ON THE DIFFERENCE OF PLAN ALLEGED TO EXIST BETWEEN CHURCHES OF AUSTIN CANONS AND THOSE OF MONKS; AND THE FREQUENCY WITH WHICH SUCH CHURCHES WERE PAROCHIAL.

By Rev. J. F. HODGSON.

Having now examined at length the grounds of the assumption which, as I have said, quite unconsciously, perhaps, underlies the assertion that the canons built their churches, and shewn that in a very large proportion of examples, at least, such was certainly not the case, it next devolves on me to test the accuracy of the further assertion that those churches by whomsoever built—were built "on the parish church lines, though much larger than the parish church, adopting the cruciform, which was the finest form of parish church . . . but still keeping its characteristic want of aisles." Now at the outset, it is evident that this statement, whatever proportion of truth it may contain, must yet be accepted with very considerable reservations. For, in the first place, many of these churches of canons, so far from being much larger than the ordinary parish church, were probably very small and inconsiderable buildings indeed—mere aisleless parallelograms in fact, like those of the smaller Benedictine, and other conventual churches of monks and nuns of which I have already produced so many examples; and in the second, others of them, though on a larger scale, were yet not cruciform at all. To the former class may doubtless be relegated a very large proportion of those of the smaller houses, of which, out of a total of two hundred and eighteen, there were no fewer than fifty three with a clear income of less than fifty pounds a year, while of these again there were twenty three with one of less than twenty, several of them being actually under ten, To the latter, also a large number, probably, of which, owing to their more or less complete destruction, obscure position, or lack of accessible information it is impossible for me to speak particularly, but which are nevertheless illustrated by such examples as those of Flanesford, Keynsham, Staverdale, Ulverscroft, Walsingham, Waybourne, Blackmore, Sheringham—Bruton, Carham, Caversham, Gresley, Kirkby Beler, South Kyme, Letheringham and Westacre—all transeptless churches. It seems desirable, I think, to point to the existence of such examples in this place, as tending to shew how entirely free from uniformity of design or system, the plans of the canons' churches were; and how, everywhere, like those of the monks, they were adapted to meet the exigencies of each particular case. Speaking generally, however, it is no doubt true enough that the majority of the more important class of canons' churches

were—like those of the Benedictines—cruciform, and for precisely similar reasons. But that, even when aisleless, as occasionally happened, they were built, as asserted, on the parish church lines, is an entirely different thing. For it must be remembered that something far beyond the lines of mere ground plans—even when such approximate—goes to make up the "lines" of buildings. The collegiate church of S. Stephen. Westminster, for example—the richest and most perfect piece of mediæval English architecture that ever existed, perhaps, was a simple parallelogram, the ground plan of which differed little or nothing from that of the flimsiest and most trumpery "Little Bethel" of to-day. And so with respect to cruciform churches. The most casual and uninformed observer. I suppose, could hardly fail to distinguish between the monastic character even of such churches as those of Lanercost, Haughmond, Bolton, Brinkburn, or Leicester, as it is described to us, and that of a mere parish church, even when of so grand a type and on so large a scale as that of S. Mary's, Nottingham, for example. Skyline and outline as well as ground line, proportion, style, spirit, construction, all combine to give character in such cases, and usually leave no room for doubt whatever as to which class any particular example must belong. The differential qualities, varying doubtless more or less in every instance, are still, I think, not only invariably present, but in such degree as to make themselves plainly and instantly apparent; and though speaking generally, difficult to define, yet perfectly easy to perceive. The parochial and monastic types, indeed, notwithstanding some possibly occasional points of approach whether of plan or character, will be seen for the most part to be just as indelibly impressed upon the two classes of buildings, as physical and other peculiarities of race upon the different families of men. The ordinary monastic church—whether aisled or aisleless-however small and void of ornament it may be, is still unmistakeably the monastic church;—the parish church, however vast or splendid, the mere parish church and nothing more, throughout. And naturally enough, for it is a primary note and characteristic of all true architecture, and one eminently distinguishing that of the middle ages, that its works should in every case declare their purpose in the clearest and distinctest way possible, and, alike in construction and expression, be wholly devoted to that end. It must, I think, have been the momentary forgetfulness of this great underlying principle of truthfulness that caused Mr. Freeman-I forget on the instant where-when speaking of the churches of Boston, and, if I remember rightly, of S. Michael's. Coventry, to note, and at the same time regret the fact that. notwithstanding their magnificence of scale and splendour of detail, they were mere exaggerated and colossal parish churches after all, when so much grander and statelier an effect might have been achieved by their being built on the collegiate, or conventual "lines." But surely, this outspoken declaration of purpose, so far from being a defect, constitutes one of their very chiefest claims to our admiration. Being in effect simple parish churches, notwithstanding their size and richness, they pretend to be nothing more; their builders, as it should seem, being rightly more anxious to make them what they are—the very grandest parish churches in the world, than fraudulent imitations of a class altogether alien, and with which they had no concern. This rule of truthfulness, or, as it might with equal propriety be termed, of

common sense, however, was of universal prevalence, and not restricted in application to buildings of this or that particular class. What wonder then if parish and conventual churches, so different in their origin, nature, and requirements, should, whether large or small, aisled or aisleless, follow throughout their structure, lines as essentially diverse as the aims and characters of their builders? Their difference of type was precisely that which distinguished the secular and monastic spirit: and however the several classes of monastic churches might vary subordinately among themselves,—the Benedictine from the Cistercian,—both from the Cluniac,—all three from the Dominican and Franciscan,—and the whole collectively perhaps, to some extent from that of the Austin Canons—in every case the "religious" as opposed to the lay element is readily discernible, and cannot possibly be confounded with it. Let any one disposed to doubt the fact, compare, for illustration's sake, the conspicuously largest and most splendid parish churches in the land—those of Boston, Newark, S. Michael's, Coventry, S. Mary's Nottingham, and S. Mary Redcliffe, for example—the two later cruciform—with even such small, simple, and comparatively insignificant monastic churches as those of Brinkburn, Buildwas, Netley, or Egliston, and the diverse and contrarient elements will be understood at once. The one class, as plainly as could be expressed in words, proclaims the citizen:—the other, the recluse. In any case, the mere lines of the ground plans, though now and then perhaps, slightly approximating, will be seen to have little or no more to do with producing similarity of character in the two classes of churches than the possession of like physical features has in respect of the typical burgher and the monk. Generally speaking, the social elements of breadth, cheerfulness, lightness, homeliness, will be found prevailing in the one; the ascetic, of height, narrowness, austerity, monumental solidity in the other; the common life of the citizen, and that of those dead to the world and its affairs being accurately typified and expressed But the lines of expression, like those which pourtray human life and character, are infinitely varied, and to be traced throughout—not in such a mere single and secondary particular as the presence or absence of aisles. For these were features, or adjuncts, common to churches of every class, whether of monks, canons, or laymen, equally and alike. and their presence or absence in every case was determined, not by mystical, or caste considerations, but solely by those of fitness and utility. How little, indeed, the possession of aisles was considered as in itself conducing to dignity or distinction, may be seen from the specifications contained in the will of king Henry VII. for the building of King's College Chapel, Cambridge—one of the grandest and stateliest of sixteenth century churches—in which it is expressly ordained "that the same church" which was to "containe 288 feete of assize in length," and "all of the wideness of 40 feet" should be-"without any yles." What the canons had to consider, and what, doubtless, following the universal rule, they did consider was, the particular arrangements which, in each several case, met their own individual convenience most exactly, and then to lay out their plans accordingly. Whether parish churches, or those of monks, were, in such and such instances, cruciform or simple, aisled or aisleless, could not possibly effect the question in the least. Suitability-the fundamental principle of all good architecture—would necessarily be their first and chief consideration, and that secured, they would then seek to

give such dignity and expression to their work as befitted their position and their means. As to copying—could we for a moment suppose them capable of such a weakness—the "lines" of parish churches would seem on every ground to be the very last that they would follow. for not only had they less in common with their own than any others, but, if there be, perhaps, a law of human nature more universally acted on than another it is this:—that the less should imitate the better, not the better, the less. But, theory apart, it is now time to betake ourselves to the examination of actual examples, and see how far they bear out the allegation that the Austin Canons in building their churches, as asserted, on the lines of the cruciform parish church, "still kept to its characteristic want of aisles." For, as may perhaps be remembered, I have undertaken to shew in answer to this statement,-"That it is not only inherently improbable to suppose that the Austin Canons in building their churches, should take the aisleless, cruciform parochial type, as it is called for their model, which considering the number of their aisled churches could not possibly have been the case; but that the parish church, qua parish church, was probably never, under any circumstances, parochial." First then, as to the examples of aisled Austin Canons' churches of which we have direct evidence. They are as under:-

Waltham Holy Cross Abbey Church, Essex.—The rebuilt eastern parts of this church are now destroyed: but, it was cruciform, with a central, and—provision for—two western towers; and had, and has still, a nave with north and south aisles.

WALSINGHAM PRIORY CHURCH, NORFOLK.—This noble church, of which, like that of Guisborough, only the eastern gable remains standing—consisted of a choir with north and south aisles; a central, and a western tower; and nave with north and south aisles.

Breedon Priory Church, Leicestershire.—Originally, a cruciform church, of which all that now remains is a fine choir with north and south aisles.

Bamburgh Priory Church, Northumberland.—A cruciform church with deep monastic choir and west tower, the nave of which has north and south aisles.

S. Julian and S. Botolph Priory Church, Colchester.—This noble church, reputed to be the first Austin Canons' church in England, would seem to have been built on the most complete monastic plan. The eastern parts are now destroyed, but it had a central, and two western towers—the latter extending beyond the aisles, as at Wells—and a grand nave with north and south aisles.

Worksop Priory Church, Nottinghamshire.—One of the largest and finest of its class. It consisted of a long apsidal choir with north and south aisles, to the latter of which was added in the thirteenth century, a very fine and large lady chapel; transepts; central, and two western towers; and nave with north and south aisles.

CARLISLE CATHEDRAL PRIORY CHURCH, CUMBERLAND.—From the first, this church was constructed with a choir having north and south aisles; transepts; a central tower; and nave with north and south aisles.

Dunmow Parva Priory Church, Essex.—Of this fine church only a fragment—but a very beautiful and instructive one—remains. Its arcade, which is of fine transitional character, shews that the choir had aisles of five bays in length; and that the church, of which it formed part, was probably cruciform. The western parts are destroyed.

Christ Church Priory Church, London.—This was entirely pulled down by the first grantee, Sir Thomas Audley, at the dissolution, and we have therefore few particulars respecting it; but as Stowe says that it was "a very fair and large church... and passed all the priories in London and Middlesex," and as we have very full particulars of some, at least, of these, there can be no doubt that it too, like them, was aisled throughout.

S. MARY OVEREY PRIORY CHURCH, SOUTHWARK.—A fine cruciform building consisting of a choir of five bays, with north and south aisles, to the east of which was attached the famous Lady Chapel; transepts; central tower; and nave with north and south aisles.

CIRENCESTER ABBEY CHURCH, GLOUCESTERSHIRE.—This church, which was founded by King Henry I in 1117, and completely finished by him in fourteen years, retained the original construction of its eastern parts, apparently to the last. It was cruciform, consisting of a choir with north and south aisles; transepts; a central tower doubtless,—whether there were others does not appear—and nave with north and south aisles. From William of Worcester's measurements it seems to have been 233 feet in length over all; the choir being 123 feet long by 63 feet wide, while the width of the nave and its two aisles, which were of late work, was about 72 feet.

HEXHAM PRIORY CHURCH, NORTHUMBERLAND.—All that now remains of this fine church is the great choir with its north and south aisles; the transept with its eastern aisle or chapels; and the central tower. The nave which, if ever built, could only have had a single aisle, is wholly wanting.

THURGARTON PRIORY CHURCH, NOTTINGHAMSHIRE.—But a very small fragment of this once magnificent structure now remains standing, consisting of the north western tower, and an attached portion of the nave. Originally, however, it would seem to have consisted of an aisled choir; transepts; a central, and two western towers; and a grand nave with both north and south aisles.

LANERCOST PRIORY CHURCH, CUMBERLAND.—A simple, but thoroughly monastic and and dignified church. It is cruciform; with an aisled choir and transepts; a low central tower; and a nave with a north aisle only.

DUNSTABLE PRIORY CHURCH, BEDFORDSHIRE.—Only the western parts of this grand building remain; but, it was originally cruciform, with, I think, an aisled choir; transepts; a central, and—perhaps—two western towers, of which one only is standing; and a noble nave with north and south aisles.

Guisborough Priory Church, Yorkshire.—This magnificent building—upwards of 380 feet in length—was composed throughout in the utmost style of monastic splendour. It was cruciform, and its matchless choir with north and south aisles, comprised nearly one half of it. It had a central, and two western towers; and the nave hath both north and south aisles.

Bridington Priory Church, Yorkshire.—In its original state this grand church, which, as the existing nave roof shews, seems never to have been quite finished, must almost have rivalled that of Guisborough in dimensions, though somewhat inferior to it in splendour. Cruciform in plan, it appears to have had an interior length of about 355 feet, of which the choir with its two aisles and range of eastern chapels occupied about 150. There was also, as we learn, a very lofty central, as well as two western towers. The transept, and everything east of it is now destroyed; only the nave and its aisles, 186 feet in length, and the lower parts of the west towers remain standing.

S. Bartholomew the Great Priory Church, London.—This well known church consisted of an apsidal choir with a surrounding aisle, east of which was a large rectangular Lady-chapel of later date; transepts; a central tower; and nave with north and south aisles—the latter, together with the transepts now destroyed.

Christ Church Twyneham Priory Church, Hants.—Like the two preceding examples, this church is one of great size and noble character. It is upwards of 310 feet in length, and cruciform; consisting of a Ladychapel, choir with north and south aisles; transept with apsidal eastern chapels; a central tower originally, but now only a western one; nave with north and south aisles; and an unusually large and deep north porch.

THORNTON ABBEY CHURCH, LINCOLNSHIRE.—A very fine church, of which a brief notice with illustrations of various details, may be seen in vol. ii. p. 357, of this Journal. It was cruciform, consisting of a choir with north and south aisles of six bays; transepts; a central tower; and nave with north and south aisles—all of a very high order.

Bruton Abbey Church, Somersetshire.—This church consists of an aisleless chancel—rebuilt; nave with north and south aisles; porch, and lower part of a tower to the north; and another, and very noble one—among the finest in Somersetshire—to the west.

S. Augustine's Abbey, now Cathedral Church, Bristol.—This fine and interesting building was aisled throughout from its foundation. It consists of a *choir with north and south aisles*, rebuilt in the 14th century, with an attached 13th century Lady-chapel to the north;

transepts; a central, and originally, two western towers; and a nave with north and south aisles—the latter recently rebuilt for the second time.

Bourne Abbey Church, Lincolnshire.—This church, of which—being parochial—there are still interesting remains, consists of an aisleless choir; nave with north and south aisles of Norman date; aisle transepts; and two western towers; of these, the northern one is now in ruins.

Newark Priory Church, Surrey.—According to the late Mr. M. Walcott, this was a cruciform structure with eastern chapels to the transept, which, like the north and south aisles of both choir and nave were shut off by solid walling!

ROYSTON PRIORY CHURCH, HERTFORDSHIRE.—All that now remains of this once fine church, which was cruciform, is the choir with its north and south aisles, and the central tower. The whole of the western parts were destroyed as early as the time of Leland.

REPTON PRIORY CHURCH, DERBYSHIRE.—Although originally constructed by the foundress, Maud, widow of Ranulph, second Earl of Chester, on an aiseless, cruciform plan, this church was afterwards greatly extended by the Canons who threw out north and south aisles to both nave and choir, to the south of which again, they erected a fine and large Lady chapel.

Brinkburn Priory Church, Northumberland.—A small, but exceedingly fine and interesting church of the original construction, and perfectly preserved. It is cruciform, with a short aiseless chancel; transepts with eastern aisles; a central tower; and nave with a north aisle only. Anything less like, or less suggestive of a parish church, whether in plan or general appearance, could hardly be conceived.

Ovingham Priory Church, Northumberland.—The church of Ovingham which served both as that of the parish and also of a small cell of two or three Canons from Hexham, is not only perfectly preserved, but of a plan, as far as I know, unique. In form nearly an exact Greek cross, it consists of an aisleless chancel; a nave with north and south aisles; transepts with western aisles; and a western tower; the latter, apparently, of Saxon character, though probably post-conquest date. The rest of the church is all of one period—early thirteenth century, and built at a single effort.

Bodmin Priory Church, Cornwall.—This church has long been utterly destroyed, and our sole knowledge respecting its dimensions, therefore, is derived from the measurements of William of Worcester. From these it appears to have been a somewhat small building, about 135 feet in length, and a little over 50 feet in breadth. Being, as disinterred fragments shew, of Norman construction, it had therefore, clearly, both north and south aisles.

CHIRBURY PRIORY CHURCH, SHROPSHIRE.—The whole of the eastern parts of this church are now entirely destroyed; all that remains of it

being the western tower, and the nave, which has north and south aisles of very fine Early English work.

- S. GERMAN'S PRIORY CHURCH, CORNWALL.—This interesting church—once of cathedral dignity—is now reduced to a mere fragment of its former self. What is left of it consists of the two western towers, and the nave, which has both north and south aisles.
- S. FRIDESWIDE'S PRIORY, NOW CHRISTCHURCH CATHEDRAL CHURCH, OXFORD.—An Austin Canons' church of the most complete type, and built from end to end continuously, without a break. It consisted originally of a spacious choir with north and south aisles; transepts with east and west aisles; a central tower; and nave with north and south aisles, all of a fine, and gradually progressive Transitional character throughout.
- S. Martin's Priory Church, Dover .-- This once noble, but now utterly destroyed church, which eventually became one of Benedictine monks, was built in the first instance by William de Corbeuil, Abp. of Canterbury—himself an Austin Canon—for brethren of his own order. How far the works had proceeded at the time of his death—some three or four years after their foundations were put in -is uncertain; but they had advanced sufficiently for the canons to take possession: when doubtless the plan of the whole building would have been decided on, and laid out by the founder. Being all of pure Norman work-built by an Austin Canon—for the use of Austin Canons—it is therefore of singular Cruciform, with a central tower, it was of great size, being about 300 feet in length, by 160 feet across the transept, and 71 feet in Eastwards, was a choir having north and south aisles of three bays each, and terminating further east in deep apsidal chapels, while the central choir itself was continued for a nearly equal length further east still in an aisleless form, and finished squarely. North and south of the external line of the choir aisle walls, the transept opened eastwards into two apsidul chaples on either side the crossing, as at Lincoln. the crossing and central tower was the nave with north and south aisles, and no less than nine bays in length. No stronger refutation I think, of the aisleless, parish church type theory, than that offered by this peculiarly professional, or class example, could be desired

Hartland Abbey Church, Devonshire.—This is a triply cruciform church, having transeptal chapels to chancel; nave with north and south aisles, to which aisle transepts are attached; and two "extended porches," north and south, to the west of those transepts.

TRENTHAM ABBEY CHURCH, STAFFORDSHIRE.—This once fine church has now been for some forty years or more wholly destroyed; and accurate information respecting its plan is, as I find on enquiry, difficult to obtain. I believe, however, there is no doubt but that, whatever may have been the case with the eastern parts, the nave at least, had both north and south aisles.

CARTMEL PRIORY CHURCH, LANCASHIRE.—A fine cruciform church,

consisting of a choir with north and south aisles; transept; central tower; and nave with north and south aisles—the whole, more or less of the original construction.

KIRKBY BELER PRIORY CHURCH, LEICESTERSHIRE.—This church, which still exists as that of the parish, and is in perfect preservation, consists of an aisleless chancel; nave with north and south aisles; and a remarkably fine western tower and spire.

BLACKMORE PRIORY CHURCH, ESSEX.—Like the preceding examples, the church of Blackmore—which was also parochial—is still standing in its entirety. It consists of a cha cel and nave which have continous north and south aisles; and a western tower of wood. An account of it, with a ground plan, may be seen in Buckler's Churches of Essex," p.p. 136-48.

LANTHONY PRIORY CHURCH, MONMOUTHSHIRE.—A fine cruciform church, consisting of a partially aisled choir; transepts; central, and two western towers; and nave with north and south aisles.

Kirkham Priory Church, Yorkshire.—As originally built by the founders, Walter L'Espec and his wife Adeline, in the 12th century, this church would seem to have been a cruciform one, consisting of a central tower; an aisleless nave and choir; and transepts, with eastern aisles or chapels,—the latter features however, quite sufficient in themselves to distinguish the building from the "aisleless, cruciform parish church." Afterwards, when fully under the rule of the canons, the choir was rebuilt on a larger scale, and with the addition of north and south aisles.

Dorchester Abbey Church, Oxfordshire.—As first built—whether by the reputed founder, Alexander, bishop of Lincoln or not-for the earliest portions appear to belong to circa 1180, or forty years after the date assigned—the design of this church would appear to have been a very exceptional one indeed, being not cruciform, but consisting of a long aisleless nave and western tower which were parochial; and a choir with north and south aisles separated from it, not by arcades, but by solid walls as at Bradsole, and—if Mr. Walcott may be trusted—at Newark and Lilleshull. At a very slightly later date, but still during the period of the transition, it is perhaps possible that this walled in choir with its aisles was extended further eastwards to about the exact length of the nave—fragments of that date still existing at the entrance of the later, present fourteenth century sanctuary. That the choir of the canons had aisles in the first instance, is shewn by a portion of the external wall of that which still remains on the north side towards the west; but the later, and far wider thirteenth or fourteenth century aisle to the south has, of course, effectually destroyed all traces of the corresponding one in that direction. As it stands—in the form to which the canons brought it in the fourteenth century—the church consists of an aisleless sanctuary, of the richest and most original, if not indeed, unique design; a choir with north and south aisles of three bays; a nave with a south aisle only; For a full, most interesting, and appreciative and a western tower.

account of Dorchester church, by Mr. Freeman, see vol. ix. of this Journal.

LITTESHULL PRIORY CHURCH, SHROPSHIRE.—This was a cruciform structure with a central tower; aisleless nave; and—if Mr. Walcotts' account be correct—with its eastern parts arranged as at Bradsole; that is to say—a transept having an eastern chapel in each limb; and a choir with north and south aisles shut off, as would seem to have been the case at Dorchester, and as was certainly so at Bayham, Rochester, and S. Albans, by solid walls, instead of, as usual, by arcades.

South Kyme Priory Church, Lincolnshire.—Of this church—which was parochial when the Canons were placed in it—there are but very scanty remains now to be seen above ground. To the kindness of Precentor Venables—and through him, to that of Mr. Kirk, Architect, Sleaford, who has taken great pains through personal exploration to recover the plan of the original structure—I am able to state that it was cruciform, and consisted of a deep choir, and transepts, which were aisleless; a central tower; and a nave with north and south aisles.

Sheringham Priory Church, Norfolk.—Here, we have an aisleless chancel; nave with north and south aisles; and a western tower. Besides the screen, this church still retains the rare feature of its rood-loft.

HOLYROOD ABBEY CHURCH, EDINBURGH.—Of this magnificent church, founded in 1128, by King David the first, all that now remains is the nave and lower parts of the two western towers. It was originally cruciform, with probably a central tower in addition: but the whole of the eastern parts, including the transept, are now destroyed. remains, however, to shew that the transept and central tower—of which the western arch remains perfect—were in the pointed style, thus proving that they were either rebuilt, or, what is, perhaps, more likely, that the progress of the building—as indeed the details of the nave itself declare—was gradual. That the choir—whether rebuilt or not—was, even in the first instance, aisled, may I think, naturally be inferred from the remains of that at Jedburgh—founded ten years earlier by the same monarch—where the arcades of the aisles—somewhat resembling those of Christ Church, Oxford, but earlier—are of rich, and very remarkable Norman character. As to the nave, which was richly vaulted throughout, there can be no doubt, however, for it is still standing with its north and south aisles of eight bays—one of the richest and noblest examples of late Transition, and early pointed architecture extant. Altogether, this famous structure must have offered, when complete, as perfect an example of a monastic, as contrasted with a parish church, as could be found in either of the two Kingdoms.

Jedburgh Abbey Church, Roxburghshire.—This noble church—which still happily, remains in almost perfect preservation—is of singular interest, not only from its architectural excellence, but as illustrating in its progressive character that of Holyrood, and possibly of Scone as well—due, like them, to the munificence of a royal founder. It is cruciform, consisting of an aisled choir; transepts; central tower—still perfect; and

a long nave with north and south aisles:—the latter, both originally The earliest portion is found in the arcades of the choir—of two bays on each side—which include within their upper arches those of the triforium; the lower arches—which open to the aisles—springing out of the tall cylindrical columns far below the level of their capitals proper, from brackets, as in the contemporary example at Romsey, and the somewhat later one at Oxford--an arrangement which, in the latter case, led in days gone by to some rather absurdly ingenious speculation. How the choir terminated originally, does not now appear; most probably however, it was in an apse. But whatever the arrangement, it was removed on the completion of the nave, when the choir was continued somewhat further east in a square ended aisleless form in the Transitional style. transepts are aisleless: but the magnificent nave—within which a Presbyterian place of worship has been contrived—extends with its aisles, triforium, and clerestory to a vast length, and equals, in the vigour and delicacy of its architecture, the finest examples of the period anywhere.

Besides the above examples of aisled Austin Canon's Churches proper, may be adduced the following taken from those of the seculars which were of minster-like size and character; and wholly exclusive of such as were of the ordinary parochial type.

S. John's Collegiate Church, Chester.—This fine building designed primarily, in the last quarter of the eleventh century, as the seat of the bishopric, consisted of a choir of four bays with north and south aisles; transepts; a nave of five bays with north and south aisles; and a central, and probably two western towers, of which the northern one now alone remains. For plan &c.. see Parker's "Mediæval Architecture of Chester."

Southwell Collegiate, now Cathedral Church—consists of an aisleless Lady-chapel of two bays—which is a prolongation of the choir itself, and of the same height and breadth; a spacious choir of six bays with north and south aisles, and aisle-transepts; transepts proper, with—as would seem, originally—apsidal eastern chapels; a nave of eight bays with north and south aisles; and a central, and two western towers—the whole, with the exception of the choir and its appendages, which are a thirteenth century rebuilding, of pure Norman work throughout. That the original Norman choir too, had aisles as well as the nave, is shewn by Norman arches of entrance to them, which still exist to the north and south of the eastern pillars of the great tower. An excellent account of this fine church by the late Rev. J. L. Petit, accompanied by plan, views, and numerous plates of details, may be seen in the Lincoln vol. of the Institute.

WIMBORNE MINSTER, DORSETSHIRE.—This interesting and picturesque structure which was made collegiate before the Conquest—probably by King Edward the Confessor—consists of a choir with north and south aisles, of late Norman date with Early English extensions; transepts; a nave with north and south aisles of Transitional character; a fine central tower of the same period; and another massive, western one, which is wholly Perpendicular. An excellent notice of this church by the late

Rev. J. L. Petit, accompanied by numerous illustrations, may be seen in Salisbury vol. of the Institute.

RIPON MINSTER, NOW CATHEDRAL CHURCH, YORKS.—As first built by Roger de Pont l' Eveque, abp. of York, 1154-1181, this church consisted of a choir of four bays with north and south aisles; transepts with eastern aisles, or chapels; a central tower; and a long and broad aisleless nave. To the building so constructed a new west front supported by two lateral towers was added, probably by abp. Walter Grey, in the thirteenth century; two extra bays to the choir and its aisles, inter 1288-1300; while early in the sixteenth century the old aisless nave was wholly removed, and a new one having north and south aisles substituted in its place.

Beverly Minster, or Collegiate Church, Yorks.—This church of secular Canons—with the single exception of that of Westminster unrivalled, perhaps, by any of the Benedictine order, not of Cathedral rank, within the kingdom—consists of an aisleless Lady-chapel of a single bay, in continuation of the central choir; an eastern, or choir transept of the same height, with an eastern aisle, or chapels of two bays on each side; a choir of four bays with north and south aisles; a transept proper with eastern and western aisles of four bays on either side the crossing; a nave of eleven bays with north and south aisles; and a pair of western towers. A short, but interesting account of Beverley Minster, enriched with plates and illustrations of details by the late Rev. J. L. Petit, may be seen in the York vol. of the Institute.

HOWDEN COLLEGIATE CHURCH, YORKS.—Howden collegiate church which owes its positition to the munificence of the Bishops, and Priors and Convent of Durham, affords perhaps the finest example of a divided, or compound parochial and collegiate structure of the second, or single towered class, to be met with. It is cruciform, and of great size and dignity-244 feet in length, by 58 feet 4 inches in breadth from east to west throughout—consisting of a lofty central lantern tower, 135 feet high; a nave with north and south aisles of six bays, 107 feet 9 inches in length; transepts with eastern chapels of two bays on each side the crossing; a splendid choir with north and south aisles six bays in length, and a 109 feet 5 inches in length vaulted throughout with stone; and an attached, and most beautiful octangular chapter-house which projects from the third bay counting from the east, southwards. eastern elevation is noteworthy as forming, perhaps, the most sumptuously elaborate and perfect flowing-pointed composition of the kind to be found in any English church whatever. The choir of this fine church is delineated by the late Mr. E. Sharpe in his well known "Architectural Parallels," and a notice of the whole building by the late Rev. J. L. Petit, may be seen in the xxvth vol. of this Journal.

OTTERY S. MARY COLLEGIATE CHURCH, DEVONSHIRE.—This very remarkable building which was made collegiate by the famous John Grandisson, bishop of Exeter, in 1335, for a Warden, eight Prebendaries, ten vicars, a master of music, a master of grammar, two parish priests, eight secondaries, eight choristers, and two clerks, owes its inception to

bishop Bronescombe, his predecessor in the see, who commenced it, as is said—and apparently with reason—in direct imitation of his own cathedral church of Exeter. Bishop Grandisson, who purchased both the church and township of the Dean and Chapter of Rouen, to whom the latter had been granted by the Confessor, would seem to have effected various alterations in, and perhaps additions to, the fabric as originally designed, raising the walls and vaulting the whole throughout with stone. Like that of its prototype, its plan is very peculiar, and without a parallel—at least in England. It consists of an eastern lady chapel; a choir with north and south aisles, flanked by very rich and beautiful chapels; a nave with originally north and south aisles only, to which an additional aisle with exceedingly rich fun-traceried vaulting was added northwards, early in the sixteenth century; and a pair of towers opening with arches at the height of the vaulting to the body of the church between the nave and chancel, and thus forming a transept.

Crediton Collegiate Church, Devonshire.—The church of Crediton—for sometime one of cathedral rank and dignity—was, notwithstanding the removal of the see to Exeter in 1050, still continued as the seat of a chapter under the peculiar jurisdiction of the bishops of that place. This body, which was a very considerable one, consisted of eighteen canons and eighteen vicars, at the head of whom were the Precentor, the Treasurer, and the Dean—the latter being also perpetual vicar. To these, bishop Grandisson added four choristers, and four lay vicars. The church, which still remains in perfect preservation, consists of an eastern Lady-chapel; a clerestoried choir of five bays with north and south aisles—the latter prolonged eastwards so as to give access to the lady chapel; transepts; central tower; and a fine clerestoried nave with north and south aisles six bays in length.

FOTHERINGHAY COLLEGIATE CHURCH, NORTHAMPTONSHIRE.—Although somewhat more approaching the parochial type than those other churches of the seculars above-mentioned, perhaps, that of Fotheringhay as originally constructed by its founders, Edward, and Richard, Dukes of York, in A.D. 1415 and 1435 respectively, was one of extreme stateliness, indicative enough of its more than parochial rank. Only the later, or parochial half of it now remains, however, the collegiate choir having been ruthlessly destroyed at the suppression, temp. Ed. VI. As first built, it consisted of a choir of probably five bays with north and south aisles connected by flying buttresses; a nave of the same size and height, ordained by contract to correspond with the choir and its aisles in all leading features—the flying buttresses included; and a massive engaged western tower, square below, but terminating in the second storey above the roof in a richly pierced octagonal lantern. destroyed cloisters lay toward the south. No more interesting document of the kind, probably, has come down to us than the contract relating to the nave and tower, given at length in the last vol. of the Monasticon.

MANCHESTER COLLEGIATE, NOW CATHEDRAL CHURCH.—This church, though of somewhat parochial character, owing to its tower being placed at the west end instead of centrally, is yet one of much stateliness and dignity—as a collegiate church. For the greater part of its extent it is

five aisled, and is the largest and finest five aisled church, of which there are but few, in the kingdom. The choir is of six bays with north and south aisles, to the later of which are attached the large Jesus chapel and chapter-house; S. John's, or the Derby chapel—as broad and long as the choir itself—being attached to its north aisle. The nave and its aisles which are of the same dimensions as those of the choir, has to the north a broad aisle of chapels extending its whole length, and to the south another, nearly similar.

Such are the examples of canons' churches—Augustinian and secular aisled in various ways, which I am able at the present moment to produce; and which, though abundantly sufficient to refute the allegation that those churches were systematically, and as a rule, built on an aisleless, cruciform, parochial plan, represent nevertheless but a portion of the number which might doubtless be adduced, were only the sites of the remainder explored and their plans put on record. So complete, however, has been their destruction that, except in the case, perhaps of isolated individuals, or members of local societies possessing special information, next to nothing seems to be known either of their dimensions or arrangement. besides the instances above enumerated of whose plans it is possible to speak certainly, there are many others which, from the wealth and importance of the foundations to which they belonged, were doubtless buildings of great size, and laid out, as we may well suppose, on a grand and complete scale from the first. Such, for example, among others, were those of Barnwell, founded by that rich and powerful noble Robert D'Oilly, earl of Cambridge, and described as being-"mire pulchritudinis, et ponderosi operis"; -Nostell ;-Leeds, which is said to have rivalled those of cathedral rank in size; -Kenilworth; -Merton; -Oseney, designed at one time, as is well known, as the seat of the new diocese of Oxford;— Chich, S. Osyth, now utterly destroyed, but to the dignity of which, the splendid entrance gateway perfectly preserved, may offer some sort of clue;—Wigmore, the curiously circumstantial history of which has been already noticed, and whose plan is expressly stated to have been prepared by a Benedictine monk of Worcester;—Newenham;—Butley—; Bicester; —Stafford;—Haltemprice, and Syon;—the latter, the largest and richest of all the Augustinian Houses in the Kingdom.

More than this, however. Besides those churches of Austin Canons which were certainly aisled, either throughout or in part, and those others which may reasonably be supposed to have been so, there remain for our further consideration, a very considerable number of whose plans it is now indeed, for the most part impossible to say anything, but which, from the standpoint of date alone sufficiently refute the allegation that they were built in imitation of aisleless, cruciform, parish I refer to that large and important section comprising at churches. least sixty examples—or upwards of a fourth-part of the whole number —the very earliest of which were founded only—not to say built—as late as the last quarter of the twelfth century, while by far the largest proportion belong wholly to the thirteenth and fourteenth. time, as is well-known, aisles, though adopted long before in numberless parish churches, had become universal all over the country, even in those of the meanest and poorest village class. The case then, of these Canons' churches, of which I speak, stands thus:—either they were aisled or

aisleless. If they were aisled, there is, of course, nothing more to say, because they would, in that case, differ in no respect from those of the Benedictine, and other monkish churches with which they have been contrasted; if they were not aisled, then it is clear that they cannot have been built, as alleged, in imitation of the inferior class of aisleless parish churches, seeing that such a distinction—if it ever existed at all—had wholly ceased and determined. But, to whichever class they may severally have belonged—and doubtless each would be adequately represented, they are as follows:—

Temp. Hen. IInd 1154-1189.—Westwood in Lesnes, founded—1178; Stafford—1180; Stonely c.—1180; Hickling—1185.

Temp. Ric. I^{st} —1189-1199.—Burscough;—Blithborough;—Wormgay;—Tandridge.

Temp. John.—1199-1216.—Newark;—Caldwell;—Wormley;—Worspring;—Torksey, founded by the King himself;—Healaugh Park;—Haverford;—Castel Hymel;—Motisfont;—Creyk;—Acombury;—Bradley;—Ratlinghope;—Markby;—Sandleford;—Beeston;—Broomhill;—Mountjoy;—Peterston;—Byrkley;—Campess;—Herringfleet.

Temp. Hen. IIIrd 1216-1272.—Spinney;—Frithelstock:—Bilsington;—Chetwood;—Michelham;—Ravenston, founded by the King himself;—Cokesford;—Lacock;—Wroxton;—Reigate;—Burnham;—Berden;—Leighs;—Wymondsley Parva;—Newstead, Linc.;—Belton;—Massingham Magna;—Flitcham;—Longleat;—Alnesborne;—Kersey;—Flixton;—Latton.

Temp. Ed. II^{nd} —1307-1327.—North Ferriby ;—Haltemprice.

Temp. Ed. IIIrd—1327-1377.—Maxstoke—1336; Bisham Montague—1338; Flanesford—1347; Dertford, founded by the King himself—1355.

Temp. Hen. VIth 1422-1461.—Syon—1432.

Only one other fact need here, perhaps, be mentioned in this connection, and that is, that of the thirty seven, or, more correctly speaking, thirty-six churches of Austin Canons which were parochial, five only, viz:—those of Canon's Ashby, Gresley, Letheringham, Sheringham, and Westacre—the first named of which alone was cruciform—were certainly either one aisled or aisleless; six, viz:—those of Bethgelart (originally a church of monks), Carham, Rattinghope, Holy Trinity, Ipswich, Warter and Wombridge, have been entirely destroyed, and their plans consequently lost; one—Ouston Abbey church, is in so fragmentary a state as to leave its original form uncertain; while the remaining twenty-five have both north and south aisles to their naves at least, and the larger and more important of them, to their choirs also.

And now, having shewn by a series of examples, beginning with those of the very earliest foundation, and continued step by step to those of the latest, how far from accurate is the allegation that the churches of

canons whether Augustinian or secular, were built distinctively on an aisleless, cruciform plan, and in direct imitation of mere parish churches, I come to the further and last point of my enquiry under this head, viz: whether parish churches, as such, were ever, under any circumstances, cruciform. Like "always"—as we have already seen—"never" is no doubt, a risky and dangerous word to use, and in treating of so wide a subject it would be venturesome, not to say rash, to speak too positively, and assert that such a thing as a cruciform parish church, qua parish church, does not, and never did exist. That there are examples of parish churches innumerable which present a cruciform appearance is a fact, doubtless, within the knowledge of everyone. The question is, in what way, and under what circumstances, did they become so? Were they so built in the first instance, or afterwards, either by the parishioners themselves, or by others on their behalf, for their full and unrestricted use and benefit? Could such be shewn to have been really the case, then there would at once be an end of the matter, for the parishioners, having full rights over every part, such structures would be in the truest and fullest sense, parish churches. Monastic churches, of any size or pretensions, whether of monks or canons, were, we know, as a rule, cruciform, and for the same reasons, viz:—to accommodate the multiplicity of altars commonly met with in such structures, whether those altars pertained to the original foundation, or became afterwards necessary in connection with the chantries of later benefactors. Parish churches, however, occupied a normally different position. Under the rule of a single priest, they possessed but one common altar placed systematically at the east end of the chancel, and to which all parishioners without exception enjoyed free access. This was known as the high, or parish altar, and to this, as from the first, the whole congregation, when engaged in common worship, faced. Of what use then were transepts to the parishioners at large, and what possible interest can they be supposed to have had in their erection? The question is a wide and far reaching one, for the buildings in which they occur are of all ages from those of pre-conquest date down to the sixteenth century; and of all sizes from such immense fabrics as those of Newark, Nottingham, Yarmouth, and S. Mary Redcliffe, down to those of the smallest and humblest village class, such as Bowes in the North Riding of Yorks., and Hamsterley in Durham—the very smallest cruciform churches I know of. As to the few examples of cruciform, pre-conquest, parish churches, such as those of Dover Castle, Worth, and Bradford-on-Avon, it would—though there is no reason that I know of to draw any distinction between them and those of later date—be useless to say anything, seeing we know absolutely nothing, for certain, of the circumstances or conditions under which they were built, and may, therefore, for the present, let them stand apart. Chronologically then, we come to the aisleless, cruciform, twelfth century parish church, in direct imitation of which those of the Austin Canons are alleged to have been built. Now, notwithstanding all that as been said upon the subject, and the important part it has been made to play in our present enquiry, I would wish in the first place to ask--if not too utterly presumptuous--where are those churches, and who has seen, or, from personal knowledge, can tell us anything about them? Be it clearly understood that I refer strictly to such as belong to the three first quarters of that century, and which alone can have

served the Austin Canons, as alleged for models; for during the last quarter, in which the Transitional and First pointed styles prevailed, aisles had every where become quite common, and the distinction in that respect, between parish, and monastic churches—if it ever existed—had ceased. No doubt there are aisleless Norman parish churches of the period in abundance, some with western towers, as at Heighington in Durham; some with central ones, as at Iffley, Stewkley, Newhaven, Gillingham, &c.; and there are also others which are cruciform, as at Melbourne in Derbyshire, and S. John's Devizes, in Wilts.; but then there is this difficulty, that those which are aisleless are not cruciform, and those which are cruciform are not aisleless, so that the typical, aisleless, cruciform, Norman parish church is as far off as ever. Such a form, it is true, became common enough at a later period— in the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries, in small buildings erected for special purposes and under special circumstances, as at Llandabarn Vawr, Alfreston, Shottesbroke, Minster Lovel, Poynings, &c.; but, with a tolerably wide experience, I cannot, for my own part, call to mind a single example of that "cruciform, aisleless, Norman parish church" of the twelfth century, of which the Canons are said to have become so enamoured that they at once adopted it as their model. But, whether such examples be producible or no, we are still confronted with the enquiry, how came the mere parish church, either of the twelfth, or any succeeding century, to be cruciform? For all purposes of public worship, in respect of the parishioners generally, such a form would be about the most inconvenient as well as unbecoming that could be devised, and one which we may be sure, the practical common sense of the middle ages would never tolerate. Naturally then, in face of such facts we must look from public and united, to private and individual sources for the origin of such features. Nor will the result of our quest leave us in any doubt. On every side, turn where we will, we shall find overwhelming and superabundant proof, documentary and structural, that these cross limbs where, as usual, there are two, or where, as occasionally happens, there is but one, were invariably of private foundation, and built for private uses, being everywhere designed as sepulchral, or chantry chapels for the Whether, in any case, transepts were ever founders and their families. erected by guilds or confraternities, may perhaps be open to question. Such bodies, we know, did possess chapels of their own, and these chapels would seem occasionally to have been attached to the parish At Little Walsingham, for example, in the accounts of the guild of the Blessed Mary for the year 1516, there occurs the following entry: "For leading the new chapel to the parish church, £6." But, such chapels would rarely, I think, if ever, take the form of a regular transept. Nor, even if they did, would the circumstance in the least degree affect the question before us, since such chapels would still, in the strictest sense, be private property, built by private means, and maintained for private use and benefit. Though annexed, like other chapels, to the parish church, they would, in no true or actual sense be part of it; nor, would the parishioners, as such, have any rights in them whatever. And such was, universally, I believe, the case with transepts proper. Attached as they were, for the sake of convenience, to the parish church, the cost of their erection or maintenance was in no case defrayed by the parish, nor had the parishioners access to them as of right.

Though for the most part, perhaps, assuming a fairly symmetrical appearance, and therefore, in the present day—when all structural divisions have been removed and their areas thrown open to the body of the church—ordinarily assumed to have all along formed part and parcel of it, they will very frequently be found to be of varying dates, and to owe their origin to different families. One magnate in a parish having glorified himself in such a fashion, another, sooner or later, not unnaturally followed suit, imitating more or less closely in his work, the lines and general dimensions of his predecessor's. Of this there is a striking example, among others, in the little village church of Hamsterley, co. Durham, where, to the original small, aisleless nave of late transitional, or very early first pointed work, a large south transept of nearly equal size was added very shortly after its erection—so shortly indeed, as to differ in no perceptible degree almost from the original structure. And so the church, with this single appendage, continued for some eighty years, then, some other "local man" too, was moved to prepare a "long home" for himself, and build a fellow to it. And the curious thing is that, notwithstanding the lapse of time, his new transept was built—and that evidently of set purpose—in the completest fac-simile, exactly matching the other in every particular of length, breadth, height, construction and other detail, save only that its north window instead of consisting of three long, narrow, lancet lights-mere slits-like the southern one, is composed of three sharp, trefoliated lights under an enclosing arch. The result is a symmetrical little building forming as nearly as possible, an exact Greek cross, and so harmonious in style and proportion that the general observer would never doubt but that all was of a common date, and devoted from the first, as at present,—when screens have been removed and pews intruded everywhere—to a common purpose. To such as have eyes to see, however, the presence of a piscina in the south, and of a large blue Tees marble stone bearing the matrix of a fine open floriated cross of brass in the north, transept, indicate unmistakeably the origin and nature of those parts; and prove that though joined on to, they were never really parcel of, the parish church. At Auckland, S. Andrew's, again—the mother church of Hamsterley—we find precisely the same state of things, only on a larger scale. There, however, it is the north transept which takes precedence; the southern one, which was made to correspond with it in size and shape, having been erected some seventy years afterwards, when the church was made collegiate by the famous bishop Beck. Nor did the principle of assimilation adopted by the builders of the south transept stop there, for no sooner was it finished than the windows of the original north transept, which till then had exactly re-produced the contemporary ones of the choir, were altered so as to correspond with the windows of that new transept, and others of similar character which were at the same time inserted into the choir by Beck, and so bring all into accord. Here again, all looks so uniform and homogeneous, that it might well pass for contemporary work, and as the result of a single and complete design. But, notwithstanding the general likeness, close examination reveals the secret of widely different dates, and shews that, not only were the limbs erected in perfect independence of each other, but also of the parish at large; knightly effigies—now displaced—and altar adjuncts still in situ, disclosing at once the sources from which they sprang, and the uses to which they

were applied. At Barnard Castle church—to continue my illustrations from our ten cruciform Durham churches, which may probably, I suppose, be accepted as fairly representative of all the rest—the same thing occurs again. To an originally aisleless Norman nave and chancel, narrow nave aisles were added in later Norman times, and to these, on the south side, during the thirteenth century, a considerable transept. This was the Chantry Chapel of the Blessed Virgin Mary, founded by Robert de Mortham, vicar of Gainford—the mother church of Barnard Castle—sometime before A.D. 1300, and in it till recently, his perfect monumental effigy reposed. And this south transept continued, apparently, to be the only one till the end of the fifteenth century, temp. Ric. III., when, being like the rest of the church recast, a corresponding transept, entirely new, as it would seem, was built in close imitation of it to the north. By whom the latter was erected is unknown; but a piscina, and two monumental niches in the north wall indicate as clearly as do the piscina and effigy of Mortham's chapel, its origin, and that it too was of private foundation. At the adjoining parish church of Staindrop—the burial place of many of the Nevilles—a single thirteenth century transept alone remains annexed to a late twelfth century nave northwards: for in A.D. 1343, the then head of the house, Ralph Nevill-victor in the fight of Neville's cross-having obtained licence from the Prior and Convent of Durham to found three new chantries, displayed his rights over the south transept, or south limb of the transept—in which his ancestress Isabel Nevill, the foundress of her famous line was buried-by pulling it down bodily, and erecting an immensely broad aisle, of nearly the same projection, in its The piscina—sedilia for the chantry priests—their vestry sepulchral niches in the wall-four effigies, and the matrix of a brass may still be seen in it; together with the notches for the screen-work which once shut off the eastern, or private part of this aisle, as also the north transept, from the body of the church entirely. At Sedgefield, the fact of the transepts having been founded by different persons, and at different times, is pretty clearly established. That to the south —the chapel of S. Thomas, is of uncertain age; but the northern one was founded by the then rector, John de Henlee, in honour of S. Catherine, A.D. 1379.1 Both transepts are additions to the fine, and original church. S. Mary's Gateshead, affords another illustration of this very general rule. Here, in the north "Porch"-as the transepts, or transeptal chapels were commonly called in these parts -was founded the Chantry of S. Mary by one Alan Prestre in A.D. 1330. He was also founder of another chantry, viz: that of the Holy Trinity, probably in the same transept. The Chantries of S.S. John Baptist, and Evangelist, founded by John Dolphanby in A.D. 1421, and 1422, respectively, occupied, as it would seem, the south transept; the difference of date between the two being thus again, close upon a century. At Brancepeth church, which stands close to the castle—one of the seats of the mighty Nevilles, and where, leaving Raby for awhile, they usually resided during the winter—both limbs of the transept—clearly

¹ There is a difficulty on this point however; the details of the transept being of earlier date. It might seem, therefore, that Henlee simply founded a chantry in a transept of previous erection; the owners of which had either died out, or transferred their right in i to him.

an addition to the original church—were built at, or about the same time by the head of the house early in the fourteenth century; -probably shortly after the death of Robert Nevill, the "Peacock of the North," who was killed at Berwick in 1319, and whose grand mail-clad effigy, till recently, rested at the northern end of it. The presence of chantry priests at his feet, singing for his soul, seems to indicate that a special chantry whether consisting of the whole, or part of this transept only—had been founded on his behalf. But even the whole of it was found insufficient for the needs of so great a house; for about the close of the century they rebuilt the chancel, adding to it on the south side a noble mortuary chapel adjoining the south limb of the transept, and which till only the other day held two large altar tombs. all the foregoing examples, save that of Hamsterley—a minute structure with an open bell-cot—the churches have western towers. In the remaining three, viz:—those of Houghton le Spring, Norton, and Darlington, the towers are central, and the transepts, instead of being erected at different times, are contemporary. At Darlington and Houghton, they are very nearly so with the respective choirs as well; and this was doubtless also originally the case at Norton, but there, both the choir and nave have been re-built in a later style. The church of Houghton, like the whole of those already referred to, except that of Auckland which was made collegiate by bishop Beck, is, and was always a simple parish church. Norton and Darlington, were both collegiate; Darlington having been founded and built expressly as a collegiate church by bishop Pudsey, 1190-1196; and Norton having very probably also, been for the most part rebuilt by the same prelate, for the same purpose, and at about the same time. Who the builder, or builders of the Houghton choir and transepts may have been, is unknown. Both are of the thirteenth century. The reedification of the chancel, which is a little the earlier, would naturally devolve upon the rector; but the south limb of the transept-indentical in every particular with the northern one- is certainly due to one of the old lords of the place—whether of the Le Spring family or notwhose contemporary, mutilated effigy, clad throughout in chain mail, reposes on a raised altar tomb within the south wall. The work of the transept is all of one piece, pattern, and date; and if not founded by one and the same person, the other is now unknown.

We come now, then, to the two collegiate churches of Norton and Darlington, the last upon the list; and of which, though out of the category of parish churches, pure and simple, it is desirable to take account. What the origin of Norton church may be is doubtful. The transepts and lower part of the tower are almost, perhaps quite, certainly Saxon work, though whether of pre-conquest or early post-conquest date, it would be hard to say. There was certainly, however, a church on the spot in A.D. 1082, into which William of S. Carileph, bishop of Durham, then inducted certain of the secular canons, whom on the intrusion of the monks, he had expelled from the cathedral. But whether the whole structure was rebuilt by Carileph for the reception of the seculars, or whether he simply made use of a pre-existing church for that purpose—and the latter would seem from the entire absence of any, even the rudest Norman detail, to be the more probable supposition—one of these transepts—the northern one—certainly became in after years, even if it had not been so from the first, a private, mortuary, or chantry chapel. It was known as the

Blakiston, or Blaixton Porch, from the lords of an ancient manor of that name in the parish, one of whose effigies, closely resembling that of the famous Brian Fitz Alan in Bedale church, Yorks., and among the very finest in the north, is still perfectly preserved. The south transept was known as "Pity Porch," doubtless from its altar of our Lady of Pity, but under what conditions it was maintained is uncertain. It may have been, probably was, attached to the regular foundation of secular canons which, if not continuous from the time of Carileph, was certainly in existence in the thirteenth century, and which, with certain modifications continued till the general suppression. Darlington church—one of the finest in the county, and of a type distinctly different from all the rest-stands alone in this respect, that it was certainly planned and built for one of Canons from the very first, and that by no less a personage than the famous bishop Pudsey. With a strong infusion of the monastic spirit in its design—narrow, lofty, and severe, it consists of a choir and transepts which were aisleless; a nave of exactly the same height with exceedingly narrow, and originally very low aisles; and a central tower and spire; the whole, with the exception of the last named features, of very early pointed work, retaining in the choir traces of the Transition. Though aisleless, both choir and transepts are in two stories throughout; each of which in the interior is enriched with beautiful and continuous wall arcading. the ritual division of the church, which was under a dean and several prebendaries, may have been before the dissolution, cannot now be said, for we have no witness to it. The rich work of the interior, however, terminates at and after the easternmost pier arch of the nave, which on either side is elaborately moulded, the rest being all plain. It might seem possible therefore, that the parochial part of the church—if there were really any structural division—terminated at the western arch of the tower, as at Dunster, the rich bay forming the sanctuary; and that the choir and transepts were reserved in some sort, more especially for the Canons, but of this we know nothing. Certain it is, however, that there were at least two alters in the south transept—which from the greater richness of its arcading, probably formed the Lady-chapel—as there are still to be seen the remains of two contemporary piscinas there. There was also an external western entrance to it, which, since the dissolution, has been taken out and the space carefully filled up with fine ashlar masonry, like the rest of the walling. It was probably contrived for the special use of the Dean, who had the cure of souls, and whose house stood at the south-west corner of the churchyard. the north transept I have found no remains of piscinas, though there may have been, and probably was, one altar there also. But whether or no, Darlington Church was, as we have already seen, altogether removed from the class of mere parish churches; and its transepts, not being like theirs of private foundation, and for private uses, would stand upon an entirely different footing, whatever that footing might be.

Thus, out of the ten existing cruciform churches of the county of Durham, the transepts of eight are seen to have been built by private persons, and mostly at different times for their own private uses; one, at least, of those of the ninth—which are of Saxon construction, and go back to times and circumstances of which we know nothing—being also, in post-conquest times a private chapel; while in the case of the tenth,

the church was not a simple parish church at all, and therefore out of the reckoning. But, the evidence for the private nature of these appendages is far from resting solely upon that supplied by such buildings as eventually, through their application, assumed a cruciform shape. It is confirmed in the strongest possible way by that of a numerous class of churches, usually of smaller size, in which the development has stopped permanently half way,—in which no second founder has ever come forward, and which, consequently, possess a single transept, or limb of a transept only, to the present day. As to the origin or nature of these, there neither is, nor ever was, the least shadow of a shade of doubt whatever. They still remain, for the most part, more or less filled with the tombs of the founders and their successors; and known, far and wide, traditionally and historically. as their "Porches." We have them at Egglescliffe, Redmarshall, Grindon, Sockburn, Merrington, Denton, and Kelloe. At the collegiate church of Chester-le-street, the mortuary chapel of the Lords Lumley took the form of an extra aisle opening by three arches from the eastern half of the north aisle of the church; but one of them long since pulled down the two western bays, walled up the arches, and converted the space of the eastern bay into a family pew—a tolerably strong display of Egglescliffe church, whose transeptal chapel somewhat in principle resembles that at Chester, has its opening to the nave on the south side by two arches. It is known as the "Aslakby Porch" or chapel, so called from the ancient lords of that manor, the effigy of one of whom, clad in chain mail, still rests under a constructional arched tomb in its south wall. Another and similar effigy—expelled doubtless from the same chapel—is now, or was lately to be seen, mutilated and weather worn, in the churchyard. At Redmarshall, the only transept, which again is to the south, is, and has for ages past been known as the "Claxton Porch" from the name of the later lords of Wynyard, though it was really founded and built by one of the Laytons, their predecessors in the estate and ownership of the chapel;—the magnificent alabaster tomb which it contains and was built to hold, being undoubtedly that of Thomas Layton and his wife Sybilla, A.D. 1417.

Grindon church, which is a small building consisting only of a nave and chancel, has also, attached to its south aisle, a single transept. This is known as the "Fulthorpe Porch," the lords of which local manor both built, and lie buried in it. Two large marble slabs, one charged with their arms, still occupy the centre of its floor, and bear witness to their foundation. At Sockburn church, the burial place of the famous family of Convers—now unhappily a ruin—the chapel is on the north side. Though not nowadays, so far as I know, ever called their "Porch," no doubt as to its nature or origin can possibly exist, for it is filled throughout with their sepulchral memorials from the fourteenth century down to nearly their extinction. At Merrington church, an ancient Norman structure consisting formerly of a nave, central tower, and chancel—now well nigh restored off the face of the earth—there was also but a single transept. It was known as "Laurence's Porch"—doubtless from a chantry under that invocation—but every thing relative thereto is now, The little church of Denton, destroyed unhappily, it seems, forgotten. in the early years of the present century, and which consisted simply of an aisleless nave and chancel, had also a large south transept only. This was "Brackenbury's Porch"—so called from the well known family of that name—which opened to it "by a wide pointed arch." When Hutchinson, our earliest county historian wrote-now a century since-"there were remains of stained glass in the lights, and the floor of the Porch was covered with the sepulchral memorials of its former owners." Kelloe church, the last of these one limbed transeptal churches, has its chapel, which is known as the "Thornlaw Porch," or "Pity Porch," towards the north. It was founded in A.D. 1347, by one of the old lords of the place, John Fitz Henry de Kellaw, and Elizabeth his sister, in honour of the Blessed Mary-whence "Pity Porch." In 1352, on the conveyance of their lands in Thornlaw to one John Harpyn, it was stipulated that the grantee should maintain a perpetual chantry of three priests therein, daily to celebrate masses for the souls of the founders, their parents &c. whence "Thornlaw Porch." As evidencing the strictly private character of this "Porch," possession of which went with the estate, we find John Trollop of Thornley Esqre in 1522, making the following testamentary disposition:—" to be buried in my Porche of our Ladye in Kellowe Churche, brtwixt my wyfe and the altar ende. And later still, in the now destroyed Register of the parish there occurred this entry:—" 21 July, 1611, Mr. John Trollop, owner of Thornlaw, buried by himself," i.e. in his own Porch.

Far as I am then, from asserting dogmatically that the parish church, qua parish church, was never, under any circumstances, cruciform, I think I may safely say I know of no such example. All the cruciform churches I have adduced, which comprise the whole of those now remaining in this county, shew palpable proof of their cross limbs having been erected by private persons for private uses; and what obtained without exception among the churches of Durham—and I may add, all others that I have met with elsewhere, may reasonbly be assumed as evidence for the existence of a rule, not merely of local, but, as I am disposed to think, general—perhaps, universal, application.

(To be continued.)

ON THE DIFFERENCES OF PLAN ALLEGED TO EXIST BETWEEN CHURCHES OF AUSTIN CANONS AND THOSE OF MONKS; AND THE FREQUENCY WITH WHICH SUCH CHURCHES WERE PAROCHIAL.

By the Rev. J. F. HODGSON.

We now arrive at the fourth allegation :- "That they" (the Austin canons) "first built a choir without aisles and a transept; after that their domestic offices; and then the next thing they built was the nave." This fourth part of the subject will not, fortunately, detain us nearly so long as the three previous ones, since it contains but a single point open to controversy; and as the answer to that point has, to a considerable extent, been given already, it need not be reproduced at much length The point in question is this:—That the canons built their choirs without aisles; and I have undertaken to shew "that though the Austin canons, like the monks, naturally commenced with their choirs, working westwards to the naves, the assertion that those choirs, collectively considered, were aisleless, is untenable. Further, that though some of them, especially in the smaller and poorer churches, undoubtedly are so, so, too, are many, perhaps more, of those of the various orders of monks." Now, how little the canons, as a rule, had really to do with the erection of their churches in the first instance, I have already shewn at length in vol. xlii, pp. 440-468. And, what is more to the purpose, is the fact that it was the choir with which the founders—who were in so vast a proportion the real builders of their churches—were more especially concerned. Having built this portion of the church, and so provided for the regular performance of divine service, the rest could "bide its time," waiting for the gradual accumulation of funds and such external benefactions as might accrue. The subject of aisled or aisleless choirs then, would in almost all cases depend for its solution primarily on the will of the founders; the canons for the most part, probably, having no more to do with the dimensions or arrangement of the church than with the extent of the endowment-upon which such particulars would necessarily in great measure, depend. Their position, indeed, would differ little, if at all, from that of the inmates of any other almshouse or charitable institution, ancient or modern; they would simply take such benefit of sustenance and general accommodation as the founder thought fit to provide for them, and which, in every case, would be just according to circumstance. Afterwards, when they had means of their own, and such independency as flowed therefrom, their case was different. As practically free agents, they could then build, alter, pull down, and rebuild as inclination prompted and means allowed; and we have abundant proof, all the country over, what good use they made of their opportunities. But at first they were not their own masters, and at times, probably—in respect of their churches and other offices—would realize the truth of the proverb that "beggars must not be choosers." The founder, who "paid the piper," not unnaturally "named the time," and, "genteel" or otherwise, they had no choice but dance to it. Considering how slender the endowments, and few the number of canons in so many of their houses were, aisled choirs are surely among the very last things we should expect to meet with, nor, so far as I can see, is there any reason to suppose that, under similar circumstances, there was the least difference of arrangement in this respect between the churches of canons and those of monks. both, naturally, it would be one of simple convenience, and I cannot but think it would need much ingenuity to shew that what was convenient in one case could be ought else in the other. In the larger and more highly developed churches of both orders, there is certainly no difference of plan observable in any respect; neither, as we have already seen, is there in the smaller ones. I have already instanced, as will be remembered merely from such examples as I have been able to make myself acquainted with—no fewer than one hundred and fourteen Benedictine churches, usually of the smaller class, which were either only one aisled or aisleless; and I have no doubt whatever that a large proportion of the smaller and poorer churches of canons, of which "we cannot now speak particularly," will be found to answer the same description. Both monks and canons alike had, in such matters, "to cut their coat according to the cloth"—not "after the lust of the eye." That a considerable proportion of choirs of carons' churches then—like those of the Benedictines—were aisleless, I made no manner of doubt about whatever. Such, among others, were those of Bamburgh, Beeston Regis—a beautiful arcaded example— Bolton, Brinkburn, Bruton—a church of monks before it became one of canons—Bourne, Chacombe, Chetwood, Chipley (apparently), Calk (most likely), Carham, Flanesford, Gresley, Hartland, Haughmond, Haverfordwest, Kirkby Beler, Laund, Letheringham, Maxstoke, Ovingham, S. Mary de Pratis Leicester, South Kyme, Staverdale, Studley, Sheringham, Ulverscroft, and Westacre. To these might doubtless be added many more, judging solely from the smallness and poverty of their several foundations; but I give as many as I can speak to positively. a number, however, have either perished, or are so fragmentary-and therefore little known and difficult to acquire information about—that I can say nothing whatever for certain, either as to their plan or dimensions. But it is evident that foundations able to maintain no more than three or four canons would need only very small chapels for their accommodation; and even when more amply endowed, and double that number of inmates existed, aisles, either to nave or choir, must have been very much in the nature of a superfluity. There can indeed, I think, be no reasonable doubt but that by far the larger proportion of the choirs in the smaller houses were without aisles, exactly as those of the Benedictines, under similar circumstances, were also without aisles. that the choirs of canons' churches were collectively or systematically aisleless is another matter, and, as I have said, altogether untenable. It is unfortunate, no doubt, for purposes of classification, that our knowledge of these churches should be so scanty; yet, scanty as it is, it is quite sufficient to give us a fair idea of them as a whole, and refute the assertion that their choirs were generally aisleless. Viewed collectively besides the smaller, and more or less aisleless examples, we find many others aisled just like those of similar character belonging to the monks; while not a few—of vast size and richness—exhibit the monastic plan in its highest and fullest development. And it is not without significance, that the very first church which the order, even while yet unrecognized as such, possessed in England, viz., that of SS. Julian and Botolph, at Colchester, should have been of this last description. As to its choir that, I believe, is now destroyed, at least, to the surface of the ground; but the plan of the rest affords the surest indication that, like the nave, it had both north and south aisles. At any rate, if such were not the case, it must have been unique among three towered English churches, for not only were there a central and two western towers, but the latter stood clear of the aisles as at Wells and originally at Ripon—thus forming a species of western transept. Then we have—

CHRIST CHURCH PRIORY CHURCH IN LONDON, which, if not the next built, was one of the very earliest of the order, and which had doubtless also an aisled choir, for it is said to have "passed all the Priories in London and Middlesex," and that of the Franciscans, of which we have the most copious description, and which was of extreme magnificence, was certainly aisled.

AT WALTHAM ABBEY CHURCH, the choir—though those of Harold, and of the 13th century, which possibly supplanted an intermediate Norman one, are now destroyed—must, I imagine judging from the plan of the church which, like that at Colchester, comprised three towers, have been also an aisled one. What new light, if any, the latest explorations there may have thrown upon the subject, I cannot, however, say.

Worksor Priory Church, founded in the third year of Hen. 1st, had undoubtedly an aisled choir of very large dimensions, which, like that of Peterborough, terminated in a central apse.

CARLISLE PRIORY CHURCH had also, like that of Worksop, aisles to the choir from the very first, for on the south side, the Norman arch of entrance from the transept still exists.

St. Mary Overy Priory Church, Southwark, founded about 1107, though in a great measure rebuilt in the 13th century, had also probably from the first an aisled choir, the scale of the Norman work in the noble nave arcades seeming to indicate, and indeed require the existence of similar features eastwards. Of the splendidly rebuilt 13th century aisled choir of five bays, at any rate, there can be no doubt whatever.

THE CHOIR OF BARNWELL PRIORY CHURCH, founded about 1112—a building "mire pulchritudinis, et ponderosi operis"—would also, pretty certainly, be an aisled one.

THURGARTON PRIORY CHURCH, founded circa 1120—a magnificent three towered building—had again, as there is every reason to think, an aisled choir from the first.

At Kirkham Priory Church, built by the founders, Walter L'Espec

and Adeline his wife in 1121, the choir—whatever its primitive character may have been—has given place to a later, and certainly an aisled one.

LEEDS PRIORY CHURCH, founded circa 1119, and said to have rivalled some of our cathedrals in magnitude, must in such case, it would seem, have had aisles to its choir. Any information respecting this interesting church seems very difficult to obtain however, and my own efforts in that direction have, so far, proved singularly unsuccessful.

DUNSTABLE PRIORY CHURCH, built by King Hen. 1st sometime after 1131, had certainly an aisled choir from its first foundation. This, being the monastic part of the dual church, however, has since been destroyed.

OSENEY ABBEY CHURCH, built by Robert D'Oilei in 1129, and erected into a cathedral by Hen. VIII. in 1542, had also, we may believe, a complete choir with aisles. Nothing definite respecting it, however, is now, I believe, known.

LILLESHULL ABBEY CHURCH, built about 1145, had, according to Walcott, a choir whose aisles were separated from it, not by arcades, as usual, but by solid walls, as at Rochester, Bradsole, St. Albans, &c.

S. Bartholomew the Great Priory Church, London — The choir of this church, built by Rahere in 1123—a secularized portion of which has happily just been rescued from further profanation—still remains, perhaps, the most perfect example of its class extant. It is four bays in length, with north and south aisles, and an aisled apse of seven bays, all of the original construction. The large Lady chapel to the east—of nearly the same length as the choir itself, and which has also been rescued—is an Early English addition.

CHRIST CHURCH TWYNEHAM, PRIORY CHURCH.—This noble church—still happily entire—has had its original Norman choir rebuilt in a late, but very vigorous Perpendicular style. That the original choir had aisles like the present one, is, however, beyond a doubt—the Norman apsidal chapels of each limb of the transept being placed, on account of their presence, at the very extremity.

S. AUGUSTINE'S PRIORY, NOW CATHEDRAL CHURCH, BRISTOL, had also aisles to its original Norman choir, as well as to its present 14th century one. This is shewn, among other things, by the elder Lady chapel of Early English date—which lies east of the north transept—being built against a portion of the external wall of the Norman choir aisle: the latter is still left, and forms the south wall of that chapel.

CARTMEL PRIORY CHURCH, founded by William Marshall the elder in 1188 (for an illustrated account of which see vol. xxvii, pp. 81-91, of this *Journal*), has the original Transitional arcades of its choir aisles still perfectly preserved. The nave is also fully aisled.

AT LANERCOST PRIORY CHURCH, founded inter 1164-9, the original aisled choir—some thirty years later in date—is by far the finest and

most striking feature in the building. Though ruined, it is still in wonderfully perfect preservation.

HEXHAM PRIORY CHURCH has its magnificent aisled choir—of the very earliest pointed work—also still extant. It is six bays in length, and of very rich and massive character throughout.

S. John's, Chester, a church of secular canons, of early Norman construction, had from the very first both north and south aisles to the choir. They were each of four bays, but are now almost wholly destroyed.

Southwell Collegiate, now Cathedral Church, at present distinguished for its singularly rich and spacious aisled choir of the 13th century, had its original Norman choir also aisled, as is shewn by the contemporary entrance arches still to be seen in either limb of the transept.

RIPON MINSTER, built by Archbishop Roger de Pont l'Eveque, 1154-81, though its original nave was aisleless, had a fine aisled choir prepared for vaulting from the first. By the time the clerestory was reached, however, the original intention was abandoned, and the plan so far modified as to fit it for a wooden roof instead. Singularly enough, among all the writers on the Minster, including the late Mr. Walbran, Sir G. G. Scott, and Mr. King, in Murray's Handbooks, this original design, and its remarkable suppression, seems never to have been mentioned, or even noticed. And yet, the clustered vaulting shafts standing—in a manner, at once so contrary to English practice, and so peculiarly French—with their bases planted on the capitals of the main piers, and arranged to carry the transverse, diagonal, and wall ribs, are all there, provided with capitals at the base line of the clerestory,—and doing nothing.

WIMBORNE MINSTER, though on a very small scale, had also short Norman aisles to its original choir. Of these the remains may still be seen on either side. At a later date both the choir and its aisles were more than doubled in length.

At Bodmin Priory Church, into which canons of S. Austin were introduced by William Warlewast, Bishop of Exeter in 1120, the choir, as we learn from William of Worcester's measurements, had both north and south aisles. Its width appears to have been about fifty feet.

St. German's Priory Church, of which only the nave and two western towers now remain, is one of those which would almost certainly have had an aisled choir. It seems, however, to have been more or less completely destroyed after the suppression.

S. FRIDESWIDE'S PRIORY, NOW CATHEDRAL CHURCH, OXFORD.—In this well-known example the beautiful aisled choir of Transitional character still remains perfect. Both nave and transept are also double aisled.

BRIDLINGTON PRIORY CHURCH.—As at S. German's, though the nave

and its western towers have escaped, being parochial, the choir has perished utterly. Nevertheless, its dimensions have been pretty accurately recorded. It was of the original construction—whether late Norman or Early English does not clearly appear—and of vast size, extending no less than a hundred and fifty feet east of the transept to the base of the farthest pillar that has been discovered. "In the north aisle of the choir were eleven narrow windows and similar ones in the south aisle, every one of them 'of one lyghte,' except two windows on the south with 'five lyghtes apiece.' In the east end of the choir were eleven windows 'ten of one lyghte and one of three lyghtes.'" East of the magnificent reredos, which was of great height, richly wrought, and as richly gilded, was the shrine of S. John—"placed in a fair chapel on high, having on either side a stair of stone for to go and come by," and underneath were five chapels furnished with their respective altars and From this last mentioned particular, it would seem that besides north and south aisles, the choir was also furnished with an eastern one. There were a central and two western towers, and the whole length of the church was about 350 feet, with a breadth across the aisles of 68, and a height of about 70 feet.

BEVERLEY MINSTER still preserves its choir as first built. It consists of four bays, with north and south aisles; an eastern transept with eastern chapels; and east of these a Lady chapel—all of the same height, stone vaulted, and of the finest thirteenth century character.

THORNTON ABBEY CHURCH, LINCOLNSHIRE, better known perhaps for its interesting fortifications, and beautiful entrance gateway tower than anything else, had a very fine large aisled choir. Like all the rest of the church it was a re-building; the whole of the fabric, as commenced by the founder, William le Gros, Earl of Albemarle, in 1139—on whatever plan—having been afterwards removed.

LITTLE DUNMOW PRIORY CHURCH.—This church, which was finished two years before the Austin canons either entered it or were intended to do so, in 1106, must have had its ordinary parochial choir removed and a new one of great size and splendour built for their accommodation before the end of the century—circa. 1186-90. All that now remains of this, however, is the blocked arcade of the south aisle—of rich Transitional work—and the south wall, which has again been re-built in the fourteenth century, not improbably by the architect of the Lady chapel at Ely.

NEWARK PRIORY CHURCH, SUSSEX, according to Mr. Walcott's account, had aisles to the choir and nave all shut off by solid walling. Reckoning the outer chapels of the transepts, the choir—if his plan can be accepted—might almost be said to be five aisled. The case is certainly curious, if true.

BLACKMORE PRIORY CHURCH.—Of this church—which, being also parochial, is perfectly preserved—there is a plan in Buckler's churches of Essex. The choir and nave, which are of the same breadth, are aisled throughout.

ROYSTON PRIORY CHURCH.—The choir, together with the tower, are all

that now remains of Royston church, the western parts having been destroyed shortly after the suppression. It has both north and south aisles.

Breedon Priory Church, Leicestershire — As at Royston, the choir with its aisles and the tower, constitute nearly the sole remains of this once fine church

WALSINGHAM PRIORY CHURCH.—The whole fabric of this noble church is later than the date of its foundation, and must, therefore, in part, at least, have been rebuilt. But it is aisled throughout, in the choir as well as in the page.

S. Martin's Priory Church, Dover.—I introduce this church—which eventually became one of the Benedictines—here, because it was planned, and in great part built, for the use of Austin canons by one who had himself been an Austin canon, William de Corbeuil, archbishop of Canterbury. The choir had north and south aisles of three bays, each terminating in a semi-circular apse which formed a fourth bay eastwards. Beyond these the central choir was projected one bay further eastward still, and finished rectangularly, with massive angle turrets. The transept had double apsidal chapels on either side the crossing, similar in character to those of the choir aisles, the nave also had north and south aisles. A more perfectly developed monastic church could not be imagined, and it was of very early date, being founded in 1130.

Holland, or Upholland Priory Church.—This fine church which, like S. Martin's, Dover, was built for canons, was afterwards, in 1318, made over to Benedictine monks. It is of moderate dimensions and quite perfect, consisting of a low western tower and a central and two side aisles, under a single roof. The arcades are very grand and lofty, and the whole building, lighted as it is throughout with its original large geometrical windows, divided by massive buttresses, is very striking and impressive.

Howden Collegiate Church.—Fine as this church is as a whole, yet no part of it can compare with its magnificent aisled and clerestoried choir, which was vaulted throughout. Of its class and period—early flowing pointed—it would be hard to find a nobler work.

DORCHESTER ABBEY CHURCH.—As to the plan of the original Norman choir of this singular, but fine church, there is some uncertainty. A fragment of a north aisle, with a western door to the cloister, still exists, and seems, therefore, to point to the former existence of a like aisle southwards; but all traces of this—owing to the erection of a much broader aisle at a later period—have, if it ever existed, now disappeared. The beautiful aisled choir of decorated date, however, is now the chief feature of the church.

Repton Priory Church.—Though the original choir of this church was undoutedly aisleless, I include it here because it was distinctly the work, not of the canons, but of the foundress; the canons, as soon as they were in a position to do so, rebuilding both it and the nave with aisles.

Guisborough Priory Church.—This was undoubtedly the grandest church that the Austin canons possessed either at home or abroad, being of great richness, three towered, and no less than 380 feet in length. But its chief glory lay in its vast aisled choir—a work absolutely unmatched in sublime perfection by any other in the kingdom, whether monastic or cathedral. Little as now remains, unfortunately, to witness to its former majesty, there is yet quite enough to shew that for monumental grandeur, perfection of form, and richness and delicacy of

detail, it was literally without a rival.

Though far from being even approximately complete, the above list of Austin canons churches having aisled choirs—which comprises all I can at present adduce—may yet suffice to shew how far from accurate it is to speak of them collectively or generically as aisleless. Necessarily imperfect as the list is however, it contains—exclusive of the Scotch examples of Holyrood and Jedburgh, and the few belonging to the churches of secular canons mentioned in it-no fewer than thirty-five illustrations of English Augustinian churches, the choirs of which were aisled:—that is to say, close upon one sixth of their number all told. But that this number comes very far short of the actual one may be confidently affirmed. Judging from such examples only as I have been able to give an account of, in connection with the annual incomes of the houses to which they severally belonged, there are no less than two thirds as many more which might reasonably be added; their respective foundations all possessing revenues ranging between two hundred, and nineteen hundred pounds a year, and upwards, and whose churches therefore could hardly fail to be on a scale of corresponding completeness. Such were those of Pentney, Huntingdon, Nostell, S. James, Northampton, Llanthony in Gloucestershire, Taunton, Launceston, Kenilworth, Merton. Nutley, Chich S. Osyth, Ixworth, Newburgh, Bradenstoke, Wigmore, Derley, Newenham Beds, Buttley, Dertford, Missenden, and Syon twenty-one in all, the choirs of whose churches if aisled, as there is every reason to suppose most of them were, would bring up the number at once to above one fourth. How many belonging to houses of under two hundred a year income like Breedon, Blackmore and Lancercost for example. night also, like them, have aisled choirs, it were needless to speculate about; though that there were such, and not a few either, can hardly be The question before us, however, it will be remembered, is not as to the exact proportion of aisleless choirs in the churches of canons, but whether there were any with aisled choirs at all; and this, I think, has been sufficiently disposed of, if only by the enumeration of such as are still actually in existence, and about which there can be no dispute. But, to shew that the choirs of many canons' churches were aisled was only part of my undertaking. It was to shew further that aisleless choirs were by no means confined to churches of that class, but were to be found also, and perhaps more extensively, in those of the monks. How far, I cannot, of course, pretend to say exactly, seeing that—just as with the churches of canons-there are such vast numbers of which it is impossible to obtain any sort of information; but, even with the limited opportunities at my command I am able to lay before my readers no fewer than a hundred and sixty examples of Benedictine churches whose choirs were aisleless; or-close upon three-fourths of all the Austin canons churches put together. They are as follows:-

Some Benedictine and other Churches of Monks, &c., having Aigleless Choirs.

Aldeby Priory Church, Norfolk. -- Benedictine.

Amesbury Abbey Church, Wiltshire.—Benedictine.

Andover Alien Priory Church, Hampshire.—Benedictine. Chancel with north chapel only.

Arthington Priory Church of Nuns, Yorkshire.—Cluniac. Andwell Alien Priory Church, Hampshire.—Cistercian. Astley Alien Priory Church, Worcestershire.—Benedictine. Avebury Alien Priory Church, Wiltshire—Benedictine.

Allerton Mauleverer Priory Church: a cell to Holy Trinity Priory,

York.—Benedictine.

"The cruciform Church of Allerton Mauleverer has aisles to the nave, but none to the chancel. Originally 'S. Martin' has been a beautiful church, and there was at one time some choice stained glass in the windows, but last century's restoration of it was not a successful one."—Letter of the Rev. W. Valentine, Vicar.

Aucot Priory Church, Warwickshire: a cell to the Priory of Great

Malvern. -- Benedictine.

Bardsey Abbey Church, Caernarvonshire.—Benedictine. Barrow Gurney Priory Church, Somersetshire.—Benedictine.

Baysdale Priory Church, Yorkshire.—Cistercian.
Beauley Priory Church, Rosshire.—Cistercian.
S. Bee's Priory Church, Cumberland.—Benedictine.
Buckland Abbey Church, Devonshire.—Cistercian.

Bradwell Priory Church, Buckinghamshire.—Benedictine.

Barwell Priory Church, Lincolnshire.—Benedictine. Buildwas Abbey Church, Shropshire.—Cistercian.

Bristol, S. James' Priory Church, Somersetshire.—Benedictine.

Bristol, Dominican Church: William of Worcester says of this church:—

"Longitudo chori ecclesiæ fratrum prædicatorum continet 26 virgas vel 44 gressus. Latitudo chori continet 8 virgas vel 58 gressus. Latitudo ejusdem continet 21 virgas vel 44 gressus." Bristol vol. of the Institute, p. 144. As W. of Worcester's "gressus" contained about 20 inches, it would seem that the building consisted of a nave with two broad aisles, and an aisleless choir—as was usual in such churches—the latter being

about 73 feet in length, by 23 in breadth.

Bristol, Franciscan, or Grey Friars' Church. Of this church William of Worcester says:—"Chorus excelsiæ continet in longitudine 28 virgas sive 50 gressus. Latitudo chori continet 9 virgas sive 18 gressus. Longitudo navis dictæ ecclesiæ cum duabus magnis alis continet 28 virgas sive 50 gressus. Latitudo dictæ navis cum duabus alis continet 27 virgas sive 52 gressus." &c. From which we learn that it consisted of a nave with two aisles, about 83 feet in length by 86½ in breadth; the nave being probably about 32 feet, and the aisles 27 feet wide each; with a choir of the Religious, of the same length as the nave, or 83 feet, and a width of about 30 feet—that is aisleless.

Bristol, S. Mary Magdalene Priory Church of Nuns.—Benedictine. William of Worcester's measurements of this small and poor church are as follows:—"Longitudo ecclesiæ religionum S. Mariæ Magdalenæ continet 27 gressus cum cancella. Latitudo ejus continet 10 virgas (vel)

20 gressus." That is to say, the church consisted of a nave and chancel, 45 feet in length in the full; with a width—as it would seem—in the nave, perhaps, of 33 feet, and which therefore must have had a single side aisle. This single aisle might possibly also be continued as a chapel

along one side of the choir.

Brecon Priory Church.—Benedictine. A fine cruciform church with a long aisleless choir, designed for vaulting. Judging from the plan given in vol. xi. of this Journal, p. 145, it would seem more than probable that this was originally an aisleless church throughout: for not only is the west wall of the north transept carried across the east end of the nave aisle, but both the north and south walls of the nave are continued solid for several feet westward of the crossing. The westernmost bay also of the south aisle of the nave is aisleless. For views see Archæological Journal, vii., 26,

Bridgewater, Grev Friars' Church, Somersetshire.—William of Worcester says:—"Longitudo Ecclesiae Fratrum Minorum de Bryggewater 120 steppys, et eius latitudo 30 steppys, et latitudo Navis Ecclesiæ 14 steppys." Thus, the entire length of the church was about 200 feet; and as 30 "steppys," or 50 feet would be too little for the breadth across a transept, we must necessarily understand the measurement to refer to the nave with its aisles, which latter would be about 14 feet broad each -a very usual and probable proportion. As usual in this class of churches, the choir would be of the same breadth as the nave-about 23 feet, and aisleless.

Bromfield Priory Church, Shropshire; a cell to the Abbey of S. Peter,

Gloucester. —Benedictine.

Bindon Abbey Church, Dorsetshire.—Cistercian. A fine cruciform church, with aisles to the nave; and the usual short aisleless choir or sanctuary.

Cardigan Priory Church.—Benedictine.

Chepstow Priory Church, Monmouthshire.—Benedictine.

Canwell Priory Church, Staffordshire.—Benedictine.

Carisbrooke Alien Priory Church, Isle of Wight.—Benedictine.

Chester Priory Church of Nuns, Cheshire.—Benedictine. Chancel with one aisle, apparently like the nave.

Clynnock Vawr Abbey Church, Carnaryonshire.—Cistercian.

Cranbourne Priory Church, Dorsetshire.—Benedictine. "Cranbourne church is not cruciform, no aisles to chancel; N. and S. aisles to nave, that in S. being very narrow, probably processional aisle from Priory house, which was on that side of the church."—Letter of the Rev. H. G. Roper, vicar.

Crossraguel Priory Church, Ayrshire.—Cistercian. Apsidal, with

large traceried windows, the filling in, however, now destroyed.

Cimmer or Kimmer Abbey Church, Merionethshire.—Cistercian. S. Cyriac and S. Juliet Priory Church, Cornwall.—Cluniae. Cogges Alien Priory Church, Oxfordshire. -- Benedictine.

Coldinghame Priory Church, Berwickshire; a cell to the Cathedral

Priory Church of Durham.—Benedictine.

Cleeve Abbey Church, Somersetshire. - Cistercian, of the usual type. Cannington Priory Church of Nuns, Somersetshire.—Benedictine.

Calder Abbey Church, Cumberland.—Cistercian.

Davington Priory Church of Nuns, Kent.—Benedictine.

Deerhurst Abbey, afterwards Alien Priory Church, Gloucestershire.—Benedictine.

Deeping S. James Priory Church, Lincolnshire; a cell to the Abbey of Thorney.—Benedictine. "There is no chancel arch" (the church consists of a double nave) "and there appears no signs of one. The south aisle" (or nave) "extends to half of the chancel; altogether it is a most curious church and most interesting, and very large, portions of it more in cathedral than in parish church style."—Letter of the Rev. I. George, vicer

Dudley Priory Church, Staffordshire.—Cluniac.

Dunster Priory Church, Somersetshire.—Benedictine. Choir originally aisleless.

Esholt Priory Church of Nuns, Yorkshire.—Cistercian.

Everdon Alien Priory Church, Northamptonshire; a cell to the Abbey of Bernay.—"The nave has north and south aisles, but the chancel has none. There are monumental slabs of some of the Priors in the floors of the church"—Letter of the Rev. W. L. Hardisty, vicar.

Ewenny Priory Church, Glamorganshire.—Benedictine. Elstow Priory Church, Bedfordshire.—Benedictine. Ellerton Priory Church of Nuns, Yorkshire.—Cistercian.

Edith Weston Alien Priory Church, Rutlandshire.—Benedictine. "The present chancel was only built in 1866, but the old chancel had no aisles, tho' an arch on each side walled up; whether or no they had ever been open I cannot say, but for various reasons, which I need not now trouble you with, I think not."—Letter of the late Rev. C. H. Lucas, vicar.

Ecclesfield Alien Priory Church, Yorkshire.—Carthusian. A simple aisleless chapel.

Ewyas Harold Priory Church, Herefordshire.—Benedictine. Easebourne Priory Church of Nnns, Suffolk.—Benedictine.

Finchale Priory Church, Durham.—Benedictine. The choir of this fine and interesting thirteenth century church was aisled originally, except the eastern part or sanctuary, which from the first was aisleless. About the middle of the fourteenth century the aisles of the choir and nave were removed, the arcades filled up, and traceried windows inserted beneath the arches.

Frampton Alien Priory Church, Dorsetshire.—Benedictine. "A cruciform church with aisles to the nave; aisleless chancel."—Letter of the Rev. B. C. Macdonald, vicar.

Furness Abbey Church, Lancashire.—Cistercian. A somewhat deep but aisleless choir.

Fountains Abbey Church, Yorkshire.—Cistercian. Here, as in other churches of the order, the choir, previous to its rebuilding on a vastly enlarged scale in the thirteenth century, was short and aisleless.

Fairwell Priory Church of Nuns, Staffordshire.—Benedictine. The body of this church was re-built of brick during the last century. The old stone chancel, however, remains, and is aisleless.

Faringdon Priory Church, Berkshire, a small cell to the Abbey of Beaulieu, Hampshire Cistercian.

Gloucester, church of the Friars Preachers, or Dominicans. Gloucester, church of the Friars Minors, or Franciscans.

Grosmont Alien Priory Church, Yorkshire. — Order of Grammont.

Gothland Priory Church, Yorkshire; a cell to the Abbey of Whitby.—Benedictine. This was a very small cell—originally a Hermitage—the chapel of which was standing in Burton's time,

Hatfield Peverell Priory Church, Essex.—Benedictine. Handale Priory Church of Nuns, Yorkshire.—Benedictine.

Horkeslev Little, Priory Church, Essex.—Cluniac.

Hinckley Alien Priory Church, Leicestershire.—Benedictine. Western tower and spire; nave with north and south aisles; aisle-transept; and aisleless chancel.

Hulne Abbey Church, Northumberland.—Carmelite. Harley Priory Church. Berkshire.—Benedictine.

Hackness Priory Church, Yorkshire; a cell to the Abbey of Whitby.—Benedictine.

S. Helen's Priory Church of Nuns, London.—Benedictine.

Hereford, S. Peter's Priory Church; a cell to the Abbey of S. Peter, Gloucester.—Benedictine. Aisleless chancel, with tower and Lady chapel to the south of it.

Halystane Priory Church of Nuns, Northumberland.—Benedictine.

A simple aisleless nave, and aisleless chancel.

Jarrow Abbey, afterwards Priory church; a cell to the Cathedral Priory of Durham.—Benedictine.

Iniscourcey Abbey Church, Down.—Cistercian.

Isleham Alien Priory Church, Cambridgeshire.—Benedictine.

Jerpoint Abbey Church, Kilkenny.—Cistercian.

Ipplepen Alien Priory Church, Devonshire.—Benedictine. "A handsome western tower, 100 feet high; nave with north and south aisles; and aisleless chancel." Letter of the Rev. R. Harris, vicar.

Ivinghoe Priory Church of Nuns, Buckinghamshire.—Benedictine. This was a very small and poor house, containing at the Dissolution, five nuns only, whose annual income amounted in the clear to no more than £14 3s. 1d. The chapel and other buildings seem to have remained almost entire down to the middle of the last century. Cole says:—"The parlour and hall are not bad buildings... Behind them stood the church, or chapel." The tower "was about twelve feet square, and the church adjoined to it, or rather stood on one side, and opened into the Priory house by an arch which is yet visible."

Kirklees Priory Church, Carmarthenshire.—Benedictine. Kirklees Priory Church of Nuns, Yorkshire.—Cistercian.

Kirkstall Abbey Church, Yorkshire.—Cistercian. Kirkstead Abbey Church, Lincolnshire.—Cistercian.

Kington S. Michael Priory Church of Nuns, Wiltshire.—Benedictine. The buildings of this Priory are said to have surrounded a small square court, on the north side of which was the chapel, some arches of the latter, with the other buildings being still visible in the early part of this century. Aubrey says that, in his day, "neither glass, chancel nor monument remained in the chapel."

Lapley Alien Priory Church, Staffordshire.—Benedictine. Lindores Abbey Church, Perthshire.—Tironensian. Loders Alien Priory Church, Dorsetshire.—Benedictine.

Lindisfarne Priory Church, Northumberland.—Benedictine. A large cruciform church with central tower; nave with north and south aisles built in close imitation of those of the mother church of Durham;—

aisleless transept with a single apsidal chapel in each limb, and an aisleless choir; the latter lengthened at a later period, precisely as that of Bolton Priory Church of Austin canons was. For several excellent views, see Billings's Durham County.

Long Bennington Alien Priory Church, Lincolnshire.—Cistercian. A cruciform church, with north and south aisles to the nave; and very

large aisleless chancel, which still retains the Prior's seat.

Leominster, or Lyminster Alien Priory Church of Nuns, Sussex.— Benedictine.—"An aisleless chancel of remarkable length." Letter of the

Rev. E. Durnford, vicar.

Lynn Regis Grey Friars, or Franciscan Church, Norfolk.—The remains of this once fine building, which consist merely of the vaulted compartment or bay intervening between the nave and choir, surmounted by a lofty turret of open work, shew distinctly by the adjoining fragments of masonry, that the choir, as usual in the Dominican and Franciscan churches, was aisleless.

Lynn Regis, S. Margaret's Priory Church, Benedictine.

Lambley Priory Church of Nuns, Northumberland.—Benedictine. The site of this small house of six Nuns is now completely washed away by the Tyne, but its chapel, like others of the same sort, was doubtless small and aisleless.

Lammana Priory Church, Cornwall.—Benedictine. A small cell of two or three monks subject to the Abbey of Glastonbury; some slight remains of whose chapel are said still to exist.

Marlow Little, Priory Church, Buckinghamshire.—Benedictine.

Marrick Priory Church of Nuns, Yorkshire.—Benedictine.

Minting Alien Priory Church, Lincolnshire.—Benedictine.

Minster Lovell Alien Priory Church, Oxfordshire.—Benedictine.

Monkwearmouth Abbey, afterwards Priory Church, Durham.—Benedictine.

Monkland Alien Priory Church, Herefordshire.—Benedictine.

Monk, or West Shirbourne Alien Priory Church, Hampshire.—Benedictine.

Mountgrace Priory Church, Yorkshire.—Carthusian. Monkton Priory Church, Pembrokeshire.—Benedictine.

S. Michael's Mount Alien Priory Church, Cornwall.—Benedictine.

Monmouth Priory Church,—Benedictine. "The Church of S. Mary here was ruthlessly and utterly destroyed, leaving only the tower and spire, at the beginning of the last century......I do not think there is anything to lead one to believe that the old church was cruciform, but it certainly had aisles to the nave, though not to the chancel." Letter of the Rev. Wentworth Wilson, vicar.

Malpas Priory Church, Monmouthshire.—Cluniac.

Nunkeeling Priory Church of Nuns, Yorkshire.—Benedictine. Nunmonkton Priory Church of Nuns, Yorkshire.—Benedictine. Nuneaton Priory Church of Nuns, Warwickshire.—Benedictine.

Norwich, S. Andrew's Dominican Church. "This magnificent church, built by Sir Thomas Erpingham, is now divided between the townspeople for secular, and a Dutch congregation for religious, purposes; the one occupying the nave and aisles, the other the choir of the Friars. This kind of division seems to have been obtained long before the Dissolution; the nave having all along been occasionally lent to the inhabitants for

public purposes. In its entirety, this desecrated church is not less than 267 feet in length, the nave and western porch being 138 feet, the lower part of the tower (taken out of the western bay of the choir), 14 feet, the choir 100 feet, and the walls 15 feet. The choir, lighted by the splendid side windows of five 'days,' and an eastern one of seven, is almost shut off from the western parts—and aisles."—Archæological Association Journal, xiv. 120, and Plan.

Newton Longueville Alien Priory Church; a cell to the Abbey of S. Faith at Longueville.—Benedictine. "The present church has nave with north and south aisles; the north aisle being further extended into an aisle of the chancel, which is known locally as the New College Chancel to distinguish it from the Rector's Chancel." Letter of the Rev.

H. C. Blagden, rector.

New, or Sweet Heart Abbey Church, Kircudbright.—Cistercian. "This noble church was founded by Devorgilla, widow of John Balliol, A.D. 1275. It is built altogether on the Benedictine plan; consisting of a nave of six bays with aisles; central tower; transepts with eastern chapels or rather aisles; and a well developed aisleless choir."—Billings's Scotland, iv. Plates.

Otterton Alien Priory Church, Devonshire.—Benedictine.

Pille Priory Church, Pembrokeshire.—Benedictine.

Penwortham Priory Church, Lancashire; a cell to the Abbey of Evesham.—Benedictine. "This church is not cruciform; it has no aisles to the chancel; it had no aisles to the nave until the year 1856, when N. and S. aisles were added."—Letter of the Rev. W. E. Rawstone, vicar.

Paisley Abbey Church, Renfrewshire.—Cluniac. A noble church, of which the nave, with its aisles, and a chapel to the east of the destroyed south transept alone remain perfect. The north transept and the choir, which was of great length—123 feet by 23—were aisleless. For views see Billings's Scotland, iv.

Preston Capes Priory Church, Northamptonshire.—Cluniac. "The church built" (or partly rebuilt) "in the fourteenth century, is not cruciform; it has aisles to the nave, none to the chancel."—Letter of the

Rev. V. Knightley, vicar.

Richmond, Franciscan, or Grey Friars' Church, Yorkshire.

Richmond, Priory Church of S. Martin; a cell to the Abbey of S. Mary, York.—Benedictine. A small aisleless parallelogram of Norman date.

Rumburgh Priory Church, Suffolk.—Benedictine.

Redlingfield Priory Church of Nuns, Suffolk.—This is a simple aisleless parallelogram, like so many others of its class.

Roche Abbey Church, Yorkshire.—Cistercian. A once fine church of very severe type, with the usual aisleless Cistercian choir or sanctuary.

Sewardsley Priory Church of Nuns, Northamptonshire.—Cistercian. Sompting Priory Church, Sussex.—Benedictine.

Stanley S. Leonard Priory Church, Gloucestershire.—Benedictine.

Sandwell Priory Church, Staffordshire.—Benedictine,

Spetisbury Alien Priory Church, Dorsetshire; a cell to the Abbey of Preaux.

Swine Priory Church of Nuns, Yorkshire.—Cistercian.

Swavesey Alien Priory Church, Cambridgeshire.—Benedictine. It

consists of a western tower, nave with north and south aisles, and aisleless chancel with a Lady chapel attached to the south side. Plan kindly communicated by the vicar.

Sporle Alien Priory Church, Norfolk.—Benedictine. "There are aisles to the nave, and formerly a north aisle to the chancel, with a

chapel at the east end." Letter of the Rev. F. Jones, vicar.

Stangate Priory Church, Essex; a cell to the Priory of Lewes.—Cluniac. "The church was, I should imagine, cruciform without aisles—the old roof is untouched—the transepts have, I should imagine, been destroyed when it was turned into a barn." Letter of the Rev. J. N. Parkins, vicar of Steeple.—From enclosed sketch ground-plan, one limb of the transept appears to be perfect, with indications of the other, the whole being aisleless.

Sheppey, Priory Church of Nuns at Minster.—Benedictine. An aisleless Saxon chancel and nave, to the south of which last, a second or lateral thirteenth century nave has been added. Arch. Journal, xl 54.

Snaith Priory Church; a cell to the Abbey of Selby, Yorkshire.—Benedictine. "It is not cruciform, though there are very short chantry chapels on each side which almost form small transepts, but it could not correctly be called cruciform...There are not aisles to the chancel, but there are two good sized chantry chapels, one on each side of the chancel (in addition to the two which form almost short transepts), that on the north side belonging to Lord Beaumont, the other, on the south, to Lord Downe." Letter of the Rev. Chas. Ed. Storrs.

Seton Priory Church of Nuns, Cumberland.—Benedictine. All vestiges of this building, as I learn from the vicar of Camerton—in which parish it was situate—have long since disappeared; though the Editors of the Monasticon say—"There are some remains of the priory chapel with lancet windows." The house was a very poor one—the clear annual income amounting to no more than £12 12s. 0½d.—and the "chapel"

was doubtless an aisleless one, as usual.

Tavistock Abbey Church, Devonshire.—Benedictine.
Thetford Priory Church of Nuns, Norfolk.—Benedictine.
Toft Monks Alien Priory Church, Norfolk.—Benedictine.

Thicket, or Thickhead Priory Church of Nuns, Yorkshire.—Benedictine. Tynemouth Priory Church, Northumberland; a cell to the Abbey of S. Alban's.—Benedictine. The eastern, or monastic part of this compound church has a choir, or sanctuary—which is of three bays in depth, and by far the finest portion of it—richly vaulted with stone and aisleless. The western part, which was aisled, had an open timbered roof only.

Tykeford Priory Church, Buckinghamshire.—Cluniac. Uphavon Alien Priory Church, Wiltshire.—Benedictine. Usk Priory Church of Nuns, Monmouthshire.—Benedictine. Valle Crucis Abbey Church, Denbighshire.—Cistercian.

Wangford, or Reydon S. Peter's Priory Church, Suffolk.—Cluniac.

West Mersey Alien Priory Church, Essex.—Benedictine.

Weedon Pinkney Alien Priory Church, Northamptonshire.— Benedictine.

Wilmington Alien Priory Church, Sussex.—Benedictine. Wykeham Priory Church of Nuns, Yorkshire.—Cistercian. Wilberfoss Priory Church of Nuns, Yorkshire.—Benedictine.

Wootton Wawen Alien Priory Church, Warwickshire.—Benedictine.

Ware Alien Priory Church, Hertfordshire.—Benedictine.

Wareham Alien Priory Church; a cell to the Abbey of Lira.—Benedictine. Nave with north and south aisles, western tower, and aisleless chancel, with small attached chapel at south-east. Letter of vicar of Lady S. Mary, Wareham.

Wilton Abbey Church of Nuns, Wiltshire.—Benedictine.

Walsingham, Franciscan Church, Norfolk. Like that of the Dominicans at Norwich, this church consisted of a nave with north and south aisles, and a long choir—the latter of seven bays, and aisleless.

Wix, or Weekes Priory Church of Nuns, Essex.—Benedictine.

Warmington Alien Priory Church, Warwickshire.—Benedictine. This Alien Priory stood, according to tradition, about the centre of the village, in a field just below the church, which is reached by a flight of thirty-four steps. The church, which formed part of the endowment of the mother house of Preaux, and which served probably as that of the Priory as well as the parish, consists of a western tower, nave with aisles under separate gabled roofs, and an aisleless chancel. Letter of the Rev. W. H. Taylor, vicar.

Yeddingham Priory Church of Nuns, Yorkshire.—Benedictine.

Thus may we see by the irrefragable testimony of existing, and other instances, how erroneous is the idea that the Choirs of Austin Canons' Churches as a class were without aisles; or, that the absence of such features in certain of them constitutes a special peculiarity, seeing that among those of the Benedictine and mendicant orders, as many as a hundred and sixty—and those but a portion of the full number—may certainly be specified as falling under the same category.

(To be continued.)

ON THE DIFFERENCE OF PLAN ALLEGED TO EXIST BETWEEN CHURCHES OF AUSTIN CANONS AND THOSE OF MONKS; AND THE FREQUENCY WITH WHICH SUCH CHURCHES WERE PAROCHIAL.

By the Rev. J. F. HODGSON.

(Concluded.)

We come now at length to the fifth and final proposition respecting the churches of the Austin Canons, which runs thus:--" That by the time they got to building the nave, the larger parish churches began to have aisles, and the canons thought they must have aisles too, and they accordingly made such additions . . . for the canons felt that their churches were inferior to those of the monks, and they craved the addition of aisles which were now becoming common even in parish churches." In answer to which I have undertaken to shew that, in the first place, the canons cannot have waited till aisles were becoming common even in parish churches to take example therefrom, or to emulate those of the Benedictines by adding such features to their own, because they are found constantly both in choir and nave, in those which are not only of Norman, but of the very earliest Norman period. secondly, that many churches of canons of comparatively, and actually late date, are more or less, if not entirely, aisleless; thus proving conclusively, in either case, that whatever motives may have influenced the canons in the adoption or rejection of aisles, imitation of parish churches could not possibly have been one of them. Now, before proceeding directly with my answer, I may perhaps be allowed to point out how the opening clause of the allegation seems, at any rate, to imply that the churches of these Austin canons were all commenced at, or about the same time—presumably the early part of the 12th century when the ordinary parish churches (owing doubtless to their number and the general scantiness of the population) were comparatively small and Of these, it will be remembered, the canons are assumed, or rather asserted to have taken the cruciform type as their model, and to have laid out their choirs and transepts accordingly, forthwith. Then, pausing for a while till fresh funds should be forthcoming, they found— "by the time they got to building the nave that the larger parish churches had begun to have aisles," features which, once again, they felt themselves constrained to copy. But how far these Augustinian churches, collectively regarded, were from belonging to the early period suggested, will be clearly seen when the dates of their several foundations only, not construction-for that was quite another matter which usually followed many years later come to be examined. For out of a total of two hundred and eighteen, no fewer than eighty, or considerably more than one-third, will be found

to lie outside its limits: the very earliest only of which belong to the last quarter of the century, while the great majority are of dates varying from about 1200 down to 1432. Thus, no more than one hundred and thirty-eight remain to us for examination. Nor, even of these will it be possible to take an accurate account, since at least seventy-two are now so utterly destroyed that next to nothing is generally known about them. nor is any sort of information readily accessible. Practically, therefore. only sixty-six are left to us, and these again will have to undergo a still further process of exhaustion. For of the few canons' churches founded and built between 1100 and 1175, which yet remain undestroyed, we shall find that many have been either wholly or partially replaced by subsequent rebuilding: while others, though founded within those limits, were not actually built till some years afterwards. To the former class belong those of Guisborough, Bridlington, Hexham, Thurgarton, Kirkham, Llanthony, Royston, Staverdale, Thornton, Walsingham, Bamburgh, Bredon, Bruton, Little Dunmow, Hartland, South Kyme, Ovingham, Sheringham (?) and Westacre, in all nineteen. To the latter, those of Ulverscroft, Brinkburn, Chacomb, Hardham, Ronton, and Lanercost. These twenty-five then, added to the rest, reduce to forty-one the entire number with which we need here concern ourselves. And it is not

¹ They are as follows:—Hastings, temp. Richard I; Brooke, Richard I; Wigmore, 1779; Cokesford, temp. Henry III; Newark, Surrey, c. 1204; Caldwell, temp. John; Wormley, John, or Henry III; Worspring, c. 1210; Torksey, built by King John; Bicester 1182; Healaugh Park. c. 1218; Holy Trinity, Ipswich, c. 1177; Fineshead, temp. John; Cartmel, 1188; Westwood in Lesnes, 1178; Burscough, temp. Richard I; Stafford, c. 1180; Hickling, 1185; Stoneley, c, 1180; Mobcough, temp. Richard I; stayora, c. 1180; Mob-herley, c. 1206; Thurgarton, 1187; Spinney, temp. Henry III; Motisfont, temp. John; Frithelstock, c. 1220; Wroxton, temp. Henry III; Creyke, c. 1226; Acornbury, temp. John; Bilsing-1226; Acornoury, temp. John; Busington, 1253; Bradley, temp. John; Michelham, 16th Henry III; Ratlinghope, temp. John; Ravenston, c. 39th Henry III, by the King himself; Chetwood, 1244; Lacock, 1232; Selborne, 1233; Kirkby Beler, 1359; Ashridge, 1283; Reigate, and in this temperature of the second of the second content of the se early in thirteenth century; Haltemprice, c. 1324; Badlesmere, 13th Edward II; c. 1324; Badlesmere, 13th Edward II; Maxstoke, 1336; Bisham Montague, 1338; Flanesford, 1347; Edington, c. 1347; Dertford, c. 1355; Syon, 1432; Bentley, thirteenth century; Burnham, 1265; Berden, probably temp. Henry III; Leighs, c. 1230; Tiptree, temp. Henry III; Wymondsley Parva, temp. Henry III; Markby, temp. John; Newstead, Lincolnshire, temp. Henry III; Sandleford, c. 1205; Grace Dieu, Belton, c. 24th Henry III; Bromehill, temp. John, or Henry III; Bromehill, temp. John; Wigenhall, 1181; Massingham Magna,

c. 1260; Mountjoy, temp. John; Peterston, c. 1200; Chirbury, temp. Henry III; Linchmere, temp. Henry III; Byrkley, 1199; Flitcham, temp. Richard I; Longleat, temp. Henry III; Campess, temp. John; North Ferriby, temp. John, probably; Wormegay, temp. Richard I, or John: Kersey, probably temp. John; Flixton, c. 1258; Weybridge, temp. Edward I (?); Holywell, c. 1240; Tortington, probably temp. Richard I; Herringhet, temp. Henry III; Woodbridge, end of twelfth century; Latton, thirteenth century; Blackmore, temp. John; Tandridge, temp. Richard I, and Richester, c. 1220,

Pentney, Thremhale, Huntingdon, S. Oswald, Gloucester; Barnwell, Nostell, Woodkirk, Hyrst, Tockwith, S. James, Northampton; Llanthony, Gloucester; Taunton, Brissett, Studley, Laund, Drax, Marton, Launceston, S. Denis, Southampton; Leeds, Hasleberge, Kenilworth, Stone, Southwick, Old Buckenhum, Oseney, Pyneham, Scarthe, Nutley, Bushmead, Wartre, Chich S. Osyth, Lworth, Norton, Newburgh, Hode, Bromere, Harwood, Leigh, Bradenstoke, Nocton, Thornholm, Derley, Newenham, Beds.; Butley, Barlynch, Wombridge, Tunbridge, Anglesea, Trentham, Erdbury, Poughley, Roucester, Combwell, Ivychurch, Cold Norton, Grimsby, Carham, Missenden, Thoby, Conishead, Ailsham, Hempton, Shelford, Lees, Alnesborne, Blithborough, Calke, Chipley, Calewich, and S. Sepulchre, Warwick.

a little remarkable that of these distinctly Norman examples seventeen will be found to be not only aisled in either nave or choir, but in nearly every case, in both. Moreover it will be seen—and that is the special point here to be noted—that they are all, not merely of Norman date and construction, but that many are of the earliest Norman period—the earliest that is, possible to them, as coinciding in date with the very introduction of the order. A few even, such as those of Waltham, Christ Church, Twyneham, and Carlisle, which were commenced as churches of secular canons, are of still higher antiquity and carry us back in some sort to the 11th century, before the Augustinians, as an order, were introduced at all. Taken in order then, these seventeen aisled Norman churches of the Augustin canons are as follows:—

Waltham Holy Cross.—Cruciform, with a central tower, and aisles to both choir and nave. It was commenced, in the first instance, if not completed, by Harold, and afterwards either wholly rebuilt or continued during the reign of Henry I., Stephen, and Henry II. The lower parts of the nave, which shew distinct signs of progression in style westwards will be found to re-produce as nearly as a building not designed for vaulting can do, the design of that of Flambard at Durham,—1099-1128,—while much of the clerestory belongs to an early period of the Transition. (See plates in Britton's Antiquities of Great Britain, vol. III.)

Christ Church, Twyneham.—Cruciform, with aisles to choir and nave, and (originally) a central tower. The primitive buildings of the time of Edward the Confessor were removed and reconstructed, doubtless on a far grander scale, and by means similar to those pursued by him at Durham, viz., at other people's expense, by the notorious Dean—Ralph Flambard. Parts of the transepts, the piers and arches of the tower, and the abutting portions of the nave are all, however, that can now possibly lay claim to be of his time, for the choir and Lady chapel have been splendidly rebuilt in the Perpendicular period, and the grand Norman nave belongs to later days—the middle, and succeeding parts of the twelfth century. For a full and admirably illustrated account of this more interesting building, see Ferrey and Brayley's Antiquities of Christ Church, Hants., Quarto, 1834.

Bodmin.—This church was of very ancient foundation. William, of Worcester says:—"Abbathia ecclesiæ canonicorum de Bodman fundata primo per Athelstanum regem, et secunda vice per . . . Warwast episcopum Excestriæ, qui fuit filius sororis Willelmi Conquestoris, et 3d vice per Grandson episcopum." It has long been destroyed, but various details dug up from time to time shew it to have been of Norman construction, and probably of Warlewast's age. Whether it was cruciform or not does not appear, but from William of Worcester's account, it had a tower, and was certainly aisled throughout, the width of the church itself, which was about a hundred feet long, being about fifty feet, and that of the Lady chapel about forty feet, or a little over.

St. German's.—Canons regular of some sort are said to have been placed in this (anciently cathedral) church by Leofric, bishop of Exeter, in 1050, the Augustinians proper being inducted, according to Leland,

by bishop Bartholomew, temp. Henry II. Of its eastern parts, long since destroyed, it is impossible to speak, but its aisled Norman nave, western towers, and grand Norman west doorways still remain to testify to its, at least partially, and probably once wholly, aisled character.

Carlisle.—From the first this church was aisled both in nave and choir. Of the primitive choir of the priest Walter, temp. Rufus, there are now no remains; but that it was aisled is certain from the evidence still to be seen in the transepts. A fragment of the slightly later aisled Norman nave is still standing. For an admirable series of views, plans, elevations, &c., of this church, see Billings's Carlisle Cathedral, Quarto, 1840.

Worksop.—Cruciform, three towered, and aisled from the first, both in choir and nave. It dates from the very commencement of the twelfth century, having been founded by William de Lovetot in 1103, and carried on steadily to completion under himself and his successors.

S. MARY OVEREY.—Cruciform, with a central tower, and doubtless aisled throughout both in choir and nave from the first; for, though the whole of the eastern parts, together with most of the western, were rebuilt in the thirteenth century, the magnificent scale of the Norman arcades—as witnessed by what remains of them in the nave—renders a similar arrangement in the choir matter of all but absolute certainty. The church was founded as one of Austin canons by William Pont de l'Arch and William Dauncey, two Norman knights in 1106, William Giffard, bishop of Winchester, assisting them in the construction of the choir and transepts, and building the whole of the magnificent nave—no less than twelve bays in length—at his own cost in the years immediately following.

S. Julian and S. Botolph, Colchester.—Cruciform, three towered, and doubtless aisled in choir and nave from the commencement. As at Waltham, Worksop, S. German's, &c., the eastern parts are now down, but there is every reason to suppose that they would correspond in plan as in style with those still left standing westwards, and which are fully aisled. The church was founded before 1107, according to bishop Tanner, and the remains of the west front of the nave shew that it was continued thenceforward without interruption from end to end.

Cirencester.—Though utterly destroyed shortly after the suppression, Leland's description, and William of Worcester's measurement of this abbey church serve to restore it sufficiently for our present purpose. According to the former, the east part was of very old building, the west part from the transept downwards being of later work. The latter tells us that it was altogether about 235 feet in length over all, by about 68 feet in breadth across the aisles of the nave. The Lady chapel, by which it would seem we are to understand the structural choir, was about 123 feet in length by 63 feet in breadth across the aisles. Now, as the church was commenced by King Henry I. in 1117, and completely finished by him in fourteen years, the choir, which Leland speaks of as being a "very old building," must necessarily have been of the

primitive construction, and with it no doubt the name would originally correspond.

- S. Martin's, Dover.—Cruciform, with a central tower, and aisled both in choir and nave. This grand church, the complete plan of which (already described) would doubtless be prepared from the first, was commenced and carried forward during the last three years of his life, by an Austin canon—William de Corbeuil, Archbishop of Canterbury, 1123-1136. It afterwards passed to the Benedictines.
- S. Bartholomew, Smithfield.—Cruciform, with a central tower, and aisled throughout in apse, choir, and nave. The works, which were commenced in 1123, would seem to have been carried forward uninterruptedly to their completion eastwards of the crossing by the founder, Rahere, during his lifetime. The nave, with its aisles, was an addition of the 13th century.

DUNSTABLE.—Cruciform, with a central and north-west tower, and aisled in both choir and nave. This once grand church was commenced and wholly completed during the latter part of his reign by King Henry I.; one of the witnesses to the charter of foundation being Robert de Bethune, bishop of Hereford, consecrated to that see in 1131.

DORCHESTER.—Very little of the original Norman work of this singular, but most interesting and instructive church, is now left; enough, however, to shew that the choir had aisles, since part of the outer wall of the northern one, together with a western doorway opening from it to the cloisters, is still *in situ*. It was originally founded and built by Alexander, bishop of Lincoln, in 1140.

S. AUGUSTINE, BRISTOL.—Cruciform, with a central, and originally two western towers, and aisled in the choir and nave. Partly existing remains, together with others destroyed within a late period but duly put on record, serve to shew that the building was fully completed in all its parts as above described during the Norman period. According to Leland, and Bishop Tanner, it was founded by Robert Fitz Harding, mayor of Bristol, in 1148.

Lilleshull.—Cruciform, with a central tower, and aisles or chapels to the choir only, separated by side walls. It was founded by Richard de Belmeis, last Dean of the Collegiate Church of S. Alkmund in Shrewsbury, about 1145, and built at a single effort.

Bourne.—Cruciform, with two western towers, and aisles to the nave only, the Norman work extending to a portion of the west front. It was founded, according to Tanner, as an Abbey Church of canons by Baldwin Fitz Gilbert, in or before 1138.

OXFORD.—Cruciform, with central tower, and side aisles to choir, nave and transept. It was founded for Austin canons by Roger, bishop of Salisbury, in 1111; but the actual fabric belongs to a later period, viz., that of prior Canutus, under whose rule it was commenced and carried to completion, 1150-1180.

Besides the foregoing examples of Austin Canons' churches which have aisled Norman choirs, or naves, or both, it will be remembered that there are three others, one of Austin, and two of secular canons, which still preserve the same features. I mean those of Jedburgh, and S. John's, Chester, Augustinian and secular respectively, which have pure Norman choirs with transitional naves; and Southwell, secular, which has a pure Norman nave with a rebuilt Early English choir, but which has undoubtedly taken the place of an original Norman one. These three then, if added to the preceding, will bring up the number of still existing aisled canons' churches of Norman date to twenty.

But, to shew that we have examples of canons' churches with aisles not only of the Norman, but of the earliest Norman period, is only one part of my task. It is to shew further that there are a sufficient number of aisleless examples of comparatively, and actually late date—when aisles were usual even in the meanest village churches—to prove that whatever motives may have induced the canons to adopt or reject the use of aisles, imitation of parish churches could not have been one of them. Let us see, then, what they are. And first of those of the Black, or Austin canons proper, or rather of those few of them of which it is possible to give any

account. Among them we have :—

BEESTON PRIORY CHURCH, NORFOLK, built about the end of King John's reign, or beginning of that of Hen. III. The nave is now destroyed, but the building was cruciform, with an aisleless transept, and a beautiful aisleles arcaded choir of pure Early English work. (Letter and sketch of Mr. E. M. Beloe, Lynn Regis).

BRINKBURN PRIORY CHURCH, NORTHUMBERLAND.—Though the Priory was founded temp. Hen. I., the whole of this interesting church, which is perfectly preserved, is of the latest Transitional and Early English character, shewing that at first, and for several years afterwards, a small and temporary chapel must have sufficed for the canons. It is cruciform, with an aisleless choir; transept with an eastern aisle of two bays on either side the crossing; and a nave with a south aisle only.

Flanesford Priory Church, Herefordshire, founded and built by Richard Talbot, Lord of Goodrich Castle, in 1347. From the account contained in vol. xxxiv, pp. 498-499 of this Journal, it would seem that the arrangements here were of the most singular and abnormal character, the church itself, like the refectory, being upstairs! What is more particularly to the point, however, is the fact that it was not cruciform, and wholly aisleless.

Haverfordwest Priory Church, Pembrokeshire.—Founded circa 1200. This cruciform church, which was one of considerable dimensions, being about 160 feet in length by 80 feet across the transept, and with a breadth and height in the walling of thirty feet, was aisleless throughout. The four fine arches supporting the central tower are pointed.

KEYNSHAM ABBEY CHURCH, SOMERSETSHIRE.—Said to have been founded between 1167 and 1172. The church, the remaining foundations

of which, if any, are now completely buried beneath new villa residences, would seem, from the many beautiful fragments that have been turned up to have been constructed, in the first instance, in the latest and richest transitional style; and, judging from the foundations, so far as they have been explored, on an aisleless plan. During the early Decorated and Perpendicular periods, broad aisles or chapels would appear to have been attached in some manner to both the north and south sides; but, as it would seem, not connected with the central and original part by continuous arcades. Whether the church was cruciform or not seems uncertain. For a full account of the exploration made upon the site, and the various discoveries then made, see vol. xxxi, pp. 195-205 of the Journal of the British Archæological Association.

Lacock Abbey Church, Wiltshire.—Built entirely by the famous Ela, Countess of Salisbury, who herself laid the foundation stone on April 16th, 1232. Though very little indeed, next to nothing almost, now remains of the actual fabric of the abbey church, that little, taken in connection with the terms of an agreement for building a new lady chapel in the fourteenth century (kindly communicated by C. H. Talbot, Esq.) is quite enough to prove to demonstration, not only that it was not cruciform, but that it was aisleless throughout. The church, as its existing traces shew, was at the least six bays in length, probably seven, and vaulted throughout in stone. That it had not a north aisle is certain from the position of the still perfectly preserved cloister; nor, as the contract, which I give below shews, could it have had a

1 "Ceo est le covenaunt feat entre Dame Johanne de mounfort abbesse de lacoke e covent de mesme le lyu dune part E monsire sire Johan Bluet seigneur de lacham dautrepart Ceo est asavoir ge les avauntdites abbesse e covent o lour successeres frount feare e parfeare une chapele de nostre Dame en lour abbeye de lacoke Quele chapele se joynt a lour haut Eglise de mesme labbeye E si serra La chapele de la longure de cynkaunte e neof pez e de la largesce de vynt e cynke e demi E serront en lavauntdite chapele quatre fenestres Ceo est asavoir en ches cun gable une fenestre si large com la une est feate e chevie e lautre com elle est comencee serra bien feat e finie e en Le forein costee de lavauntdite chapele la une soit telle com elle est feat e chevie e lautre si large com elle est comencee serra feat e finie de bone overaigue e covenable E serront les avauntdites fenestres covenablement fereers E serra le veul mur abatuz de lapoynte des deus fenestres qe furent e parerent le jour de la fesaunce de cest escript en le mur avauntdit taunk a la renge table prochein de soutz les bas de memes les fenestres E serront deus arches feates la ou le mur issi serra abatuz si large ceo est asavoir com bien e ensurement purra

estre soeffers entre les deus rachemenz issi qe la veille voute purra estre sawne sanz peril E frount les avauntditz abbesse e covent o lour successeres feare le comble de mesme la chapele de bon merym e covenable overny gue E de tel manere coumble commenzplerra al avauntditz abbesse e covent o lour successeres E serra lavauntdite chapele ceo est asavoir le comble covert de plum bien e covenablement E serra le coumble de denz lavauntdite chapele tot bien laumbresche e depeynt E serra les deus parties de lavauntdite chapele feate e parfeate en totes overaigues com sus est dit Del jour de seynt michel en lan du regne le roy Edward filz au roi Edward neofyme de denz les vst aunz procheinz ensuvaunt pleinementz soient acompliez E la terce partie de la Chapele avauntdite serra ensurement feate e farfeate de denz les quatre annz procheinz apres les vst annz avauntditz pleinmentz soient acompliez en chescune manere de overaigue com su est dit E si lavauntdite chapele ne soit feate e farfeate e en totes overaigues chevye e finie bien e covenablement en touz poynz com sus est dit qe dieux defende aydunge serra les avauntditz abbesse e covent o lour successeres tenuz alayauntdit monsire sire Johan ou a ses

southern one, for the new lady chapel not only involved the destruction of its side windows in that direction in order to insert the connecting arcade, but it was provided with a west, as well as with an east window,—a feature, the existence of which an aisle to the westward would have rendered impossible.

MAXSTOKE PRIORY CHURCH, WARWICKSHIRE.—Founded by Sir William Clinton, afterwards Earl of Huntingdon, in 1336. As first built, this church consisted of a simple aisleless choir and nave. About a century afterwards it was made cruciform by the addition of aisleless transepts; a tower and spire being at the same time erected at the intersection.

HEXHAM PRIORY CHURCH, NORTHUMBERLAND.—Though founded for canons regular by Archbishop Thomas II. of York in 1113, the whole of this church was rebuilt at the close of the twelfth, and during the first half of the thirteenth century. Its grand choir and transept are both aisled, but its nave, if ever built, which is very doubtful, could only have had a single aisle. Nor would this arrangement seem to have been enforced by the disposition of an earlier Norman cloister, for the whole of the masonry in that quarter is of far later date, and without any trace of Norman work whatever.

Leicester Abbey Church.—This church, though founded in 1143 would seem to have been in great part, if not wholly, rebuilt late in the thirteenth century, having been solemnly dedicated in 1279. Now, though it is quite possible that the planning of the domestic offices might have interfered with the subsequent erection of an aisle to an originally aisleless church, on one side of the nave it is quite plain that no such restrictions would apply to other parts of the fabric,—the opposite side of the nave the choir, and the transept. Yet we find from—"The View of the Scytuacion of the late Monastery of Leycester" that the new church which was "nygh to the hyght of Westmynster churche, with a hyghe squayr tower stepyll standing at the west ende of the same wherin ys a great dorre and a large windowe," was constructed on a wholly aisleless plan throughout. In length it was—"cxl. fote and in bredyth xxx fote with

excecutours en deus cent marcs dargent Des queux deus cent marcs les avauntditz abbesse e covent sunt feat e livere a monsire sire Johan Bluet de ceo un obligacion E si le overaigue avauntdite soit feate e parfeate en totes manere choses chesves e finies denz le temps avauntdit serra labesse e covent e lour successeres quites e assoutz des deus cent marcs avauntditz compiert en une lettre al avauntditz abbesse e covent par la-vauntdit monsire sire Johan de ceo feat E lavauntdit monsire sire Johan Bluet veulte graunte pur luy e pur ses heirs e pur ses excecutours qe chescune manere de covenaunt feat avaunt le jour de la fesaunce de cest escript tochauut chescune manere de overaigue de lavaunt nomee chapele soit esteynt e tenuz pur nul [E ensuerment un obligacion des deus cent marcs qe lavauntditz abbesse e covent avoient feat a monsire sire Johan Bluet avaunt la fesaunce de cest escript soit veond e a totes gentz tenuz pur nul] E pur ceo qe leo avauntdites parties voelent dunepart e dautre qe les avauntditz covenaunz en totes choses susdites soient fermes e estables A cest escript endente entrechaunjablement sunt mys lour seals par iceaux tesmoignes Sire Wauter de pavely Sire Johan de hales sire Johan de la mare Chivalers Johan tourpyn Johan de stodleghe Johan percehaye Johan de Bourleghe e autres Done a Lacoke le Jeody procheyn apres la feste seynt bartolomeu lan du regue le roi Edward filz au roi Edward neofyme,"

a large cross yell in the mydyst of the same conteyning in leynght c fote and xxx fote in bredyth; "—that is to say, it was of a vast height, with an extreme length of a hundred and forty feet, by a hundred feet across the transept, and with a uniform breadth in the four limbs of thirty feet, a low lantern tower probably occupying the intersection. On a far richer scale no doubt, its general ground plan would exactly reproduce that of the thirteenth century church of Haverfordwest already described.

Staverdale Priory Church, Somersetshire.—This church, which was entirely rebuilt in the fifteenth century,—having been consecrated on the 4th of June, 1443—remains still, though ruined, in a remarkably well preserved state. It consists of an aisleless nave and chancel, the latter with an attached vestry or chapel to the north east; and apparently, the lower part of a tower occupying the usual position of a porch on the south side of the nave.

Tortington Priory Church, Sussex, temp. Rich. I., or John.—So far as I am able to ascertain, this would seem to have been but a small building. The remains, the vicar tells me "are very scanty, consisting principally of one wall, on the southern side of which are remnants of shafting and arches, indicating a vaulted roof, perhaps of the chapel, as the wall runs east and west." As the number of canons was but five or six, a simple chapel would probably be quite sufficient for all their needs.

ULVERSCROFT PRIORY CHURCH, LEICESTERSHIRE, founded by Robert le Bossu, earl of Leicester, about 1174. As originally constructed, this singularly fine and stately church, which was of pure first pointed work throughout, was entirely aisleless, consisting simply of a chancel, nave and western tower. At a later period a beautiful continuous Perpendicular clerestory was added, and very fine and rich east and south windows inserted in the choir. Still later, a now destroyed aisle was added to the north.

WAYBOURNE PRIORY CHURCH, NORFOLK, supposed to have been founded by Sir Ralph Meynelwaryn, temp. John. This church singular alike in its design and situation—lying as it does alongside, and in contact with that of the parish, and with its tower placed as in some Norman examples, between the nave and choir, is aisleless throughout, though some much ruined chapels are attached to the choir. Whether the whole of the building is of and after, the date assigned for the foundation of the Priory or not, I cannot, however, say, since though diligently and persistently sought for, I have found it quite impossible to obtain from the local authorities, any kind of information respecting the church whatever.

WYMONDSLEY PARVA PRIORY CHURCH, HERTFORDSHIRE.—Built by Richard Argentein, temp. Henry III. Here, again, the church would seem to have been a small aisleless building, as it is spoken of as a chapel. Together with the rest of the conventual buildings, it is now utterly destroyed.

BAMBURGH PRIORY CHURCH, NORTHUMBERLAND.—This church, which

was that of a small cell to Nostell is cruciform, and wholly of thirteenth century and later date. The choir of the canons is of rich and pure early English character, and, like the transepts, aisleless, though the parochial nave has north and south aisles.

Canons Ashby Priory Church, Northamptonshire.—The plan and all the existing remains of this once fine church, which was founded, temp. Henry II., shew it to have been built in the Transitional and succeeding styles. It had a long aisleless choir, possibly a short transept, nave with a narrow north aisle only, and a single western tower and porch to the north of this aisle again. There are also traces of a chapel east of the conjectural north transept against the north side of the choir, and there may possibly have been a corresponding one southwards.

OVINGHAM PRIORY CHURCH, NORTHUMBERLAND.—With the exception of the early western tower, the whole of this interesting church, which was a cell to Hexham, was rebuilt at a single effort in the thirteenth century. The deep and spacious choir of the canons is aisleless, the nave having north and south, and the transept western, aisles.

The following are taken from the churches of the Premonstratensians

or White Canons.

BAYHAM ABBEY CHURCH, SUSSEX.—Founded circa 1200. The plan of this rich and fine thirteenth century building is one of perhaps the most remarkable in the kingdom. It consists of a pentagonal apse, immediately west of which is a transept with two deeply recessed chapels on either side the crossing, and separated from each other and the presbytery by solid walling, precisely as in the Cistercian churches. West of the crossing comes the choir with north and south aisles, but shut off from it by solid walling instead of by arcades, and west of the choir a long and aisleless nave.

Beauchief Abbey Church, Derbyshire.—Founded by Robert Fitz Ranulph, December 21st, 1183. This church would appear, from the account of it given in vol. xxx of the Journal of the Archæological Association, to have been cruciform, wholly aisleless, and with a fine western tower, of which latter the lower part only now remains.

COCKERSAND ABBEY CHURCH, LANCASHIRE.—Founded circa 1190. There is very little now left of this building, the chief remaining feature being the chapter house, which is octagonal. The whole of the ground plan of the church may be traced, however, and shews it to have been both cruciform and aisleless.

COVERHAM ABBEY CHURCH, YORKS.—Founded in the fourteenth, John, by Ralph FitzRobert, Lord of Middleham. My recollection of these beautiful ruins, to which immediate access was not granted, is too indistinct to allow me to speak positively as regards their plan, but I think the church was cruciform, with an aisleless choir and transept, and nave with a north aisle only—the latter an after addition, as the arches and pillars are of distinctly Geometrical character.

Dale Abbey Church, Derbyshire, founded in 1204. Here again, quite in the thirteenth century, we find the plan of a single aisled nave—so commonly set down as a mere makeshift one, resulting from a previous aisleless arrangement—adopted, as it would seem, in the first instance, and certainly long after aisles had become everywhere common. The church itself is cruciform with a central tower; transepts with irregular eastern chapels; and a nave with a north aisle only,—the whole originally of Early English date.

Egliston Abbey Church, Yorks, founded by Ralph de Multon Though built in the first instance, either only partially, or on a very small scale, and in the earliest pointed style, this church was ere long gradually reconstructed in a much richer manner, and of much larger size. All that now remains of the original fabric is the west end and north side of the nave, and the west wall of the north transept; for the choir belongs to the middle, and the transepts and south side of the nave to the later part of the thirteenth century. As they now stand the nave and choir are seen by clear structural evidences to be just six feet wider than those of the church as first built, the increased width being obtained, not by the adition of an aisle, as usual, but by a bodily advancement of the south wall of the nave itself. This was rendered necessary in order to bring it into line with the south wall of the new choir, which, on its entire rebuilding, was widened to that extent south-Thus, so far as the nave and choir were concerned, the original aisleless plan was persisted in to the last, the only new aisle being arranged to the east of the transept, where it forms two bays or chapels on each side of the crossing. This church is interesting, not merely on account of its architecture, which, though simple, is of great merit; but as being by far the best preserved of all those of the White Canons now remaining to us. Saving only those of the low central tower, the south gable, and east side of the transept, the whole of its walls are still standing, and to their full height.

Langdon Abbey Church, Kent.—Founded in 1192, the plan of this church is one of extreme singularity. Originally it would seem to have been a simple aisleless cruciform one, with the north and south walls of the nave and choir carried across the transept perhaps only to a certain height and as a backing for the stalls of the canons. Afterwards chapels appear to have been constructed on either side the choir by producing the walls of the north and south fronts of the transept eastwards till they arrived in line with the east wall of the choir; the east front being thus formed into three equal or nearly equal divisions. On the north side the wall line was also continued westward from the transept to the west front of the nave; so that it only required a similar prolongation on the south side of the nave to bring up the plan of the whole building into an exact parallelogram, divided longitudinally into three equal and entirely disconnected parts. The whole of the original details are of the very latest Transitional, and pure early English character.

SHAP ABBEY CHURCH, WESTMORELAND.—Founded by Thomas Fitz Gospatric between 1191 and 1200. With the exception of the massive Perpendicular western tower, the whole of the buildings of this abbey are

of pure early English work. The church, which is small and simple, is cruciform, and, save a single aisle to the north of the nave, aisleless. Whether this aisle was an early addition to an originally aisleless nave, I cannot say certainly, as it is now many years since I visited this singularly lonely and retired spot. That it was so, however, is probable from the fact of its very fine arcade being richly moulded, while all the rest of the easy work is of extreme simplicity.

S. Radegund's, or Bradsole Abbey Church, Kent.—Founded 1191. Though sufficiently remarkable, the plan of this church is of extreme regularity, consisting of a long choir with aisles separated by solid walling, and reaching about two-thirds of its length eastwards; transepts with square eastern chapels outside the line of the choir aisles, and an aisleless nave. There is a remarkable arrangement of the tower and attached chambers in the angle between the nave and the north transept, which is probably unique.

TICHFIELD ABBEY CHURCH, HAMPSHIRE.—Founded by Peter de Rupibus, Bishop of Winchester, in 1231. This church is now greatly ruined, but enough of the nave remains to shew that though built well towards the middle of the thirteenth century, and that, too, by so rich and munificent a prelate as Peter de Rupibus, it was aisleless.

Torr Abbey Church, Devonshire, founded 1196. This, by far the richest of all the Premonstratensian churches, was cruciform, with eastern chapels to the transept, and—like so many others of pure, first pointed character—a nave with a north aisle only; thus affording the clearest proof that neither imitation of aisleless Norman parish churches, not yet—in this case—lack of means could possibly have had any effect in inducing the canons to adopt this special form of plan.

Among the churches of the Seculars we have :-

Battlefield Collegiate Church, Shropshire, founded 1410, for a master and five secular chaplains, in memory of King Henry IVth's victory over Henry Percy in 1403. This fine and stately building consists of a rich unbroken choir and nave wholly aisleless, and a square embattled tower at the west end.

RUTHIN COLLEGIATE CHURCH, DENBIGHSHIRE, founded for seven secular priests, by John, son of Reginald de Grey, in 1310. The plan of this church, for which I am indebted to the kindness of the present warden and vicar, the Rev. Bulkeley O. Jones, was somewhat remarkable, consisting of a long chancel (now entirely destroyed), central tower and spire; west of these the nave; and to the south of this, and separated from it by central spine of piers and arches extending as far east as the eastern face of the central tower, a single aisle. This aisle now constitutes the church.

RUSHFORD COLLEGIATE CHURCH, NORFOLK, founded by Sir Edmund de Gonvile, priest (founder of Gonvile College, Cambridge, for a warden and six secular priests, in 1342. "The church of Rushworth was built about 1340-50, in connection with the college of S. John Evangelist. It was cruciform, with nave, large chancel, two transepts and tower—(the

tower having some curious provisions of refuge or defence). There are not and there never have been, any aisles to nave or chancel. The only appendices to the original structure have been a porch, which had not apparently been provided for at the first building, and a chantry chapel on the south side of the chancel, erected by Lady Margaret Wingfield towards the end of the fifeeenth century". Letter of the Rev. E. K. Bennet, Rector of Brettenham, with Rushford and Shadwell.

LLANDEWI BREFI COLLEGIATE CHURCH, CARDIGANSHIRE, founded by Thomas Beck, bishop of S. David's, for a precentor and twelve prebendaries, in 1287. "The church was certainly originally cruciform, having been rebuilt so by Bishop Beck. The tower is still central, but the transepts have long since disappeared. There was no aisle to the chancel, but to the nave there was a south aisle, separated from the nave by large arches." Letter of the Rev. L. T. Rowland, vicar.

S. Mary's Collegiate Church, S. David's, Pembrokeshire, founded by John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, and bishop Adam Houghton, 1365. The ruins of this interesting structure, with those of its cloister, are still standing to the north of S. David's cathedral, with which, and the famous remains of the palace, they form a very striking group. As will be seen by the following extract, it was wholly aisleless. "From whatever point of view the chapel is seen, its tall slender tower first attracts notice. This, like the chapel itself—the height of which is everywhere striking is raised on a long crypt, which runs longitudinally. The tower and two bays beyond it to the north, form a sort of vestibule to the chapel. The tower, which is very plain, was designed to have a spire, as is evident from the squinches visible at the top of the interior. It now ends in a cornice, from which project figures of angels. The chapel itself is of four bays, three of which only have windows; since the eastermost bay was on the south side flanked by a sacristy, and on the north contained the vast structure of the founder's tomb. The westernmost bay, and one half of the bay beyond it formed an ante-chapel; they were divided from the space eastward by a screen, probably of no great height. is sufficient evidence that the window tracery was unusually good; the east window in especial, must have been a very fine example of Early Perpendicular." From account of S. David's cathedral, by the late Mr. R. J. King, in Murray's Cathedrals.

Shottesbrooke Collegiate Church, Berkshire.—Founded by Sir William Russell for a warden and five priests in 1337. This small, but beautiful church—built specially, like all those previously enumerated, for collegiate uses—is well known from Mr. Butterfield's plates. It is cruciform, with limbs of nearly equal length, entirely aisleless, and surmounted at the intersection with a singularly fine tower and spire.

S. Stephen's Collegiate Church, Westminster.—Commenced be King Edward I, in 1292, and finished by King Edward III. between 1330 and 1363. This splendid structure, the revenues of which at the dissolution amounted to the enormous sum of £1085 10s. 6d., was in plan a simple parallelogram of five bays, entirely aisleless, and with a detached bell-tower standing to the west.

RIPON MINSTER, OR COLLEGIATE CHURCH, YORKS.—At first built by Archbishop Roger de Pont l'Eveque about 1180. The nave of this church—one of the most remarkable on record—was broad and aisleless, though the choir, which preceded it in date, had both north and south aisles. It was of the very earliest pointed work, retaining traces of the Transition.

- S. Peter Mountergate Collegiate Church, Norwich.—Formerly belonging to a college of secular priests—which stood at the north-east corner "of the churchyard—was rebuilt in 1486. "It has a large square tower at the west end, and is without aisles. On the north side is a semi-octangular stair turret, and the rood stair turret still remains, as do also twenty-four stalls in the chancel, curiously carved, and with many reflections against the monks." Journal of the Archæological Association, vol. xiv, p. 79.
- S. ELIZABETH'S COLLEGIATE CHURCH, WINCHESTER.—Founded by John de Pontoys, Bishop of Winchester, for a Provost, six priests, six clerks, and six choristers about the year 1300. The foundations of the church may still be seen. It was 117 feet in length, by 36 in breadth, divided into six bays, and aisleless.
- S. Salvator's Collegiate Church, S. Andrew's,—Founded by Bishop Kennedy in 1456, and in which the shattered remnants of his once most original and sumptuous tomb, symbolizing the Heavenly Jerusalem, may still be seen. It is an oblong, seven bays in length, with a semi-hexagonal east end; a south perch, and a very lofty and imposing western tower, capped(as usual in Scotch examples) by a short obtuse spire. Originally it was covered with a magnificent stone vault; but this, with the rich tracery of the windows, was all wantonly destroyed towards the end of the last century, its fall—for it was carefully cut through at its junction with the walls, and caused to come down in a solid mass—carrying away most of the projecting canopies of the founder's tomb.

RESTALRIG COLLEGIATE CHURCH, EDINBURGHSHIRE.—Founded by King James III., and augmented by James IV. and James V., who endowed it for a dean, nine prebendaries, and two choristers. At the "Reformation," it was ordered by the "General Assembly" to be demolished as a monument of idolatry (!) and the parishioners directed to assemble elsewhere. It was some years since restored, till which time it consisted of a "ruined choir of plain but good Middle Pointed character," and without aisles. The original plan of the rest is uncertain, but, like so many other Scotch churches of similar character, it would probably have transepts, with a low western tower, and no nave. Carnwath Collegiate church in Lanarkshire was probably once of somewhat similar character. It was founded in 1386, and made collegiate for a provost and six prebendaries, by Lord Sommerville, in 1424; but all that now remains is the sepulchral chapel of that family—of rich Decorated work—which is said to be in good preservation, and to have formed the north transept.

BIGGAR COLLEGIATE CHURCH, LANARKSHIRE.—Founded by Malcolm,

Lord Fleming, for a provost, eight canons, four choristers, and six poor aged men, in 1545. A more horrible and scandalous system of destruction than that perpetrated on this fine church, about the beginning of the present century, and that from the most sordid motives, can hardly be imagined. "The western porch, the vestry communicating with the chancel, and having a richly groined roof, the buttresses that supported the north wall of the nave, and the arched gateway leading to the churchyard, though perfectly entire, and beautiful examples of architecture" were all pulled down, and the materials sold for £7, in What was left underwent a order to meet some petty parish expenses. like course of vandalism, for "the richly groined roof of the choir, which was embellished with gilt tracery," was destroyed and replaced with lath and plaster, so as to secure for it a chaste uniformity with the rest of the meeting house. The plan of the collegiate church was cruciform, with a central tower; the chancel terminating eastwards in a semihexagonal apse, and the whole aisleless.

CRICHTON COLLEGIATE CHURCH, MIDLOTHIAN.—Founded for a provost, nine prebendaries, and two singing boys, by Sir William Crichton, Chancellor of Scotland, in 1449. "It is in the Middle Pointed style, and consists of a choir of three bays, north and south transept, and a heavy square tower of two graduated stages, at the intersection. Of the nave comprehended in the original plan, nothing appears beyond a small portion of the north wall, and the weather moulding of the purposed roof ou the west face of the tower." The whole is aisleless. For excellent views of Crichton church see Billings' Baronial and Ecclesiastical Antiquities of Scotland, vol. i.

Corstorphine Collegiate Church, Edinburghshire, founded as a purely collegiate church, distinct from that of the parish, by Sir John Forester, for a provost, four prebendaries, and two boys, in 1429. The plan of this church is somewhat peculiar. It consists of a chancel; nave; western tower, with a low building to the west of it, and two transeptal projections at the west end of the nave: while to the north of the chancel and occupying nearly two thirds of its length, is a chantry chapel under a distinct gabled roof, probably that of Hugh Bar, a burgess of Edinburgh, founded in 1475. The whole of this church is aisleless. There is a fine plate of Corstorphine church, and the Forester's tomb, in Billings's Scotland.

S. Monan's or S. Monance Church, Fife, founded by King David II., in the year 1369. Though nothing is said as to the exact nature of the religious establishment contemplated by the founder at the time of the erection of this church, there can be little doubt but that it would be of the usual type of secular canons, and under the presidency of a dean or provost. Spotiswood says it was given to the Black Friars by King James III., at the solicitation of Friar John Muir, afterwards first provincial in Scotland. Its plan and general character however, so closely coincide with those of the seculars in all other parts, that we may well suppose it was in the first instance intended to be served by them. It is of the most massive construction, and rich flowing pointed character throughout. The plan is, or was, cruciform, with a choir of four bays

richly groined in stone, short transepts, a low central tower and spire, and west of these a nave: the whole aisleless. Views, exterior and interior of this remarkably fine, though small building are given by Billings.

Easter Fowlis Collegiate Church, Forfarshire, founded by Sir Andrew Grey of Fowlis, for a provost and several prebendaries in the reign of King James II. This church, which is of admirable construction and rich, but peculiar architecture, is a simple parallelogram, about ninety feet long by twenty-nine feet wide. Singular to say, considerable remains of the rood screen still exist in situ, containing several well executed paintings, and the original crosses still decorate the summit of either gable. Extremely well executed engravings of this church may also be seen in Billings.

Lincluden Collegiate Church, founded by Archibald the Grim, Earl of Bothwell, for a provost and twelve canons, about the year 1400. To this foundation a chaplaincy was added by the Countess Margaret, sister to King James I., in 1429; and to her, whose magnificent structural tomb occupies the place of honour on the north side of the choir, immediately west of the high altar, the actual buildings may most probably be referred. They are on the usual cruciform plan, and consist of a choir of three bays; north and south transepts; part of a destroyed nave; and the foundation of a central tower. The whole work is of surpassing richness and beauty, and of the most enduring construction; the outer, as well as the inner roofs being of solid stone. Architecturally it is of the highest order, for though but a comparatively small building, from the excessive richness of the detail and the extreme vigour and largeness of its parts, the effect produced is one of almost colossal grandeur. In England the work would pass for that of the middle of the previous century.

DUNGLASS COLLEGIATE CHURCH, HADDINGTONSHIRE, founded, according to Spottiswoode, "for a provost and several prebendaries, by Sir Alexander Hume of that ilk, in the year 1450." Unlike the majority of such collegiate structures, few of which seem ever to have been finished, the plan is here complete, and consists of a choir ahout 35 feet long by 18 feet wide; nave, 41 feet by 20 feet; central tower; north and south transepts, about 25 feet by 14 feet; and chantry chapel at right angles to the choir, about 20 feet by 13 feet. Architecturally, this church is very plain and simple.

Seton Collegiate Church, Haddingtonshire, founded for a provost, six prebendaries, two singing boys, and a clerk, by George, second lord Seton, 1493. This beautiful, and very English looking Church, of pure flowing pointed character, is still, thanks to its abandonment as a place of worship, in a remarkably good state of preservation. It consists of a choir terminating eastwards in a semi-hexagon, sixty-five feet in length; transepts, each about thirty feet; central tower and spire; the commencement only of a nave; and a vestry, or chantry chapel, in the centre of the choir, northwards. All the roofs are vaulted with stone, those of the apse and tower being further adorned with richly moulded ribs.

Bothwell Collegiate Church, Lanarkshire.—Founded "by Archibald, the Grim, earl of Douglas, for a provost and eight prebendaries, the 10th of October, 1398." This church, like the majority of the class to which it belongs, was probably intended to be cruciform; but to what extent the designed plan was executed it is impossible to determine, as the west end of the choir, which is the only existing portion, is abutted on by the modern Presbyterian meeting house, so that all traces of additional compartments are now altogether hidden or destroyed. It is of rich, and very massive Decorated character, the roof—which is of a pointed barrel form and of solid stone both inside and out—being divided internally into seven compartments by deeply moulded transverse ribs, intersected by a longitudinal one along the crown. To the north of the choir is a chantry, or mortuary chapel, entered by a very rich and characteristic doorway, perhaps one of the best features of the place.

Such is the account of aisleless churches of canons, of comparatively, and actually late date, which I have to offer; buildings, the designs or plans of which, judging from the standpoint of date alone, cannot possibly have been influenced in any way by aisleless, cruciform Norman parish churches. Besides which, it is worth observing that the whole of the examples last quoted were not, like the great majority of those of secular canons perhaps, mere parish churches, in which a certain number of canons—multiplied rectors, as Mr. Freeman calls them -were installed, in place of the single individual who had theretofore filled that office, and which underwent little or no structural alteration in consequence of such change. On the contrary, they were one and all specially built, or rebuilt by the founders expressly as collegiate churches, and, to quote the usual phrase—"ad majorem Dei laudem." There cannot then, I think taking all these churches, aisled and aisleless one with another—remain the least shadow of a doubt in any unprejudiced mind but that in every case, early as well as late, the plans were laid out to meet the special requirements of each place in a simple and common-sense way; aisles being used wherever they were thought desirable,1 and dispensed with

¹ Among these later collegiate churches, where aisles were adopted, may be instanced, in Scotland, those of Holy Trinity, Edinburgh, founded in 1462 by Mary, Queen of James II., and of which the continuously aisled polygonal choir only was ever finished; and Roslyn, founded by William, Earl of Orkney and Caithness, in 1466, of which again no more was built than the square ended aisled choir and its range of eastern chapels. These, I think, with Craic, in Fifeshire, and Dalkeith in Midlothian, are the only examples of aisled canons' churches to be found in that kingdom. Among the smaller aisled English examples are those of Norhill, in Bedfordshire, where the nave is aisled; and Wye, in Kent, which was aisled in both nave and chancel. I may add here, as now perhaps, the most convenient place for the purpose, a further example of an aisled church of Austin canons which has only just come to my knowledge, viz., that of North Creyk, in Norfolk, in

answer to my enquiries concerning which the vicar writes :- "I should say. 1. That the church was never cruciform, though the four great piers which must have supported the tower look as though the building was intended to be cruciform with a central tower. 2. These piers are now at the west end of the church, and relying as I do simply on appearances, I believe that the church never had a nave. There are no remains or indications of an arcade, the piers of which could hardly have been taken away without any traces of them being left; added to which the western ends of the choir aisles have windows, and in the space over which the nave would have reached there are remains of fire places. 3. There are aisles to the choir, a double aisle on the north, a single one on the south, with door communicating with the Abbot's residence (?) or possibly with a cloister? The choir, therefore, is fourfold, and has a very fine where they were not. But, in tracing the history of these later collegiate churches more especially, perhaps, the truth—so long and so strangely overlooked as it might seem—is brought home to us with overwhelming force, viz., how the whole form and disposition of the buildings rested simply and solely with the founders; and how in every case the churches, as well as the dependent offices, were "begun, continued and ended by them," without any control or interference either of the canons or any other person whatsoever.\(^1\) And so, I cannot but think, it must

¹ Take, for illustration's sake, a very early example in proof, that of Merewell, in Hampshire, founded by Henry de Blois, bishop of Winchester, 1129-71. What more complete and absolute can be conceived than his own account of his proceedings as given in his foundation charter?—"Noverit . . quod ecclesiam de Merewell, a fundamentis conscruxi; et in honorem Dei, &c. Consecruvi: domos etiam et omnia ædificia, quæ ibi feci eidem ecclesiæ et quatuor quoque sacerdotes Deo et sanctis ejus ibidem perpetuo servituris . . . oraturos constitui; quibus et tresdecim libras de redditibus meis de Twyfordia; unicuique scilicet lx solidos; et ad ornamenta et luminaria ecclesiæ xx. sol. assignavi."

Again, in a later instance, that of S. Mary's collegiate church, S. David's, founded by Bishop Adam Houghton in 1365, we read in his charter : -"Quandam capellam sive cantariam unius magistri et septem presbyterorum per modum collegii in eadem cantaria morari sub vocabulo beatæ Mariæ Virginis, fundamus, erigimus, facimus, et ordina-mus . . . in solo sanctuarii nostri, et ecclesiæ nostræ cathedralis Menevensis, de assensu capituli nostri, ex parte boreali ejusdem Menevensis ecclesiæ. Post fundationem vero, pro mora eorundem magistri et presbyterorum familiæ, et ministrorum eorundem, mansum honestum domosque sufficientes sumptuose construi et neri fecimus; unumque claustrum inter dietam ecclesiam cathedralem et capellam prædictam facere inchoavimus devotum et utile:" &c.

At Astley again, the collegiate church of which place was founded and built by Sir Thomas de Astley in 1343, we read in the Statutes and Ordinances of Roger, Bishop of Coventry, how, after having in the first place founded a chantry in the original parish church, Sir Thomas being desirous of enlarging his foundation—"nobis humiliter supplicasset quatinus super statum dictæ cantariæ, ad majorem Dei laudem; præcipue quod præfata capella Eccelesia Collegiata fieret per decanum et canonicos seculares presboteros gubananda, pro quibus

novam ecclesiam construere inceperat providere, ordinare, et statuere, &c. Where we see Sir Thomas, just like the Bishops of Winchester and St. David's, first builds his collegiate church according to his own ideas, and then hands it over to those whom he appoints to it.

Another illustration is supplied by St. Mary the Greater collegiate church, Leicester, the work of Henry, Duke of Lancaster, and his son, John of Gaunt, where we read in Henry the Fourth's licence for completing the works:—
"Quod cum Henricus quondam dux Lancastriæ avus noster, quandam ecclesiam collegiatam apud Leycestre . . . ac quædam domos, muros, et ædificia pro clausura ecclesiæ et collegii prædictorum et inhabitatione canonicorum, clericorum . . in vita sua construere inchoasset : ac charisimus pater noster Johannes nuper dux Lancastriæ . . opera . . sic inchoata complere et perficere desiderasset piam intentionem. . . commendantes," &c. orders both men and materials to be procured forthwith for their final completion. That this church, which was almost certainly aisleless, was one of much richness is witnessed by Leland, who says that:—"Though not very great it was exceeding fair, and that the cloister on the south-west side of it was large and fair; that the walls and gates of the college were stately; and that the rich Cardinal of Winchester gilded all the flowers and knots in the vault of the church."

Not to particularize further examples, such as those of Norhill, in Bedfordshire, built by the executors of Sir John Tragely, Knt., and Reginald, his son, temp. Henry IV., which, with its stalls, is still perfectly preserved; and Rushsworth, in Norfolk, rebuilt by Sir Edmund de Gonville. when in 1342 he founded his college there; we come to a class in which the unfettered action of the founders is shown, if possible, in a still more complete and unimpeachable way. I mean where the churches, having been newly built for collegiate purposes, the scheme of foundation then fell through, and the contemplated canons, who might

have been in the main from the beginning. That there may have been a greater proportionate number of aisleless examples among the churches of canons than those of the monks may possibly be true enough; but that such aisleless, or partially aisleless buildings were in any way peculiar to them is, as I have already shown, the very reverse of true. That some—comparatively few—of the churches of the Austin canons were parochial is also true; but that that circumstance was at all special or peculiar to them is again, as I have further shewn, equally far from true, more than three times as many of the churches of monks being also parochial. That the canons, finally, cannot have taken the aisleless, cruciform, Norman parish churches as their accepted model,

possibly be imagined to have had some say in the arrangements, never appeared

upon the scene at all.

Such was that of North Cadbury, in Somersetshire, built by dame Elizabeth Botreux about 1417, as appears by the following extract from King Henry the Fifth's licence :- "Quod eadem Elizabetha in ecc/esia parochiali de North Cadebury in com. Somerset, per ipsam de novo ædificata et constructa, quoddam collegium perpetuum, de septem capellanis," &c.; but which Tanner judges was never carried into effect either by herself or her grandson, William Lord Botreux, who afterwards resumed her Ashford Church, Kent, reedified by Sir John Fogge, temp. Edward IV., is another example. Having rebuilt it, he obtained the royal confirmation for the collegiate endowment in 1467. But the King dying before the whole was legally completed, and the founder being himself soon afterwards attainted, nothing further was done, and the foundation eventually lapsed.

Knoll, in Warwickshire, may also be taken in further illustration. Here, says Tanner, "Walter Cook, canon of Lincoln, about the latter end of the reign of King Richard II., built upon his father's land a fair chapel, and soon afterwards established a chantry therein; but 4th, Henry V., he obtained a licence from the King that the lady Elizabeth Clinton and he might found a college of ten priests, one to be rector, in this chapel, but this design seems not to have been perfected, herein being, 26th Henry VIII., but two chantry priests, endowed only with £20 15s. 2d. in the whole, and £18 5s. 6d. in the clear."

¹ To the thirty-seven already enumerated must now, I find, be added another, which at the time of making out the list by some unaccountable accident escaped me. It is that of Goring, in Oxfordshire, which I have described as ruined, but which I have just discovered to be not only standing, but in use as that of the parish. From the brief account con-

tained in the Monasticon there seemed no reason whatever for suspecting that the monastic and parish churches were parts of one and the same building; and the fact of the two being under different invocations led me, I suppose, to conclude that they were probably quite distinct, the monastic one, as usual, being more or less ruinous. Pure chance has just led me to the discovery of my error, while a letter to the vicar has received an answer which I cannot doubt will prove interest-He says :-- "The church is not cruciform. It consists of a Norman tower at the west end, to which an upper portion of battlements, two small windows, and roof has been added at a later date. Norman nave without any chancel proper. The east end undoubtedly originally terminated in an apse, but this was pulled down -a fate which also befel several other Norman churches round here-probably in the sixteenth or seventeenth centuries. In the fourteenth century the north wall of the nave was broken through in order to add a north aisle, which now exists, and is in the style of Gothic of that period; and, curiously enough, the arcade then built consists of massive round piers in the Norman style, 3 feet 6 inches thick, carrying Gothic arches of a fine and imposing span, the space between each column being 10 feet 6 inches. There is no doubt that the church originally was the church of some religious house, since there are plain evidences of a cloister still remaining outside the south wall of the nave, and the cloister door still exists, though blocked up. This fact would explain there being no chancel arch, the whole church being really choir and no nave. I have, in making alterations in my vicarage garden, dug up not only human bones, but several pieces of stone, moulded and carved, and broken pieces of shafts, &c., evidently part of the old Priory. I am informed there was also formerly a chapel eastward of the aisle, nor waited till aisles had beeome common in parish churches before adopting them in their own, I have just demonstrated by producing—even from the scanty number available for reference—a considerable list which have Norman aisles; and further and conversely, abundant instances which were built more than two centuries after aisles had everywhere become common, which still exhibit the aisleless type when, as models, Norman churches, aisleless or otherwise, were to all intents as

obsolete as the wigwams of the ancient Britons.

That my long, and to many of my readers I fear, wearisome, task has been imperfectly performed, I am fully aware, though to say so is to say no more than that it has been undertaken. To work out such a subject fully, lies far beyond the range of single and unaided powers, even were a lifetime to be given to it. It is manifestly one which for its adequate accomplishment needs collective effort; since a thorough knowledge of the churches of the Austin canons alone—to go no further—is now to be obtained only beneath the surface. That a much fuller and better account of such as remain, however, might have been given by myself, had it been possible for me to have visited and examined them in person—than which nothing could have given me keener pleasure—is only too true: but it was not possible; and I have, therefore, had to content myself with such information as-away from public sources-I could lay my hands upon, or acquire laboriously by letter. But, such as it is, my account of the Austin canons' churches is now ended; and it remains only for me to thank here those of the clergy and others, who, in almost every case, have answered my enquiriesoften, I daresay, troublesome enough—with the utmost courtesy and consideration.

forming a sort of chancel aisle, but this no longer exists. The walls of the nave and tower are 4 feet 6 inches thick, built of chalk and flints."

The house, which was endowed with the rectory of the parish, was in existence, according to Tanner, temp. Henry II., and the nuns might possibly be established at first in the eastern part of the parish church, the parishioners occupying the nave. From the position of the fourteenth century additions it would seemlikely that this arrangement was then departed from, a new aisle and chancel being added for the parish use on the side opposite to the cloister, while the nuns retained the whole of the original building.