

THE GREYFRIARS OF LINCOLN

By A. R. MARTIN

The sole remaining portion of the Franciscan friary in Lincoln, which now serves as the City Museum, is, in spite of much alteration, a building of singular interest. Not only is it the earliest church of the order now surviving in England,¹ but its subsequent conversion into two storeys presents an arrangement apparently unique in this country. Apart from some measured drawings published in 1851² before subsequent restoration had revealed several important features, the building has been little touched upon in archaeological literature and no excuse is therefore needed for attempting to describe it in some detail. It will first be necessary, however, to refer by way of introduction to the somewhat scanty history of the house with particular reference to such facts as have a bearing on the date and extent of the buildings or the general topography of the site.

GENERAL HISTORY

The exact date of the arrival of the Franciscans in Lincoln is unknown, but it was certainly as early as 1230, for on February 7th, 1231, the citizens with the consent of the King, allocated a piece of land near their guildhall for the use of the friars, and from the wording of this grant it is evident that the friars were already in occupation of adjoining property, which is stated to have been given them by William de Benningworth, a sub-dean of the cathedral church.³

¹ The quire of the Greyfriars Church at Chichester can scarcely have been completed before about 1280, while that at Winchelsea must date from after 1291, when the new town was founded.

² J. S. Padley, *Selections from the Ancient Edifices of Lincolnshire* (1851).

³ *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1225-1232, pp. 422-3. There is considerable discrepancy in the earlier accounts of the foundation of this house. Speed

mentions John Stainwike as founder, but Dugdale corrects this to John Pickering of Stampwick, who was merely a late benefactor. Leland, on the other hand, apparently confuses the house with that at Scarborough, and states that Reginaldus Molendinarius, a merchant of Lincoln, was founder, adding that Henry Lacy, Earl of Lincoln, and one Nunny, his almoner, were great benefactors (*Itinerary*, edit. Toulmin Smith, vol. i, p. 31).

The Grey Friars were probably the first of the mendicant orders to establish themselves in the city, though all the others were subsequently represented by permanent settlements. The Dominicans arrived before 1238 and settled in the suburb outside the Pottergate near the Greestone stairs; the Carmelites acquired a site to the south of the city where the present Midland Railway Station stands about 1269, and the Austin friars about the same time settled in an area to the north, outside the Newport gate. The Friars of the Sack had a small house in Thornbridgegate Street, in the suburb to the south-east, from before 1266 until their suppression in 1274. The Franciscan house at Lincoln appears as the second house in the custody of York in the official list of the English Province drawn up at the General Chapter at Perpignan in 1331.¹ The remaining six houses in this custody were York, Beverley, Doncaster, Scarborough, Boston, and Grimsby. The other two Lincolnshire houses at Stamford and Grantham were in the custody of Oxford.

The original area adjoining the old guildhall was extended on October 5th, 1237, by the gift of the site of the guildhall itself which was assigned by the mayor and bailiffs to the friars at the personal request of Henry III.²

The only subsequent addition to the friars' property appears to have been the gift of a messuage in 1350 by John de Pykering of Scopwich,³ which from later documents seems to have brought the total area up to four acres. That the site was always small was no doubt partly due to its situation in the extreme south-east corner of the Roman city, the wall of which, or its medieval successor, formed the precinct boundary on two sides and effectively barred any extension into the more open land of the suburbs. A similar position in relation to the Roman town was chosen for the Grey Friars' houses in Chichester, Gloucester, Colchester and elsewhere, and was doubtless determined to some extent by the convenience and economy of

¹ A. G. Little, *Studies in English Franciscan History*, p. 236.

² *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1234-1237, pp. 495 and 500.

³ *ibid.*, 1348-50, p. 500.

utilizing as much of the existing wall as possible as a boundary of the precinct.

In 1258 the friars were licensed to block up a postern in this wall and to enclose a lane which led thereto on the north side of their property.¹ The site thus consolidated was bounded by the present Silver Street on the north, by Free School Lane on the west, by the city wall to the west of Broadgate on the east, and by its continuation along the south side of the present St. Swithins Church on the south. Within this area the buildings were erected and there seems no reason to doubt that the surviving structure was begun soon after the acquisition of the final portion of the site in 1237. References to the actual progress of the work are unfortunately almost wholly absent. A gift of five oaks from the forest of Shirewood in 1258 was for fuel,² but a later gift of ten oaks from the same source in 1268 'for the fabric of their church' indicates that building was then in hand.³ That the buildings were substantially completed some years before 1275 seems to be implied by the statements of the jurors in the Great Inquest of that year. It was then alleged that the friars had encroached upon the city wall for a length of 10 perches to the danger of the city fifteen years or more before; that ten years or more before they had enclosed a certain lane and shut up a postern in the city wall, that fifteen years or more before, they had planted their houses and church on the wall itself for a length of 20 perches and to a depth of 14 perches and finally that the encroachment extended 'from the gable of a certain Robert Cotty on the north to the postern on the south.' The statements of the different jurors vary somewhat in detail, but it is clear that the encroachments which included the church had occurred between ten and thirty years previously.⁴ It is not, however, until 1280 that an order to Geoffrey de Nevill, justice of the forest beyond Trent, to furnish the friars with six oaks,⁵ supplemented on February 4th, 1284, by a similar order

¹ *ibid.*, 1247-58, p. 652.

² *Cal. Close Rolls*, 1256-59, p. 268.

³ *Close Roll* 52 Hen. III, m3.

⁴ *Hundred Rolls* (Rec. Com.),

vol. i (1812), pp. 311a, b, 318b, 319a, 325 and 398.

⁵ *Cal. Close Rolls*, 1279-88, p. 35.

for six more oaks 'fit for timber for the work of their church,'¹ suggests that some final work on the roof or interior was then being taken in hand.

The confined nature of the site with which the friars as late arrivals had to contend, and which doubtless accounted for encroachment on the city walls was probably a primary factor in the ultimate placing of the church on the upper floor over a vaulted undercroft. That these encroachments led to friction with the city authorities is perhaps not surprising. In 1321 the friars complained to the King that the mayor and bailiff had for the better protection of the city broken the enclosures of the friars which previously adjoined the wall of the city and had broken and blocked up certain private chambers contiguous to the wall to the damage and danger of the friars. The King thereupon ordered that the enclosures should be restored and the chambers opened out, provided that suitable gates be made in the enclosures whereby access might be had to the walls.² At the same time the mayor and citizens were directed to deliver to the friars all charters and muniments concerning their house which were in the custody of the city or to furnish copies of any they had reason to retain.³ Three years later the guardian of the house had occasion to complain of a more private attack on his property when a number of persons broke his close and houses in Lincoln and carried away certain goods.⁴ Though scarcely relevant to our subject, it is of interest to note that in 1352 Thomas de Lungeston and John Fox of Lee, near Gainsborough, two of the friars minor of the Lincoln house, became involved with William Fox, the parson of Lee, in a charge of having abducted Margaret de Everyngham, a nun of the Premonstratensian house at Broadholme, in Nottinghamshire, and of carrying away goods from that house. The charge, however, does not seem to have been proved and they were pardoned.⁵

In 1379 the Grey Friars' church is mentioned in connection with a claim to sanctuary. Robert de

¹ *ibid.*, p. 251.

² *ibid.*, 1318-23, p. 487.

³ *ibid.*

⁴ *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1324-27, p. 67.

⁵ *ibid.*, 1350-54, p. 225.

Swanlound of Lincoln, being indicted for having killed Robert de Hautenpris in the city, immediately fled to the church of the friars minor and claimed ecclesiastical immunity, whereupon certain of his accomplices came armed by night and took him from the church out of the city, where he remained at liberty.¹

The remaining history of the house can be briefly told. It is confined for the most part to a few references in wills and to some evidence of building activity on the eve of the suppression. Small testamentary gifts for unspecified purposes do not directly concern us here, but as details of nearly all the Lincolnshire wills prior to 1538 are available,² it may be of interest to note that some 120 bequests to the Greyfriars of Lincoln are recorded, of which about 110 were included in a general gift to the four orders of friars in Lincoln without further specification. The sums are generally of small amount and rarely exceed 20s., while comparatively few gifts in kind are mentioned. The donors are in nearly all cases residents in the city or its immediate vicinity and by far the larger proportion of the gifts date from late fifteenth and early sixteenth century.³ The earliest of these wills is of interest, on account of its date and as mentioning one of the friars by name. Christiana, widow and relict of John, son of William de Bennington, in 1283, left 'the friars minor of Lincoln, half a mark, so nevertheless that it may be at the disposition of friar Geoffrey Sampson.'⁴ Unlike many Franciscan churches, the Grey Friars' church at Lincoln never appears to have enjoyed any popularity as a place of burial and only four such burials have been noted. On April 27th, 1286, an indulgence was granted by Bishop Kellaway, of Durham, for the soul of Alice de Ros who was buried in the friars' church.⁵ Early in the fourteenth century Adam of Lincoln, D.D., the regent master of the

¹ *ibid.*, 1377-81, p. 361.

² C. W. Foster, *Lincolnshire Wills*, 1271-1532, 3 vols. (Lincoln Record Society); A. R. Maddison, *Lincolnshire Wills*, 1st. Ser. 1500-1600 (1888); and A. Gibbons, *Early Lincoln Wills*, 1280-1547 (abstracted from the Episcopal Registers) (1890).

³ This may be somewhat deceptive as the bulk of the wills preserved date from this period.

⁴ *Lincolnshire Wills* (Lincs. Rec. Soc.), vol. i (1910), p. 2.

⁵ Dixon, *Fast. Ebor.*, i, p. 335.

Franciscans at Oxford, who succeeded as fifteenth Provincial Minister about 1304, is stated to have been buried at Lincoln, presumably at the Greyfriars,¹ while on January 30th, 1322-3, the kings almoner received 20s. 4d. for expenses 'circa exequias corporis Vitalis de Gavenak (aliter Savynak) defuncti et in ecclesia fratrum minorum civitatis Lincoln' sepulti.'² In 1509 Thomas Merying of Lincoln, gentleman, by his will directed that he should be buried 'in the church of the Friars minor of the said city' to whom he gave 6/8 for his burial.³

There is some evidence that building was in progress or contemplated immediately prior to the suppression. On September 12th, 1534, the Warden of the Greyfriars was authorised to have as much stone as he required from the churches of St. Augustine and Holy Trinity 'at the Grece foot,' which were ruined and falling down, 'for the reparation of his house freely and of charity.'⁴ Again, on July 12th of the following year he received a grant of the timber from the roof of 'St. Bathe Church,' for upholding and maintaining the house.⁵ In the same year the friars' water system which continued in use until comparatively modern times was under construction. On April 8th the city records mention a license granted to the Warden of the Greyfriars to lay his conduit in common ground of the city where he shall think most convenient.⁶ The water was derived from a spring near Monks Abbey to the east of the city. After the suppression the conduit came into the possession of the town.⁷ No

¹ A. G. Little, *Greyfriars in Oxford*, p. 160; *Monumenta Franciscana* (Rolls. Ser.), i, p. 537.

² Wardrobe accounts 15-17 Edw. II (BM Stowe MS. 553 ff., 21^v, 113). I am indebted to Dr. A. G. Little for this reference.

³ *Lincolnshire Wills*, vol. i, *ut sup.*, p. 39.

⁴ 'Lincoln Corporation MSS.,' *Hist. MSS. Com. 14th Report*, App. viii, p. 33.

⁵ *ibid.*, p. 34. The church was possibly that of St. Peter ad fontem. The churches of Holy Trinity at the Greece Foot, St. Bayth, Holy Trinity at the Greyfriars and St. Michael at the Gottes were ordered to be demol-

ished with the exception of the chancels in 1535 (*ibid.*, p. 33).

⁶ *Hist. MSS. Com. 14th Report*, App. viii, p. 33.

The Whitefriars in Lincoln also had an elaborate water system, the conduit head of which has been reconstructed in the churchyard of St. Mary-le-Wigford. It dates from the fifteenth century. Leland after mentioning this conduit adds, 'There is another new castelle of conduct hedde *trans Lindim flu*; and booth these be servid by pipes derivid from one of the houses of freres that were in the upper part of Lincoln' (*Itinerary*, edit. Toulmin Smith, vol. i, p. 31). The second conduit head was probably that of the Greyfriars.

trace of it now survives but a writer in 1810 records that 'the conduit for the supply of this part of the town is placed between the second and third buttress' of the existing building.¹

The general suppression of the friaries took place in the summer and autumn of 1538, but several of the Lincolnshire houses survived until early in the following year. On the first Sunday in Lent, 1539, Richard Ingworth, the suffragan Bishop of Dover, who received the surrender of most of the English friaries wrote to Cromwell, 'I am now in Lincoln where that also I have received four poor houses nothing left but stones and poor glass, but metely leaded. All lead and bells I leave to the King's use, and as for plate also I save, the which is very little. If that I find 12 ounces in a house, it is well; for the more part 7 or 8 ounces is the most. In Lincoln in the Grey friars is a goodly conduit for the which the Mayor and the Aldermen was with me to make suit to have the conduit unto the city. I could not satisfy them till that I promised them to write in their behalf to your lordship for the same and so they have a letter of me to your lordship beseeching you to be good lord to them; they ordered me very genteelly (jentyllly) there.'² The deed of surrender has not survived, so that practically nothing is known of the inmates of the house at that date, though the number was certainly very small. No immediate purchaser for the property was found and the site was accordingly let to William Monson of Ingleby, near Lincoln, a member of a well-known local family, at a rent of 12/- a year.³ Monson appears to have converted the buildings into a private residence and in 1540 he obtained a twenty-one-years' lease of the property at the same rent.⁴ Five years later the reversion on this lease was sold to John Pope, together with many other properties for a total

¹ A. Stark, *The History of Lincoln* (1810), pp. 201-2. There is a small woodcut of the Greyfriars.

² T. Wright, 'Letters relating to the suppression of the monasteries.' *Camden Soc.*, xxvi (1843), p. 192. *Letters and Papers Hen. VIII*, vol. 14 (1), no. 348 and no. 413.

³ 'P.R.O. Ministers' Accounts, Hen. VIII,' No. 2019. See Appendix

⁴ 'P.R.O. Exchequer, Augmentation office,' *Misc. Bks.* 212, fo. 38b. The great timber and woods and all such buildings within the precinct as the king should order to be pulled down were reserved.

sum of £1,575 13s. 8d. The grant was made by Letters Patent dated February 8th, 1545, and comprised 'the whole site enclosure circuits, ambits and precincts of the late house of Friars minor in our city of Lincoln by estimation 4 acres in the tenure of William Monson.'¹ The official 'particulars' sent to the Court of Augmentations is dated two days after the grant itself and contains a note that there were growing about the site 42 ash trees of thirty or forty years' growth, whereof 32 were reserved for timber to repair the house standing upon the same and for stakes for hedgebotte to repair the hedges, and the residue valued at sixpence a tree was to be included in the sale.²

Pope was merely a speculator in monastic property and he appears to have sold the site of the Greyfriars almost at once to the tenant William Monson, whose son Robert, a Recorder of Lincoln and subsequently justice of the Common Pleas, ultimately succeeded to the property. Its later history has been fully dealt with elsewhere,³ but it may be of interest to mention in conclusion the vicissitudes through which the surviving building has passed prior to its adaptation as a museum. On May 8th, 1568, the city records contains the following entry: 'Forasmuch as Robert Monson, Esq., is pleased to make a freeschool of his own charge in the late Grey friars, it is ordered that he shall have all the glass remaining in the freeschool (i.e. the old one) towards the glazing of the windows in the new school.'⁴ Six years later Monson conveyed the whole of the Greyfriars' property to the city for the purposes of the freeschool and in order that the city might 'more quietly have and enjoy a conduit or water course lately in question' in exchange for a parsonage in Buckinghamshire, reserving only a life interest to himself.⁵ On his death in 1583 the city came into

¹ *Pat. Roll* 36, *Hen. VIII.*, pt. 26, m. 30 and 33. See appendix III. *Letters and Papers Hen. VIII.*, vol. 20 (1), p. 1224, no. 262 (19).

² 'P.R.O. Particulars for grants, *Hen. VIII.*, No. 874. See appendix II. An earlier application for a grant to John Bellow and Edward Bayliss in 1544-5 was not proceeded with

and is deleted in the roll (Partic. for grants, file 121 m, 24-25).

³ 'The Greyfriary, Lincoln,' by E. M. Sympson, *Lincs. Notes and Queries*, vol. 7 (1903), pp. 193-202.

⁴ *Hist. MSS. Comm. 14th Report*, App. viii, p. 62.

⁵ *ibid.*, p. 16.

complete possession of the property and has remained the owner ever since.

About this time some portion of the buildings appear to have been demolished, for in 1587 the city records mention a gift to two private individuals, of stones from the Greyfriars,¹ and in the following year 'the fairest great free stones in the friars' were ordered to be piled and laid up in the vaults under the school.² In 1602 more stones from the Friars were granted to a Mr. Ellis.³

The freeschool for a long time occupied the upper floor only of the existing building. The undercroft according to the city records was in use as a house of correction in 1612.⁴ In 1624 it was let to Gregory Lawcock as a warehouse for wool,⁵ but this proving a failure he received compensation in 1629 for his loss in setting up looms there.⁶ It continued, however, as a 'Jersey School' for teaching knitting and spinning wool until about 1830. From 1833 to 1862 it was the home of the mechanics' institute after which date it was taken over as additional accommodation by the school above.⁷ The school continued in occupation until about 1900. In 1903 it was decided to adapt the building as a museum for the city, and after extensive and careful restoration had been carried out by the architects, Messrs. W. Watkins & Son,⁸ this was formally opened on May 22nd, 1907.

ARCHITECTURAL DESCRIPTION

The surviving building is a structure of ragstone rubble with freestone dressings, 101 ft. long and 21 ft. 6 in. wide internally, divided into two storeys

¹ *ibid.*, p. 72.

² *ibid.*, p. 73.

³ *ibid.*, p. 77.

⁴ *ibid.*, p. 90.

⁵ *ibid.*, p. 97.

⁶ *ibid.*, p. 99.

⁷ In 1851, according to Padley, the undercroft was divided in five rooms by four modern partitions. These were occupied respectively by a

wheelwright's shop, the museum and library of the Mechanics' Institute, a vestibule and the Librarian's apartment.

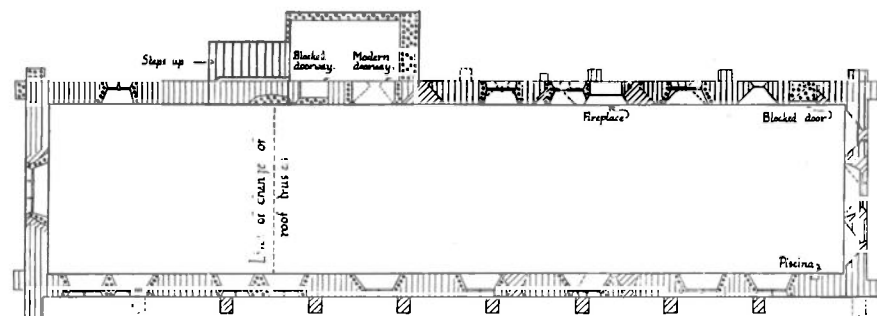
⁸ See report of the architects on the building, dated February 1903, and supplemental report dated 22nd October, 1906. Printed in the Catalogue of the 13th Annual Art and Industrial Exhibition at the Greyfriars, 1906.



GREY FRIARS, LINCOLN, FROM S.E., WITH RUINS OF OLD ST. SWITHINS CHURCH ON
LEFT. 1784

(From a water-colour drawing by S. H. Grimm in the British Museum)

[Add. MSS. 15541, no. 159]



GREYFRIARS LINCOLN UPPER FLOOR

||||| Period I : First half of 13th Century.

▨ Period II: Mid or late 13th Century.

▤ Modern.

10 0 10 20 30 feet.

A.R. Martin mens. et del. 1934.

by a vaulted undercroft. That this vaulting is a later insertion, and that the original structure was of one storey only is apparent, from the fact that the sills of the original lancet windows on the north side, and of the triple lancets in the east wall, which were revealed during the restoration of 1905, are some 4 ft. below the level of the upper floor and can be partially seen in the undercroft below. Moreover, the responds of the vaulting piers are not bonded into the outer wall, while the blocked arcading between the main building, and an aisle or chapel which originally existed on the north side, extends above the present vaulting and must have been blocked up when the latter was inserted. The building in its original form, therefore, consisted of a long and narrow apartment lit on the north side by tall lancets with wide internal splays arranged in pairs with their sills some 4 ft. 6 in. from the present external ground level. On the south, owing to the abutment of the cloister walk, the lancets were shorter and did not extend below the present floor line while their arrangement was varied by their being placed at regular intervals, instead of in pairs. The original east window consisted of a triplet of lancet lights of similar character to those on the north, having plain chamfered rear arches without shafts or mouldings. Only the two outer lancets now survive to their full height, the head of the centre one having been removed when the present east window was inserted. During the restoration of 1905 part of the blocking was removed from most of the surviving lancets so that their character can now be plainly seen. On the north side there were apparently four pairs of these lancets, one of which has been opened out to its full length and glazed, while the upper portion of the jambs and rear arches of several of the others were apparently re-used when the later windows and the present modern doorway were inserted. The latter is placed in the head of the western-most lancet, the splay of which has been cut away to form the rebate for the door. On the south side, traces of three of the original lancets can be seen on the exterior (Pl. ix A). They probably extended along the whole length of

the building, but the others have been obliterated by the insertion of later windows.

In the north wall of this building, towards the west end, there is a blocked arcade of two bays, supported on a central octagonal column with moulded cap and base which still survives, embedded in the later filling. It is now partly exposed by a modern opening through the wall against its eastern face (Pl. iii B). The arches above are of three plain chamfered orders with a span of about 10 ft. and rise to a height of some 16 ft. from the present internal ground level. Of the aisle to which this arcade gave access nothing survives above ground, but some trial excavations carried out about 1906 by the then curator of the museum, Mr. Arthur Smith, revealed a wall at this point, parallel to and at a distance of 11 ft. to the north of the main building, which was doubtless the north wall of the aisle in question. The absence of any extension of the arcading to the east coupled with the position of the westernmost of the lancet windows on this side, indicates that the aisle cannot have extended further to the east than the position approximately shown on the accompanying plan. No evidence of its west wall appears to have been discovered in the excavation referred to, and its extent in this direction will be considered later in connection with the westward termination of the main structure.

The only other original architectural feature in the interior of the building is a small cap with the springers of arches on either side set in the south wall at a point about 10 ft. from the east end and at a height of about 9 ft. From its position just below the present vaulting, by which it is partly obscured, there can be little doubt that it formed part of the fittings of the original quire before the vaulting was inserted, and it is not improbable that it is a fragment of the sedelia. Its present height is accounted for partly by the fact that the general floor level was lowered when the vaulting was inserted and partly by the removal at the same time of the steps upon which the altar was no doubt originally raised.



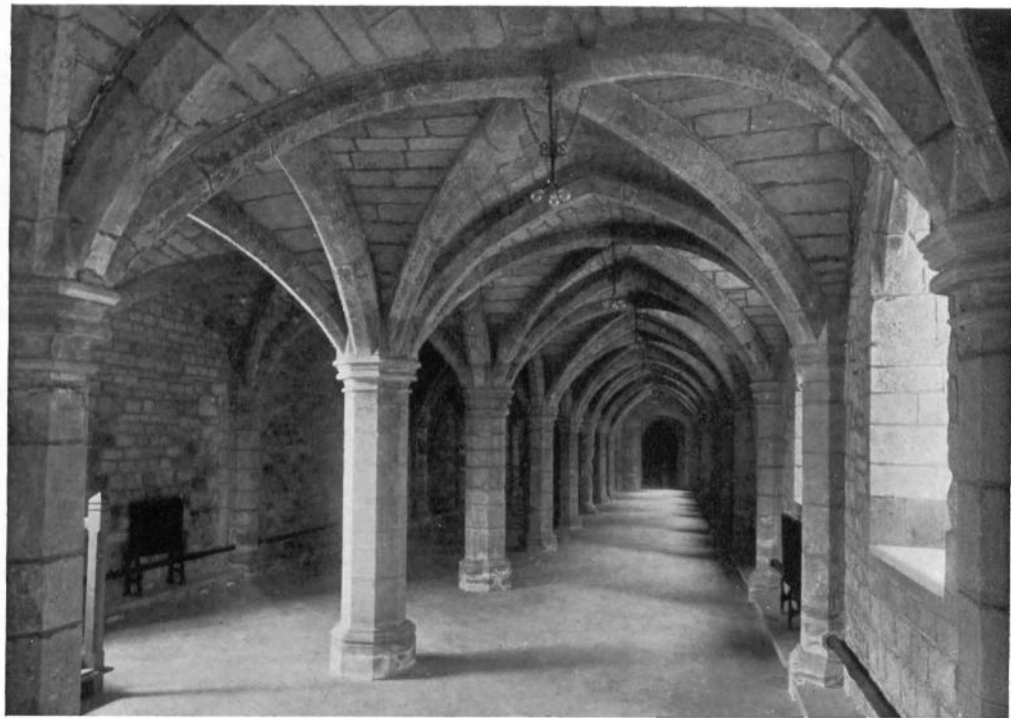
A. GREY FRIARS, LINCOLN, UNDERCROFT LOOKING WEST
(*before restoration*)

To face page 52.



B. GREY FRIARS, LINCOLN. PIER OF ORIGINAL NORTH
ARCADE AND RESPOND AND VAULTING OF LATER UNDERCROFT

PLATE III.



GREY FRIARS, LINCOLN, UNDERCROFT LOOKING EAST
(after restoration)

The work of the second period, which included the division of the building into two storeys, must now be described. The first step undertaken was the lowering of the ground level of the interior to give the necessary additional height. This is clearly shown by the position of the base of the column of the arcade of the original north aisle, which is now some 2 ft. above the present floor-level, and the base of the adjoining respond of the vaulting (Pl. iii B). The two existing bays of the nave arcade were then blocked up and the vaulted undercroft inserted throughout the entire length of the building. It consists of nine bays divided longitudinally by a central row of eight octagonal columns with moulded caps and bases and semi-octagonal responds at the sides and ends. The vaulting is quadripartite with two centred arches and plain chamfered ribs with small carved leaf bosses at the intersections of the principal ribs.

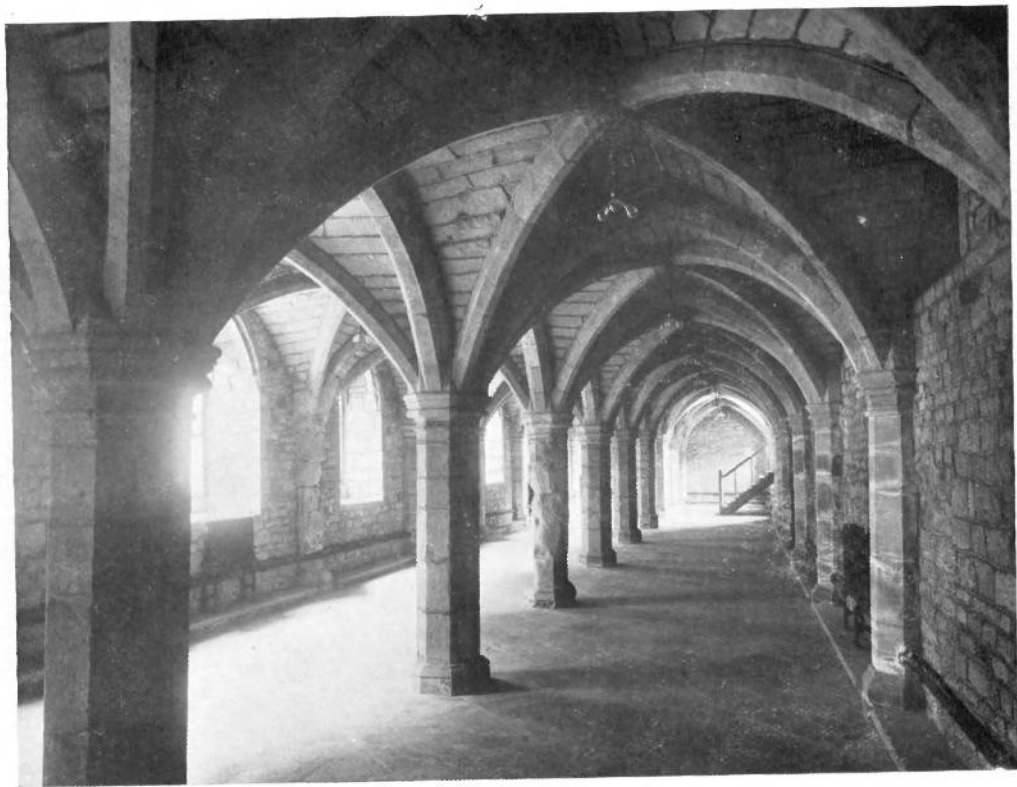
The insertion of this vaulting, as already indicated, involved the blocking up of the lancets on the north side and at the east end. On the south side owing to their lesser height they may have continued to light the upper apartment, as all the existing upper windows on this side appear to be modern insertions. Provision for lighting the undercroft was made by the insertion of a row of plain pointed windows in the south wall overlooking the cloister alley. These in part survive, though they have been extensively restored, and much of the stonework renewed. They have rear arches with hollow chamfered edges dying into the wall, and are without mullions, but there is some evidence to suggest that they originally had a central mullion divided at the head so as to form two simple lights. A window of this description existed on the upper floor as recently as 1851 (Pl. ix A). The windows in the second bay from either end are entirely modern and replace doorways which formerly existed in these positions. The westernmost of these doors was used as the entrance to the school and was replaced by the existing window during the restoration of 1905. Over it was a modern inscription which still remains in the wall above, though now almost illegible, recording the gift of the school to the

Corporation.¹ The other door to the east had disappeared before 1851, but can be seen in Grimm's drawing of 1784 (Pl. i), and there can be little doubt that these doorways indicated the positions of, if they were not in fact, the original doorways which gave access to the cloister.

The undercroft itself, during its various vicissitudes after the suppression, had been divided up by partitions and its floor level raised until the bases of the columns were almost completely hidden. These partitions were removed and the floor restored to its original level during the restoration of 1905. At the same time the removal of plaster disclosed traces of fire, which had damaged the stonework of the piers and the groin ribs of one of the bays of the vaulting, but there was nothing to indicate when the fire had occurred.

The upper floor, which is approached by a modern external staircase on the north side, is now a single compartment but was formerly divided into two rooms of unequal size by a partition which was removed at the restoration of 1905. The east window, which replaces the centre of the original lancets, is of three lights with intersecting tracery in a two-centred head. Externally it has a moulded dripstone terminating in small carved heads and over the window in the apex of the gable is a small vesica-shaped opening probably of thirteenth-century date. Over the gable itself is a small foliated cross of uncertain date. In the west wall of the upper apartment is a low window of three lights, inserted apparently in the nineteenth century within the jambs of a larger window which was probably contemporary with that at the east end. The remaining windows on this floor are for the most part imitation Tudor work inserted in the last century, but partly utilizing the rear arches and splays of earlier openings. The condition of the windows on the south side in 1851 is shown in the elevation drawn in that year (Pl. ix A), from which it will be seen that five of those on the upper floor had merely wooden frames, which have now been replaced by stone mullions to

¹ The inscription reads, 'The School given by Mr. Justice Monson to the corporation about 1583.'



GREY FRIARS, LINCOLN. UNDERCROFT LOOKING WEST
(after restoration)



A. GREY FRIARS, LINCOLN, UPPER FLOOR LOOKING EAST
(during restoration)



B. GREY FRIARS, LINCOLN, UPPER FLOOR LOOKING WEST
(during restoration)

conform with the pair further to the west, which were inserted about 1845. The two-light window with pointed arch and central mullion intersecting at the head shown in this elevation at the west end has now disappeared. It probably represents the original form of the windows in the undercroft below and may indicate that a similar series formerly existed on the upper floor. To the west of this window there were indications in 1851 of two blocked lancets of different character to the main series to the east, and of a small pointed opening immediately under the eaves. These features are no longer visible and it is therefore difficult to determine their exact date or significance, but the fragments of weather moulding with a single corbel below indicate the abutment of a building on the site of the western range with a roof on a rather higher level than the roof of the adjoining cloister alley. This is probably the building referred to by a writer in 1810, who states that 'the entrance is at the west end by a projecting porch in the fashion of those in pictures of the houses in Flanders.'¹ A building in this position is visible in Grimm's view (Pl. i).

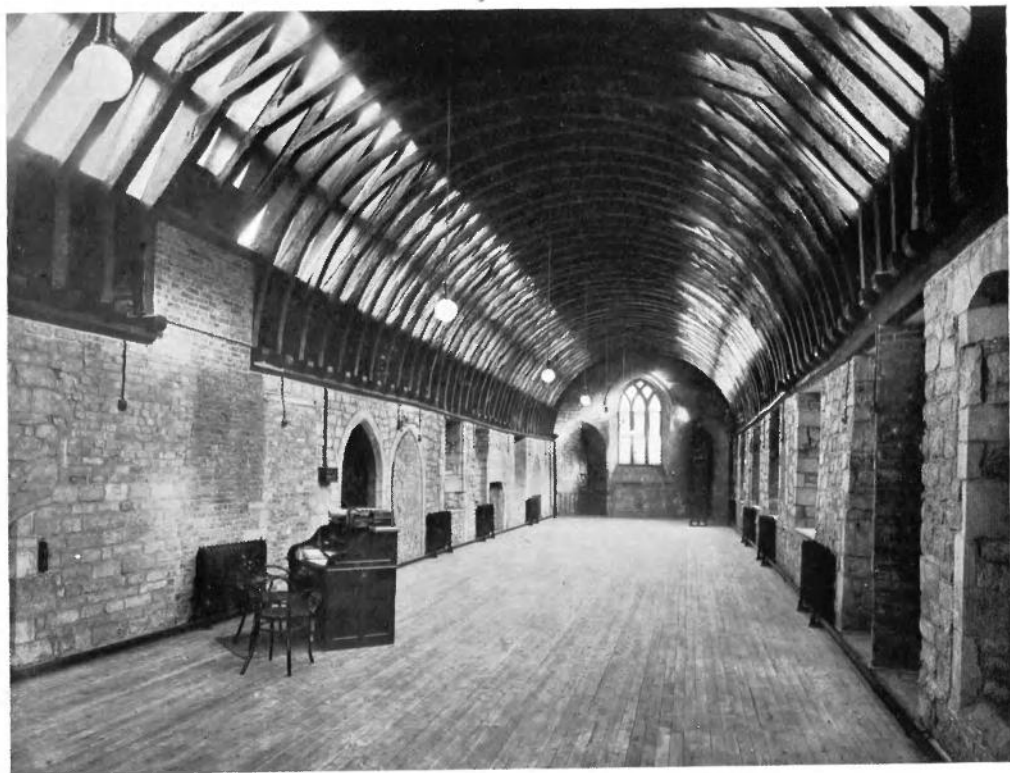
There is no definite indication of the original entrance to the upper chamber. In the north wall there is a small blocked doorway at a distance of 4 ft. from the east end, and apparently constructed in the head of the easternmost of the original lancets. It was presumably approached by an external wooden staircase, but from its position can hardly have been the principal entrance. Immediately to the west of the present entrance, which is clearly a later insertion, is the frame of a two-centred doorway with plain chamfered jambs set against the outer face of the wall, but it is doubtful whether this is in position, and it may have been removed here in the restoration of 1905. Wherever the original entrance was, it must have been approached by an external staircase, as the vaulting below is intact throughout the entire building. Of the fittings of the upper floor the most important is a double piscina of thirteenth-century date in the south

¹ A. Stark, *History of Lincoln*, *ut sup.*, p. 201.

wall at a distance of 4 ft. from the east end and about 4 ft. above the present floor level. The recess is 1 ft. 10 in. in height with a chamfered edge and trefoil head, the twin bowls being supported on slightly projecting moulded brackets. In the opposite wall a little further to the west is a fireplace with a shouldered arch of apparently sixteenth-century date, which was probably inserted when the freeschool was established in the building. The projection for the chimney is supported externally on four large corbels.

It remains to mention the fine open timber roof which is still more or less intact over the whole length of the building, though its appearance has been considerably marred by the insertion of glass skylights in place of part of the tiling. Its construction is unusual and interesting, and shows a change in design at a point 72 ft. 6 in. from the east and 28 ft. 6 in. from the west walls. The eastern portion consists of closely set oak rafters with semicircular trusses springing direct from the wall plate and without tie beams. In the western portion the trusses are straight instead of circular, a fact which was discovered during the restoration of 1905. Prior to that date a flat plaster ceiling covered this portion of the building, and when this was removed it was found that the original trusses were missing, but the mortice holes in the old rafters clearly indicated that these had been straight, and they were accordingly restored in this form.

The fact that this change of design in the framing of the roof coincides with the position of the abutment of the easternmost arch of the nave arcade below and allows for a quire of normal length, suggests that the roof is part of the original building before it was divided into two storeys, and that as in other early churches of the mendicant orders, no structural division between the nave and the quire was originally provided, its place being taken by a timber screen. Whether this arrangement was perpetuated when the church was removed to the upper floor it is impossible to say, in the absence of any analogy, but it is not improbable that a portion of the west end would have been screened off to provide a return for the quire



GREY FRIARS, LINCOLN. UPPER FLOOR LOOKING EAST
(after restoration)



A. GREY FRIARS, LINCOLN. UPPER PART OF LANCET ON NORTH
SIDE AND OF ONE OF THE TRIPLE LANCETS AT EAST END
(*during restoration*)



B. GREY FRIARS, LINCOLN. UNDERCROFT LOOKING EAST
(*before restoration*)

stalls and a sort of anti-chamber to what must have been, in fact, the private chapel of the friars.

Until 1905 the partition dividing the two upper rooms stood in this position, and it is possible that this may have incorporated some medieval timber work. A photograph taken immediately after its removal shows a massive tie beam still in position with some upright framework connecting it with the westernmost of the circular trusses above, but these remains have now been removed (Pl. vi B).

THE CLOISTER

Of the domestic buildings of the friary no trace survives. That they were fairly commodious may be inferred from the fact that Provincial Chapters were held here in 1288, 1293, and 1295,¹ while on three occasions in the fifteenth century Provincial Chapters of the Premonstratensian canons also met in the Lincoln friary.² The cloister lay to the south of the existing building, where the modern church of St. Swithin now stands. That this was its position from the first is indicated by the fact that the sills of the original lancets on this side rest on the string course which marks the abutment of the cloister roof. The two doorways which gave access to it have now been replaced by windows, but are shown in early views, and their positions suggest that the cloisters were approximately 78 ft. square, which corresponds fairly closely with that of other houses of the mendicant orders. The position of the cloister abutting on the quire instead of the nave is unusual, but a similar arrangement appears to have existed at the Grey Friars at Yarmouth and also possibly at Chichester. The area occupied by the cloister at Lincoln remained open until the erection of the new church of St. Swithin, in 1869, and was for many years used as a sheep market.

¹ *Victoria County History Lincoln*, vol. ii, p. 223.

² Gasquet, 'Collectanea Anglo-Premonstratensia,' *Camden Soc.*, 3rd

Ser., vol. i, pp. 136, 139 and 160. The years of these chapters were 1459, 1476 and 1489.

CONCLUSION

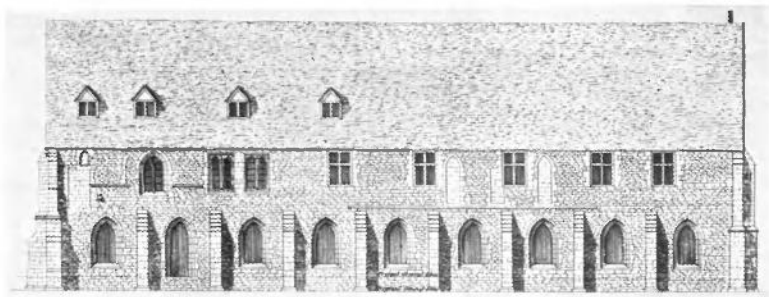
It will be of interest in conclusion to consider the reason for the complete change of plan evidenced in the structure of the existing building. There can be no doubt that this was originally planned as the friars' church, and as such it is the earliest example of a Franciscan church now surviving in England.

That the original plan contemplated a nave extending several bays further to the west, seems to be implied, by the two surviving arches of the arcade of the north aisle and by the change in construction of the roof timbers already noticed, as well as by analogy with other early churches of the mendicant orders. An almost exact parallel to the arrangement apparently intended at Lincoln, is to be found in the approximately contemporary church of the Black Friars at Brecon in Wales, which is still largely intact.¹ This consisted originally of an aisless quire (65 ft. by 26 ft.) and a nave (95½ ft. by 26 ft.) without any structural division between them, and on the north side of the latter was an aisle 12 ft. wide extending along its whole length, which seems in this case to have been a fourteenth-century addition.²

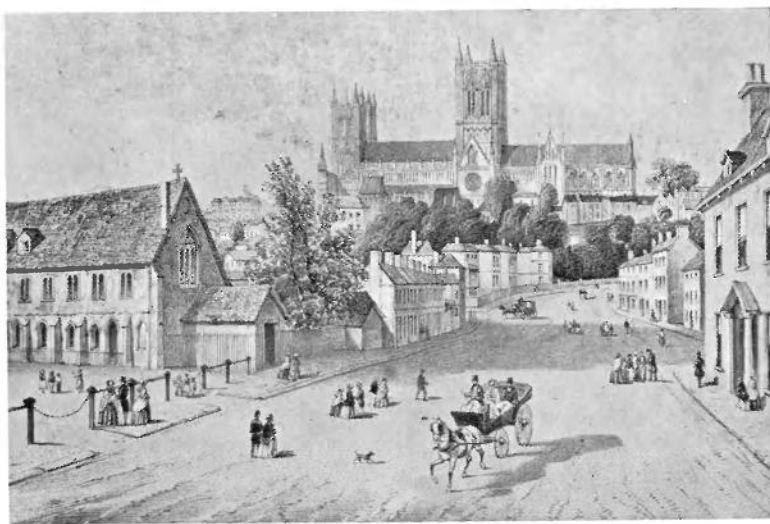
While the width of this building at Brecon is only slightly more than that at Lincoln, its greater length (163 ft. as compared with 101 ft. at Lincoln) confirms the supposition that the latter building was originally intended to be carried some distance westward. There is no evidence, however, that this portion of the building was ever completed, and such structural indications as exist seem to suggest that it was not. The present west wall appears to be substantially part of the original structure. There is no indication of any opening in it of a date prior to the division of the building into two storeys, while the two corner buttresses on the north-west corner, though somewhat restored, appear to be original. At the south-west corner the buttresses are modern, but in 1851, Padley noticed a roughened surface on the north side at the

¹ *Arch. Journal*, LXXXIV (1930), pp. 92-95.

² The existing west wall of the quire at Brecon is a fourteenth-century insertion.



A. GREY FRIARS, LINCOLN. SOUTH ELEVATION IN 1851
(From a drawing by J. S. Padley)



B. LINCOLN FROM BROADGATE, c. 1840, SHOWING THE
GREY FRIARS BUILDING IN THE FOREGROUND ON LEFT

extreme west end, possibly indicating the abutment of a west wall to the north aisle, erected when building operations were suspended. Moreover, the responds of the vaulting of the undercroft are built against the present west wall, and the inference is therefore strong that this was erected possibly as a temporary expedient when the original and more ambitious scheme of a fully developed nave was abandoned.

It is difficult to suggest a reason for this sudden change of plan apart from lack of funds, which affected in varying degrees most of the English friaries, especially during the earlier period of their history. That this was a primary cause of the suspension of the work on the nave is probable, but one may suspect a further reason for so unusual and drastic an alteration as that subsequently adopted at Lincoln. Possibly some disaster of which we have now no record, such as the flooding of the site by the river Witham which flows within 80 yards of the precinct on the south side, may have been the determining factor, or the quarrels with the city over the encroachments on the city walls may have led to so great a restriction on available space as to necessitate a drastic remedy. At any rate the plan adopted was only an extension to the church of a method of construction not uncommonly employed in the frater and domestic buildings generally of houses of the mendicant orders. Indeed it has been suggested that the upper storey of the existing building at Lincoln became the frater, but apart from the absence of any evidence for the erection of a new church elsewhere and the impossibility of the undercroft having been used for that purpose, the presence of the piscina, which has every appearance of being *in situ*, proves beyond any reasonable doubt that the upper apartment became the church or private chapel of the friars. This arrangement, which is seemingly without parallel in this country, may perhaps be compared with that adopted in the Franciscan church at Lubeck, in North Germany, where the quire is raised

¹ Padley, *ut sup.*

on a vaulted undercroft, but in that case it stands open to the rest of the church and is approached by a stairway within the building.¹ Lubeck, in fact, is merely an unusual instance of the normal monastic crypt beneath the quire, being constructed above ground instead of below it, and the analogy with Lincoln is, therefore, slight.² A closer parallel may have existed in the first church of the Grey Friars at Reading, which was erected on their original site outside the town. This was apparently finished in 1239, when the Sheriff of Berkshire was ordered to complete the stalls and to cause two altars to be erected.³ In the following year there is a further order referring to the construction of a storey (stagium) in the chapel and dormitory of the friars, which seems to suggest some such arrangement as was carried out at Lincoln.⁴ It is significant that this site was finally abandoned, owing to its damp situation and liability to flooding.

It seems probable on historical, as well as architectural, grounds that the quire of the original building at Lincoln was completed and in use for some years before the alteration was carried out. Not only does the early date of the main structure suggest this, but the presence of the remains of the sedelia which clearly belong to the early building, discountenances a change of plan during the actual progress of building. On the other hand the general similarity of style between the work of the two periods—particularly in the column of the nave arcade and those of the undercroft—indicates that the interval cannot have been a long one. The present east window, which presumably dates from the insertion of the undercroft, is very similar in design to that of the east window in the neighbouring church of St. Mary-le-Wigford, which

¹ See plan in *The Ecclesiologist*, vol. 16 (1855), p. 31.

² Instances of crypts in friars churches in England are extremely uncommon. There appears, however, to have been a small vaulted crypt beneath the eastern portion of the quire of the Franciscan church at Great Yarmouth, while the quire of

the Greyfriars church at Walsingham was raised considerably above the level of the surrounding ground, though in this case apparently on a solid foundation of rammed earth.

³ *Cal. Liberate Rolls*, 1226-40, p. 404; cf. also St. Thomas a Becket's chapel in the Blackfriars at Norwich.

⁴ *ibid.*, p. 504.

J. H. Parker dates as early as 1260.¹ The windows in the undercroft, however, are of early Decorated form, though in the absence of the tracery their precise date cannot be determined. The piscina on the upper floor may well be of early- or mid-thirteenth-century date, though as this may have been brought from its original position in the lower church, it has no necessary connection with the date of the undercroft. The evidence as a whole, however, suggests that the building in its original form was erected in the first half of the thirteenth century and probably soon after acquisition of the final portion of the site in 1237, and that the insertion of the undercroft and the consequent alterations to the structure were carried out during the second half of the century, and were probably completed well before its close.

My thanks are due to Mr. Harrison of Lincoln for permission to use the original photographs illustrating this paper.

APPENDIX I

RENTAL OF THE SITE IN 1539

Ministers' Accounts—Henry VIII, No. 2019

Balliva nuper Fratrum infra Comitatum Lincoln'.	}	Compotus [blank] Ballivi ibidem per tempus prenomiatum [Mich. 30-31, Hen. VIII]
----------------------------------------------------	---	---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------

Arreragia—Nulla quia primus Compotus factus pro domino Rege—
Summa—nulla.

Firma terrarum et possessionum nuper Fratrum infra Civitatem Lincoln.	}	Set respondet de ² xijs. de Firma scitus nuper Fratrum ibidem vocatorum le Grey Fryers cum quadam domu pro Firmario ibidem commor- ando ac omnibus gardinis et pomariis ac aliis terris eidem pertinentibus con- tinentibus per estimacionem iiij acras sic modo arrentantur et dimittuntur [blank] Eggesbye Generoso soluendis ad eosdem terminos [festa Pasche et sancti Michaelis Archangeli] equaliter per annum ³
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¹ See illustration in *An introduction to the study of gothic architecture*, 4th Edit. (1874), p. 137.

² Here is inserted the description of the Black Friars at Lincoln.

³ Here follows the description of the White Friars and Austin Friars.

APPENDIX II

PARTICULARS FOR A GRANT TO JOHN POPE IN 1545

*Augmentation Office—Particulars for grants—E.318, No. 874.*Fol. 40. m. 52. 10 February. 36 Hen. VIII. Request to purchase
—*inter alia* :—

Terre et possession' nuper Fratrum minorum infra Civitate Lincoln'.

Val' in	{	Firma scitus dictorum nuper Fratrum continen'	
		per estimacionem iiij acras terre ut in uno tene-	
		mento pro Firmario comorando cum omnibus	
		gardinis pomariis et aliis terris infra scitum et	
		precinctum minorum ibidem dimiss' Willelmo	
		Mounson' ad Firmam de anno in anno prout	
		appreciatur per iurat' per annum xijs.

for the xth xiiijd.

the rest sold for xii^{li}

xiii^{mo} die Decembris
anno xxxvi^{to} per
Johannem Broxholme
generosum

per me Thomam Enarde deputatum
auditorem.

The yerelye valowe of the sayd late howse
of graye Freers within the Citie of Lincoln
by the yere ys xii^s. Where of deducted
for the xth xiiijd. obol'. And so Remanyth
clere x^s. ix^d. obol' which ys sold unto
the purchaser in grosse for the some of
xii^{li}. Adde therto for the woodes v^s.
And so the hole somme ys xii^{li} v^s. To
be payd all' in hand And to holde in
Free Burgage.

Memorandum—the kyng to discharge the premises of all
incombrances excepte leases and the xth before reserved.
And excepte suche charges as the Fermors ar bounde to
paye by force of there Indentures.

Irrotulat' per
Johannem Hanbye.

Edward North.

Fol. 41.
m. 53.

Comitat'
Lyncoln'

The scyte and
demeanes of
the late
Priorye of
Freer' Mynors
in the Cytye
of Lyncoln
dymysed to
Willyam
Mounson.

Ther be growing aboute
the scyte of the late
pryorye and in the
demeanes of the same
xliij ashes of xxx and xl
yeres growth.

Wherof xxxii reserved
for tymber to repayre
the houses standyng
uppon the same and for
stakes for hedgeboote to
repayre and meyntheyne
the hedges and fences
aboute the seyd de-
meanes and x resydue
valued at vi^d. the tree
which is in the holle.

vs.

Ex' per me, David Clayton.

GREYFRIARS LINCOLN

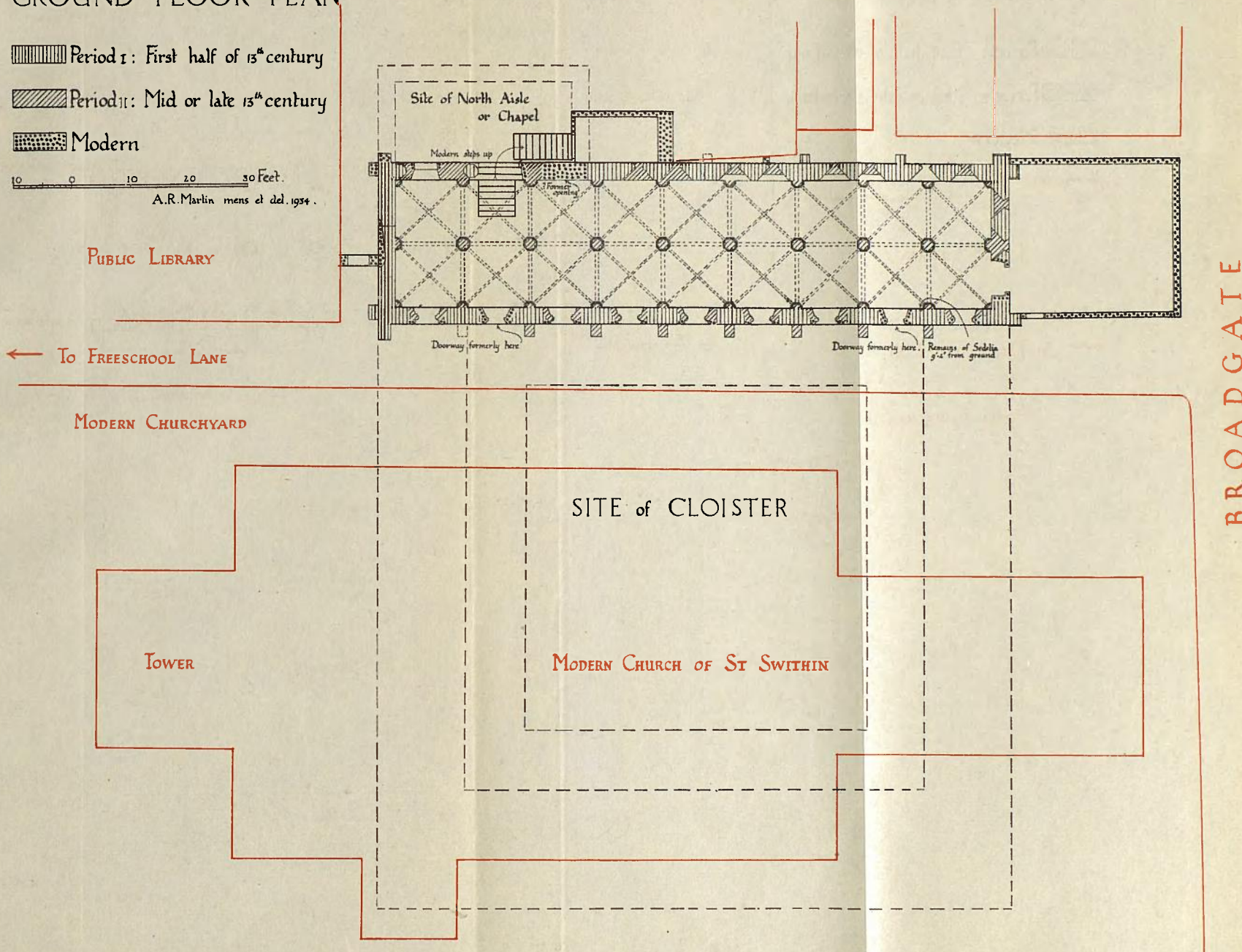
GROUND FLOOR PLAN

Period I: First half of 13th century

Period II: Mid or late 13th century

Modern

10 0 10 20 30 Feet.
A.R. Marlin mens et del. 1934.



APPENDIX III

GRANT OF THE SITE TO JOHN POPE IN 1545.

Patent Roll 36, Hen. VIII, pt. 26, mm. 27-34.

8 Feb., 36, Hen. VIII—Grant to John Pope, his heirs, etc., of lands, viz: *inter alia* :—

m. 30.

‘Damus eciam pro consideracione predicta ac ex certa sciencia et mero motu nostris per presentes concedimus prefato Johanni Pope totum illum scitum septem circuit’ ambit’ et precincta nuper domus dudum ffratrum minorum infra Civitatem nostram Lincolnie continentes per estimacionem quatuor acras modo vel nuper in tenuta sive occupacione cuiusdam Willelmi Mounson’ vel assignatorum suorum ac omnia et singula domos edific[ia] ortos pomaria gardina stabula columbaria stagna vinaria aquas piscarias et piscaciones terras et solum nostra cum pertinenciis universis infra dictum scitum dicte nuper domus dudum fratrū minorum existentibus ac cum eodem scitu prefato Willelmo Mounson’ dimissis seu locatis existentibus.’

m.m. 30-33.

[Goes on with the next grant, in Cornhill, London, etc. . . .]

m. 33.

‘Et predictum scitum dicte nuper domus fratrū minorum infra dictam civitatem nostram Lincolnie ac cetera premissa eidem nuper domui dudum spectantes et pertinentes extenduntur ad clarum annualem valorem duodecem solidorum.’