peter King of Castile and Leon.

<223> The sixth angel has a belt, Or, crossed en saltier over his shoulders, embroidered with cross crosslets sable; he holds before him a shield, which, tho' part of it is broken, corresponds exactly with the seal of Elizabeth, Edward IVth's Queen, as given by Sandford in his genealogical history. *

* Mr. Sandford has not only given a print of her seal but a description of her arms in blazon: viz. France and England quarterly, empaling quarterly of six pieces, three in chief and three in base.

The first quarter is, argent a lion rampant queue forchee, gules, crowned proper, and was the paternal coat-armour of her mother's father, Peter E. of St. Paul, surnamed of Luxembourg. Secondly, quarterly, gules, a star, argent and azure, semée of flower de luces, Or: the third as the second, the fourth as the first, by the name of Baux, and were the arms of this Queen Elizabeth's grandmother, Margaret, the daughter of Francis de Baux, Duke of Andree. Thirdly, Barry of ten, argent and azure, over all a lion rampant, gules, Lusignian Cyprus. Fourthly, gules, three bendlets argent, a chief parted per fess, argent, charged with a red rose, and Or; being the arms of her great grandmother, Susan, daughter of the Earl of Ursins, and wife of Francis de Baux aforesaid, Duke of Andree. The fifth is, gules, three pallets vary, argent and azure, on a chief Or, a label of five points azure, borne by the name of St. Paul, and was the arms of — Countess of St. Paul the wife of Guy of Luxembourg, the great grandfather's father of Queen Elizabeth,

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The seventh angel's shield is supported by only one belt, like the former, passing over his right shoulder. *

<224> In the range below these is the family of King Edward IV, the donor of the window. The middle compartment, I suppose, was the large crucifix, which Culmer tells us was broken Dec. 13, 1643, with the other idolatrous paintings of this beautiful performance.

The three compartments on the west side contain the King, the Prince of Wales, and the Duke of York, each kneeling before a desk, and turning eastward to the place of **that** crucifix: On the east side are the Queen and five princesses kneeling and turning westward toward it.

who in the sixth and last quarter, placed her paternal coat of Woodville, viz. argent, a fesse and canton, gules.

Thus, says he, were these several coats marshalled for the honour of this Queen, to show the illustrious nobility of her maternal descent (and impaled in the royal escutcheon with those of King Edward IV, who first of all our Kings married his subject) in imitation of which many afterwards did the like, which so encreased, that of late some have packed near one hundred in one shield.

* The bearings quarterly, first, Barry of six pieces, Or, and azure, on a chief of the first two pallets betwixt as many squares, base dexter and sinister of the second, an inescutcheon argent, Mortimer: and secondly, Or, a cross gules, by the name of Burgh. The third as the second, the fourth as the first.

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The figures are large, and the back ground represents rich hangings under a cornice finely carved and gilt, and fringed with silver.

The hangings behind the King are paned with a purple and blue silk, embroidered with silver roses on a golden sun; which device he took in memory of the battle of Mortimer's cross, where three suns were seen immediately conjoining in one. He kneels before a desk or table under a rich canopy of crimson velvet, holding in his right hand a sceptre which rests on his right shoulder.

The face is well preserved although the glass has been crack'd; his hair is flowing and curled, and he wears on his head an arched crown. He has on a rich white satten embroidered with gold, over which flows a beautiful crimson mantle ermined about the shoulders.

That side of the desk before which he kneels which presents itself to the spectator, is adorned with a fine relievo of St. George in armour trampling on the dragon and piercing him with his spear.

In the compartment next behind the King is Edward Prince of Wales, habited like the King, kneeling, and holding in his hand an open book which lies on an elegant desk; his head, which

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<225> was demolished has been replaced by the fair face of a mitred saint, over which is an arched royal crown. His canopy is of a rich blue damask, and the back ground is paned with white and green, embroidered with white ostrich feathers in sockets, with the motto, IC DIEN.

In the compartment behind him is Richard Duke of York, the King's second son, in every respect resembling his brother, even to having a mitred head placed upon his shoulders. He has also an arched crown over his head. The canopy over him is of crimson damask, and the back ground azure embroidered in gold with the device of a Falcon rising on the wing within a fetterlock somewhat open.

Sandford says that on St. George's day 1466, the King determined that his second son should bear the like arms with the King, with this difference, a label of three points silver, on the first part a canton gules *; and for his badge a falcon volant silver, membered with two sewels, gold, within a fetterlock unlocked and some what open, gold; but the falcons here are gold.

* In the shield over the Duke's head in this window there is no canton on the label: This may therefore be the bearing

of his wife Ann Mowbray, who being the daughter of John Lord Mowbray Duke of Norfolk bore these arms as descended from Thomas of Brotherton Earl of Norfolk, 5th son of Edward the First. They were married 15th Jan. 1477.

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This device Camden (in his remains page 215) tells us he gave in memory of his great grandfather Edmund Langley, the 5th son of King Edward III. who gave for his device a falcon in a fetterlock closed, having then no near hope of the crown; but his descendant, Edward IV, having obtained the crown, gave now the fetterlock open.

Of the great crucifix which filled the middle compartment, I have already said there are now no remains.

<226> In the first compartment eastward of it, and kneeling with her face toward it, is Elizabeth Widevile, or Woodvile, Queen of Edward IV, (married to him May 1st 1464) with her hands joined over an open book on a desk. Her face has been crack'd, but is however preserved. On her head is a crown of gold, composed of crosses patée and fleurs de lis. Her dress is of white sattin embroidered with gold, and comes down close to the wrist, over which she has on a rich crimson mantle with an ermined collar over the shoulders. – The canopy is crimson and the back ground azure, embroidered with broom-stalks, green and bearing red flowers. The desk has been broken, and ill patched up; as has the Queen's neck and hair, which have been ridiculously filled up with an arm and up-lifted hand placed so as to touch her left cheek.

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The two next compartments are filled up with the five princesses; three in the first, and two in the second. First, Elizabeth, born Feb. 11. 1466, afterwards married to King Henry VIII. **The** second, Cecilie, married to John Lord (afterwards Viscount) Wells. The third, Ann, married to Thomas Duke of Norfolk.

Bridget of York, the fourth daughter, who very early became a nun at Dartford, is, perhaps for that reason, left out.

The fifth daughter, Mary of York, promised to the King of Denmark, but never married, for she died 1482.

The sixth, Margaret, born 1472 died in her infancy, and is not here.

The seventh, Catharine, married to W. Courtney Earl of Devonshire, she died 1527.

<227> All these are with their faces toward the place of the great crucifix. The first kneels before an elegant desk, on which lies an open book. Her face is gone, but supplied by one of a smaller sized person. Over her head is a circle composed of pearls. She is dressed in crimson, her garment being tied round the waist with a golden cord, the end of which hangs almost to

the ground. The other ladies are dress'd also in crimson, but not with the girdle.

The second has on her neck a white handkerchief bordered with an open gold lace falling over the shoulders.

The third has no pearls in her coronet.

The fourth has lost her head, which has been supplied by a man's head and neck with light hair and an ermined collar close up to the chin, below which the princess's golden locks flow over her shoulders. This man's head seems of the same workmanship with the other figures here. The coronet over this Lady's head is lost.

The fifth has a coronet of pearls. The hair of all the five is golden. The remains of the canopy which was over them is crimson, and the back ground azure. Under each figure was the name and quality of the person; these have been broken, and the fragments improperly put together, with no design but to fill up the vacancies.

After **the same** manner in great measure has the middle compartment of this range been repaired; but at the top is a very large arched crown over the arms of the prior irradiated; un-

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der which is a very curious piece of different work from the other parts of this window.

<228> Under two Gothic niches are two figures looking to one another. That on the right hand is a King crowned, with a flowing hair and curled beard. He seems in armour, having on his breast a well drawn face (like Pallas's Gorgon) over which is a royal mantle reaching from his shoulders to his heels. In his right hand he carries a sword, the point of which rests on **the** shoulder, and his left thumb is stuck in his girdle.

Under the other niche is a lady, not young, and full bosom'd: She too is in armour, over which is a long flowing mantle; on her head is a helmet: her hair falls over her armour and shoulders; she holds a sword upright with her right hand, and rests the left on her hip.

The niches are supported by pillars richly ornamented, and over the bending of the arch of the King's niche, is on each side an escutcheon; sable, a cross argent.

The inscriptions under these figures seem to have no relation to them, being *Sanctus, Mauritius*, as *Sanctus* is again under the Queen.

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Should these have been intended for King Henry VI, and his martial Queen, Margaret of Anjou, chance seems to have brought the dethroner and the dethroned peaceably together. *

* Is it not a fair presumption, (says a learned friend in a letter to the author) that these figures of a King and Queen were a part of the original window in the chapel of the mar-

tyrdom? And upon this supposition it is not likely that they were rather intended as a compliment to the memory of the donor's ancestors than of any collateral branch of the true royal line, especially of two persons so obnoxious to Edw. IV. as Hen VI. and his Queen must have been? From the above description I a little suspect they might be designed to represent Edw. III. and his Consort. Vertue's print of Hen. which was from an ancient painting on board in Kensington-palace, exhibits that King with a face remarkably smooth and delicate, but in the same artist's engraving of Edw. III. from an ancient painting in Windsor Castle, this monarch is distinguished by a large beard, and an aspect rather ferocious; and the editor, in the explanation of the print, observes, that the other paintings of this King and his monumental statue in Westminster Abbey, convey the same idea of his countenance. This, it must be owned, is far from being a decisive proof of the justness of the conjecture; but it will be allowed to have some weight, if, as is generally believed, the artists in painting their windows endeavoured to procure and to present the most striking similitudes of the persons they represented; and that they also usually regarded their known characters and actions in the habits and ornaments they gave the figures. Now, if the figures before mentioned be considered in this view, will not the helmet and the sword be judged more suitable to a King who conquered, and annexed to the crown of England, many provinces of France, than of the Sovereign, during whole in-glorious reign several of them were lost? Margaret of Anjou

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The lowest stage of this window has nothing in its compartments but some coats of arms

was doubtless an heroine of the first order, and history informs us that Philippa of Hainault was, on the contrary, universally admired and esteemed for her placid and amiable disposition. There is, however, one circumstance related of this Queen, which shews that she had some kind of claim to the military habiliment and weapon which adorn the figure under examination. For, according to Rapin, while her husband was besieging Calais, Philippa, with great bravery, headed the troops raised to oppose the invasion of the Scots, commanded by their King David, who had been instigated by the French monarch to make this diversion in order to compell Edw. to return home. In this battle the Scottish King was taken prisoner. The figure is remarked to be that of a lady 'not young,' or supposing it to be designed for Edw. III's Queen, and the drawing to be made from the image of her on her monument in Westm. Abbey, (which is perhaps the only one known to be extant) the circumstance of the age will correspond: since Q. Philippa could not be much under sixty at the time of her death. Mr. Battely (p. 333) has mentioned her oblation at Becket's shrine; the monks therefore have thought her worthy of a niche in this window. The window in its more perfect state was most probably graced with the effigies of the Black Prince, and possibly the shield charged with the royal arms (noticed at p. 332) with a label of three points argent, might have been placed above or below this figure; I am the more inclined to give credit to this surmise, because in the charter granted by Edw. IV. to the city of Canterbury, that King assigns the following, among other reasons for enlarging the privileges of that corporation: *Sedemque ejusque regni metro-*

polem in eadem civitate existere, in cujus Ecclesia metropolitana corpus beati Thomæ Martyris, ad quem devotionem gerimus specialem, honorifice <f>eretratur, nec non ossa carissimi consan=

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brought hither from other parts of the church. But here I suppose were the seven large pictures of the Virgin Mary, in seven several glorious appearances (mentioned page 121) of which Richard Culmer **speaks** in his Dean and Chapter News from Canterbury, page 22.

<229> The gentleman who favoured me with these his observations, takes notice, that 'the great height of this window, and its northern situation, with one wall of the chapter-house very close to it, occasion its beauties to be but little known; but that whoever will take the pains to examine it through a perspective, will find his trouble amply rewarded.'

To this let me add, that if some should think this account long, or perhaps tedious, I have no doubt but the more curious will be glad to see so particular and circumstantial a history and description of this famous piece of art, as it may give some idea of what it was in its glory, when

guinei nostri ac prænobilis Principis Edwardi nuper Principis Walliæ, requiescunt humata, &c. (See Somner, p. 182.)

But it is certain that Becket's glassy bones were formerly a principal ornament of this celebrated window, and my conclusion from the foregoing extract is, that here likewise the munificent donor would perpetuate the memory of his dearest cousin as well as of his much revered martyr. [S. D.]

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(as tradition says) ten thousand pounds were offered for it by a Spanish ambassador.

The great window at the west end of the nave was built in the latter part of the Reign of King Richard II, about the year 1400.

It is in the same style as that just now described, and like that divided by stonework into stages and compartments.

The uppermost, which is close under the point of the mitred arch, contains the arms of Richard II, who having chosen Edward the Confessor for his patron, empaled his coat. *

The second range contains six small figures between the arms * of his first wife on the north, and those * of his second on the south; the former was Ann, daughter of the Emperor Char. IV, and sister of Wenceslaus, Emperor, and King of Bohemia, whom he married Jan. 22, 1382; the latter was Isabella, the eldest daugh=

* His arms here upon a shield hanging on a tree, are azure, a cross fleurée between five martlets, Or, (the arms of the Confessor) impaling quarterly, France semée, and England.

* Quarterly France semée and England, impaling quarterly, Or, an eagle display'd with two heads sable, being the imperial arms, and gules, a lion rampant queue forchée argent, crowned Or, the arms of Bohemia. This shield is not entire, the arms of the Queen having suffered.

* Quarterly, France semée and England, impaling azure

three fleurs de lis, Or. Charles VI. reduced the semée of fleurs de lis to three; in which he was followed by the succeeding King of England.

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<230> ter of Charles VI. King of France, whom he espoused October 21, 1396.

The third stage has ten saints.

The fourth the twelve apostles, with a youth kneeling and censing on the south side, and another kneeling figure on the north.

Below these, in the uppermost range of the large compartments are seven large figures of our Kings, standing under gothic niches very highly wrought.

They are bearded, have open crowns on their heads and swords or scepters in their right hands. They have suffered and been patched up again, and each had his name under him in the old black letter: of which there are very little remains. These seven are Canute, under whom remains 'Can.' Edward the Confessor holding a book, under him remains 'Ed.' Then Harold. William I. holding his sceptre in his right hand, and resting it transversely on his left shoulder, under him remains '. . . mus Cōquestor Rex.' Then William II. Henry I. Stephen. The tops of the canopies are all that is left of the fourteen niches of which the two next stages consist: if these were filled in the same manner, the series of Kings would finish with Richard III.

The workmanship of this window is inferior to what has been already mentioned, the colours being not near so rich and beautiful.

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The eastern window in the beautiful chapel of the Virgin Mary, now called the Dean's chapel, and that also in St. Michael's, although of inferior workmanship should not be wholly passed over, because they respectively commemorate their benefactors. That in the Dean's chapel, beside some shields armorial of the family of Bourchier, is diapered with an oak leaf between two acorns, and Bourchier's knots, and in the upper part are impanelled in rounds, a golden falcon volant.

In the eastern window of St. Michael's chapel is in similar rounds the devise of Margaret Holland, who erected the magnificent monument in the middle of that chapel for herself, and her two husbands John Beaufort Earl of Somerset, and Thomas Duke of Clarence; a white hind, couchant, gorged with a gold coronet and chain, under a tree: being the devise of her grandmother Joan Countess of Kent, wife of Edward the Black Prince, and mother of Richard II. Another device in the same window is a white greyhound couchant, with a gold collar and string. The other parts of the window are filled with scrolls containing this inscription, 'A Ihu mercy.' On the ribs of the roof is, a white hart, accolléd with a coronet, and chained, Or, on a

mount, vert; which badge, Sandford tells us, was used by Edward IV. in honour of Richard II. whose devise it was; and he, as appears from this, took it in honour of his mother.

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<191> Here I shall close my account of this stately and venerable building, with most hearty wishes that it may long remain an ornament to our country.

Long may the holy name of Christ meet with the reverence due to it in his church!

May he, who by the grace of God, is appointed 'defender of the faith,' be assisted by that grace in performing the duties of so important a trust!

<192> May they, who, by 'divine providence' or 'per= mission,' are consecrated bishops and pastors of the church, learn of St. Paul to glory in the cross of our Lord Jesus Christ, and in that alone!

May all who profess and call themselves christians, show that they are not ashamed of a crucified Saviour, but be ready to fight man= fully, under his banner, against all the enemies of that faith, in which by his express command they have been baptized!

May the Holy Spirit make the ministers of Christ, and stewards of the mysteries of God, faithful in the discharge of their duties! May their examples be such as shall adorn their doc= trine, and their light so shine, that men may see their good works and glorify our father, which is in heaven!

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APPENDIX.

NUMBER I.

Measurement about the City Walls.

By THO. ICKHAM about 1401.
from Mr. SOMNER.

	Perches.
From Burgate to Newingate	37
The gate	1
From Newingate to Ridingate	48
The gate	1
From Ridingate to Worgate *	83
The gate	1
From Worgate to the Water behind St. Mildred's Ch.	61
The bank of the river	4
From that bank to Westgate	18 $\frac{1}{2}$
The gate	1
From Westgate to the end of the Wall called the Long Wall	59 $\frac{1}{4}$
The Stour from that Wall, to the wall called Waterlock	18 $\frac{1}{2}$
From thence to Northgate	40
The gate	1
From Northgate to Queningate	69

From Queningate to Burgate 38
The gate 1

572¹/₄

Which is 9442 feet, or 1 mile 6
furlongs 12 perches 4 feet, which
is 321 feet more than Doidge's

* Worgate Mr. Somner takes to be
the gate now walled up which went
through the Castle Yard. But the
distance from Ridingate differs very
little from Doidge's.

By Wm. and Hen. DOIDGE, 1752.

	Feet	Per.	Feet
From middle of Bur=			
gate to the middle		OR	
of Newingate	460	27	14 ¹ / ₂
To Ridingate	759	46	–
To Wincheap gate *	1368	82	15
To Westgate	2880	174	9
To Northgate	1900	115	2 ¹ / ₂
To Burgate	1754	106	5
	9121	552	13

Which is 1 mile 5 furlongs 32
perches 13 feet.

* This gate is now pulled down.

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The long wall from Westgate ends at a postern
and a large square tower near the bank of the
river; near the opposite bank is such another
tower, from whence the wall which Ickham
calls the waterlock is continued to Northgate.

The wall crossing the river from one of these
towers to the other, I take to have been built in
the reign of Henry IV. when the whole city was
taxed and assessed to the repair of its walls.

The King (Mr. Somner says) toward the sus=
taining this charge, both for the present and fu=
ture, and the citizen's encouragement to proceed
in this worthy undertaking, by his writ of Privy
Seal, gave them, both a licence of mortmain for
the purchasing of twenty pounds of lands per an.
to the city for ever, and also grants them all
waste grounds and places lying within the city, to
use and dispose of for their best advantage, like=
wise in perpetuity: to this he adds a translated
copy of the writ, from the records of the
chamber.

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NUMBER II. Page 17.

The Tour of East Kent.

<194> The mention of these ports and forts reminds
me, that to those who would visit them, or make
the little tour of East Kent, a hint how to hus=
band their time, and where to begin their tour,
may be of some service, and is of more conse=
quence to the pleasure of such a journey than

many would imagine.

An antiquary may chuse to see Reculver first, which is about two hours ride from Canterbury; where he may be at a loss for refreshment, nor is there much to detain him but the sight of the church, and some ruins of the castle, unless he should meet with any Roman coins or trinkets, many of which have been found there.

<195> The ride from hence by St. Nicholas and Birchington to Margate, is with a prospect of East-Kent on the right hand, and of the sea on the left. Margate is about ten miles from Reculver. Here he walks under the cliff, when the tide is out, the harbour and pier, the conveniences for bathing, and the public rooms, may make him spend a night, if not more time.

The next stage he should begin in the morning: visit Lord Holland's buildings at King's-gate, and the North Foreland light-house; from thence dine at Ramsgate, where, at the King's head (if he makes that his inn) for a near

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view, he will have the new harbour just under him, and for distant ones, the Downs, the French coast, the South Fore-land cliffs, Sandwich, Deal, and that part of East Kent; and some of the highest towers of Dover castle may be discovered with a good glass. Here he may be tempted to spend the next evening, to see the harbour full and empty.

About six miles from Ramsgate we cross the Stour over a bridge to Sandwich, having seen on the right hand from our road the ruins of Richborough castle the ancient Rutupium. *

Rutupiæ signified both the castles of Richborough, and Reculver and therefore the learned Archdeacon Battely called the coins and curiosities which he had collected, *antiquitates Rutupinæ*, though he had most of them from Reculver.

* This word is found fault with in Gent. Mag. of 1774, p. 486, for two reasons, first because Rutupium cannot be the singular of Rutupiæ; whereas both Lilly's and Busby's grammar give examples of just such irregularities; secondly, because the critic does not recollect it in any author of credit: but it this any thing like a proof that a castle of such consequence as to give name to another at about eight miles distance, and to a navigable channel of which they defended the two mouths Regulbium [Reculver] the northern one and this of which I am speaking, the eastern, had not also a proper one of its own?

That Bishop Gibson thought it had, I shewed, in pag. 213 of my former edition; and that the famous Dr. Edmund Halley was of the same opinion, appears in the Philosophical Transactions, No. 193. These authors I look on as of credit sufficient to justify my using the word Rutupium as they have done.

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This book is generally admired for the elegance of the Latin, and is shown to be the result of a vast deal of reading, in the edition of it

printed at Oxford, 1745, by a list of quotations, and examinations of what others had written on the subject, amounting to more than one hundred and seventy articles.

Had an actual survey of the two Rutupian castles been thought as much to the purpose, surely some notice would have been taken of the remains of an amphitheatre within.

In september 1754, I had the pleasure of showing the great traveller Dr. Pocock (who died Bishop of Meath in Ireland in 1765) the parts of our coast which I am now describing.

We visited these venerable ruins with a gentleman of Sandwich, who from the old castle conducted us to some banks hard by, which he called 'the mounts,' where we found very plain remains of this work not mentioned by any Kentish writer that I know of, unless the little camp, as Dr. Harris calls it pag. 379 of his History, to the south-west of this castle be so; containing, as he guesses, not above an acre of ground, having a mount at each corner, though the form is oval or circular, and some remains of an entrance on each side.

Our stay was short, but a very curious anti-

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quary of Sandwich has lately taken a survey of it, which I give in his own words:

'A little to the south-west of Richborough castle are remains of an amphitheatre. The sloping bank, lowered by long cultivation, measures in circumference about 220 yards, and its present height from the arena, or centre of the excavation, is, in the different parts, from about seven to nearly twelve feet. From N. W. to S. E. is 204 feet. From S. W. to N. E. is 212 feet.'

It is so well situated in regard to prospect, that any approach of an enemy, by land or sea, must have been discovered at a considerable distance.

If the traveller would survey these ruins, he may order his dinner to be got at Sandwich, in the time which he allows himself for that visit: otherwise he will find little to prevent his dining at Deal.

The road hither for carriages is mostly dull and heavy; but the traveller on foot, or on horseback, who is not averse to going a mile or two about for the sake of variety, may make this part of his journey surprisingly agreeable

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by leaving the highway at a bridge, not two miles from Sandwich, the Downs Bridge, and entering by a gate into a wild and barren desert perfectly romantic, and crowded with steep hills of sand, between which he will find a way to the sea side where is excellent walking (if at Sandwich he learned the time of low water here) till he comes, by Sandown Castle, to the north end of Deal: having all the way enjoyed the

prospect of the ships in the Downs, and what= ever is stirring there between the North and South Forelands: and if this happens at the time of the year when the eringo, or sea holly, is in its beauty, it will still add to the pleasure of this deviation.

The town of Deal is large and populous, called Lower Deal to distinguish it from the Upper, in which parish it stands, having no church of its own; nor any chapel, till a hand= some and spacious one was built by subscription, and consecrated by Archbishop Wake in the year 1716.

The chief street of Lower Deal stands on the sea shore, and some of the inns there have rooms with a fine view of the shipping in the Downs; and, when a fleet is there, a very entertaining one of boats putting off, or coming on shore, at the beach, under the windows.

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The castles of Sandown a mile north from that at Deal, and Walmer about as far to the south, were built with several others for the defence of the coast by King Henry VIII. This at Deal, being the largest and best designed, may best deserve a short description.

The method of fortifying is something parti= cular, all the works being circular, carried up with arches of masonry from the bottom of the ditch; level with which are close quarters sur= rounding the whole, and called the rounds, to the number of fifty two, if I remember; each has a small window, for scouring the ditch, se= cured by a massive bar of iron, and had (till some alterations were made in King George the First's time) a funnel, or chimney, to the parapet of the upper works, for carrying off the smoke which might be occasioned in the defending them; or to clear them by throwing down gre= nades from above, if an enemy should find means to get into any of them: but all these, among other improvements have been stopped up, ex= cept one which serves as a step for the flag staff.

This castle may be looked on as three forts, raised one within another; and has a well of ex= cellent water in the centre of them, a conveni= ence the town cannot boast of.

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Deal and Walmer castles are now fitted up as seats; the latter has of late been occupied as such by the Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports.

<196> From Deal to Dover is a way by the sea side under the cliffs of the South Foreland when the tide permits (a circumstance which should be carefully enquired into on such occasions) never passable by carriages; nor always by those who travel on horseback or on foot, such vast falls of the precipice sometimes happening as make it dangerous till the sea has cleared away some of the rubbish.

The cliff begins to show itself a little to the

southward of Walmer Castle and soon rises to a tremendous height; where the traveller can hardly help observing almost over his head many huge masses of the rock, so far parted from the main land as to threaten frequent and speedy downfalls like those which I have been describing.

If such sights and apprehensions make this way disagreeable, he will have an opportunity of leaving it at St. Margaret's Bay, where a Custom-house officer is stationed with his boat's crew to look after the smugglers. Here are also a few more small houses, one a public one: the place is often visited on account of its romantic situation, and is of some note for the goodness of its lobsters, and for a very fine spring

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of fresh water, overflowed by the sea at every tide.

From this bay a long and steep road cut by hand will bring us to the top of the hill near the uppermost of the two light houses at the South Foreland, and so to the other more common as well as much shorter way from Deal, which town I should be for leaving time enough to have at least four hours of day-light before us: then, if the weather favours as we come to the heights about Dover Castle, we shall have a fair prospect of the French coast to a great length; and the chalky cliffs between Calais and Boulogne make a beautiful part of it, when the sun shines bright upon them from the westward.

When we come pretty near Dover Castle we enter a short hollow way cut through a bank of chalk, where I always advise those, who travel in carriages, to get out of them and walk before the horses; for presently after we are in this cut we have a change of scene almost as sudden and more surprising than any at the theatres; and find ourselves (after having travelled some miles in a bleak and naked country) on the brink of a hill so high and so steep, as without this precaution appears quite shocking to many; and see under us a beautiful valley thick set with villages and their churches, the banks of a swift stream, which, after turning several

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mills, empties itself into the sea at Dover harbour; of all these we have what in picture is called a bird's eye view, with a back ground of such high and barren mountains as we have just left behind us.

This pleasure is lost to those who begin their tour at Dover. In rising to the castle they turn their backs to this delightful variety; and see before them the whole extent of country through which they are to travel with little variation, except that of gradually bringing the eye nearer to the objects which it has before seen at a distance.

Before my setting out on this little tour with Doctor Pocock, before mentioned, I sent an in-

vitation to a gentleman employed by the Board of Ordnance in their works there, to meet us at that Castle: he readily complied with it, and when we were on one of the highest turrets of the Keep, on my asking the doctor 'whether he thought we were as much above the valley we saw below us as the highest of the Egyptian pyramids is from the ground in which it stands?' he said he thought it might be thereabout, and told us the measure which he himself had taken of it: * on this the other said he had actually

* 499 feet, as measured by Greaves

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surveyed the height we were then at, with plumbets and levels to the low water mark; and it gave us all very great pleasure to find that the difference (to the best of my remembrance) did not exceed five or six feet.

The road between Dover and Canterbury is pretty much varied. Some miles we travel by the river and villages just now mentioned, then by ways less pleasant, till we come to Barham down; at the lower side of which on our left hand, are several handsome villages and elegant seats. There are others to the right, but we see only the painted gates and pallisades leading to them, except one which is lately built and called Higham. The old Watling-street we see and distinguish by its being in a direct line for almost the length of the Down; but it has some short hills, which carriages usually avoid by keeping on the upper side of the Down, which is more level, and on which we see the ground posted off for horseracing, with a handsome building near the starting post completed in 1774 for the reception of company, with offices underneath for their refreshment.

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After leaving the Down we find at the foot of a hill the village of Bridge, where we cross a river, (over which a bridge has been built by subscription) by some called the Little Stour. It

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rises from a spring at Bishopsbourn (the next parish) and is sometimes almost dry; at other times (uncertain ones) a flood comes down from springs about Elham with great rapidity; till interrupted by what the neighbours call swallows, where it sinks into the earth till that is saturated, and then rushes on again to the next interruption of the same kind: so that a stranger might be amazed at walking near this river side and down stream till he has lost it, and finds the channel dry. This flood (and some others we have like it) our people call the Nailbourn: its channel is sometimes dry for years together, and sometimes, but rarely, it has come down twice in one year.

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From Bridge to Canterbury is three miles, the country enclosed for fields and hop grounds. But if my traveller, after seeing Regulbium,

Rutupium, and Dubris, would visit Portus Lemanus too, he must go by Folkstone, over hills like those he left by Dover Castle; unless he takes the opportunity of the tide to ride under the cliffs *, where he will see them of a tremendous height almost over head; and about two or three miles from Dover, may observe a spring

<213> * They who take **such** ways should enquire how safely they may **do** it in respect of the tide, and whether no falls of the rock may turn them back.

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of fresh water running from the side of the precipice, (for so it is) though in some places, where it is not too steep for grass to grow, are little patches of greensward where rabbits can live, and one would think safely enough: but in this neighbourhood are keen sportsmen, distinguished as good cliff runners, who walking at the brink of the precipice, if they can shoot a bird or a rabbit, mark where it falls, and if practicable will get it by sliding down with their back to the rock to places where their heels will stop them, till they have got their game; with which they proceed in the same manner to the bottom, and walk home by the sea side. But if this method cannot be taken, they make use of a long rope let down from the top, as the gatherers of samphire do in their 'dreadful trade.'

Folkstone is a considerable fishing-town of such a hilly situation, that it is hardly safe to ride in some of the streets of it. Being on the strand there some years ago, a pretty large vessel or two lay on the shore near me; and on asking some questions about them, I found they were their large mackarel boats, **and** that the number belonging to the town was thirty-two, which carried from fourteen to sixteen score of netting each. The person, who gave me this information, was surprised when I observed that at this rate

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their netting would more than reach from Folkstone to Oxford (for they reckon each score a quarter of a mile) but on very short recollection he allowed it to be so.

From hence to Hythe is a pleasant ride, part of it near the sea-side, with that on one hand; while on the other is a range of hills; very high and some very steep, on one of which has been an intrenchment.

The greatest curiosity at Hythe is a charnel-house with a multitude of bones, of which the accounts given are but unsatisfactory.

We are now on the borders of Romney Marsh; and travelling on, at about three miles come to the foot of Lymne-hill, taking its name from the Portus Lemanus: and see what a vast extent of land has been left by the sea; since Stutfal castle was the defence of that part, and the waters washed the walls of it.

<199> Of this I have already spoken **chap. 4**, and observed that great part of the way to Canterbury is on the old Roman road: on which we pass some little rills about a place called Stamford; which, though they rise so few miles from the sea, take their course to it by Ashford, Canterbury, and Sandwich.

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Stamford lies at the foot of Hempton hill, so called (as some fancy) for heaven-top-hill, on account of its height; to which travellers from Canterbury rise so gradually, that arriving at the brow, they are surprised at the extent of sea and land they look down upon; nor are they less so when being come down to the valley, they are told these rills are sources of the Stour, so that they are still on higher ground than Canterbury stands on.

About half a dozen miles from Canterbury, where the Roman way being confined between hedges is worn hollow, we may see pieces of stuff of a metalline appearance, or like the lava of a volcano, some of which are also found in the neighbouring fields turned up by the plough.

NUMBER III. Page 19.

of Worthgate.

<193> The castle had, no doubt other buildings in it beside the Keep. History does not say how, or when they were demolished; but we may well believe, that by the ruins of them, the ground has been raised so many feet since the way into the city could be through the old Worthgate, that it is now almost level with the spring of the arch within side.

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On this occasion, probably, the way into the city, where Wincheap-gate stood was opened, as that might be a work of less expence than clearing away all that rubbish, and prevent all disputes about whose business it was to do so, by making this new entrance within the liberty of the city. It makes the traveller, indeed,

<194> fetch a compass to come from the suburb of Wincheap thro' this gap into the line formed by that suburb and Castle-street, but deviates from that line as little as possible, without encroaching on the boundaries of the Castle, (and as the plan shows) as soon as it has passed those bounds brings him into the old road again; and this might seem attended with fewer inconveniences than restoring the former way.

MEASURES taken of WORTHGATE.

IN THE INSIDE.	Feet	Inches
The diameter of the arch is	12	3½
It springs from the peers	6	½
The peers above ground	1	6
ON THE DITCH SIDE.		
Height of the plinth	1	0

From that to the spring of the arch	6	6
Breadth of the gate-way from peer to peer	12	6
Height of the gate in the middle	13	7 ¹ / ₂
The thickness of the arch	2	4
The earth raised on the castle side	6	0

Wincheap gate had no appearance of any antiquity; its form, as well as the placing of it, seeming to show it of much later building than most of the other gates of our city.

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NUMBER IV. Page 54.

Of the Controversy between the Dominican and Franciscan Friars.

In Mr. Somner we have a curious account of a controversy in or about the year 1243 between the Franciscans or Minor Friars, which I thought would take up too much room in my former book, but as some of my readers may be entertained with seeing how far professed humility, poverty and beggary itself may minister occasions for pride, I shall give most of it as translated by Mr. Batteley.

'The preaching Friars asserted, that the institution of their order was more ancient, and on this account they claimed the pre-eminency, that their habit was also more decent, and that they deservedly had both their title and office from preaching. The Minors answered, that they had chosen a way of life more severe and humble for God's sake; and thereby were to be esteemed more excellent because more holy: and that the brethren might and with leave ought to pass from the order of preaching Friars to their order as from a lower to a better and higher order. The preaching Friars contradicted what they said to their face, telling them, that altho' they, the minor Friars, go barefoot, in a poor vile habit girt about with cords, yet they were not forbidden to eat flesh, even in public, unto

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all fulness and plenty. From all which the preaching Friars being forbidden by their rules do abstain, and for these reasons they could not pass to the order of the Minors, as to a higher and more strict order, but rather the contrary. In like manner (says he) as between the Templars and Hospitallers in the Holy Land, so between these Friars, the enemy of mankind sowing his tares, there is raised a heavy scandal, and in as much as they were scholars, and reputed learned men, the scandal became too dangerous to the universal church.'

'He proceeds to censure the sudden rise of these Friars, who within four and twenty years last past, built their first mansions in England, which appear now like the stately palaces of Kings, laying out inestimable treasures in magnificent buildings, so transgressing with all impudence the rules of their order, and passing

over the boundaries of poverty, the foundation of their profession.

'He says they diligently attend on great and rich men dying that they may fill themselves with booty; that they extort confessions and procure wills to be made in favour of themselves and their own order, so that now no believer thinks he can be saved unless guided by the directions of Friars, and adds other severe reflections on them, more than I see occasion to repeat.'

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NUMBER V. Page 63.

Mr. J. Somner's Donation of the Rooms over the Butter-market.

<201> Mr. Somner's own account of this matter is contained in a little tract, of which this is the title; 'a true Relation or Accompt of the whole Procedure between the Corporation of Canterbury, and Mr. John Somner, concerning the new market-house there. London, printed 1666.'

Mr. John Somner was brother to William Somner the antiquarian, and seems to have been no less studious of the welfare and improvements of his native place, than his brother was of its history and antiquities. But the returns he met with from the corporation provoked him to publish this little pamphlet of two sheets, as a mirror (to use his own words in the preface) 'representing not the ill requital and unworthy usage of Archbishop Abbot, the founder of their noble conduit, by a prevailing faction among their predecessors, (see note chap 7) but the unworthy entertainment of a new piece of beneficence by a like faction in the present corporation; notwithstanding that foundation of gratitude, and better usage from them, but newly laid by the benefactor, as being chiefly active and instrumental in procuring new gates for the city, impiously robbed of their old by the rebels, from the late Archbishop Juxon.' (See note chap. 2.)

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<202> In this book he tells us, that after a long and tedious expectation that some who were better able would have accommodated the city with so useful and ornamental a building, rather than the place of his nativity should any longer suffer under the reproach of so great a defect, and not doubting of the encouragement of the virtuous undertaking by the courteous acceptance of it from his fellow citizens, by the city's free permission, and with the expence of four hundred pounds and upwards, he erected and completed a market-house (a piece of such elegance as much commends the architect) consisting of a double story, divided into two fair rooms a-piece, with a pavement of stone underneath, very useful for walking out of market time; and all this, says he, (in my intentions) dedicated to public and pious uses, without any jot of profit

or advantage reserved either for me or mine.

His proposals to the mayor and court of burghmote, on their sealing his lease, were on his part so far to renounce his own interest in that part of the superstructure which looketh westward, as freely to admit them to a participation with him of the use of the chamber there, at all times when they, or any six of them, should have occasion to meet there on any public accompt; and that, during his life and the life of Mr. William Somner his brother, if he

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should survive: secondly; to permit the use of it to the six companies of the city, viz. the Drapers, * Taylors, Mercers, Grocers, Carpenters, Smiths, and Shoemakers (these are his words) for their meetings on their companies affairs, for the same term; and, after his and his brother's decease, to give the said room in perpetuity for the uses and purposes abovesaid.

<203> Thirdly; he presently gives up to them (the mayor and burghmote) and their successors, the garret over the chamber at the east end of the market house, for a store-house for a stock of corn for the poor of the six out-parishes of the city, Westgate, St. Dunstan's, Northgate, St. Paul's, St. Mildred's, and St. George's, and that of St. Alphage, an in parish (because he was born there) and to handsel the place, and set an example of charity to others, engages to lay in there at his own charge for that use twenty seams of wheat, as soon as the room can be fitted to receive it; to be kept there against a time of dearth, and then be delivered out at such price as the stock may thereby be renewed, with such advantage as the mayor and aldermen for the time being shall think fit: and hopes, the room being of a capacity to hold twice as much, his example will excite others of more ability to

* The Drapers and Taylors are one Company.

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add to the stock: promising, if it should please God to stir up such a number of benefactors as might require it, **that** he would freely part with the other garret or store house for the same use.

Fourthly; he gives them a room under the first staircase, as the rent of it may pay for cleaning the market and turning the corn.

On the part of the city he requires, that the mayor and aldermen may be obliged to perform their part as touching the ordering and managing the stock of corn for the poor.

Secondly; that both they and the companies shall engage for keeping the whole market house from time to time in needful repair at their own costs and charge.

Thirdly; that the door-keeper of the chamber, &c. shall be left to the nomination of himself or brother during their life time.

<204> Fourthly; that the market should be made for

ever a free market both for town and country.

Fifthly; that no huckster be permitted to buy any thing there to sell there again.

Sixthly; that the country people coming with provisions to sell in the market may have what

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room the place will afford, and not be turned out by those who sell herbs, roots, or other huckstry ware.

To which he adds, that to clear himself of all suspicion of self ends he is willing to forego the benefit of the eastern chamber, to be let by himself or the Mayor, &c. and the rent to go to the relief of the ten in-brothers and in-sisters of East-bridge hospital.

At first, he says, these proposals were received with unanimous approbation and applause and a committee appointed for settling the affair, which was afterwards propounded in burghmote, where after thanks returned to him, writings were ordered to be drawn up for that purpose, to which on perusal he made some exceptions; but, when he had been so far satisfied concerning them by the recorder, that he was ready to close with them on their own terms, another burghmote was called; when it was determined, that as the repairs were to be cast on the corporation, they would none of it; they would not take a house to keep it in repair for him and his brother to walk in.

On this, he tells us, he dropped his design so far as to take what he intended for the public good to his own house, all but the corn, which

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he should bestow where it would be better accepted.

<205> This also, he says, changed the minds of many gentlemen and others who had declared their forwardness in such a bountiful way of contribution, as probably would soon have filled both the storehouses, and laid in fourscore quarters of corn.

If to this, and what has been said page 63, I add, that till Mr. Somner's market house was erected, the place was called the bull-stake (from baiting bulls there) and that his lease expired at Michaelmass, 1764, the reader has the completest account that I can give him of this building and the magnificent design of its founder.

NUMBER VI. Page 72.

Of Bell Dunstan and the Oxford Steeple.

Possibly Archbishop Chicheley might himself name this the Oxford Steeple for the love he bore to that University, where All Souls College honours him as its founder: some call it the Chimes, as the bells which chime to service hang here: Others name it from Bell Dunstan, given by Prior Molasch, and baptized by that name.

Mr. Battely in page 24 gives the Latin record of that ceremony, which some of my readers may be glad to see in English.

'The great Bell at Canterbury.

A. D. 1459, June 14, Richard, Lord Bishop of Rochester, * in the body of the church blessed the great Bell in honour of St. Dunstan with much solemnity; the Prior robed *in pontificalibus* attending.

This bell was cast in London 1430, in the time of William Molass.'

How often it has been new cast, I need not enquire; when cracked in 1758, an attempt was made to repair it by soldering, and a great deal of rubbish was hoisted up the bell-loft to prevent danger of fire. The experiment failed, and the rubbish to save trouble was thrown down on the west side. This demolished the key stone of the great window here; which was the head of an up-hooded monk, well carved, and in good preservation: but now all that remains of it is a scrap of the drapery. It has been called the head of Prior Chillenden, who died

* There seems to be some error in the dates; W. Molash was elected Prior 1428, and died 1437. John Lowe was Bishop of Rochester in 1459. Richard Fitzjames (the only Bishop whose name was Richard in that century) had licence of consecration granted 1497.

1411. But if the rebuilding of this steeple was in hand at Archbishop Chicheley's death in 1443, I should rather think it that of William Molash, who appears to have studied architecture under Chillenden, (see chap. 35,) or of Thomas Goldston the elder, who finished this tower.

NUMBER VII. Page 118.

Eadwyn's Drawing.

<205> The design of Eadwyn's performance was not only to give such an idea as he could of our cathedral and its precinct, but to show the course of the sewers, and how the monastery was supplied with water from the roof of the church by conveying the rain into fit reservoirs; from one of which, in the outer church-yard, (where the laity were buried,) a pipe was laid to a larger (which he calls the piscina) in that part now called the Oaks; into which he throws also another pipe from the eastern part of the church, and from hence the water was distributed to the offices and apartments in this quarter.

<206> Another in the cloyster yard collected what fell on those parts of the building, for the use of the infirmary, kitchen, scullery, bake-house and brew-house, and had pipes laid to them.

All these appear to have been in use when

this drawing was made; which shows also a well on the south-side of the church with the contrivance used for drawing the water there; and another in the herbarium or kitchen garden with a pillar, to the top of which water was to be raised for the use of the infirmary, when occasion should require.

<a> If any water was in Eadwyn's time brought hither from the springs in the North Holmes, which now furnish both church and city in such plenty, it is surprising that no duct in his map is taken notice of for being of such consequence, considering how punctually he has described every other method of providing water for the different parts of the monastery. *

And yet that the city was served from them for time immemorial, I think indisputable proofs have been discovered in my memory, though the remains of these old aqueducts were dry when found by accident.

Several years ago, on some occasion to dig in a yard belonging to the great house at the turning from Broad-street into Ruttington-lane in the parish of Northgate, a row of earthen pipes ap=

* See Addenda.

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peared in the proper direction: one of which was given me by John Bridges, Esq; at that time occupier of the house.

<207> The form of it is tapering, the length about twenty inches, the diameter of the bore at the bigger end about five inches and an half, the lesser end fitted to enter such a bore made with a collar or shoulder, rising about three quarters of an inch and about an inch from the end to make the better joint and prevent leakage, which was still farther provided against by burying the whole in a thick bed of terras.

I do not pretend to guess at the age of this aqueduct, but take another to be of greater antiquity, found in 1737 in digging Dr. Gray's grave in the body of the cathedral; which being sunk deeper than usual, the workmen came to a pavement of the broad Roman bricks, and under it pipes of a very different construction from those just now described, each being made in two pieces as if slit the long way, so that two were laid together to form a pipe: of these also I have a specimen, the length of which is about seventeen inches and an half, the bore at the bigger end (for these were made tapering to enter one another as those found in Broad-street) full five inches, and the thickness about three quarters of an inch.

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NUMBER VIII. Page 168.

Benefactions to the King's School.

That of Aloisius Priobus, Cardinal Pole's Executor, has been already mentioned page 169;

of the rest I shall give an account more at large.

HEYMAN. School and University.

William Heyman of the City of Canterbury, Gentleman, by indenture dated September 29, 1625, infeoffed to certain persons therein named 27 acres of marsh land in Warhorne, Kent, which they were to let for the best rent, and to apply five parts in six of the said rent quarterly, if it may be, upon two poor scholars only, to be placed in the King's School, Canterbury: the nomination to be made by the next heir of the said W. Heyman (being of age) and the majority of the feoffees: the choice always to be of such boys only as shall be descended,

I. From the body of Peter Heyman, Esq; grandfather of the said W. Heyman; and of these,

1. Of the surname of Heyman.
2. Of any surname.

II. One scholar to be chosen of the surname of Heyman, born in Kent, or descended of Kentish parentage; if none such, then

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III. Both to be natives of Sellinge, or sons of parents the inhabitants of Sellinge: but these are to be removed whenever a boy qualified as in No. I. and II. applies.

The boy to be chosen must be full eight years old; and may hold this exhibition for nine years: and if he goes to Trinity or any other College in Cambridge, his exhibition may be continued for seven years from his leaving school: and if he takes orders in the first five years of the seven, it may be continued to him three years more; that is ten in all at the University.

The present Trustees are, the Right Hon. Sir William Lynch, K. B. Sir Henry Oxenden, Bart. Sir Brook Bridges, Bart. Charles Pyot, Esq; John Carter, Esq; the Rev. Mr. John Nairn.

ROSE. Either University.

Robert Rose of Bishopsbourne by indenture dated August 31, 1618, infeoffed to certain persons therein named, 26 acres of marsh land in St. Mary and Hope All Saints in Romney Marsh, for the assistance of four scholars at either University, who are to be,

I. Such as should be either the King's Scholars or other Scholars in the King's School, Canterbury, (of which he had been usher)

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two years at the least before their going to the University, and a preference to be given to such as were born in or near the City of Canterbury (wherein he had been born.)

II. And they to have something else of themselves or friends toward their maintenance

and not yet fully sufficient to maintain them at the University.

III. Such exhibition to continue seven years, if the exhibitor remains in the University so long unpreferred to some living of 20l. a year above the yearly exhibition.

IV. The names, birth, place, and day of election to be registered; the exhibition to be six pounds per annum.

The present Trustees are, the Rev. Dr. Tatton, Prebendary of Canterbury; Charles Robinson, Esq; Recorder, and Thomas Parker, Jos. Royle, Esquires, Aldermen of Canterbury; Cha. Pyott, Wm. Deedes, Esqrs. Mr. Rob. Legeyt, and Mr. Tho. Alkin.

PARKER. Corpus Christi, Cambridge.

William Morphett Clerk, Master of the Hospital of Eastbridge, Canterbury, did by indenture dated May 22, 1578, with the consent of Archbishop Parker covenant with John Pory,

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D. D. Master of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, that himself and his successors should, during the term of 200 years next ensuing, pay yearly to the said Master, &c. 6l. 13s. 4d. for the maintenance of two scholars, natives of Kent, and educated in the King's School, Canterbury, and nominated by the Dean of Canterbury, and the Master of the Hospital: they were to be called Canterbury Scholars, and to have all the benefits which any other Scholars enjoyed. Archbishop Whitgift in his ordinances, (which were confirmed by Act of Parliament 27 Eliz.) renewed this foundation, which is now perpetual; but, instead of the Dean's, made the Archbishop of Canterbury's consent necessary to the appointment. Archbishop Parker founded also three Scholarships out of the rents of certain tenements in Westminster, one appropriated to the county of Lincoln, and the other two for natives of Kent, educated at Canterbury School, and assigned them chambers in the College. An exhibition, scholarship, and chamber is worth 15l. a year.

ROBINSON. St. John's, Cambridge.

Henry Robinson by will dated May 13, 1643, devised certain messuages, &c. in Birchington and St. Nicholas in the island of Thanet to St. John's College in Cambridge, for the founding

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two fellowships and two scholarships for two fellows and two scholars, natives of the isle of Thanet, and brought up at the King's School, Canterbury; in default, for natives of the county of Kent, and brought up at the said school. It being found that the profit of the lands were not sufficient for the maintenance of two fellows

and two scholars, it was ordered by a decree of the Court of Chancery with consent of the College and the executors, dated November 26, 1652; that they do 'establish four scholarships in the said College for ever instead of the said two fellowships and two scholarships, and that the profits of the premises shall, according to the direction of the said donor in his will, be employed for ever on the said four scholars for and towards their maintenance.'

THORPE. Emanuel Cambridge.

George Thorpe, D. D. Prebendary of Canterbury, gave to Emanuel College certain messuages, &c. in the parish of Ash in the county of Kent, for the endowment of five exhibitions, to enable Bachelors of Arts to reside until they take the Master's degree: if there are no Bachelors, others may be elected after two years from their first residence in College. The qualifications are; the exhibitioner must not be possessed of an estate of 40l. per an. his friends must certify their intention of keeping him in Col-

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lege (unless better provided for) until he is Master of Arts: he must declare his inability thus to continue without some such assistance: and that he purposes to make divinity his study. A preference is given to the sons of orthodox ministers of the church of England and of the diocese of Canterbury, and such as have been brought up in the King's School there. These exhibitions are never less than 14l. and sometimes 20l. per an. and may be held with scholarships or exhibitions of other foundations, of which more than forty belong to that College.

BROWN. Emanuel, Cambridge.

Mr. Brown in 1736 founded two Greek scholarships in Emanuel College, which have generally amounted clear to 8l. per an. to be paid in proportion to residence, and the remainder to be applied to the general fund of the College. These are to be filled by the Master and Fellows by scholars from the King's School, Canterbury; in default out of any school in Kent: then, from any other.

STANHOPE. Cambridge.

George Stanhope, D. D. heretofore Dean of Canterbury, by a testamentary schedule, proved May 4, 1728 did bequeath 250l. in new S. S. an. to found one exhibition of 10l. per an. for one

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King's Scholar of the school in Christ Church, Canterbury, to be nominated by the Dean and chosen by him, or the Vice Dean and Chapter, for seven years, such scholar continuing in some College in Cambridge; but to cease at the Michaelmas after commencing Master of Arts. The principal sum 250l. was transferred by the

executors of Dean Stanhope to, and accepted by the Dean and Chapter of the Cathedral, Canterbury: the reduction of interest having made an alteration in the annual value, and the exhibition having been vacant for a few years, with the amount and a contribution from the Dean and Chapter 50 pounds stock more was purchased; so that the exhibition is now worth 9l. per annum.

SCHOOL-FEAST SOCIETY.

Either University.

In 1712 a society was begun by some gentlemen educated at this school; in 1712 they agreed with permission of the Dean and Chapter to attend divine service at the Cathedral, and hear a sermon suitable to the occasion on their anniversary in the ensuing year. This led to a charitable contribution in 1718 in favour of such scholars, as should go from hence to either University, and stood in need of some assistance there; of which upwards of fifty persons have experienced the benefit. Many gentlemen not educa-

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ted at the school, but desirous of promoting this charity, have favoured the society with their company. The annual collection amounts usually to fifty pounds and upwards, which is bestowed at the discretion of the society. A fund has also been made from the occasional surplus, which is vested in the funds and amounts at present to 725l. stock, of the produce of which, one, or more exhibitions have most usually been made.

COLFE. Either University.

Mr. Abraham Colfe, the founder of Lewisham school, among many other noble benefactions, gave seven exhibitions of 10l. per an. each, for scholars from that school at either University: in default of claimants from Lewisham school, from the adjacent hundreds, and from members of the company of leathersellers; (who are the patrons of the school, and possessed of the estates by him bequeathed) he directs these exhibitions to be filled up by scholars from the King's School, Canterbury, and from that in Christ's Hospital, London, alternately. But the Leathersellers Company have for near these thirty years past refused to admit the claim of either, and have totally sunk this 70l. per an. alleging a failure in their estate. As they have asserted this, we must believe it to be so, although most estates in the neighbourhood of London have

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risen in value within that time; but how they are empowered to load one branch of Mr. Colfe's charity with the whole failure does not appear; or that the schools of Christ's Hospital and Canterbury have not as just a right to share his liberality in the last place, as Lewisham in the

first: especially as he assigns this reason, because his father was educated in Christ's Hospital, and himself born at Canterbury. He foresaw (what has happened) that Lewisham school might not produce enough to fill all his exhibitions, and added two schools, which he judged might at all times supply its deficiency.

To these I shall add some Benefactions left to the FREEMEN of the CITY of CANTERBURY, for the Encouragement of Industry and Trade.

SIR THOMAS WHITE,

Gave nine hundred pounds for the profit of young beginners, freemen, and traders in the City; to be lent out to them in parcels of twenty five pounds to each poor freeman, for the space of ten years, without interest, they to give their own bond, and such other security as the court of burghmote shall think proper and sufficient; to repay the said twenty five pounds, after the ten years are expired, into the chamber of the City, to be lent out again to the same intent and purposes as aforesaid.

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N. B. Retailers of Woollen cloth to be preferred before all others.

MR. JOHN WHITFIELD,

Gave one hundred and fifty pounds to be lent out to poor tradesmen, freemen of the said City, in parcels of five and twenty pounds a piece, gratis, for five years, but no longer, not twice to any one man, upon such security as the house of burghmote shall order, direct, and approve of, and so to be lent out and taken in for ever: And when any sum of twenty five pounds shall be repaid into the Chamberlain's hands, he shall give notice thereof at the next court of burghmote after the payment, that it may be known for some other Freeman to petition for it; and the Chamberlain, or Town Clerk, may give a note to the executors of the said Mr. Whitfield, to inform him, how and to whom the money is lent: And, that once in three or four years, such persons as shall have the freehold and inheritance of the Messuage wherein the said Mr. Whitfield did live, may have liberty to inspect the securities given for the said money: And once in five years may present two persons, such as he or they shall think fit, to have two of the said five and twenty pounds, gratis, giving security as aforesaid, and to be approved of as aforesaid.

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MR. THOMAS PARAMORE,

Gave one hundred pounds to be lent out to poor trading freemen of the said City, twenty pounds to each freeman, for the term of ten years, without interest; the said freemen to give

such security as the court of burghmote shall think sufficient.

MR. EDWARD JOHNSON,

Gave one hundred pounds to be disposed of at the discretion of the Mayor and Chamberlain for the time being, and the two eldest aldermen, to ten poor tradesmen, freemen of the said City, that is to say, to each ten pounds apiece, to remain in their hands for the space of ten years, without paying interest, they giving good security for the repayment of it at the end of ten years, and so to remain and continue to be disposed of in the same manner, from time to time for ever.

MR. HENRY ROBINSON,

Gave the interest of one hundred pounds; that, as often as the said interest should amount to the sum of five pounds, it might be employed in setting up some honest young man, who was born in the city, and who has served seven years apprenticeship to some trade in the same, being bound thereunto by the churchwardens and

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overseers of some parish within the said City, towards the stocking or setting him up in his said trade; the said young man is from time to time, to be chosen and nominated by the Mayor, Recorder, and Aldermen of the said City, whereof the Mayor or Recorder always to be one: And whoever receives the said money, shall enter into bond with one or more securities, to be approved of by the Mayor, Recorder and Aldermen (of the penalty of ten pounds) to be paid to the Chamberlain for the repayment of the said money, in case that he shall give over or leave off his trade, within two years after receiving the said money. And provided, that no young man, answering the above description, applies for the said five pounds, then it may be given to any other young man who was born in the city, and has served his apprenticeship to some trade in the same, he giving security as aforesaid.

NUMBER IX. Page 255.

Of the Room over St. Anselm's Chapel.

Had I thought it could be disputed whether this room might be called a prison, or that a fire place and oven might be of use to those confined there, I might have added to the description, that it is so solitary as to have no communication with other upper works of the church. That the door leading to it from St. Anselm's

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Chapel at the foot of the stair case, and that which opens into it above that chapel effectually cuts off all conversation with other people, except at the grate placed at such a height from the pavement below, that no discourse held there

could be a secret, as that they within the grate must appear as prisoners. That some signs of confinement here being attended with different degrees of severity may still be traced, my friend W. and D. if he has been so frequently in the room as he says, may remember most or all of these circumstances.

And yet in the *Gent. Mag.* for 1775, page 178, he has published a long letter to show that he differs from this notion of mine: and to support another, perhaps entirely his own.

I think it proper for me to consider as much of his letter as relates to this difference of our notions, and shall begin with what he says concerning the punishments inflicted by the monks on those who behaved so as to require correction.

He begins with observing that as rigid fasting was the general established rule of the religious of the benedictine order, an offending brother when in close custody was subjected to a still more severe state of abstinence, and of

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course could have little need of an oven. He tells us the culpable monks were ranged by the Archbishop under three classes. That an offender, for a slight fault was to have the ordinary diet of the convent, but not to eat it till three hours after the customary time of refreshment; and while his brethren were in the refectory, was to remain in the church by himself. If the crime was of a deeper dye, the guilty brother was to be committed to the special custody of another monk, who was always to attend him to and from his place of confinement (was not this a prison?) and the prior was to give the particular directions about his provision, and the hour of his receiving it.

But a profligate and contumacious criminal was to be seized by violence, and cast into the prison appointed for atrocious criminals, and brought, if possible, by the harshest discipline to a sense and publick acknowledgment of his transgression.

Thus far perhaps my reader may think as I do, W. and D. has employed his labour and study in defence of what he calls an unfortunate conjecture, and the supporting my opinion by authorities which would have been more proper for me to produce.

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What he says about Lanfranc's constitutions and his zeal for transubstantiation shows his reading, but has very little to do with our difference; if he had not thought it leading to a discovery of the chief, if not the only purpose for which the oven was erected; namely, the baking hosts for the sacrament: but there I think him a little unfortunate in his conjecture. Let us see by what argument he supports it.

The curious and whimsical process to be ob=

served in preparing them of which he gives an abstract from Spelman and Wilkins, may afford amusement to some of his readers, but has not one syllable in it to persuade them that a room fitted up with every appearance of a goal was properer for this purpose than that from which it is named: nor does he attempt to prove it ever was employed in such service, except from that one circumstance of its having an oven in it, which is no proof at all.

Wafers are not baked in an oven, but over coals in an instrument so contrived that each side (by turning it) feels the fire, and this he represents as an iron plate: the ordinary ones which children buy for farthings, are called iron cakes because so prepared; and they who make them will be glad enough of a small present to show him their way of working.

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The wafer tongs or irons of the hucksters are stamped or cast with very clumsy figures: but some of those designed for the service of the altar are enriched with very elegant designs finely executed, of which I have seen beautiful proofs.

I must say that I find nothing in this letter to work any change in my opinion of this room being designed for a prison; a prison for ecclesiastical offenders: or that a chimney with an oven in it, though but two feet in diameter (for this is no more) might be of great use and comfort to any who might be allowed the benefit of them when thought proper or necessary.

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ADDENDA.

PAGE 28. The note. *St. Gregory's was a large, &c.* This should have been, *St. John's Hospital was a large, &c.* This Hospital stands on the western side of the street, and *St. Gregory's priory* opposite to it on the eastern.

P. 52. *Cokyn's Hospital.* This is a mistake, for two charities are here confounded from a similitude of names. William Cokyn, citizen of Canterbury, built an Hospital in *St. Peter's street* about the year 1200, on the north side almost opposite to the Black Friars gate, near a lane called *Cokyn's-lane*, now shut up and built upon; and dedicated it to *St. Nicholas* and *St. Catharine the Virgin and Martyr*. Many lands were given by other persons to this Hospital before its founder united it to *East-bridge*, about 1230: not long after this union the brethren and sisters of this hospital were removed to that of *Eastbridge*, and the mansion house leased to a tenant. *Cogan's Hospital* is also in *St. Peter's Street*, on the south side. Mr. Cogan of the City of Canterbury gave by will, dated July 27, 1657, his mansion house in *St.*

Peter's, Canterbury, in trust to the Mayor and Corporation, for the habitation of six poor widows of clergymen of the diocese of Canterbury,

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and endowed it with the lands of the late Archbishop lying in Littlebourn; but these being resumed at the restoration, the house only remained, unendowed. This was however, in 1696, in some measure compensated by the benefaction of Dr. Aucher, a Prebendary of the Cathedral: who vested an estate in trustees for the payment of ten pounds a year to six clergymen's widows, and gave a preference to those in Cogan's house. This house was very lately put into substantial repair from private subscriptions.

P. 129. *Since come to the See.* The king exchanged the Cellarer's lodgings with the Archbishop of Canterbury for three acres of land, late parcel of the priory of St. Gregory, and lately included in the park at Canterbury, by deed dated April 30, 34, H. VIII.

P. 135. *Accidental fires here.* This water house has, since that sheet was printed, been pulled down, rebuilt, and added to the tenement adjoining.

P. 141. *Sarcophagus of marble.* Gervase uses here and elsewhere (see page 246) *marmoreus* to express simply, 'made of stone.' Coffins of that sort they might have in readiness. That they used them is certain from one being discovered very lately in this very vault; it laid but very

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little below the pavement. In the obituary it is said that Thomas Wyking was buried in Nov. 1407, without the walls of the church, on the south side, opposite to the tomb of St. Thomas. And of Thomas Otteford, who died 1414, that he paved the tomb of St. Thomas and the chapel of St. John Baptist therein with square tiles; part of which pavement still remains.

P. 153. *North Hall, or Hog Hall.* The Stranger's Hall is placed here by Somner, but improperly; had he attended to the charter of Hen. VI. for holding a court, which he quotes, he would have seen the use and name; it is there related that 'the prior and convent of the church and their predecessors have been used time out of mind, to hold a court at the North Hall within the precincts of the said church, which court was called High Court;' hence its name Hog Hall. This building in Eadwyn's drawing is called Aula Nova. From which drawing we also see the situation of the Domus Hospitalium, at the north side of the garden of the seventh prebendary, separated from the kitchen of the monastery by a gateway, and not far from the Cellarer's apartments, called there Cellarium.

P. 155. *The stone steps.* This paragraph should stand thus: The stone steps being greatly worn, were within memory replaced with

square tiles, the pillars of marble on the south

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side still remain, and those on the north are closed up by a plastered wall.

P. 175. *Heaven and Paradise.* In the obituary it is recorded of William Woghope, who died in 1397, that he made the chamber called Heven.

P. 185. *The old Baptistery.* This however is offered only as a conjecture, and is left as such to the reader, who may perhaps form a different opinion. The lower part of this building is opposite to the south door of the Crypt, and the upper to the door into the south cross above. In the lower part it might serve for the monks to assemble in from that cloister, which in Eadwyn's drawing goes around what is now a garden, before they proceeded on any solemn occasion into the Crypt; and above for the same purpose, when they came from the dormitory to go to the choir. It is not necessarily a Baptistarium because it is furnished with water; for we see in Eadwyn's drawing a similar provision made for cleanliness in another part of this cloister; in the great cloister, before the door into the refectory; and before the entrance into Aula Nova. The situation of this building, on the north side of the church, close to the dormitories, must have been inconvenient for a Baptistery; which ought rather to have been on the south

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side, unto which the laity could have had an easy access.

P. 193. *Perhaps the escutcheon.* The dog seiant, within a border engrailed, was the bearing of Archbishop Sudbury, as appears by a deed in the archives of this cathedral, G. 80. with his seal affixed. It is an oval; at the top, a crucifix; in the middle, under Gothic arches, Becket's murder; at the bottom the Archbishop, with on one side of him the arms of the See of Canterbury, and on the other side, in a border engrailed, a dog seiant. This deed is dated 1380; he was murdered 1381, the remainder of the inscription is 'S. Simonis: de: Sudburi . . .' In the great western window of the chapter house are four shields supported by angels; which are evidently intended to commemorate the builders of the nave, cloisters, and chapter house. The first is, sable, a talbot seiant within a border engrailed, argent, for Sudbury as above. The second, a text M. crowned, or, on a cross, azure. These arms are given by Archbishop Parker, and from him by Dr. Richardson in his edition of Godwin, to Sudbury. The third Courtney. The fourth, Arundel. Upon what authority the second arms are given to Archbishop Sudbury beyond that of Parker's *Antiquitates, &c.* I know not. The talbot sitting is carved on the east side, and the arms of Canterbury on the west

side of the door in the north wall of the body leading into the cloisters; and the same arms, and those of Courtney and Arundel, are often repeated on the vaulting of the nave, in the chapter house, and cloister; but those which are given in the *Antiquitates* to Sudbury are to be met with only in that window in the chapter house.

P. 206. *If any water.* Beside the drawing of Eadwyn which is published, there is another in the same manuscript; from a copy of which it seems to have been the first rude sketch of that which he afterwards finished. It appears from this that his intention was to shew the different courses of the water collected from the roof of the church, and of that which was brought from the springs in the North Holmes, of which they had not been long in possession. These different water courses are distinguished on this first draught by the colours yellow and red, that from the North Holmes being yellow. At the north east corner of the print there is a circle for the water house; it is brought thence under a tower of St. Gregory's Priory, through a field, a vineyard, an orchard, and under the city wall into the priory. As the drawing from which the print is made is coloured, it is to be wished that the different water courses had been expressed by a difference in shading them, that these

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two aqueducts might have been distinguished from one another, and from the great sewer which runs across what is now called the Green Court. It was said ch. 14, p. 117 that the towers of St. Peter and S. Paul on the south side, and of St. Andrew on the north side of the eastern part of the cathedral; 'have been much more lofty than they are at present,' and that 'their upper parts have been lost no body knows how long ago.' They were standing when Eadwyn made his drawing; and it is most probable that when the monks extended the church by building Becket's noble chapel at the eastern end equal in height with the rest of the fabric, that they reduced these towers to their present height, that they might not break in upon the upper part of the building, which they very possibly intended to finish by a similar tower on each side of Becket's crown.

P. 211. *Good an account.* This Culmer being recommended to the House of Commons by the Mayor and other deputy lieutenants of the City of Canterbury as a godly and orthodox divine, and a man fit to preach in the Cathedral there, the assembly of divines having approved of him, he was made one of the Six Preachers in that Cathedral.

P. 268. *Think it so.* Theobald was Beck=

et's immediate predecessor; there was no marble used in this church until the rebuilding it after Becket's death, and this monument is made of the same Petworth marble, of which such a profusion is to be seen in the pillars and other parts of this church. It was evidently made for the place where it stands and was not removed from any other, and if it is Theobald's must have been made for the removal of his body. It is very singular in its structure, and from the quatrefoils in which the four heads are placed, seems to be of a later time.

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FINIS.

<A new edition of Gostling's 'Walk', much revised and enlarged, was passing through the press when Gostling died. That was in March 1777. His friends rallied round, and the second edition underwent a transformation. Instead of being a cheap guidebook, it became a collector's item, illustrated with more than twenty plates and published by subscription. The understanding seems to have been that the publishers would subtract what was needed to cover their costs, and that the balance of the proceeds would go to Gostling's daughter, Hester Gostling (1719–1798), who was in need of some financial assistance. The plan worked well. The plates – some notes about which appear in a separate file – were paid for by Gostling's friends (Francis Grose paid for five of them). Many people signed up for a copy of the book; some of them bought more than one copy; some of them paid more than the asking price (a tactful way of putting money into Hester's pocket). The text, we are assured, is Gostling's work throughout: these are his final thoughts. There are four later editions of the book (1779, 1796, 1804, 1825), but Gostling had nothing to do with any of them. – C.F. November 2011.>