Notices of Archaeological Publications.

EARLY LINCOLN WILLS. An abstract of all Wills and Administrations recorded in the Episcopal Registers of the Old Diocese of Lincoln 1280—1547, by ALFRED GIBBONS. (Lincoln : James Williamson, 1888).

The diocese of Lincoln was in the middle ages much larger than it is at present. Before the changes which took place in the reign of Henry VIII it included the counties of Lincoln, Rutland, Northampton, Huntingdon, Bedford, Buckingham, Oxford, Leicester and Hertford. We need not therefore point out to our readers how valuable a volume we have before us. Mr. Gibbons has included every testamentary document to be found in the registers, and as far as we can test his work without having the MS. before us we are bound to say that it seems extremely well done. We have, in fact, found no errors whatever, except a few misprints which the reader will be able to correct without difficulty as he goes along. It is of course unfair to criticise a book for not being something quite different from what it professes to be ; we cannot, however, help saying that we regret that the documents have not been given in full. The reason, of course, is that had this been done the number of pages, and consequently the price, would have been much increased. We think, however, considering to how very large a portion of England these documents relate, that had it been properly made known funds would have been forthcoming for printing the whole of them *in extenso*. For genealogical purposes an abstract made by a careful antiquary like Mr. Gibbons is as valuable as the original, but for almost every other purpose it is much less useful. The testators who figure in these pages are of all ranks of life ; we have yeomen, shopkeepers, merchants, esquires, knights, peers, and members of the princely race of Plantagenet. We are not sure that the great people's wills are by any means the most interesting.

The customs and ritual practices of the mediæval church have light thrown on them on almost every page. Some things that occur are quite new to us, for example, in 1380 John de Beverley "domicellus" wills to be buried in Westminster Abbey on the south side of King Edward, and desires that his body be drawn to sepulture by two male asses, if such animals can be procured, but if they cannot, then by two horses. One would like to know what is the meaning of this, was it provided for as a mark of humility, or was it an act of reverence, in as much as our Blessed Lord entered Jerusalem riding on an ass? This same person leaves forty shillings each for the repair of the glass windows in three parish churches, on condition that his shield of arms be placed therein. In this, as in so many other cases, it is probable that the

armorial shield was used not as a mark of vanity, but for the sake of inducing the persons who observed the window to pray for the rest of the donor's soul. There are several mentions made of pilgrimages. Men not uncommonly made rash vows which they were unable or unwilling to perform, and then the obligation had to be handed on to the executors. For example, Roger Beauchampe, Knight, provides that Roger, the son and heir of Roger, his son and heir, is ordered to make a voyage against the infidels, to which the testator is bound in the sum of two hundred marcs by the will of his grandfather, Sir William de Beauchamp. The date of this will is 1379. In the same year a London citizen, John Pyel, directs that a man shall go on pilgrimage to Walshingham, Canterbury, Lincoln and St. John of Beverley, and in 1408 a member of the knightly race of Copuldyk of Harrington, co. Lincoln desires a man to make a pilgrimage to Jerusalem. In 1415 we find a person leaving money for masses "in recompensacionem quinque vulnerum et septum mortalium precatorum." A mass in recompense for the seven deadly sins may explain why they are sometimes represented in stained glass. Some very curious fragments illustrating this subject still exist in a window of the parish church of Newark upon Trent. In 1393 Richard de Treton, rector of Oundell, requires that five candles in the form of a cross should be burnt round his body. He evidently feared that his friends would give him too pompous a funeral for he provides that no more candles than the number specified shall be used. The interest of this volume is not confined to England. In 1415 John Prowger, Knight of West Raisen, a little town in Lincolnshire, makes his will at Calais, and desires to be buried in the church of the Blessed Virgin Mary of Calais, before the Crucifix, if he dies there. John de Assheby, Esquire, who also seems to have been a Lincolnshire man made his will on the 6th of September, 1415, "In viagio domini nostri Regis apud Haaflew nuper existens, per ictum lapidis ibidem morte preventus." We have by no means picked out the most interesting passages. There is in fact not one page in the volume which does not contain facts worthy of the careful study of all who are interested in mediæval manners.

EXCAVATIONS IN CRANBORNE CHASE, NEAR RUSHMORE, by Lieutenant-General Pitt-Rivers, D.C.L., F.R.S., F.S.A., P.G.S., F.Z.S., &c., Printed privately, 1888, Vol. II.

In the September number of the *Journal* for last year we noticed at some length the first volume of this valuable work: the second is now before us. It records the excavations in some barrows near Rushmore, in the Romano-British village at Rotherley, in Winkelbury Camp, and in British Barrows and Anglo-Saxon Cemetery on Winkelbury Hill. The excavations have been conducted with the same patience, thoroughness, and attention to detail that characterised the excavations recorded in the first volume, and the results are chronicled and tabulated in the present volume with the same careful minuteness: eighty-five plates, most conscientiously drawn, bring the objects found most clearly to the reader's mind.

Unlike the village at Woodcuts, with which the first volume of this work is largely taken up, the village at Rotherley had never before been explored, or indeed even noticed. The General spent eight months over

its excavation, during which time eleven or twelve men, as well as his trained staff of assistants, were constantly employed. Rotherley proved to be smaller than Woodcuts and to be a much poorer village: this was made clear by the paucity of the coins, the few oyster-shells, the absence of ornamental plastering, and other *indicia*. The skeletons of numbers of new born children were found in different parts of the village. The inhabitants of Rotherley are of the same low stature as those at Woodcuts, a fact to which the attention of the Institute was directed by the General in his Presidential address at Salisbury,[1] to which we refer our readers.

To show the thoroughness of the way the General works, we may mention that no less than fifteen domesticated animals of various sorts were measured externally; they were then slaughtered, and their bones measured; from the information thus derived, the size of the animals whose bones were found at Woodcut and Rotherley have been calculated. We own to a feeling of commiseration for the fifteen victims to science.

The bulk of the volume is taken up with the Rotherley excavations of the Romano-British period, but the barrows excavated at Rushmore and elsewhere are of the bronze period, and the cemetery at Winkelbury is Anglo-Saxon, so that a variety of relics are figured in the plates of this volume.

We are afraid the General will not find many imitators of his noble way of spending the wealth he has inherited: but the following sentence from his preface should have been recently read in every court of quarter sessions in England, when they wound up their affairs for transmission to the county councils.

"The expense of conducting explorations upon this system is considerable, but the wealth available in the country for the purpose is still ample, if only it could be turned into this channel. The number of country gentlemen of means, who are at a loss for intelligent occupation beyond hunting and shooting must be considerable, and now that a paternal Government has made a present of their game to their tenants, and bids fair to deprive them of the part that some of them have hitherto taken, most advantageously to the public, in the management of local affairs, it may not perhaps be one of the least useful results of these volumes if they should be the means of directing attention to a new field of activity, for which the owners of land are, beyond all others, favourably situated. It is hardly necessary to insist upon the large amount of evidence of early times that lies buried in the soil upon nearly every large property, which is constantly being destroyed through the operations of agriculture, and which scientific anthropologists have seldom the opportunity or the means of examining."

ANNALS OF THE HOUSE OF PERCY, FROM THE CONQUEST TO THE OPENING OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY, by EDWARD BARRINGTON DE FONBLANQUE. (London: printed by Richard Clay and Sons, for private circulation only. Two volumes octavo, I, pp. xxvii, 620, and folding pedigree in pocket: II, 693.

There is no necessity to call the attention of the present representatives of the House of Percy to the sarcastic advice given by General Pitt-Rivers to his brother landowners, which we have cited in a notice of the second volume of the General's *Excavations in Rushmore Chase*. Archæologists, antiquaries, anthropologists, and *hoc genus omne* owe a debt of gratitude to the Dukes of Northumberland for the care with which they have preserved for the scientific examination of the above-named

[1] *Journal*, vol. xliv, p. 271.

gentlemen "the evidences of early times," that occur or have been found upon their property, and even far beyond its limits: nay, they have done more; they have recorded, or caused to be recorded surveys of these objects in many valuable volumes. The transference of county business from quarter sessions to county councils is not likely to leave any member of the House of Percy "at a loss for intelligent occupation beyond hunting and shooting:" the hereditary tastes of the family will be sure to break out in a way that will be agreeable and profitable to the working members of the Institute, and, that will increase the general sum of knowledge possessed by the world at large of the ways and doings of our predecessors in the land that is now ours.

Nothing puzzles more the intelligent foreigner than the habitual influence which the great governing families of England have exercised from the earliest times down to the present day, and which (spite of what croakers may say) is only scotched, not killed by recent legislative changes: those persons, foreigners or Englishmen, who have the opportunity of reading the two volumes whose title is at the head of this notice, will learn something about the extent of that influence, and the reason of its existence in the case of one of the greatest of the great governing families of England.

Legend has done much to obscure with traditions the origin of the House of Percy; these Mr. Fonblanque has ruthlessly swept away: the first of the English Percies was a William de Percy, probably cadet of a noble family that owned the Chateau de Perci near Villedieu in the Department of La Manche. This William de Percy appears to have settled in England in the days of Edward the Confessor, and to have more or less adopted the habits of the Anglo-Saxons among whom he lived, as evidenced by his *sobriquet* of *Als Gernons*, showing he had adopted the Anglo-Saxon practice of growing whiskers, while the Norman custom was to go clean shaven. He also married a Saxon lady of rank, though the story cannot be maintained that makes her a daughter of Gospatrick, Earl of Northumberland. William de Percy would have to leave England when Harold expelled the Norman settlers whom Edward the Confessor had encouraged, but he returned the year after the battle of Senlac. He received from Hugh Lupus, the Conqueror's nephew, a grant of lands which Lupus had had from his uncle, and on which he was himself indisposed to settle, preferring to return to Normandy. The grant included the town and port of Whitby with the surrounding lands; Yorkshire, not Northumberland, was, as many of our readers will be surprised to learn, the cradle of the English Percies. This William de Percy was summoned to Parliament, as a baron: his great-grandson, the fourth baron, also named William, acquired large landed possessions at Petworth in Sussex. He left two coheiresses, Maud, who married William de Newburgh, third Earl of Warwick, and died without issue, and Agnes married to Joceline de Louvain, who took the name of Percy, but by special arrangement retained the arms of Louvain and Brabant, and thus the blue lion ramping in a golden field became, on the introduction at a later date of quartering, quartered with the five golden mill picks in a blue field of Percy. Joceline's half-sister Adeliza, queen of Henry I, obtained for him a grant of the lordship of Petworth. With Agnes de Percy, who long survived her husband, the line of the Norman Percies ended, and a new line commenced, which for

nearly five centuries played a conspicuous part in English history. The Norman line it may be remarked were great benefactors to Whitby Abbey.

Four barons Percy of Louvain succeeded and bring the line down to 1272, when the ninth baron Percy died aged forty-five, leaving an infant son. This little lad grew up Sir Henry Percy, the first in the family of that name, and became a distinguished soldier, prominent in campaigns in Scotland, Wales and France; he purchased in 1309 from Anthony Beke, Bishop of Durham, the Barony and Castle of Alnwick, which that prelate had obtained in a rather shady way. Thus commenced the connection of the Percies with Northumberland. His son and grandson, also named Henry, distinguished warriors by land and sea, were the second and third lords Percy of Alnwick, and the eleventh and twelfth barons Percy reckoning from *Als Gernons* the first baron. The three lords Percy of Alnwick did great works at Alnwick Castle, which the first of them almost reconstructed, and much of his building can be recognised at the present day. The second lord Percy had a grant from the Crown of the castle and manor of Warkworth.

The life of the fourth lord Percy of Alnwick (he was born in 1342 and fell at Bramham Moor in 1408) was cast in eventful and tumultuous times. When but fourteen he fleshed his maiden sword at Poitiers: at eighteen he was married to Margaret, daughter of Lord Nevill of Raby, and by her was the father of the world-renowned Hotspur: by his second wife, Maud, sister and heiress of Anthony, Lord Lucy and widow of Gilbert de Umfreville he acquired the castle and honour of Cockermouth in Cumberland, and the silver lucies of Lucy as an addition to his achievement of arms. He was admiral at sea and general on land, and was in 1377 created first Earl of Northumberland. Hotspur predeceased his father, falling at the battle of Shrewsbury, so that when the first Earl of Northumberland fell at Bramham Moor, the title devolved upon a boy of 10 years, whose mother had carried him into Scotland, when Hotspur fell at Shrewsbury. There he was kindly received by King Robert, and brought up on terms of intimacy with his eldest surviving son, afterwards James I. He was restored in England on the accession of Henry V., and was killed in defence of the house of Lancaster at the battle of St. Alban's; four of his sons fell in the same cause, namely Henry the third Earl at Towton Field, Sir Thomas at Northampton, Sir Ralph at Hedgeley, and Sir Richard also at Towton, The fourth Earl was murdered by a mob at Cockledge. Over the fifth Earl, Henry the Magnificent, whose Household Book was printed in 1770, and who kept almost regal state; over the sixth Earl, Henry the Unthrifty, the lover of Anna Boleyn; over Simple Tom, dying on the scaffold for his faith, and his successor and brother cruel Henry; over the Wizard Earl, and his son the Lord High Admiral and Lord General of England, space forbids us to linger.

Joceline Percy, only son of the Lord High Admiral, succeeded in 1668 as eleventh Earl, but died two years later. As he left an only daughter, the Lady Elizabeth Percy, the honours of the ancient house passed for a second time by an heiress, who in her sixteenth year, having already been twice a widow, but never a wife, married that Duke of Somerset, who was known as "The Proud." She inherited the baronies of Percy, Lucy, Poynings, Fitz-Payne, Brian and Latimer, but not the earldom of Percy. By pre-nuptial settlement the Proud Duke bound himself to assume for him-

self and his issue the name and arms of Percy, a condition from which his duchess released him on attaining her majority in 1688. From her the six Percy baronies, enjoyed by her, passed to her son, Algernon, who as heir to his father, had the courtesy title of Earl of Hertford, and as heir to his mother was Baron Percy, Lucy, Poynings, Fitz-Payne, Bryan and Latimer: he succeeded as seventh Duke of Somerset in 1748, and was in 1749 created Baron Warkworth and Earl of Northumberland with special remainder in default of heirs male to his son-in-law, Sir Hugh Smithson and Elizabeth his wife. This Algernon, Duke of Somerset and Earl of Northumberland had two children, George Seymour Lord Beauchamp, and Lady Elizabeth Seymour, who in 1740 married Sir Hugh Smithson, an English gentleman of good family with Percy blood in his veins. By the death of her brother in 1744 she became heiress to the Percies' honours. On her father's death she succeeded to the Percy baronies, and her husband under the special remainder succeeded as Baron Warkworth and Earl of Northumberland, and he was in 1767 created Duke of Northumberland and Earl Percy; in 1784 he was created Lord Lovaine of Alnwick with special remainder to his second son Algernon Percy. Lady Elizabeth, 1st Duchess of Northumberland brought to her husband the Percy estates in Northumberland, but the Proud Duke of Somerset alienated the Percy estates in Sussex, Yorkshire and Cumberland, and settled them on his grandson Charles Wyndham, afterwards Earl of Egremont and Baron Cockermouth. For something like two centuries the Percies had made Petworth their home: now that it was alienated, they returned to Northumberland, and made Alnwick their home.

The first Duke's son Henry, who served as Lord Percy in America, succeeded as second Duke, and was succeeded, as third and fourth Dukes by two of his sons, Duke Hugh, who might have been called "The Magnificent," and Duke Algernon, a name dear to antiquaries and to men of science. On the death of the last the honours devolved on Duke George, son of the second son of the first Duke: he enjoyed them but for two years, and was succeeded by his eldest son Algernon George, sixth and present Duke and the fourteenth member of the House of Percy on whom the Sovereign has conferred the Order of the Garter.

The space at our disposal hinders us from going more fully into the history of the Percies; this sketch we have given will serve to show that they have from the Conquest to the present time been intertwined with the whole history of England: during all that time there has never been a period, when the influence and support of "the Percy" has not been of the first importance to the Government; scarcely a century in which the lives and lands of the house have not been staked in defence of the popular cause. Throughout that period, also, there has been in the North no rival in magnificence or social weight to the head of the House of Percy.

By the munificence of His Grace the Duke of Northumberland these noble volumes have been placed upon the shelves of the library belonging to the Institute. All that the paper maker, the type founder, the engraver, the lithographer, and the binder can do for a book has been done for these beautiful volumes: if one was inclined to be hypercritical, one might hint that the volumes are a little too heavy to be held in the reader's hand, and must be perused at a reading desk, or at a table; and

yet one would not wish them to be a single leaf the less. They consort well on the shelves of the Institute with another monument of the spirit of the Dukes of Northumberland, the surveys of the Roman Wall and of Watling street made by Mr. Mac Lauchlin at the expense of a former Duke.

A well arranged folding pedigree in a pocket at the end of the first volume enables the reader to trace clearly the descent of the honours, the more easily because the pedigree does not follow to their remotest descendants the collateral branches; a confusing habit, to which modern pedigree makers are too much addicted. The pedigree gives the armorial bearings of Percy and all its alliances. and the present Duke's achievement of arms, emblazoned in colours, is placed in an odd position, at the very end of the second volume, after the indices. The student of sphragistics will revel in the plates of Percy seals in the first volume: many *fac similes* of autographs are given, and the portraits also form a most interesting series.

ENGLAND IN THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY. By the Rev. W. Denton, M.A. Worcester College, Oxford, Author of *Servia and the Servians*; *Montenegro, its People and their History*; *The Christians in Turkey*; *Records of St. Giles, Cripplegate, etc., etc.* London: George Bell and Sons, 1888.

Those who had a personal knowledge of the late Mr. Denton, or are acquainted with his numerous works, know with what painstaking care and thoroughness they were produced, and the picture he draws of the condition of all classes of the community in England in the 15th century, (and there is no reason to believe that it was any better in other countries) is simply appalling.

Mr. Denton divides his work into an Introduction divided into two parts, and the body of the work containing two chapters. In the first he describes the state of England down to the death of Edward I., at which date he considers the country was at the zenith of its prosperity; and that during the period following the death of that Monarch it began to decline until it reached its lowest state of misery towards the end of the fifteenth century, from which it was delivered by an entire re-organization under the despotic tyranny of the Tudors.

In the opening of his admirable Introduction Mr. Denton treats of the benefits arising from the amalgamation of the language and races of the Saxons and Normans, forming one nation of Englishmen possessed by the same patriotic feeling, leading to the growth of the constitution and parliament and the responsibility of the King's Ministers. He points out that long before any parliament was summoned the most important functions of a parliament were executed by the Manorial and County Courts. "These Courts legislated for the Manor as fully as the parliament legislated for the nation in its corporate capacity. Indeed," he says, "it seems to have been intended at the first that parliament should not interfere within the jurisdiction of the Manorial authorities, unless by way of appeal; and it was not without remonstrance on the part of the suitors in these local courts that parliament and the King's court claimed, after a time, to pass Laws effecting manorial rights, and to adjudicate on matters touching the tenure of lands and the customs of Manors." After giving a description of the constitution of

Manors, and of the several classes of tenants, free and unfree, he states that "at the death of Edward I, the popular element represented by the [Manorial] courts was powerful and exerted considerable influence throughout England. Parliamentary powers were ill-defined, new, and feeble, whilst the local courts of Manors, at which every man was bound to be present, occupied much of the ground now held by parliament and were both popular and active." These courts were held from three weeks to three weeks, and consequently were almost in constant session, and justice was promptly executed by a popular tribunal possessed of a local knowledge of the circumstances, and there were not any crimes or offences with which they could not deal except high treason.

During the whole of his reign Edward gave his vigilant and close attention to the improvement of his realm, and the promotion of the prosperity and happiness of his people. Immediately on his accession he took steps to amend the laws, and effected such reformation as justly to acquire the designation of the English Justinian. Chief Justice Hale affirms, "that more was done in the first thirteen years of his reign to settle and establish the distributive justice of the Kingdom than in all the ages since that time put together." He modified the feudal system, and improved the condition of the servile tenants. He encouraged the making of roads and of building bridges, and, generally, increasing the means of communication, with numberless other improvements. At his death the people of England were in a state of great prosperity; the country was making continual progress, population was advancing, the local courts were in full vigour, and brought justice to every man's door. A growing commerce repaid and encouraged the labours of the agriculturist and the industry of the artizans. The people were amply provided with food and clothing, and a growing refinement was fast obliterating the coarseness which had hitherto prevailed.

Mr. Denton writes that the sufferings endured by the people of this country during the 182 years following the death of Edward I cannot be tabulated. The whole course of the reign of his successor was marked by domestic deterioration and external disgrace. The loss of the Battle of Bannockburn was the loss of Scotland, a calamity alike to both nations. In 1332 arose a renewal of the war with that country to bring it under feudal subjection to England. The French King having afforded considerable succours to Scotland, in retaliation Edward invaded France in 1338, which was the beginning of a war with that country which lasted over 100 years, and although the victories of Crecy, Poictiers, and Agincourt shed the greatest lustre on the English arms, it exhausted the resources of the country and checked the increase of the population in England, and so greatly diminished it, that soldiers at times could no longer be raised. Though from exhaustion short truces were from time to time made, it could not be called a state of peace, and pestilence supervened and swept impartially over both countries.

England, in many ways, suffered much in consequence of this war, in the heavy burden of taxation—the suspension of trade—the inroads of pirates on the coast towns, which were sacked and destroyed and the inhabitants slain. There were, however, other miseries more desolating than war approaching to ravage the country. Famine and pestilence, the fruit of war, destroyed what man failed to reach.

The greater part of the twenty years reign of Edward II were years of

want consequent upon a series of bad harvests. The sufferings of the peasantry were intense. Corn rose to enormous prices, and the poor had no money to purchase. A murrain also destroyed the cattle and sheep; the poultry also, and even the bees were destroyed. The loss of human life was enormous. To this succeeded "the Great Pestilence," known as "the Black Death," which swept off one-third of the remaining population. We cannot enter into the piteous details related by Mr. Denton, but must refer our readers to his graphic pages.

The decrease of the population in consequence of war, famine, and pestilence had this further result. It broke up the manorial system upon which the Constitution was based. Disorder and lawlessness everywhere prevailed. Personal service due to the Lords of Manors by their servile tenants, had in better times, when wages were low and provisions very cheap, been commuted for a money payment of one half-penny for a labourer's day's work. But this arrangement was only of a provisional character, it being specifically provided that it might be changed at any time at the pleasure of the Lords. This agreement was disavowed by the tenants, who claimed the right, in the scarcity of labourers, to demand such wages as they could obtain; and absolutely refused to give those personal services to which the Lords were legally entitled. An attempt was made, by the Lords, generally, to resume the labour service. This led to violent agrarian insurrections and the grossest outrages, even to the Archbishop of Canterbury being dragged from his retreat in the Tower and beheaded by the mob on Tower Green. Within twenty years after these insurrections arose the successful rebellion of Henry of Lancaster. Henry, well knowing the shadowy nature of his title to the Crown and the base means by which he obtained it, and the loyalty to Richard II. which still animated some of the great nobles and a large portion of the people, thought it prudent to abstain from entering upon a war with France, which some of the Barons greatly desired. But no sooner was he dead, in 1413, than his son Henry V. prepared to renew the war and re-conquer the country. He won the famous battle of Agincourt and many other great victories, and eventually was recognised as heir to the Crown of France after the death of Charles in 1420. It was estimated that a greater number of men had been slain in these wars than was then living in both realms.

Henry VI. was a very weak though peaceful sovereign, and in the first thirty years of his reign lost all that his father had won in France. The loss of the French territories, which had been acquired at the cost of an enormous amount of blood and treasure, aroused the discontent of the nation, and encouraged the adherents of the House of York to put forward their claim to the throne of England. The first battle was fought at St. Albans in 1454, and the decisive battle of Towton placed the Duke of York on the throne as Edward IV. From this time until 1485 when Henry, Earl of Richmond defeated King Richard III. and usurped the throne, the country was in a state of great disorder.

Mr. Denton states that at this time the commerce of England had been almost destroyed by these incessant wars. Great parts of the land, formerly cultivated, lay waste for want of hands to till it. Hamlets and villages had disappeared, and the sites could only be traced by the remains of the Grange round which the tenants had once clustered, or by the ruins of the church tower in which sheep were folded. The gentry

had suffered in common with the yeomen and copyhold tenants, "the former could not supply a sufficient number of persons qualified to fill the important and honourable post of Sheriffs of counties, nor the latter even to serve as jurymen in the courts of law." All the towns except London were well nigh ruined, and the standard of morals greatly reduced.

Turning from the introduction to the body of the work the first chapter which attracts our attention in the author's description of the state of the country, is the extreme ignorance of statesmen of the value of statistics. They guessed at the number of parishes, of Knight's fees, of acres under cultivation, and the population, and Mr. Denton considers that they failed to guess rightly. There now remains absolutely no data upon which to form even an approximate estimate of the number of the people, and therefore we possess no assurance that Mr. Denton, whilst condemning the guesses of his predecessors has in estimating the population of England and Wales in 1372 as not exceeding two and a half millions, guessed any way nearer the truth. Many remarkable mistakes have arisen in consequence of the ignorance alluded to. Very interesting descriptions are given of Rural England, its forests, fens and swamps, moors and morasses; agricultural produce, rents, and manures, the common field system which everywhere, more or less prevailed, and continued down to the last century, though, doubtless, it was not a profitable method of cultivation; enclosures, game, and poaching. Forests, their nature and privileges, highways and byeways, means of conveyance and rate of travelling, postage of letters, &c., &c. Upon all these subjects much curious information is afforded.

Chapter II. relates more especially to the various grades of people, their dwellings, food, habits, and wages. With reference to the last a comparison is drawn between the relative condition of agricultural labourers at the end of the fifteenth century and the present, reckoning, of course, their advantages and disadvantages respectively, and Mr. Denton justly comes to the conclusion that the former were infinitely inferior to those of the same class at the present day. The consideration of the question of taxation, land tenures, depression of trade, and condition of the small landowners concludes this chapter.

In the third and last chapter the Author deals with the aristocracy, which, during the Civil War, had been nearly one half exterminated. At the beginning of the fifteenth century fifty Peers had been summoned to parliament, but to the first parliament of Henry VII. they had become reduced to twenty eight or twenty nine. They all possessed manors and had Baronial halls or castles, which, as a rule, they no longer occupied. Their minds had been given to martial exercises to the neglect of education and literature, in which they were generally grossly ignorant; and, moreover, were greatly impoverished by the extravagancies connected with costly pageants, splendour of dress, and hosts of idle retainers. After the seizure of the crown by Henry the whole power of the country was centred in the hands of four or five great houses, and it was the policy of the Tudor Kings to depress the ancient nobility and to raise up new men.

Mr. Denton's is a work of great interest and value, and bears evidence on every page of its impartiality and honesty, and extensive examination of authorities. Nevertheless, it appears to us that he has failed to place himself mentally in the period of which he writes, and to look at facts

not as they would be seen by a contemporary, consequently the pictures he has given of rural life in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries are somewhat distorted. Much of the calamities and extreme distress suffered by the poor would appear to us to have arisen rather from the visitation of God, in the long succession of bad harvests, pestilences and murrain in cattle, and in the terrible consequences inseparable from war, and yet wars will never cease, than to bad government. We are not exempt from such calamities even now. Some, at least, of the sovereigns who succeeded Edward I. were not bad or heartless men: *e.g.* Edward II., Richard II., and Henry VI. were weak rather than evil. And if we had the power to select strong men, like Edward III., it might not much improve matters. With these remarks we can cordially commend Mr. Denton's book to our readers, and trust it will in no long while be followed by his work on the Church during the same period, for which we are told in the Preface to this Volume, he has collected materials.

THE ARCHITECTURE OF PROVENCE AND THE RIVIERA. By DAVID MACGIBBON, Author of *The Castellated and Domestic Architecture of Scotland.* Edinburgh: David Douglas, 1888.

This is a very welcome volume, for we apprehend little is known in England of the special peculiarities of the architecture and other arts prevalent in the remote district to which it relates. Mr. MacGibbon points out that in the south of France the ancient architecture is distinctly unlike that of northern France, with which, from our contiguity and early political associations, we are acquainted, though not so intimately as from those causes we ought to be. To account for the difference to which he alludes he gives a brief and rapid sketch of the history of this southern region, shewing how political circumstances have influenced the character of its architecture.

In carrying out his work in accordance with the circumstances related in his historical sketch, he divides the subject under two epochs—the Roman epoch, and the Mediæval epoch, treating of each period separately; taking up first the buildings of the Roman period in sequence as they are met with in descending the Rhone from Lyons, and in the various localities along the Riviera both east and west of Marseilles; and having exhausted the examination of the Roman buildings in the province, returning to Lyons to repeat the process and examine the mediæval structures throughout the same district.

The first place of importance visited in going down the river was VIENNE, on the right side, now called St. Columbe. It is a place of great interest as the cradle of Christianity in the west, having, according to tradition, been founded by St. Paul in his journey into Spain. The Archbishops of Vienne became for sometime, Mr. MacGibbon tells us, Primates of Gaul. The town has had a very chequered history, from which its buildings have greatly suffered. The most important of the Roman buildings now remaining is the temple dedicated to Augustus and Livia. It has been applied to various uses and has been subjected to great abuses, but it has been carefully and judiciously restored, and is now only surpassed, as a complete example of a temple of the Romans in Gaul, by the Maison Carrée at Nimes. It is about 80 ft. long and 50 ft. wide. In front are six Corinthian columns crowned with an entablature

and pediment, and on each side six detached columns, with two pilasters in rear attached to the cella. The whole is placed upon a stylobate, to which twelve steps ascend in front. The temple stood on a forum, some of the pavement of which has been recently uncovered. An illustration of this elegant structure is given.

At ORANGE, the ancient Arausio, some grand Roman remains exist; the most imposing of which is, we think, the elevation of the procenium of the theatre. It was a large building, the seats were arranged in tiers as in an Amphitheatre except that these extended only to a half circle the other half being appropriated to the actors, &c. This building was constructed to accommodate 16,000 spectators. But the finest relic in an artistic point of view, Mr. Mac Gibbon says, is the Triumphal Arch. It has been ascribed to Tiberius A.D. 21, but the author considers that its style and ornament forbid this conclusion. It is covered with sculpture of a high class. It had suffered much damage but Mr. Mac Gibbon is able to say that "The work of restoration has been executed with great care and success. The west side has been almost rebuilt, but with plain stone, applied merely for the purpose of preserving the rest. No attempt has been made to imitate the old work, and what remains of the ancient structure is not scraped and polished up, as so often happens in French restorations, whereby the value of the monument, as an example of ancient art, is entirely destroyed." Alas! the evil here referred to is not confined to France. It is rampant in our own country, and has been for half a eentury. Would that our so-called "restorers" would learn the lesson here taught them! The architecture of the buildings at Orange as elsewhere is very particularly described, but for these details we must refer the reader to Mr. Mac Gibbon's pages. At CARPENTRAS not far from Orange is another triumphal arch, more simple in design than that last mentioned. It has only one arch which is snpported by fluted pilasters with composite capitals. The upper parts above the arch are destroyed. Some sculptures remain on the sides representing captives chained to trophies. The bas-reliefs are in very bold projection and are remarkable, in that distant objects are characterised by a sunk line around them. "This style of emphasizing shadows and outlines, and also the method of doing so by means of holes drilled round objects, is common," the author says "in the sculpture of the lower Empire."

At ST. REMY, also, are the ruins of a grand triumphal arch of the same type, and a well preserved mausoleum. The arch has only one opening flanked by fluted columns of which the capitals are gone. On each side of the arch are well-sculptured bas-reliefs representing captives in chains accompanied by women. The Archivolt is admired by Mérimée, which he calls a garland of fruit and flowers. He is of opinion from the great analogy of style between the various Triumphal Arches of Provence; that those at Orange, St. Remy and Carpentras were erected at the same epoch and to celebrate the same event: namely, the victories of Marcus Aurelius in Germany.

ARLES, the ancient Arelate, the famous capital of Roman Gaul, is supposed to have been founded by the Greeks from Massilia before the time of Cæsar. There are here the remains of a magnificent Amphitheatre. The walls form a complete circuit and a large part of the seats still exist. It is in the shape of an ellipse and measures 459 feet in length, 341 feet in breadth and is calculated to accommodate 26,000

spectators. Many relics have been found at Arles and the Amphitheatre and some beautiful objects are figured.

NIMES, to which we pass on, is situated at the base of the hills which bound the plain of the Rhone. It formed the capital of the Volces Arecomiques (or inhabitants of the flat country). In 121 B.C. it voluntarily submitted to Rome, and a few years B.C. Augustus planted a Colony here, and it became an important town with walls and towers. In 447 A.D. it was ravaged by the Vandals, and a few years later fell into the hands of the Visigoths, who made the Amphitheatre their fortress. This structure is not so fine as that at Arles, nor is the interior so well preserved, but the exterior is more complete. It measures 437 ft. by 332 with 32 rows of seats, which would accommodate 20,000 people. It is now well seen in consequence of the removal of mean buildings which surrounded it. Its architectural character is well described. A very large part of the ornament is left in block, according to the usual practice of the Romans, until the completion of the structure. The gem, however, of Nimes is the Maison Carrée before mentioned (p. 85), as surpassing the temple of Augustus and Livia at Vienne. The Maison Carée is thought to be, possibly, the most pure piece of Roman work beyond the Alps. It is fully described and beautifully figured.

The PONT DU GARD is a magnificent specimen of Roman Engineering. It is situated about 13 miles N.E. from Nimes on the way to Avignon, and formed a portion of the Aqueduct, partly in tunnel and partly in open canal, of about 25 miles in length, for supplying water to Nimes, and was built by M. Agrippa, son-in-law of Augustus 19 years B.C.

"Roman remains," Mr. MacGibbon remarks, "are found very capriciously in Southern Gaul. While a small provincial town like Nimes possesses so many splendid examples, the great ancient cities of Marseilles and Narbonne have scarcely a single relic of their Greek or Roman civilization left." This section of the volume, referring to the fine series of Roman structures which we have been contemplating, concludes with the remark that it is not till we reach Verona, or Rome itself are monuments to be found comparable with the amphitheatres of Arles and Nimes, or the theatre at Orange, and there is no temple, even in Rome, so complete and so striking in its unity and spirit as the Maison Carrée at Nimes.

In Chapter V. Mr. MacGibbon treats of the architecture of the Roman transition period. He says:—"The transition from the architecture of Roman to that of Mediæval times forms one of the most interesting and instructive epochs in our art. The whole history of Roman architecture is that of a transition from the external trabeated style, with its horizontal entablatures, to the complete development of the internal arched architecture, which was the final outcome of Roman constructional forms." He says:—"The leading features of that Italo-Greek architecture contains a reminiscence, or survival, of the primitive elements of a wood construction, and points out the identity of the elements in structures, in wood, and in stone." For his explanation we must refer the reader to his pages. The trabeated system was gradually superseded by the use of the arch, which, from its previously obscure application to vaults, drains, &c., was advanced to external use in elevations in combination with elements of the trabeated style, and together formed that architectural method of which the Romans were such masters. This combined use

may be seen in all the best Roman structures, as in triumphal arches flanked by pilasters, and amphitheatres with rounded wall openings, combined with trabeated decorations in the form of horizontal entablatures and pediments on engaged columns or pilasters. A fine example of this mixed style is shewn in the church of San Miniato (figured, p. 101.) The arch also was introduced into the interior in vaulting as well as for other purposes; and, in course of time, the trabeated elements gradually disappeared.

Mr. MacGibbon in treating of the plan of the early Christian churches scarcely accepts the traditional belief that their apsidal termination was derived from the Roman basilica, and that, in fact, in many instances, upon the adoption of Christianity, the basilicas themselves had been converted to Christian worship. "The basilica had, no doubt," he says, "the form of a pillared hall with central and side-aisles, the former lighted by a clerestory, but it had no apse, or if it had one it did not occupy the prominent position of that feature in the early churches." He does not specifically accept the theory of Professor Baldwin Brown, as stated in the Professor's *From Schola to Cathedral*, which Mr. MacGibbon has placed before his readers whose theory is that, as the domed baptisteries, so frequently built in connection with early Christian churches were derived from the memorial cells used alike by pagans and Christians in the cemeteries, so the apsidal churches were imitations of the Scholæ, or halls of meeting of private societies, and that the Christian burial-gilds like other gilds, were allowed by the Emperors to have their scholæ. Mr. MacGibbon does not assent to, or reject, this new theory, but passes on with.—"However this may be,"—and we shall do the same, and leave the consideration of this interesting question to experts who are better qualified to deal with it. "However this may be," Mr. MacGibbon says: "the type of the early Christian church or basilica presented to view an elongated hall, with two or four rows of pillars, dividing it into three or five aisles, with a lofty triumphal arch at the end of the central nave, leading into an open space raised some steps higher than the nave, and in which stood the altar. Beyond this was the invariable apse with its semi-domed ceiling adorned with mosaics, and containing, elevated by a few steps above the floor, the throne of the Bishop and the seats of the Presbyters."

Mr. MacGibbon says "there is every reason to believe that this was the usual form of the early churches in the west, and that in Rome such churches have been preserved or restored." He mentions also the exceedingly interesting church of San Vitale at Ravenna, but whether this was designed as a monument or a church is uncertain. It is octagonal and domed, very much after the style of the temple of Minerva Medica and similar Roman structures. He says "San Vitale has a special interest from its having formed the model adopted by Charlemagne for the church which he erected at Aix-la-Chapelle to serve also as his own mausoleum," and he remarks, "that it constitutes an example of Roman design reproduced in Ravenna under the late Empire, as a Christian structure, and again serving as a mediæval mausoleum as late as the eighth century," which shows distinctly the continuity of Roman design and its direct influence on the art of later times.

The style of the Romanesque in Provence was greatly influenced by Byzantine art and the early use of vaulting in the Provençal churches

is another striking characteristic in the architecture of the district. A good example is shewn in Toulouse Cathedral, an illustration of the interior of which is given. Another remarkable feature in this church is the early use of the pointed arch in the vaulting, windows, and in other details. Moreover no trace of the trabeate element is apparent. The introduction of the pointed arch in the north of France did not arise until long afterwards, and it is remarkable that when it did come into use there, it was discontinued, at least for a while, in the south, and the round arch adopted in preference.

After the introduction of Gothic Architecture in northern France in 1174 on the building of the Abbey church of St. Denys its rapid and extensive development was very remarkable. Within a century afterwards it had reached its highest excellence and was found in most of the great cathedrals of that region. Nor was the style confined to ecclesiastical structures. It extended to every class of buildings, for, as Mr. MacGibbon observes, "it is one of the characteristics of Gothic that it is available for every variety of architectural requirement. It is a free and natural style, not subject to arbitrary rules, but ready to apply itself in the simplest and most direct manner to all human wants in the way of building."

The architecture of the South became influenced by various disturbing causes. The Riviera, or Mediterranean littorel, fell into the power of the Genoese and of the French. The former introduced the elements of Italian Gothic, and the latter flamboyant work, and the Roman classic still lingered on. How much these influences affected the architecture of the district which we have under review is shewn by the remains yet existing, or by studying the description and illustrations given in Mr. MacGibbon's very interesting work, to which we must refer the reader, for we have already exceeded the space assigned to us. We, therefore, can only give a brief and hasty sketch of the Author's second journey.

After describing LYONS, and the mediæval buildings there, the Author pursued his journey, as before, down the river Rhone. VALENCE is visited, which is not very rich in architectural remains. The Cathedral Mr. MacGibbon considers is of the twelfth century and shows some special features of the influence of the style of Auvergne. Thence to CRUAS and the ancient Cistercian Abbey, the chapel of which, built in the same century, shews the simple style of the Cistercian fashion. Further on is AVIGNON, which, in 1308, became for more than a century the seat of the Roman Pontiffs. The Palace of the Popes is situated on the top of an abrupt rock, on the summit of which stands the Church of Notre Dame des Doms, a building of great interest, composed of Roman and arcuated work combined. Most of the present palaces, however, were built in the fourteenth century. Of this structure, and of the town, a very interesting description is given. The Church of Tarascon was originally built in the twelfth century, and re-edified in the fourteenth. The south porch is of the earlier date and is a beautiful example of the Provençal style, showing the mixed character of the details of the style. The round and octagonal nook-shafts have caps partly copied from the Corinthian and partly carved with Romanesque figures. The numerous fine mouldings of the arch contain a curious mixture of Roman and mediæval ornaments in the classic combined with the dog-tooth enrichments. The small arcade above with alternate fluted pilasters and

round shafts all finished with enriched caps resting on a cornice supported on carved heads have an advanced Romanesque appearance, of which a good illustration is given.

In the castle is an example of the southern square tower with the northern round form, while the details are all of the northern character. It was erected in the fourteenth century. At ARLES the principal mediæval edifice is the church of St. Trophime—a large and important structure exhibiting examples of all the peculiarities of Provençal architecture, on a complete and extensive scale. The west portico is particularly fine, and is of the same style as the porch at Tarascon above mentioned, though much finer. It is well illustrated. The cloisters of the church are very splendid and are also illustrated. St. GILLES has a still more splendid portal of the same character of those at Arles and Tarascon. St. Gilles was the chief priory of the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem. At MARSEILLES few relics are found of Roman or mediæval structures. Of the latter the most remarkable is the church of St. Victor, in which is an instance of the partial adoption of the Gothic of the south, and an attempt to combine Gothic details with southern structural features. The church of St. Sauveur at AIX-EN-PROVENCE was built in 1103. The architecture resembles that of Notre Dame des Doms et Avignon. We find the same fluted Corinthian columns and cornice of Roman enrichments and arched openings between. The small engaged columns with twisted and fluted shafts and straight arched lintel are, however, Mr. MacGibbon remarks, restorations of the twelfth century. The cloisters are an admirable work of art.

Irrespective of Mr. MacGibbon's description of the architecture of the countries of which he treats his historical sketches are of much interest and value. We have greatly exceeded the usual space at our command, and without touching upon the mediæval architecture of the Riviera must close this notice. If, however the Editor will courteously allow us the requisite room in the next number of the *Journal*, we shall be pleased to add a second brief notice of that portion of Mr. MacGibbon's instructive and valuable work.

Notices of Archæological Publications.

THE ARCHITECTURE OF PROVENCE AND THE RIVIERA. By DAVID MACGIBBON, Author of the *Castellated and Domestic Architecture of Scotland.* Edinburgh: David Douglas.

We resume our notice of Mr. MacGibbon's interesting volume, and follow him in his route eastwards from Marseilles along the Mediterranean littoral. The Mediterranean Railway, by which he travelled for a considerable distance, passes through a mountainous and rocky district, the summits of the lofty peaks of the hills, he tells us, contrast very strongly with the rich verdure and luxuriant growth in the valleys below them, and the semi-tropical vegetation of the Riviera. The district, however, is singularly destitute of any architectural remains of special interest.

The first place of any note visited was HYÉRES, one of the great health resorts of the Riviera. It is situated on the top of a hill, three miles from the sea, and is famous for its palms, oranges, and other tropical plants. There is a castle here of some interest built in the thirteenth century, which, during the sixteenth century, passed through many assaults and changes in the time of the religious wars, being held by the Catholics and Protestants several times in turn. The enceinte is well preserved, and many of the towers which strengthen it are almost entire. These are, for the most part, square and lofty, and have thus quite a southern aspect. The original crenellations still exist with the holes for the stout beams which carried wooden hoardings for the defence of the summit. The openings are generally long narrow slits, but in the eastern angle tower there are three small pointed arches. The keep is almost wholly demolished.

In the middle of the old town is the picturesque ancient Church of St. Paul, said to have been originally built in the twelfth century, but it has been considerably altered. The walls of the east end have had to be brought up from a considerable depth on account of the slope of the ground, and the lower part of the buttresses shows work of the thirteenth century, but the upper part is later. All the interior is of a late character. A wide chapel crosses the building at the west end, and is surmounted with a plain square tower of the type of the Italian campanile, of which numerous examples are found at Grasse and elsewhere along the Riviera. The upper round arched doorway, with its deep voussoirs, indicates a style of work not unfrequently met with in the town, and which, Mr. MacGibbon thinks, is doubtless of Moorish or Spanish origin.

The Hotel de Ville occupies the site of the Chapel of a Commandery of The Templars. Although greatly altered it contains fragments of mediæval architecture, and has a picturesque round tower. Altogether it possesses considerable character.

Half-way along the valley through which the railway passes from Toulon to Frejus, lying between the rugged district of Les Maures on the south, and the Alpines on the north, is the station Le Luc, about six miles to the north of which is a structure of great interest to the student of Architecture. This is THORONET, one of the three early daughters of Citeaux, erected during the twelfth century. We have already noticed the very plain character of the early buildings of this austere order, and their character is well known to our readers. The Church of Thoronet, Mr. MacGibbon remarks, is a striking example. It is situated in a retired and rural valley, and is concealed by olive groves on the western slope of the narrow valley. "The church, with its plain apse and little spire, first meets the view, followed, on near approach, by the ruinous but extensive buildings of the monastery which disappear amongst the foliage down the slope of the hill-side. The public road now runs through the upper part of the enclosure of the abbey, and close along the south side of the church; while part of the monastic buildings to the west are occupied as a tavern or farmhouse. The monastery was built in the beginning of the twelfth century on ground granted by Raymond de Beranger, Count of Provence, and continued to be occupied by the Order until the time of the Revolution. The plan is that usual in Cistercian buildings of the period." The church has a nave with aisles crossed at the east end by a large transept, from which, in the centre, a short choir, having a circular apse and two small chapels in each transept, extends towards the east. The choir and chapels have apsidal terminations. "Nothing," Mr. MacGibbon observes, "could exceed the unadorned nature of the design, both externally and internally." The principal entrance is at the west end, and consists of a plain round-headed doorway, without even a moulding, opening into the south aisle. There are two tall windows in the west wall of the nave, a round one in the gable, and a smaller round-headed one over the door in the south aisle, treated with equal simplicity. The space at our disposal precludes us from following Mr. MacGibbon in his lucid description of this remarkable and interesting church, and the details of the architecture; notwithstanding that the interior is entirely devoid of ornament, the religious effect is grand and imposing. The building is fully and well illustrated.

The next structure treated of is the Church of ST. MAXIMIN. It is of a totally different character from that of Thoronet. It is said to be the most perfect specimen in Provence of a building in a pure Gothic style. "The design," Mr. MacGibbon says, "has evidently been imported directly from the north. The building of the church was begun towards the end of the thirteenth century by Charles of Anjou, but was not finished until the close of the fifteenth. The plan consists of a nave and aisles, each terminated on the east with an apse. There is no transept. The vaults are pointed and simple in form, the central vault being 90 ft. in height." "When complete," Mr. MacGibbon says, "the aspect of the church must have been extremely light and fairy like. The lofty windows of the clerestory and apse, which are all

pointed, fill up with their traceries the whole visible space, the masonry being reduced to the smallest limits. The same idea was carried out in the aisles, where the windows were originally brought down almost to the pavement. When these windows were filled with stained glass, as they are believed to have been (although it is now completely gone), the effect must have been very fine, and all the more splendid from the remarkable contrast that they would present to the usually somewhat dark and gloomy character of southern churches."

At FREJUS, the cathedral is an example of the adoption in Provence of the "single hall" style of church. Mr. MacGibbon considers that it was probably built in the twelfth century. The original structure consists of a nave of three divisions, or bays, each covered with round intersecting vaults, strengthened with large square groins, and terminated at the east end with a circular apse, the whole extending to 120 ft. in length and 28 ft. in width. The vaults spring from piers, which are really large internal buttresses, with recesses between them 7 ft. deep. The north side wall has, however, been cut out, and an aisle added at a later date, with still later chapels beyond. The string-course, caps, &c., are all of the same simple form employed in so many buildings of the period. It is most massive and impressive, and like numerous other churches in the south was strongly fortified for the protection of the Bishop's Palace and other ecclesiastical buildings, the whole of which are very interesting, and are very fully illustrated.

At RIEZ was a Roman colony. Numerous Roman remains, Corinthian columns of grey granite from the Esterel, with caps, bases and architraves of marble, and numerous fragments of pottery and mosaics, and a large quantity of portions of columns and architraves have been found which have been utilised in building modern walls.

We pass on to CANNES, now almost as well known in England as Brighton. It was a mere fishing village until brought into notice in 1831 by Lord Brougham, who built there the first English villa. It is now "a town of fine residences and splendid hotels, extending four miles along the coast, and rising on the wooded hills, or nestling in the sheltered ravines which seam their flanks." Cannes owed its first existence to a rocky eminence in the bay, and the only ancient buildings are situated on the summit of this eminence. These consist of the "Tour du Chevalier," the ancient Church of St. Anne (formerly the Chapel of the Castle), and the modern parish church of the seventeenth century, the whole being surrounded with the remains of walls, towers and bastions of various periods, presenting a very picturesque *ensemble*. Mr. MacGibbon gives an interesting account of the "Tour du Chevalier" and other remains of the castle, of which there are several excellent illustrations, and of the Church of St. Anne, which was built about the end of the twelfth century, and possesses all the unadorned characteristics of Cistercian architecture.

In the bay opposite Cannes are the two Iles de Lerins, ST. MARGUÉRITE and ST. HONORAT. The latter, Mr. MacGibbon tells us, "possesses the most interesting series of buildings in the Riviera, combining, as it does, some features of the architecture of every period and style of Provençal art, whether Ecclesiastical or Civil;" and he adds that "in the fifth century the island seems to have been deserted when St. Honorat retired to it, and there founded a monastery," which became

most famous for learning, and, like Iona, "a centre from which missionaries issued to enlighten the surrounding countries and spread religion amongst the barbarians." He gives a very full and interesting account of the ancient structures on these islands with numerous illustrations, for which we must refer to his pages.

MOUGINS and GRASSE are next visited. At the first there is not much to notice, but the Cathedral at the latter is of a type essentially different from that which prevails in Provençe, and very closely resembles the architecture of Italy; and this character, Mr. MacGibbon remarks, he found more and more strongly developed as he proceeded eastwards. The Cathedral is very fully described and illustrated. The next place treated of which requires notice is ST. CÉSAIRE. The ancient church here is a very quaint little building, consisting of a nave of three bays, 45 ft. long by 20 ft. wide, with an apse 9 ft. deep, built as it were against the east wall of the nave. It is of the twelfth century, and possesses all the simple features of the Cistercian style.

At LE BAR the doorway of the church is very remarkable for the richness of its decorations. It has a pointed arch, and is described by Mr. MacGibbon as "fine Italian Gothic." A Roman inscription is built into the tower. GRASSE admits of many pleasant excursions. From thence GOURDON TOURETTES, ANTIBES, and CAGNES were visited and described. About two miles from the last named place is the Castle of VILLENEUVE-LOURET. It has been considerably modernised but sufficient of the original work remaining to shew its ancient character. It consists of a central castle with towers at the angles and surmounted by a lofty, quaint, and Moorish-looking watch tower, the whole being enclosed by a strong wall of enceint defended with round towers at the angles, provided with large port-holes for guns, and a deep ditch. The entrance gateway consists of an iron grating guarded by two round towers, and furnished with a drawbridge over the moat. These round towers and walls are described as being by no means modern, probably about the sixteenth century, but they have been deprived of their battlements, and consequently have a very squat appearance. The central tower is much more ancient, built of the rough-faced ashler of the thirteenth century, and contains some decayed shields of arms bearing the lances of the Villeneuves and the star of Les Baux. Externally, the east face presents two noteworthy features in the apse of the chapel and the tall watch-tower. The chapel has been converted into apartments, but the outlines and buttresses of the apse seem to be of the fifteenth century. The watch-tower is described as "one of the most perfect examples of those characteristic features of the Maritime Alps." It is of the same nature as the keep towers we have met with at Cannes, Grasse and Antibes, but instead of being square on plan like them, it has the eastern side projected in the form of a sharp angle. The tower retains its battlemented top almost unaltered. About a mile distant from the castle just mentioned is a tower, similar to that described, known as La Trinité. It is perched on the top of a precipitous rock, and is surrounded on the north side by a bastioned terrace. On the other sides it is inaccessible. It is approached by a rude stair, and was entered through a strong gateway now in ruins, and within the enclosure are the ruins of a small chapel. The upper portion of the tower was restored in 1863. Its appearance from the chapel is

singularly picturesque. About 2½ miles from La Trinité, as the crow flies, is the ancient town of Biot, one of the most primitive old towns in the district. It stands on the top of a hill and a circuitous post road has been constructed to it, but the ancient accesses by long flights of wide steps are still used by the peasants and their mules, and Mr. MacGibbon states that these streets are in their way the most picturesque in the Riviera. The church is situated on the highest point of the hill, and was consecrated in 1472, as testified by an inscription in the interior, but the south doorway has an earlier character. The exterior is all altered, but some traces of the original building are observable. Mr. MacGibbon says "Biot belonged to the Templars in 1247, and afterwards to the Knights of Malta." The plan of the church as now existing is very remarkable. It is a single oblong divided into three aisles with three terminal apses. On each side of the eastern bay is a semi-octagonal chapel; projecting from the western bay on the south is the tower, with a square chapel east of it, and there is another chapel, extending the length of two bays, on the north side. It has been "restored" and tricked out with stucco worthy of English church-wardens of the last century.

Mr. MacGibbon says, one of the most delightful excursions from Cagnes is that to St. Paul-du-Var and Vence, two of the most interesting old towns in the Riviera. These places are very fully described, and numerous illustrations are given of the olden-time houses and the curious carvings and other details. The carvings of a chimney-piece and a staircase in the Maison Suzaire are remarkably fine. Vence was the Ventium of the Romans, and numerous Roman inscriptions and other remains have been found and preserved. The Cathedral is a building of great antiquity, and is remarkable for the absence of anything like ornament.

Nice is the next place treated of. It possesses no remains of antiquarian interest deserving special notice, and its environs are equally barren; though full of natural beauties. At Cimies (Cementium of the Romans), where a few Roman relics have been found, is an old convent, and in front of it is a very remarkable cross. The upper limb bears, in a quatrefoil, the image of the crucified seraph which appeared to St. Francis de Assissi. Each arm is similarly terminated. On one is sculptured a pelican in her piety, and on the other the figures of a bishop and a monk. The cross is very elegant in form, and is supported by a twisted marble shaft some nine or ten feet high, having a composite capital bearing a shield, charged with the arms of the founder. Along the abacus runs an inscription, in which the date 1477 only is legible.

Visits to Mentone, Castellar, Pont St. Louis, Ventimiglia, Dolce Aqua, San Remo and Genoa, which places are admirably illustrated, terminate the tour.

The volume throughout, from cover to cover, is of great interest, and the numerous illustrations are generally admirably executed. It should form the companion of every Englishman visiting the interesting district the author so well describes. It seems remarkable, however, that Mr. MacGibbon does not appear to be acquainted with the late Rev. J. L. Petit's "Architectural Studies in France." Mr. Petit visited many of the places treated of by Mr. MacGibbon, and has left us, in his inimitable etchings numerous illustrations of the most interesting

ecclesiastical structures of the continent, many of which are also figured in Mr. MacGibbon's work. There is also a short memoir illustrated by the same talented author and artist, with several of his unique drawings, contributed by Mr. A. Hartshorne to vol. xliv of the *Archæological Journal.*

HENRY VIII. AND THE ENGLISH MONASTERIES. An attempt to illustrate the history of their Suppression. By FRANCIS AIDAN GASQUET, Monk of the Order of St. Benedict, sometime Prior of St. Gregory's Monastery, Downside, Bath. Vol. II. London: John Hodges, Henrietta Street, Covent Garden.

The first volume of Father Gasquet's important work was noticed in a previous number of the *Journal.* That now before us commences with an account of the dissolution of the lesser monasteries, viz., those whose revenues did not exceed £200 a year. In March, 1536, an obsequious parliament had given power to the king to deal as he pleased with these houses. Henry had already formed his designs for carrying out his object, but about this time important events occurred which seemed, for a while, to check his proceedings. On the 7th January, Queen Katherine departed from this world and all its troubles, and on the 17th of May following Anne Boleyn died on the scaffold. The king was thus relieved from all his matrimonial difficulties, and hopes were entertained that, through the mediation of the King of France, a reconciliation might be effected between Henry and the Pope, which all men longed for except a few cantankerous spirits who had their own ends to serve. This reconciliation was confidently expected. The king had become very unsettled in his religious opinions. Mr. James Gairdner, the able successor of the late Dr. Brewer as editor of the State Papers of this reign, says: "Henry had not been quite sure for some years past which doctrines he should order to be upheld or denounced from various pulpits, except the preachers were, of course, to denounce the authority of the see of Rome," but the project of reconciliation was frustrated by an ill-timed and injudicious letter addressed by Cardinal Pole, always impetuous, to the king.

The king thereupon entered warmly upon his design of suppressing the lesser monasteries, and converting their possessions to his own use. "The Court of Augmentation" was created to receive and account for all the lands and goods which were to be seized into the king's hands. Father Gasquet shows us the course of procedure which was adopted. "The Royal Commission was issued to some of the leading men in each county to make a new survey of the houses within the limits of their districts. They were to form a body of six visitors, comprising an auditor, the particular receiver appointed for the county, and a clerk, who were the royal officials, and who were to be accompanied by three other discreet persons, to be named by the king in each county." On their arrival at each monastery they were ordered to summon the superior and shew him the "act of dissolution," and their special commission. Next they were to make the officials of the house swear to answer truly the questions the commissioners put to them. Having done this they had to proceed on their examination into the state of the establishment, and in their report to give the result of their inquiry. They were specially directed to state the number of the religious "and

the conversation of their lives:" how many were priests, and how many were willing to go to other houses, or would take "capacities;" and what servants or other dependents were attached to the establishment. Having obtained this information the royal commissioners were to call for the convent seal and all the muniments of the house, and to make an inventory "by indenture" with the superior, of all plate, jewels, and other goods and property, which belonged to the establishment on the 1st March of this year, 1536. They were then to issue their commands to the superior not to receive any rents, nor spend any money, except for the necessary expenses of the place, until the king's final pleasure was known, at the same time enjoining him to continue to watch over the lands, and "sow and till" as before, till such time as the king's farmer should relieve him of this duty. As for the community, the officer was "to send those that will remain in religion to other houses, with letters to the governors, and those that wish to go to the world, to my lord of Canterbury, and the lord chancellor for capacities." To the latter "some reasonable reward," according to the distance of the place appointed, was to be given. The superior alone was to have any pension assigned to him, and he was to go to the Chancellor of the Augmentation for it.

Since our notice of the first volume of Father Gasquet's work, the Camden Society has issued to its members, under the editorship of Dr. Jessop, an eminent clergyman of the Church of England, an important volume containing the records of five Episcopal Visitations of the Religious Houses of the Diocese of Norwich, between 1492 and 1532. These visitations show that in many of the monasteries and convents in that diocese numerous irregularities existed, especially in the smaller and poorer establishments. They were not, however, generally, of a grave character, and consisted chiefly of a laxity of discipline in many forms, and slander, quarreling, drinking, not apparently to intoxication, and to the inmates being addicted to playing cards and dominoes--harmless amusements in themselves, but not religious exercises. In one case was a dreadful moral offence, the nature of which is not stated. It was reserved to be dealt with by the Bishop more deliberately. This was at Westacre, in 1520. The nature of this single crime is not stated, and the result is not shewn.

In the nunneries there seems not to have been found any more serious faults than those arising from the querulous irritability of aged women, except in one solitary instance, at Cranham, where a young nun had been seduced by a gentleman of position residing in the parish. This was the only case of sexual sin charged against any.

Poverty and misery to a great extent prevailed in these small establishments, arising from reckless overbuilding in earlier times, and the revenues of the houses were insufficient to keep the extensive premises in repair, and we all know how soon neglected repairs result in utter ruin.

We remarked in our former notice upon the villainy of the agents selected by the king and Cromwell as the first visitors of the religious houses, and how utterly devoid of credit were the *comperta* which they returned. Dr. Jessop fully corroborates Father Gasquet's statements. He writes: "They called themselves *visitors*; they were in effect mere hired detectives of the very vilest stamp, who came to levy blackmail, and, if possible, to find some excuse for their robberies by vilifying their

victims. In all the hideous *comperta* which have come down to us, there is not, if I remember rightly, a single instance of any report or complaint having been made to the *visitors* from any one outside. The enormities set down against the poor people accused of them are said to have been confessed by themselves against themselves. In other words, the *comperta* of 1535 and 1536 can only be received as the horrible inventions of the miserable men who wrote them down upon their papers, well knowing that, as in no case could the charges be supported, so, on the other hand, in no case could they be met or were the accused ever intended to be put upon their trial." (Introd. xii). And again, referring to these *comperta*, he says: "The more such documents are examined the better; if the evidence is damnatory, let the truth be told. Even though it should appear that every religious house in England was a hell upon earth, and every monk or nun was steeped in the foulest depths of vice and wickedness, we may be staggered and confounded by the sad and dreadful and inexplicable exposure, but must needs accept it, though henceforth in speechless shame and horror we shall be compelled to allow that this human nature of ours is a thousand times more base and degraded than we had hitherto allowed ourselves to believe. If on the other hand the additional evidence that time may discover for us shall prove no more than that which this volume makes us acquainted with, we shall have to take a different view from that which has hitherto been the popular view. Then it may happen that we shall be forced to confess that in the sixteenth century there were creatures in common (? human) form, who exhibited as shocking examples of truculent slander, of gratuitous obscenity, of hateful malignity, as can be found among the worst men of any previous or succeeding age; but we shall have to look for them, not within the cloisters, but outside them, among the robbers, not among the robbed." (Ib. l).

The number of the houses of the class now under consideration, according to the best authorities, was somewhere about 360 or 370; the annual revenue of which seized for the king's use was about £30,000, according to the value of money at that time; and the value of the goods seized £100,000.

It is impossible to form any estimate of the number of persons affected by the dissolution of the lesser monasteries. It has been calculated that, besides servants and others employed and supported by them, over 2,000 monks and nuns were turned out of their homes, in which many of them had lived in peace almost their whole lives, without any provision for their future support, though many of them were of great age and decrepid. It was only the heads of the houses who were pensioned. Father Gasquet gives us some piteous tales, for which we must refer to his pages.

All these small houses, however, were not at this time absolutely suppressed. The king reserved power under the Act to continue some of them. And such as he wished to continue were re-founded by Letters Patent as of the king's new foundation, and such of their former lands, and goods and chattels, as the king willed, were restored to them. For this indulgence they had to pay heavy fines, generally about three years' value of the revenues, but within two years, at the general dissolution, though granted *in perpetuity*, they perished with the others. It will, however, be well to note, before passing on, that among the houses thus

re-established there were some of those which had been most gravely defamed by Layton and Legh in their *comperta*, and in more than one instance a superior incriminated by them was re-appointed in the new foundation.

The nefarious work proceeded with great rapidity. The Act for the dissolution of the lesser monasteries passed only at the end of Feb. 1535-6, yet on the 8th July following Chapuys, the Imperial Ambassador, was able in his report to write: "It is a lamentable thing to see a legion of monks and nuns, who have been chased from their monasteries, wandering miserably hither and thither seeking means to live; and several honest men have told me that what with monks, nuns, and persons dependent on the monasteries suppressed, there were over 20,000 who knew not how to live." (State Papers, xi, No. 42.) Mr. Gairdner (preface xij) considers this estimate too high, unless it refers to the ultimate effect of the Act, but to us it appears not unreasonable, indeed, perhaps, below the mark if it were the case that 2,000 monks and nuns alone were rendered homeless in the single county of Lincoln.

This must have been a most piteous sight to behold, and the whole population most deeply sympathised with the oppressed monks and nuns, many of whom had most earnestly petitioned the king to be allowed to continue in religion. The mass of the people, especially, were drawn towards them from feelings of gratitude as their own friends in adversity, always ready to minister to their necessities in body and soul. But this was not all that aroused their indignation. The wanton and heartless spoliation and destruction of the religious houses, the pride and glory of the country side, and the hallowed Houses of God, which in those days all regarded with reverence, and the sale of the tressel tables, stools, and benches, which formed the slender furniture of the poor cells of the monks, and still more the plunder of the rich vestments and altar plate which had been lavishly bestowed for the Service of the Most High aggravated their anger, and excited a spirit of resistance which even shook the nerves of the mighty king.

Apart from the question of religion there was another subject which greatly aggrieved the upper and middle classes. Lands were then held chiefly by military service, either of the king *in capite* or of some mesne lord who held it of the king, and, therefore, on the death of a tenant it devolved upon his son, or next male heir. It could not be alienated without the royal license. The rigidity of the law of military service, had, however, for some time been softening, and men had been in the habit of conveying lands to "uses" or "trusts" to make provision for their younger children, which practice had been winked at. But Henry was anxious to maintain a strong military force, and to this end to prevent the failure of military dues. To put a check upon the practice of uses he proposed to give a testamentary power to the extent of one half of the real estate. The statute was unpopular to all classes. Even the Duke of Norfolk, it was said, expressed disapproval of the measure, and it was determined in Lincolnshire to offer an active resistance to the king's measures, and the following demands were made of the king:—

1. The Commons complained of the dissolution of the religious houses and of the consequent destitution of the povrealty of the realm.

2. Of the restraints imposed on the distribution of property by the statute of uses.

3. Of the grant to the king of the tenths and first-fruits of spiritual benefices.

4. Of the payment of the subsidy demanded of them.

5. Of the introduction into the King's Council of Crumwell, Rich and other such personages as be of low birth and small reputation.

6. Of the promotion of the Archbishops of Canterbury and Dublin, and the Bishops of Rochester, St. Davids and others, who, in their opinion, had clearly subverted the faith of Christ.

Father Gasquet gives us at considerable length the interesting particulars of the three northern insurrections at this period :—The Rising in Lincolnshire, The Pilgrimage of Grace, and the Second Northern Rising. He draws his information from the original official depositions of the witnesses preserved in the Public Record Office, so that the accuracy of his statements cannot be questioned. We must refer the reader to his pages.

The collapse of the third attempt of the people to preserve the ancient abbeys of England and maintain the ancient religion, together with the fate of the leaders or assumed leaders, struck terror and dismay into the hearts of the English people—seventy-four men had been, under martial law, hanged by the Duke of Norfolk, who commanded the king's forces, from the walls of Carlisle, and afterwards quartered; and the principal leaders were brought before the said Duke, Sir Thomas Tempest and others, who had been appointed special commissioners, to enquire, with the assistance of a jury, into the guilt or innocence of the persons accused. The commissioners sat at York on the 9th May, but the Duke had taken precautions with respect to the jurors previously. Writing to Cromwell he says :—"I am at this time of such acquaintance with the gentlemen that I dare well to adventure to put divers on the quests of whom some have married with Lord Darcy's daughters and some with Sir Robert Constable's." Adding:—"I doubt not my lord that the matter shall be found according to the king's pleasure." "My good lord," "he goes on, I will not spare to put the best friends these men have upon one of the inquests, to prove their affection, whether they will rather serve his majesty truly and frankly in this matter, or else favour their friends, and if they will not find, then they may have thanks according to their cankered hearts. And as for the other inquest I will appoint such that I shall no more doubt of than of myself." They were arraigned on a charge of high treason "in conspiring to deprive the king of his dignity, title, name, and royal state, namely, of being on earth the supreme head of the English Church." The Duke's policy was quite successful. The prisoners were all found guilty. Lord Darcy was beheaded on Tower hill, two abbots, two priors, and several other ecclesiastics and other persons were hanged and quartered at Tyburn, whilst Constable and Ashe were hanged in chains at Hull and York respectively.

Many of the abbots and monks, who through the chicanery of the king's agents had been prevailed upon to surrender their houses and lands, had, during the insurrection, been restored, not altogether without the king's secret connivance, by the insurgent leaders; and there were also many houses which, as yet, had not been induced to surrender nor had been dissolved. These now in the spring of 1537, immediately after the abovementioned appalling executions, the king determined to proceed against, cautiously, but with the utmost rigour. Instructions were sent

to the Duke of Norfolk to immediately eject the monks and nuns, who had been replaced, as we have just stated, and to restore the houses and lands to the king's farmers; and he was further commanded "to cause all the religious persons that were, or be, in any of the said houses, either to take their livings in such other monasteries of their religion as they shall be assigned to, or else, if they shall refuse so to do, he shall punish them as vagabonds and enemies of the commonwealth, so as no one of that sort remain at large in the country."

It is true, indeed, that the king, in the time of his alarm at the progress of the second Northern Rising, had authorised Norfolk and the Earl of Suffolk to make on his behalf solemn promises that the restored religious should be left undisturbed until the northern parliament had finally settled the question of the dissolution; but such pledges stood not much in the way of a Tudor king, who could direct his commander that he should "in any wise cause such dreadful execution to be done upon a good number of the inhabitants of every town, village, and hamlet that have offended in this rebellion, as well by hanging them up in trees, as by quartering of them and setting of their heads and quarters in every town, great and small, and in all such other places as they may be a fearful spectacle to all other hereafter that would practice any like matter." The king having struck terror into the hearts of his people, and at length satiated himself with blood, determined to proceed by what he considered "the legal forms of ordinary justice to complete the work of punishment."

The king's next procedure was by way of attainder in respect to all abbots, priors, or other heads of houses who had, been, or could, in any way, be accused of having been favourably disposed to the insurrection, even though they had been involuntarily forced into the re-possession of their own houses by the insurrectionary power. Father Gasquet points out that in the statute for the settlement of the Royal Succession (25 Henry VIII., c. 22), upon the declaration of the nullity of the king's marriage with Katherine of Arragon, and consequent bastardizing of the Princess Mary, there were introduced two ambiguous terms, viz., "'Estate of inheritance' and 'successors' causing two great changes in English law. By the first estates tail were made forfeitable for treason, and the second, other than such persons as shall have been so convict their heirs and *successors*." Under this clause the king claimed upon the attainder of an abbot the forfeiture of the whole of the estates of the fraternity, a principle utterly unknown in former English jurisprudence, and which Burnet argues to be unjustifiable.

Under this interpretation of the Act some of the great monasteries immediately fell. Among them were the abbies of Whalley, Sawley, Barlings, Jervaulx, and Kirkstall, and the Priory of Bridlington. Their rulers were hanged, generally upon the most flimsey, or no, evidence of participation in any insurrectionary proceeding, and all the houses, lands, and goods were seized into the king's hand, though much of it disappeared in apparently a most mysterious manner. Sir Arthur Darcy in the beginning of June informed Cromwell that he had been at the suppression, and says that "the houses within the gate are covered wholly with lead, and there is one of the fairest churches that I have seen." In fact he was so delighted with the place, that he suggested it would make a good stable for the Royal "stud of mares," which were so costly to the king, "at Thornbury and other places" (173).

The space at our disposal will not admit of our following the author in his interesting though most painful narrative of the malpractices of the king and his venal agents in dealing with the unhappy and defenceless monks—the efforts to incriminate innocent men—the sowing of dissentions among the brethren and inducing the weaker by bribery to bring false accusations against the more steadfast, and other means which are only darkly hinted at. At Furness, after unsuccessfully using every effort to obtain sufficient evidence against the abbot, the Earl of Sussex reported his difficulties to the king, who replied :—"We desire and pray you, with all the dexterity you can, to devise and excogitate to use all the means to you possible, to research and try out the very truth of their proceedings, and with whom they (the monks) or any of them have had intelligence. We think verily, that you shall find thereby such matter as shall show the light of many things yet unknown," adding that meanwhile the abbot and some of the monks should be committed to prison. On the 6th of April, Sussex reported that in his previous examination that he had used the said abbot and his brethren in such wise that it was impossible to get any more than was had before out of them. He told the king that he had committed to Lancaster gaol two of the said monks, which was all he could find faulty, and that there was nothing that could now be discovered against the abbot that would serve the purpose, and explained his plan for obtaining the rich possessions of the abbey for the king. "I, the said earl," he says, "devising with myself, if one way would not serve, how and by what other means, the said monks might be rid from the said abbey, and consequently how the same might be at your gracious pleasure, caused the said abbot to be sent for to Whalley, and, thereupon, after we had examined him, and indeed could not perceive that it was possible for us to have any other matter, I the same earl, as before by the advice of other of your council, determined to essay him as of myself, whether he would be contented to surrender, give and grant unto your heirs and assigns the said monastery." It was a choice between death and surrender. In either case the king would seize the abbey and all its possessions, and the monks cleared out. Human nature yielded to the tempter, and on the 5th April, 1537, the unhappy abbot signed the surrender. The monks were constrained to follow the example of their abbot, and had to quit their peaceful home without pension, only 40s. each in their pockets. And the abbey and its possessions worth £800 a year clear passed to the king, and the rich church and other buildings to the axes and hammers of the destroyers.

In passing on we cannot refrain from calling attention to the pathetic story of the destruction of Woburn Abbey, pp. 191—202, which was seized under the new interpretation of the Act of Attainder on 20th June, 1538, and the abbot hanged before his own gate, and others with him.

Doubtless this dire calamity fell with much greater severity upon the nuns even than upon the monks. Father Gasquet has described the difference very clearly. The monks, although many of them from a life-long seclusion, and from age, when turned out of their homes with a few shillings in their pockets, or, in many cases penniless, were, at all events, better fitted to battle with the world than feeble women. Many of them were priests, and might hope to gain some maintenance, however

scanty, from the exercise of their office. The nun's lot, however, opened out no such prospect. "Driven from the dismantled walls of her convent, and the veil of her profession stripped from her, the nun could not but suffer the pains of daily martyrdom in the rough surroundings of an uncongenial world."

With regard to the regularities and order which prevailed in the English nunneries at the time of their suppression, even Layton and Legh, in their notorious *comperta*, are able to bring but few charges against their good name, and those of a very trifling character. The reports of these "worthy" emissaries of Cromwell embraced some thirteen counties, and only of 27 nuns in all the convents visited could they speak unfavourably, and even of these all but ten were thought not unworthy of their pension; and they could find only two nuns out of all the convents who were desirous to be relieved of the restraints of a religious life, and this even after the imposition of vexatious injunctions, the acknowledged purpose of which was to render the practice of religion unendurable.

In the subsequent reports of mixed commissions the character given to the convents is uniformly most excellent. Thus the White Nuns of Grace Dieu, co. Leic., the only convent of the Order in England, (Carmelites?) are declared to be "of good and virtuous conversation and living, and all desirous to continue their religion there," and an account is given of their charity and bounty.

A charming description is given from John Aubrey, the well-known Wiltshire antiquary, who was an eye-witness of the habits and practice of the nuns of a convent in that county. "There," he says, "the young maids were brought up (not at Hakney Sarum Schools to learn pride and wantonness, but) at nunneries, where they had examples of piety and humility, and modesty and obedience to imitate and to practice." . . . "This," he concludes, "was a fine way of breeding up young women, who are led more by example than precept; and a good retirement for widows and grave single women to a civil, virtuous and holy life." We had marked the whole passage for extract, but space will not allow it (p. 224).

The king was very anxious, if possible, to obtain possession of the property of the convents without having recourse to actual suppression, and every kind of pressure was used to induce the unhappy ladies to yield up their homes and property to the king, by what was called a "voluntary surrender." The nuns of England, however, as a rule, resisted in the most heroic manner all promises of substantial advantages they would gain by compliance with the king's desire, and upon refusal the threat of deprivation with a very scanty means of subsistence. The commissioners write at the end of March, 1539: "We yesterday came to Ambusbury (Wilts), and communed with the abbess (Prioress) for the accomplishment of the king's commission in like sort, and albeit we have used as many ways with her as our poor wits could attain, yet in the end we could not by any persuasions bring her to any conformity. At all times she rested, and so remaineth, in these terms: If the king's highness command me to go from this house I will gladly go, though I beg my bread; and as for pension I care for none." No doubt she kept her word and went forth, and as for pension she received none. Such statements might be multiplied. Of the 50 convents which survived the

first dissolution the surrenders of some 33 are enrolled on the Close Rolls. But the original documents preserved in the Record Office prove that, for some reason or other, the papers drawn up in blank form by the commissioners, in the majority of cases numbering 28, never received the signatures of the nuns at all. Of the remaining five, one, the surrender of Shaftesbury, a convent of 56 nuns, and at the dissolution of which Cromwell himself assisted, is signed only by Elizabeth Zouche, the abbess. A second document, that of Tarent, although having twenty signatures, is worthless, as all are written in the same hand. Some others were simply marked with crosses, so that of the whole number of convents only three signed surrenders exist.

The next subject dealt with is the "Fall of the Friars," or mendicant Orders. It is scarcely necessary in these pages to point out the distinction between the friars and the monks, nevertheless, it may not be amiss to say a few words upon the subject. The monks, generally, lived a contemplative life, entirely secluded from the cares of the world, in order that their lives might be devoted more entirely to the direct service of worship and praise. They might accept donations from the faithful of lands, with the sovereign's license in mortmain, and goods *ad libitum*, which they expended in affording hospitality to strangers and travellers, the relief of the poor, and in other acts of mercy and charity. Their estates were managed by certain brethren selected for the purpose, but the general community was not disturbed with mundane affairs. The friars were inspired by entirely different motives. Their religious life was an active one, and one of their vows was that of strict and absolute poverty. They did not possess anything they could call their own. Their houses, were held in trust for the Order, and were situated in the worst slums of the worst cities, and here they lived amidst filth, misery, and disease upon the alms which they could collect from day to day, devoting their lives to the poor, to preaching and teaching, and in the endeavour to influence the people by every means in their power to lead honest and religious lives. "The whole history of the church," Mr. Gasquet writes, "does not present a parallel to the enthusiastic reception given by the people to the reforms they preached, and their popularity in England, almost down to the day of their suppression, is evinced by numerous gifts and testamentary dispositions in their favour." He tells us, moreover, that in the sixteenth century the friaries throughout the country numbered some 200. Of these the followers of St. Francis had 60, the Dominicans about 53, the Austin friars 42, and the Carmelites 35. The number of friars in England is estimated at about 1,800.

The poverty of the friars was both a temptation and a snare to them; depending for their support upon the alms of the people they felt independent of the king's favour, and preached loudly and forcibly against his policy, both on the marriage question and the supremacy, which gave him great offence. They ought to have fallen with the smaller monasteries, but the friars were very popular with all classes of the people, and, therefore, very powerful, consequently until the final suppression of the northern rebellion the king hesitated to attack them. Besides they had neither manors or lands to tempt his cupidity. Their buildings also were both plain and poor and were worth but little to him save the value of the lead with which they were covered and the bells,

and for this the buildings were wrecked. The altar plate also was generally worth little, except in a few of the larger houses where some fine pieces were found. "All the vestments and other movables in the Blackfriars house and church at Newcastle was sold for less than £5; the Mayor bought the tiles of the roof and everything in the dormitory for 10s.; two chalices weighing 38 ounces were sent to the royal treasure house, the lead was melted into eighteen fodders, and the royal visitor went away with 30s. as the price obtained by all the desecration and ruthless destruction he had committed." A few shillings each were given to the community and they were turned out of their convent in the depth of winter without any other provision (p. 272).

Though the friars were reprieved for a time the king kept his eye upon them, and their turn came when, upon the final suppression of the northern insurrection, the king thought they were utterly in his power. Meanwhile they had been "harrassed with many difficulties hardly less bearable than absolute extinction." A renegade Dominican friar, named Ingeworth, became Cromwell's unscrupulous and energetic agent in the work of suppressing the friaries. In 1537 he was consecrated Bishop of Dover, and about the same time received two commissions "to visit and vex" his brother friars, and right heartily he carried out his instructions. It is said that as early as 1534-5, seeing the storm arising, a great part of the friars preachers left the king's dominions, rather than conform, and in consequence of the poverty to which they had been reduced. Those who remained were treated with the utmost cruelty and indignity. Many from their helpless poverty, for with the destruction of the monasteries, and the disorganization of the times, the springs of charity had been dried up, coupled with the heavy exactions levied upon them by the king's agents as parcel of their policy, were in a state of the utmost penury. Threatened at the same time by severe punishment unless they conformed to the king's wishes many were prevailed upon to yield, but many others shewed bright examples of constancy and fortitude, and preferred to suffer death in its most terrible form rather than violate their consciences. Among numerous other cases is that of Anthony Brown, sometime a friar observant of Greenwich, and "of late taking upon him as a hermit," who, in 1538, was condemned for his belief in the old doctrine of papal supremacy. The Duke of Norfolk, writing to Cromwell, says: He wrote "out his own confession with his hand," which, says the Duke, you shall receive with this. The friar was found guilty, giving respite to the sheriff for his execution ten days following" for reasons which are stated. He was again examined and argued with by the Bishop of Norwich and others, but nothing could move him, and so we have delivered him, continues Norfolk, to the sheriff to be carried to the gaol and there to suffer according to his foolish doings upon Friday next. "A special messenger was dispatched with great haste to Cromwell, in case the king, or Cromwell, would wish to have him brought to the Tower there to be more straightly examined, and to be put to torture." The Bishop of Norwich tried once more to induce the friar to change his opinion, but without success, and as we know nothing further concerning him, he was, doubtless, executed on Friday, 9th August, as appointed.

There is a very curious, though appalling record of the manner of punishment to which these poor friars were subjected. It relates to one

Friar Stone, an Austin friar of Canterbury. In his examination he very courageously maintained "that at all times he had held and still held and still desired to die for it, that the king may not be head of the Church of England, but that it must be a spiritual father appointed by God." Upon this he was condemned, and the manner of his death may be gathered from the following document, preserved among the city of Canterbury records :—Hist. MSS. Comm. 9th rep. app^{x}. 153. "A.D. 1538-9.—Paid for half a ton of timber to make a pair of gallaces (gallows) to hang Father Stone. For a carpenter for making the same gallows and the dray. For a labourer who digged the holes. To four men who helped to set up the gallows. For drink to them. For carriage of the timber from stable gate to the dungeon.[1] For a hurdle. For a load of wood, and for a horse to draw him to the dungeon. For two men who set the kettle and parboiled him. To two men who carried his quarters to the gate and set them up. For a halter to hang him. For two half-penny halters. For Sandwich cord. For straw. To the woman that scoured the kettle. To him that did execution." (p. 260).

As to the expelled friars only one or two individuals were granted any pension for their support, as a rule a few shillings (on an average apparently about five shillings) was delivered to each one on being turned out into the world to find his own living as best he might. "No wonder some were loth to go," writes Father Gasquet. "There was an anacres," writes Ingeworth, of Worcester, "with whom I had not a little business to have her to grant to come out; but out she is." This in one short sentence is a fair representation of the spirit in which expulsion of the friars was conducted" (p. 273).

The king had no parliamentary authority to suppress any of the greater monasteries. In granting him that power over the smaller houses the Act sanctioned his taking the possessions of any of the larger which might be voluntarily surrendered by the respective communities, or otherwise fall into his hands; and after the failure of the third northern insurrection, many, as we have already noticed, were seized under the Act of Attainder, their rulers and some of the brethren being hanged as traitors, and the remainder expelled. This, however, was too slow a process for Henry, and instructions were given to the royal agents by all means known to them to get the religious willingly to consent and agree to their own extinction; and it was only when they found any of the heads of convents so appointed to be dissolved, so wilful and obstinate that they would in no wise agree to sign and seal their own death warrant, that they were authorised to take possession by force. At the same time the king instructed his agents to deny that he entertained any intention of a general suppression. It would be impossible to give any detailed account of the measures resorted to. For these we must refer to the Author's Chapter on "The Progress of the General Suppression," and we have already given sufficient indication of the course pursued. This, upon the whole, had been so successful that by the Autumn of 1539 few houses remained in the possession of their religious owners. Among these were the great Benedictine houses of Glastonbury, Reading, and Colchester. All mitred abbeys, and the most wealthy in the kingdom. These could not by any means be allowed to escape, and no charge of

[1] The hill close to Canterbury, called Dane John.

misconduct had been brought against them, or the communities under their charge. These abbots were true to their trusts, and could not be tempted to surrender. So they were proceeded against upon some trumped up charges of treason, generally we believe the denial of the king's supremacy, and upon some secret inquisition in the tower condemned. Abbot Whiting was hanged with the usual barbarous enormities above described, on Tor Hill, on 15th November, 1539 ; and Abbot Cook on the same day before his own abbey gate at Reading. Abbot Marshall met his fate at Colchester on the 1st December following. Father Gasquet gives a very interesting account of some of these reverend and holy men and of the preliminaries previous to their suffering. We can only say that of all the black deeds of this black period, not one exceeded this in satanic blackness.

In his review of the Monastic Spoils and what became of them, the author gives us some most curious and valuable historical information, but any, the slightest, approximation to the actual money value of the rich vestments, plate and jewels seized by the king's agents, never was, and never can be known. A very large proportion of it, as might be expected, was appropriated by the vile agents who had been employed in robbing the religious houses. But besides these robberies by the robbers a very large quantity of plate and jewels and other valuable ecclesiastical goods was delivered into the court of augmentation. The sacred buildings, consisting of some of the fairest architecture in the kingdom, together with the sculpture, the shrines, after they had been plundered of the jewels with which they were lavishly adorned, the painted glass, and metal work of the highest class of art, were recklessly and wantonly destroyed. The lands, to a large extent, were bestowed upon the enrichment of "new men" who had been the king's emissaries and accomplices in his work of destruction.

For further particulars we must refer to Father Gasquet's bulky volumes, which, though of great interest, are painful reading; nevertheless it is well that the public should be made acquainted with the true history of this great revolution, the misery it occasioned, the real motives of the actors therein, and the base means adopted in carrying it out. The work is written throughout in a most candid, impartial, and dispassionate tone. The calm and judicial spirit which pervades the work cannot but carry conviction to every thoughtful mind, how much so ever hitherto it has been dulled by prejudice. It is to be hoped we shall learn more of this dark and disgraceful period of our history, though one feels ashamed and horrified at the disclosures brought to light. We heartily thank Father Gasquet for this valuable contribution to English history, and trust he will make further researches in the same field.

THE BOOK OF SUN-DIALS. Collected by MRS. ALFRED GATTY. New and Enlarged Edition, edited by H. K. F. Gatty and Eleanor Lloyd. London: Bell and Sons, 1889.

Some years have passed away since the gifted authoress of "Parables from Nature" published her "Book of Sun-dials." In the compilation of that picturesque collection—first begun, indeed, by Mrs. Gatty in her childhood—she was latterly assisted by Miss Lloyd, and now that a new and enlarged edition has been called for, it is pleasant to recognize that the graceful co-operation and the facile pencil of Miss Lloyd have a

second time been placed at the disposal of the editor. The thin book of former years has now developed into a stout octavo volume, with 390 additional Dial Mottoes, the whole comprising a list of 731 examples, with 65 illustrations.

Time," says Miss Gatty in the opening of her Introduction, "is a blank if we cannot mark the stages of its progress," and she adds that there has been implanted in us a desire to count how, as it were, drop by drop, or grain by grain, time and life are passing away: Thus Edgar Poe :—

> "I hold within my hand
> Grains of the golden sand;
> How few, yet how they creep
> Through my fingers to the deep."

How many have fingered the grains on the sea shore, and how few have applied the moral!

Treating of the manner in which time was reckoned in the ancient world, the expression "the evening and the morning were the first day" is quoted as "the earliest description of a period of time whose duration we cannot precisely estimate." Then we get the day divided into four parts, a system that appears to have lasted until the Christian era. This now gave way to "hours" for the day, the night being divided into military "watches," of which the Jews recognized three, and the Greeks and Romans four of such divisions, the Jewish night being eventually also divided into four watches, as in St. Mark, xiii, 35—even, midnight, cock-crowing, and morning. The first mention of the hour as a distinct space of time is in the book of Daniel, when the dark tragedy overshadowed the master of Babylon. Along with the establishment of a settled calendar came, according to Professor Sayce, the settled division of day and night; this appears to have gradually superseded the simpler arrangement.

Passing more strictly to our subject it is remarkable that no sun-dials of the Egyptian period have been noticed, but that they were early in use we know from the expression "the dial of Ahaz," but what form that instrument, or object took, we know not; and whether it was a mechanical contrivance, or an architectural composition, a scientific instrument, or a great pillar casting its shadow upon a series of "degrees," we would as gladly become aware, "as a servant earnestly desireth the shadow."

Anaximander of Miletus is said to have introduced sun dials into Greece about 560 B.C., but the knowledge of such things may well have reached that heaven-born nation, through the Phœnicians, two hundred years before, and "if," remarks Miss Gatty, "as Vitruvius says, Berosus the Chaldæan, who lived in the third century B.C., was the inventor of the hemicycle hollowed in a square, and inclined according to the climate, there must have been earlier forms in Greece." A dial of the form ascribed to Berosus, with the hours marked in Greek letters, is preserved in the British Museum.

The Romans adopted dials, as they did most of their arts and sciences, from the Greeks, and the first dial set up in the eternal city was so placed by Papirius Cursor, 293, B.C., at which time the astronomical year of twelve months was introduced instead of the old Roman year of ten; before this time noon was proclaimed from the front of the Curia.

Some thirty years after a dial was removed from Sicily to Rome, and planted near the Rostra, where, although not being calculated for the latitude of Rome, it was suffered to indicate the wrong time to the citizens for ninety-nine years, when it was at last assisted in its duties by a new one set beside it. Cicero put up a sun-dial at Tusculum in 48 B.C., and they appear to have soon come into common use in Rome and in the Roman empire, and assisted, if they did not rival, the more accurate clepsydræ. Miss Gatty tells us that most of those which have been preserved are the works of Greek artists. The Tower of the Winds at Athens had a dial in each of its eight sides, and that brought by Lord Elgin from Athens, with the name of Phœdrus upon it, has been assigned to the second or third century; an engraving of this example is given.

Perhaps no particular nation can be signalized as having invented clocks, because such mechanisms must have gradually grown, like sun-dials, with the passage of any nation from darkness to light; but the Arabians are credited with much early knowledge in this respect, and it is, doubtless, owing to them that the dial-makers grew more exact in their application of the science of gnomonics, and that sun-dials are so common in Mohammedan countries. But if we had been suddenly asked what nation in the world would most favour the sun-dial we should assuredly have said at once the Chinese, for were they not, according to their own reckoning, acute astronomers before even antiquity began! Not much information is, however, forthcoming concerning the dials of the Celestials, though we gather from Miss Gatty's remarks that they are the commonest things possible in China, and are said to be without mottoes; small wooden boxes with silk line gnomons, comprising sun and moon dials and compass combined, after the fashion of the Nuremberg *portaria*, are the usual things. In Japan they are chiefly in bronze and portable, like the "poke dials" with which we are familiar.

Quoting from the valuable information that the Rev. D. H. Haigh has brought together on the subject, Miss Gatty deals with the different systems of the Northmen for the division of time into eight tides; a modification of this still obtains in "Ultima Thule." The primitive system in the far north, by which the lapse of time is denoted by the shadows of certain rocks, cast successively upon flat stones bearing the numerals, appears to be still in use in remote northern regions. But we take leave to doubt very much that upright stones—menhirs—had originally anything to do with the record of the flight of time.

It appears that the use of the octaval system, the decimal, and the duodecimal, or Chaldæan, were each in use in western Europe during the early centuries of the Christian era, and probably soon after the coming of St. Augustine dials became associated with churches. Many dials of the late Anglo-Saxon period remain, and Miss Gatty gives illustrations and descriptions of several, among which we are glad to see the valuable inscribed examples from Yorkshire, as well as some of early date from Cumberland. The consideration of these dials brings about the description of the numerous large and small ones to be found near doorways and windows of churches. Many are certainly earlier even than the ancient buildings on which they are found, indicating a re-use of older materials in early times to an extent that architectural students have only lately begun fully to realize; in others the original divisions

have been altered; many are not dials at all, but mere compass markings, or borings of the idle hours of workmen; and some small ones may be imperfectly worked doorway consecration crosses. All these objects are naturally most numerous in good stone countries, and they become perhaps most puzzling in the land of the softer stone, where they could be easily scratched with the pocket-knife of any loiterer. These rude works of untutored hands tend, not only to confuse and baffle the enquirer by their imperfections and inaccuracies, but, from the air of antiquity which they soon assume, to lead the student entirely astray.

Setting aside for the moment the probability of a large number of the rude wall dials we have just spoken of being genuine mediæval works, there is a remarkable scarcity of such objects, of any consideration, between the thirteenth and sixteenth centuries, and the authoress has been assured, we think rightly, that during that period "the history of gnomonics is a blank." With the great Revival in the sixteenth century dialling again came forward, and from that time until the present it has never quite lost in favour, though we are sorry to say we do not recall many instances of the erection of modern ones in the old-fashioned gardens here and there coming again into vogue, such as Bacon describes; strangely enough the great philosopher does not include this picturesque and almost indispensable attribute of "the purest of human pleasures," in his well known Essay;— as Bernard Barton says:—

> "I love in some sequestered nook
> Of antique garden to behold
> The page of thy sun-lighted book,
> Its touching homily unfold."

The pillar dial rapidly became very popular in Scotland, and the most ornate and remarkable dials of this period are to be seen in rugged Caledonia. In England the "stumping" of the crosses furnished countless pillars and bases for dials, but, in spite of the high favour in which sun-dials have been held in less impetuous times than our own, it must be confessed that now they have nearly had their day, and "superfluous lags the veteran on the stage." Yet these silent witnesses happily linger in many an old garden or churchyard to become a sort of trysting point, a thing of the past to handle and wonder at, for children to climb and spell out the moss-grown date or motto in the stone, or decipher the crest in enduring brass of a house that has gone into darkness,—these things that Charles Lamb thought "more touching than tombstones," and, must it be confessed, which have at last become to the rude seething spirits of the outer strife but flat, stale, and unprofitable! Thus it is almost with a tinge of melancholy that we do no more than pass rapidly in review the long list of dials which Miss Gatty has brought together—all the wise saws, the trite aphorisms, and the far-fetched conceits—and come to the conclusion that the truest motto of all is the translation of the well-known "pereunt et imputantur" which was given in jest to a lady who was being lionized at Oxford,—"they perish and are not thought of!" On the other hand we may not omit to say that Miss Gatty has not approached the matter in this spirit. She has produced a charming volume, and treated her subject with the taste and feeling that seems inherent in the accomplished family of which she is a member, and with the seriousness of purpose that betokens the realization of the moral that "time is a sacred thing."

THE MONUMENTAL INSCRIPTIONS OF THE CHURCH AND CHURCH-YARD OF ST. CUTHBERT, CARLISLE. Edited by MARGARET J. FERGUSON, with a Preface by the Chancellor of Carlisle. A. Barnes Moss, Carlisle, 1889.

When the saintly George Herbert wrote "Come take a turn, or two, . . . in the Church-yard," he had in his gentle mind the softening influence which the contemplation of tombstones imparts. In our day we are rather apt to overlook the church-yard and hurry through it for the sake of seeing the church. It is, therefore, refreshing to meet with an authoress at her first entrance on "the primrose path," so well balanced as to recognize that history is as a flowing stream, and that it does not cease with our grandfathers; who sees the value of inscribed stones and gives us the inscriptions down to our own day, not only in the church, but also in the church-yard, which has been fortunate enough to attract her attention.

We remember that in 1884 a hardy man, who signed himself "a Midland Vicar," wrote an astounding letter to the "Times" announcing his intention, in a future "restoration" of his church, of clearing away, "as a matter of education," and "with an unsparing hand," the monumental tablets "of a vicious and ignorant age—*i.e.*, the middle of last century." This Midland Vandal, who was careful not to divulge his name, was by law a guardian of the monuments in his church, and that he was a typical example of a protector we call countless old churches to witness. The anger and shame we have felt in visiting the "restored" fabrics all over the kingdom, to find nearly everywhere the same wicked destruction or obliteration of monumental inscriptions, to make way for the vulgarities of the "art manufacturer," may not be adequately expressed on paper. On the other hand it is soothing to meet with Miss Ferguson's painstaking work of rescue.

If it is true that the world does not quite realize what the labours of an editor are, it is also true that no one knows how heavy is the work of copying 550 half-obliterated inscriptions so well as he who has made the trial. To bring these into order, and prepare them for the press, no less than to collect them in the first instance, are works so equally deserving of credit (as well as of imitation) that it would be a delicate matter, in this particular literary partnership, to apportion the amount of our obligation—though we may possibly have our leanings. We cannot, of course, go through the list; the lives of many of those here registered were as the path of an arrow, immediately closed up and lost; the recorded history of others is comprehended, as Addison says of inscriptions in Westminster Abbey, in the two circumstances common to all mankind, and a large number are imperfect. But it is a record for which the people of Carlisle may well be thankful—a brand snatched from the burning.

It appears that St. Cuthbert's churchyard was closed for burials in 1856, up to which time the majority of the inscriptions had been periodically repainted by the persons interested in them. Since then time and neglect have been at work, and when, about ten years ago, Mr. R. S. Ferguson, assisted by the Rev. E. W. Ford, made the transcripts, great deterioration had come about, and within the last ten years damp and frost have caused many to perish entirely. A faculty was recently granted under the Open Spaces Act (1887), to remove the

obliterated stones and change the position of others. Before this was done a plan was required by the Chancellor to be deposited, showing the exact position of every tombstone, and copies of all the inscriptions that could be deciphered. The numbers within brackets, given in the book with each inscription, correspond with those on the deposited plan, so that the exact position occupied by any tombstone can be at once ascertained. This is what can be accomplished by a vigilant Chancellor, and we are tempted to ask why the like system has not been insisted upon in the cases of all churches that have fallen under the ban of the "restorer," who daily devours apace throughout the country?

We cordially endorse the hope expressed by Mr. Chancellor Ferguson that this volume may be followed by the publication of the monumental inscriptions of St. Mary's, and Stanwix; there will then be a complete necrology of the Great Border City. By this promising beginning Miss Ferguson has enabled us to "take acquaintance of this heap of dust," and local chroniclers to draw much of the history of the Carlisle worthies from the perishing and cold stones under which they "rest till it be time to rise."

Proceedings at Meetings of the Royal Archaeological Institute.

April 4, 1889.

C. D. E. Fortnum, Esq., F.S.A., Hon. Vice-President, in the Chair.

Mr. J. Bain read a paper on "The Castle of Fongères and its Lords," which is printed at p. 120.

The Rev. Precentor Venables sent a paper on "The Opening of the Tomb of Bishop Oliver Sutton, in Lincoln Minster, and the Discovery of a Chalice, Paten, and Episcopal Ring;" this was read by Mr. Gosselin, and is printed at p. 114.

The Chairman called attention to the large size of the ring, such as are found in episcopal graves on the continent, whence he thought this example had been obtained.

Mr. Micklethwaite and Mr. Hope added some general observations respecting the chalice and paten, and their early type.

Votes of thanks were passed to Mr. Bain and to Precentor Venables.

Antiquities and Works of Art Exhibited.

By the Rev. Precentor Venables.—Drawings and photographs of the Chalice, Paten, Ring, and Pastoral Staff, found in the grave of Bishop Oliver Sutton.

By Mr. Hartshorne.—A coat of mail, formed of twenty-four six-inch squares of mail, each complete in itself, and roughly joined together with iron wire into the semblance of a garment. The remarkable feature of the mail is the unique manner in which the links are joined together. The construction of the links is, indeed, the same as that for ordinary rivetted mail, up to a certain stage. The flattened ends are then—instead of being punched for the reception of the rivets—nicked on the outer side, a thin wire is whipped round them, twisted up into a short head, and cut or twisted off. The whole square of mail was then heavily tinned. It is obvious that this never was a coat of mail, but has been made up into the coat form for the purpose of sale. What, then, was the purpose of the squares? This seems to be explained by some entries in the inventory of Sir John Falstoff, who died in 1459. "1 jakke of blakke linen clothe stuffed with mayle; 1 jakke of blake clothe lined with canvas mayled;" the meaning of the word jakke, as applied to any defensive garment, being, as Mr. Burges has explained, such as were formed of two folds of leather or linen, with something between them. Unfortunately no jack has come down to us, but it may

be taken that the squares of mail in question were tinned in order for insertion between linen, and to prevent rust, as was the case with the splints of a brigandine, and, probably, they were used in the shoulders of jacks, for which their size is well suited. The coat in question has been known to Mr. F. Weekes for some time, and was in the collection of a dealer in Bond Street twenty years ago.

May 2, 1889.

The Rev. F. Spurrell in the chair.

Mr. J. L. André read a paper "on Ritualistic Ecclesiology in North-East Norfolk." Touching first upon the examples of combined monastic and parochial churches as shown at Weybourne, he commented on and explained the great width of the nave in some of the smaller aisleless churches. The singular feature of a chapel raised one story above the floor of the collegiate church of Ingham, the relic chamber of the east end of Tunstead church, and the remarkable arrangement at Rollesly for the support of a *chasse* under which a diseased person might sit in order for his healing were then spoken of. Passing on to the consideration of the enrichment of western doorways, and parvises over porches, he treated of stoups, altars, piscinas, low side windows, and sculptured fonts and their canopies successively. At Barningham Northwood a "wheel of fortune" marked in the floor in brick and stone, 5 ft. in diameter, and popularly known as the memorial of a coachman, was described. The Norfolk rood-screens and their magnificent and varied decorations formed a large item in Mr. André's paper, and a careful analysis of the different arrangements of the saints, prophets, and other holy persons upon these ornate barriers brought seeming chaos into order. Further remarks were added upon bell solars, rood-loft stairs, consecration crosses, stone seats, painted glass, alms boxes, and charnel chapels.

A vote of thanks was passed to Mr. André, whose paper is printed at p. 136.

Antiquities and Works of Art Exhibited.

By the Rev. Greville I. Chester.—The following Early Greek Scaraboeoid gems: A Bee, in white chalcedony, from Taranto. An Ibex, in pale blue chalcedony, from Sparta. A Lion, in rock crystal, and a Dog, in agate, from the Greek Islands. A Bull, in sapphirine, from Smyrna; and a Persian Archer, in burnt chalcedony, from Peloponesus.

Mr. Chester also exhibited:—Implements of unknown use, made of a bird's bill, from Kourneh, Thebes; an amber necklace, from Selmeyeh, Upper Egypt; and a bronze Thurible, from Southern Italy.

Mr. Chester informed the meeting that he had discovered at Tel-el-Amarna, a papyrus of a portion of the twenty-third and twenty-fourth books of Homer, believed to be of the first century.

By Mr. A. Oliver.—A pewter pot with a hinged lid ornamented with a fleur-de-lis, the name of the owner "Priest" is on the lid and rim, the latter bearing also a portcullis. This object was found while digging for the foundations of the Victoria Tower; an incense burner from the site of Messrs. Rimmel's factory, Beaufort buildings, an earthenware pot from Nottingham Court, St. Giles, a Dutch glass bottle, and a pan of pottery.

Notices of Archæological Publications.

"A DICTIONARY OF ROMAN COINS, REPUBLICAN AND IMPERIAL," commenced by the late SETH WILLIAM STEVENSON, F.S.A.; revised in part by C. ROACH SMITH, F.S.A.; and completed by FREDERIC W. MADDEN, M.R.A.S. (George Bell and Sons, London, 1889.)

The aim and object of this work are clearly set out in the "original prospectus," which is given after the preface of the Publishers. It purports to explain the principal types, symbols and devices, which appear on coins with Latin legends and inscriptions minted under the government of ancient Rome, both consular and imperial, to supply biographical, chronological, and monetal references to the Emperors, Empresses and Cæsars, from Julius Cæsar to Mauricius Tiberius; and also to elucidate curious and rare obverses and reverses by mythological, historical, and geographical notices. Anyone at all conversant will grasp at once the magnitude of such an undertaking, and it is very evident after but a cursory glance at the work before us, that its compilation has extended over a very long period. In fact, it is the task of more than the life-time of one individual; and Mr. Seth Stevenson, who undertook it single-handed, unfortunately found this to be the case. His original idea was that the work should form one volume of about 1,000 pages, printed uniformly with the Dictionaries of "Greek and Roman Antiquities," and of "Greek and Roman Biography and Mythology," and that it should be illustrated throughout with numerous woodcuts. The work has appeared as Mr. Stevenson proposed, but, unfortunately, he did not live to see its completion. As now issued it consists of 929 closely printed pages, Mr. Stevenson's labours extending as far as page 829; from this point the services of Mr. Madden have been requisitioned, and on him has fallen the duty of bringing the work to completion. Mr. Madden has long been known as an authority on this particular branch of numismatics, and it is fortunate that the proprietors were able to obtain his valuable co-operation.

Roman numismatics may be divided into two large series, viz., that of the Republic and that of the Empire. The coins of the former are chiefly in silver, a comparatively small portion being in gold struck mainly after B.C. 49, whilst the copper coins are of an earlier date and cease about B.C. 80. Those of the Imperial times are of gold, silver and copper, being issued in large numbers in each of the three metals. The main characteristics of the two series are however very distinct. Down to the death of Julius Cæsar in B.C. 44, the types of the coins refer to past events and supply a long series of illustrations, which record the great deeds of Roman heroes in the past, the mythological and

historical traditions of the nation and many important public events. From the death of Julius Cæsar, contemporary events are recorded, and this is the chief character of the coinage throughout imperial times, which also abounds in allegorical, mythological and architectural devices. When it is understood that the types of the two series taken together number some thousands, it is clear that there was ample material for a large work, and if we add to these, the explanation of the legends as well as numerous biographical references, its magnitude is still more patent. Towards the elucidation of these numerous types, much work has been accomplished during the last twenty years, even more than had been effected down to that date. The various works of Cohen, Mommsen and Babelon have entirely re-organised the subject, and these authors have brought to light very much matter previously unknown to earlier numismatists. Unfortunately all these productions are posterior to the chief portion of the "Dictionary," and the only most reliable information that Mr. Stevenson had access to was that supplied by Eckhel. It is on this account that the "Dictionary" is not so to say up to date: yet in spite of this serious shortcoming there is to be found in it a great deal of information that is most useful not only to the numismatist but also to the classical scholar and the historian. The critical eye of the numismatist will find besides not infrequent errors old theories propounded which have long been abandoned. This must have been clear to those who saw the "Dictionary" to its finish, and though they may not have been able to make the work abreast of the time, yet we think they ought not to have passed over this imperfection in complete silence. It is, however, far better that the work should have been produced as it now stands, than that it should not have appeared at all. The researches made in Roman numismatics in late years have done much to elucidate the so-called Consular or Republican series, not only as regards the arrangement of the coins but also in reference to the explanation of the various types. The first issue of the early copper coins known as the libral series, which was formerly attributed to the time of Servius Tullius, is now brought down as late as the middle of the fourth century B.C., and the supposed reduction of the *as* from the pound-weight to the half-pound (semi libral) and the quarter-pound (quadrantal) is a theory no longer tenable: and these have been displaced by a one third reduction called the Triental. Also by a system of careful examination of all the principal finds of coins, the whole series has been arranged in chronological order, so that according to Mommsen we have no difficulty in classifying the issues of these coins if not year by year yet by periods. The late Count de Salis quite independently of Mommsen's researches went still one step further. He not only arranged the coins in the British Museum chronologically but also geographically so that the series affords of itself a history of the gradual growth of the power of Rome. In the Imperial series also much new light has been thrown on its classification and on the history of the mint, and the various degradations of the coinage have been explained and conclusively accounted for. The reforms of Caracalla, Aurelian, and Diocletian before imperfectly understood are now matters of history. As these points are chiefly some of the results of recent study they will not be found recorded in the "Dictionary," and, consequently, in consulting the work the student will

have to exercise a certain amount of caution; but he will not err far if he reads the "Dictionary" in conjunction with the works of Mommsen and Babelon. That Mr. Stevenson has done good service to the study of Roman numismatics no one will hesitate to say, and we can strongly recommend his work as a standard book of reference on the subject. In carrying out the completion of the "Dictionary" Mr. Madden tells us, at page 830, that he has made considerable use of the works of Mommsen, Cohen, Sabatier, Lenormant and others, so that from this point the shortcomings of the earlier portion are not to be found. The illustrations, in which the work abounds, were for the most part executed by the late Mr. Fairholt, who was a skilful and conscientious numismatic engraver, but who has not been quite successful in reproducing ancient portraits. This has been a common failing with most works on Roman numismatics, and in recent years has led to the adoption of various photographic processes, which have answered admirably when a number of pieces are represented on plates, but when it is needed to insert the illustrations in the text, as was the case with the "Dictionary," they are not so satisfactory. When this difficulty is overcome we shall have illustrations as perfect as the coins themselves.

THE REGISTERS OF WALTER BRONESCOMBE AND PETER QUIVIL, BISHOPS OF EXETER, WITH SOME RECORDS OF THE EPISCOPATE OF BISHOP THOMAS DE BYTTON; ALSO THE TAXATION OF POPE NICHOLAS IV., A.D. 1291 (DIOCESE OF EXETER), by the Rev. F. C. Hingeston-Randolph, Prebendary of Exeter, and Rural Dean. (London: George Bell and Sons).

Three years ago[1] we reviewed Mr. Hingeston-Randolph's excellent index and abstract of the register of Edmund Stafford, Bishop of Exeter. He now proposes to make that one of a series of which it will be the fifth volume, and the new book now before us the first. This includes the earliest registers extant, and if it be in some respect of less general interest, and more of a dry list of names than the former one, it is certainly no fault of the Editor, for every page proves the labour which he has spent upon the work, and his care to make it as complete and accurate as possible. As a store of facts relating to the Counties of Devon and Cornwall, during the latter half of the thirteenth century, it is invaluable. But these earlier registers are less rich than the later one in those illustrations of the ideas and manners of the times, which have a more than local interest. The new book, with about the same number of pages, extends over a period twice as long as that covered by the former one.

Mr. Randolph keeps to the method he adopted with Bishop Stafford's register, and could scarcely have a better. Few, perhaps, will read the book all through as we have done; but any in search of information about a place or a person connected with the diocese at that time will have no difficulty in finding here all that the registers have to tell about them, and often something besides.

Bishop Bronescombe's register is perfect and well kept. He reigned twenty-three years, and was an active ruler, as is shewn

[1] Vol. xliii, p. 190.

amongst other things by the fact that he consecrated no less than eighty-eight churches in nine years, and twenty-one of them within thirty days. Anyone who knows what the old consecration service was will appreciate the physical labour of this alone, without reckoning the necessary travelling, and the regular diocesan work carried on at the same time.

These many consecrations should not be taken to imply that the churches were new ones, or that all of them had lately been re-built; though the time was one in which men were zealous church builders. There were arrears to be made up, for we learn from the constitutions published in the legantine visitation of Otho in 1236, that the consecration of churches had been much neglected in England, and it was therein ordered that all old churches not then consecrated should be so within two years, and all new ones within that period from the completion of their fabrics. It is certain that many, and most likely that all the churches Bishop Bronescombe consecrated, were of old foundation, though some had been lately re-built. We have an instance in the book of the union of two old parishes, but none of the creation of a new parish. Like many another, the Bishop strove against the abuses of his time. But the system of dispensations nullified most mediæval attempts at reform. The Church is even now but just freeing itself from some of the evils against which they fought—as, for instance, pluralities and the non-residence of incumbents—and still suffers from the appropriation of rectories in which the good bishop saw so little harm that he appropriated one to endow his own chantry. The monasteries were great devourers of churches in this way, and many a parish still suffers, because the monks appropriated to their own use the endowment which is now sorely needed.

Bishop Quivil's register is imperfect and less carefully kept than his predecessor's, and has suffered badly from the reckless use of galls at the hands of some reader who should have known better. Mr. Randolph has done the best he could with it, and has supplemented it from other sources. No register of Bishop Bytton exists, but in like manner an attempt is made to supply the blank.

After him came Bishop Walter de Stapledon, upon whose register Mr. Randolph is now at work, and he expects to have it ready next year. We hope he will have a long list of subscribers. The price is so low that they can only pay for the printing, even if they do that, and all the good useful work of the Editor will be given to them.

Notices of Archaeological Publications.

A HISTORY OF MOURNING. By RICHARD DAVEY.—JAY'S, Regent Street, London, W. (1889).

When death first laid his icy hand upon man, when Abel's blood cried from the ground and the murderer was cursed from the earth which opened her mouth to receive the deadly stream, there was no mourning, but Abel's place was supplied by Seth. Long after it is recorded that Abraham came to mourn for Sarah, and this is the earliest notice of the custom which forms the subject of the book before us.

It would require a considerable work, almost a library—to comprise the whole history of mourning from the time of Abraham to the present day, and, as the title of his book implies, Mr. Davey has undertaken no such impossible task. What he has done is to give us, upon this most human of all practices, a series of chapters; but they are unfortunately without any headings, and, as we cannot well have the one without the other, we naturally find no table of contents which is what one first looks for after scanning the title page of any book.

In the recorded and depicted history of the mourning of the world as no chapter is so early so none is so complete as the Egyptian, and Mr. Davey shows his appreciation of it by his useful *resume*. As he truly says, "it would require a volume to give an idea of the singular funeral ceremonials of this people, with whom death was regarded, so to speak, as a speciality; for their religion was mainly devoted to the *cultus* of the departed." The researches of those accomplished students Mr. Loftie and Mr. Flinders Petrie have of late years made this wonderful people, to whom all classical learning must be traced, more directly familiar to us, and we gather that Mr. Davey has striven, and not without success, to work his subject up to the knowledge of the latest date—a matter of no small difficulty, for Egyptology has, within the last ten years, moved with rapid steps. We shall observe, with regard to this chapter, firstly, that we believe the builder of the great Pyramid to be Shoofoo, and not his predecessor Sneferoo, the Suphis of Manetho, to whom our author attributes the great work; and, secondly, that the sole authority for the common attribution of the Third Pyramid to Menkaoo-ra (or Mycerinus) appears to be Herodotus,—as Mr. Loftie has remarked "one of the most untrustworthy authorities in a matter of this kind."

When the sarcophagus was discovered by Vyse the lower part was lost off Carthagena on the voyage home. The lid, now in the British Museum, bears indeed the cartouche of Menkaoora, but even this does not settle the question, because the cartouche of this particular king is almost exactly the same as that of Nitocris, a supposed queen of the last monarch of the Sixth Dynasty, usually identified with Men-

kara. It is with this *name* that Mr. Davey connects the building of the third Pyramid, he is very properly cautious not to say "queen" because, as no doubt he is aware, it is not certain if Menkara was a queen, and, further, it is thought by at least one authority that the Pyramid in question has been rebuilt, and contained two sepulchres.

The complications of this one question,—partly owing to the variety in the spelling of the names of the Kings, and somewhat recalling the gropings of the herculean Belzoni in the narrow paths, the dust and darkness of the Egyptian tombs—form a good instance of the difficulties which attend the study of a history of a time so far removed from our own: the names alone, to say nothing of the dates, are enough to scare the humdrum students of an antiquity that had scarce begun ere this primeval nation had passed away.

After a few remarks upon the funeral customs of the Chinese, Japanese, Indian, and other oriental nations, we come to a chapter which we should have liked to have found longer, and we could have borne with some illustrations of Greek sculpture with its surpassing beauty. From this we come next to the Romans and then to the very brief consideration of the early Christians and the catacombs.

With the emergence of the Church from these dreary cells, funeral ceremonies gradually became more elaborate and we may refer to the burial of the Empress Theodolinda in 595 as a renowned example, with its attributes, the well-known relics, the "hen and chickens," and the famous "Iron Crown" of Lombardy; the funeral of the Confessor, of which a representation lives in the "Stitchwork"; his shrine by "Petrus civis Romanus"; the crosses of Eleanor and her striking funeral;—these are familiar to us and conspicuous among the countless funeral pageants, monuments, and memorials of this long and brilliant period. It would be as impossible as it is unnecessary to enumerate a tythe of those that occur to us, yet we may linger a moment longer for the friendly office of correcting two slips of Mr. Davey's pen. *1*—The dead body of Queen Eleanor would not have been placed upon the high altar of any of the churches where it rested in its progress from Hardby to Westminster; that were shocking desecration. The words of the Chronicle of Dunstable are, "in medio chori," that is to say, before the high altar. *2*—The statue which now occupies the site of Charing Cross is not that of the "merry" monarch with the sardonic countenance, but of his ill-fated father.

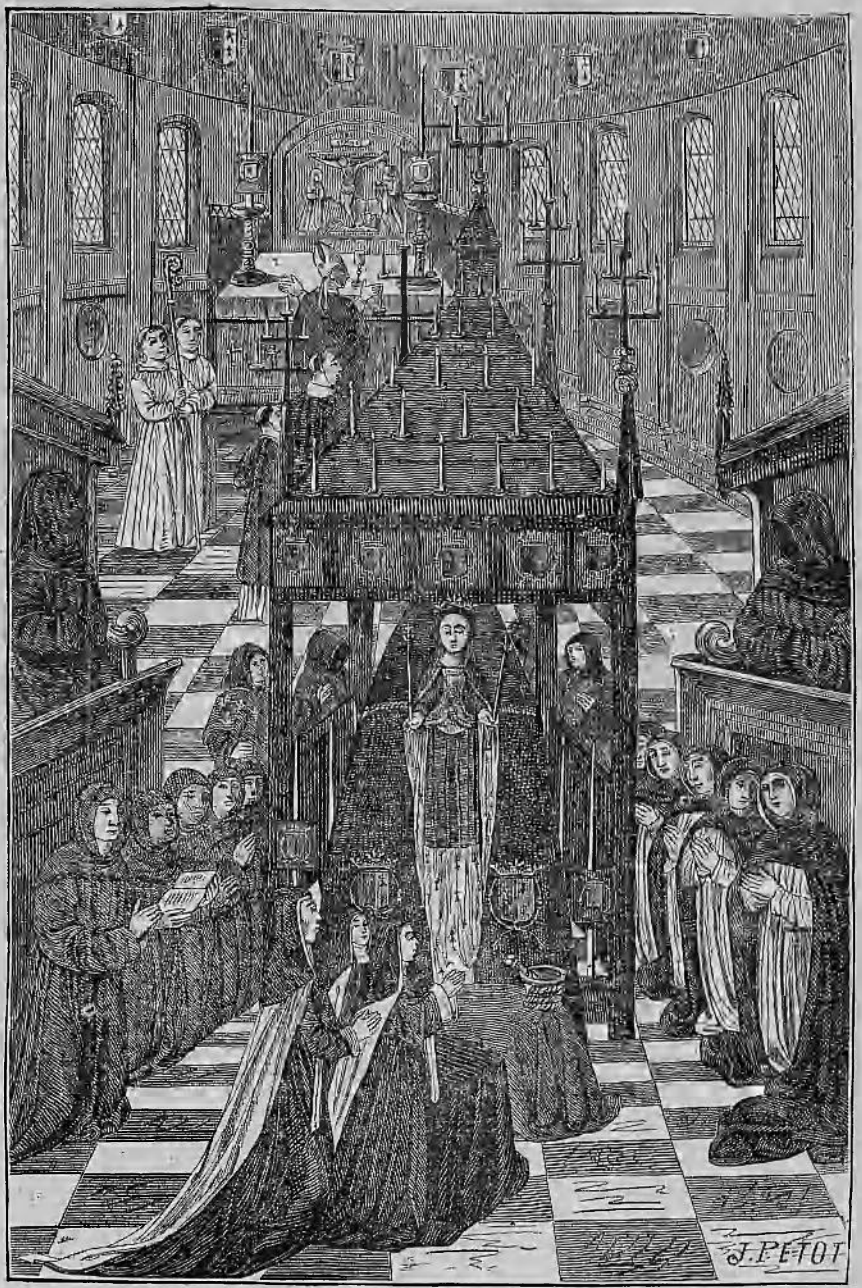
Among the many ghastly events of the middle ages few can be more dreadfully dramatic than the murder, in 1355, of the beautiful Inez de Castro, wife of Dom Pedro of Portugal, at the instigation of the Prince's father, Alphonso IV., and against whom the distracted Pedro at once took up arms. He ascended the throne in 1357, and then occurred what the contemporary chronicler Fray Jao' das Reglas truly calls "an event unique in history." He continues "the body of Inez was lifted from the grave, placed on a magnificent throne, and crowned Queen of Portugal. The clergy, the nobility, and the people did homage to her corpse, and kissed the bones of her hands. There sat the dead Queen, with her yellow hair hanging like a veil round her ghastly form. One fleshless hand held the sceptre, and the other the orb of royalty. At night, after the coronation ceremony, a procession was formed of all the clergy and nobility, the religious orders and confraternities, which extended over many miles, each person

holding a flaring torch in his hand, and thus walked from Coimbra to Alcobaça, escorting the crowned corpse to that royal abbey for interment. The dead Queen lay in her rich robes upon a chariot drawn by black mules and lighted up by hundreds of lights." The chronicler speaks of the procession as led by the grief-stricken king and as seeming "rather a phantasmagoria than a reality." What a sight for the romantic and swarthy sons of the country of Camöens!

The corpse was now laid to rest in a tomb with an effigy which is said still to exist, and is here depicted. The costume should interest us, not only because we know very little of special Portuguese dress of this period, but also because it has in its decoration something in common with the civil habits of persons of distinction in this country, such as are shown, for instance, on the effigy of William of Hatfield at York, and in those valuable contemporary illuminations in the Deposition of Richard II. so well reproduced in vol. xx of the *Archaeologia*. It appears that in this country "cut work," to call it by one of its numerous names, was almost confined to the habits of men. The effigy of Inez would be an early example of the use of this decoration by a lady, if the figure is really of her time; but we are rather disposed to think that it is somewhat later than the period of her death. Garments so decorated were worn by ladies in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries in Italy, Germany and Holland.

We should have liked to see an illustration of the effigy of Inez's husband which is also said to exist: it might perhaps have helped to clear up a further difficulty which has arisen in our mind, namely that, in Planche's *History of Costume*, at p. 120, he gives, as an example of the practice of "dagging" mens' garments in Spain, an illustration from "Icon Espanola" of this very effigy of Inez which he calls "Sancho de Roxas, 1437." Lacroix, in his "Vie Militaire," p. 206, gives this actual woodcut before us under the name of "Sancha de Roxas, Morte en 1437, portant l'Echarpe, ensigne de l'ordre militaire de ce nom," and he gives an account of this, the only military order for women. The character of the costume, the string of beads, the arrangement of the hands, and, more particularly, the head dress, lead us to the conclusion that a lady is here represented. The same figure cannot have served for a Portuguese Queen who was murdered in 1355, a Spanish hidalgo who died eighty years later, as well as a Spanish lady, and we do not understand by what particular archæological process Mr. Davey has—with Lacroix before him—been enabled to re-name this effigy: under such perplexing circumstances we gladly present the illustration to our readers and leave it to their judgement.

Katherine of Valois.



Lying in State of Elizabeth of York.
(From Lacroix, Vie militaire et religieuse, p. 547.)

It remains to add that Alcobaça was sacked by the French in 1810, the tomb of Inez opened and her skeleton found in a state of preservation, with hair exceeding long and glossy, and on the head a crown of gold set with jewels,—it sounds like a story of Scheherazada—which, in ignorance of its value, was kicked about by the soldiers. It was afterwards replaced and the remains once more reverently entombed, with military honours, by order of the Duke of Wellington.

To the ceremonies observed at funerals of great personages in the Middle Ages Mr. Davey devotes a chapter which he somewhat mars by an ill-imagined illustration, which we rather think we have seen before, of the funeral procession of Henry V. What a man in armour which, if it is of any period at all, is late Tudor—has to do with this procession, and struggling with a tilting lance, of the time, say, of the Wardour MS., we are quite at a loss to conceive. And in this illustration we do not clearly recognize the helmet which John Daunt made for the funeral pageant, not that personal relic now in the Abbey, "that very casque that did affright the air at Agincourt," whose outline is so familiar to Westminster boys. But we get some information, though not exactly in chronological order, of the details of a practice that have been so often touched upon in the *Archæological Journal* that we need not dwell at length upon them now. The author omits to mention that splendid funeral services were celebrated for Henry V., when the body rested at Rouen, Canterbury and St. Paul's, as well as those at Paris and Westminster, to which he alludes, just as there were services and elaborate herses at four churches when the corpse of Anne of Bohemia passed from Wandsworth to Westminster. We should have liked to have seen some notice of these particular herses in the book before us. The documents concerning them are printed without comment at the end of vol. i, of Gough's *Sepulchral Monuments*, but their explanation forms a valuable part of Willis's Architectural Nomenclature of the Middle Ages, a volume of the highest interest, the work of an antiquary who, like Way and Petrie, published but a small tythe of what he knew.

We give an illustration of Katherine of Valois, said to be, upon the authority of a MS. of the period, in her widow's dress. Surely the *barbe* was already in use in 1422? Philippa duchess of York, who died in 1433, wears something very like it in her effigy in the Abbey. Her first husband Edward Plantagenet fell at Agincourt in 1415, and we believe the second survived her. The funeral of Elizabeth of York, which Mr. Davey shortly describes, was, as he says, of great magnificence, and we give an illustration of her lying-in-state; but we are apt to think that the obsequies of Katherine of Arragon, not only equalled but surpassed it in splendour. Mr. Davey draws his information on this point from two Spanish sources which, as might be expected, go no further than to imply or say respectively that it was fairly handsome, or mean and shabby. Now, we know exactly what took place from our own Public Records and from these it is quite clear that "that monster Henry VIII.,"—who, by the by, seems to be becoming less of a monster every day,—may certainly be vindicated from any neglect or illiberality on this account. See *Archæological Journal*, vol. xi, pp. 353—366. Upon the funerals of the other queens of Henry VIII. Mr. Davey does not dwell, though there has been much interesting information preserved concerning

them. The ceremonies followed each other somewhat rapidly, for Henry, as we are all aware, had no object so much in view as the glory of God, the welfare of the realm, and the triumph of truth. But two of them at least were scant and painful pageants, and to one the innocency of the victim added, to use her own memorable words "a crown of matyrdom."

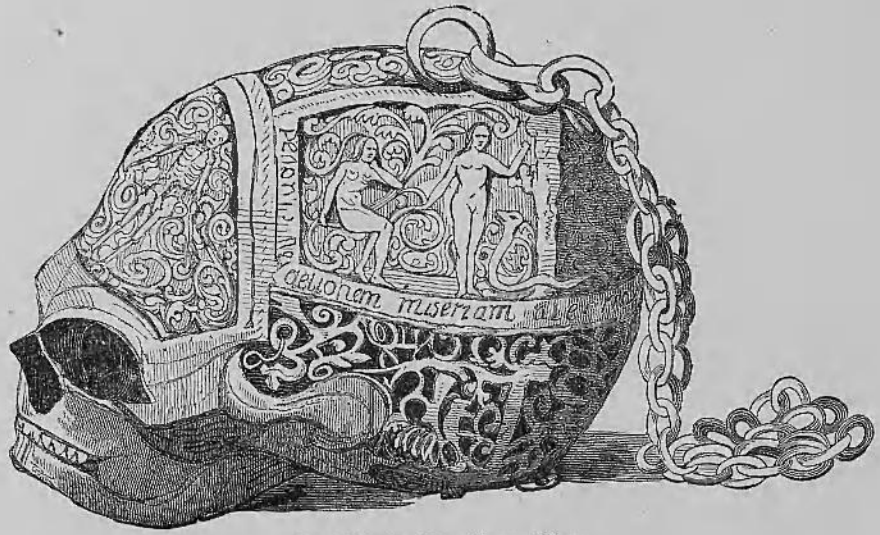
Soon the king in his turn "laid cold in his clay," but our author barely mentions his obsequies. The whole ceremony is described in Strype's *Memorials.* Henry's youthful successor, at the age of ten, thus timidly records the event in his *Journal*:—"Also in this time the late King was buried at Windsor with much Solemnite, and th' officers broke their staves hurling them into the grave"—and, like a child, he adds, "but thei have restored to them when thei come to the Towere."

We cannot help contrasting the simplicity of this account of a funeral with the queer premature wisdom on quite a different occasion of a still more youthful monarch, James VI. of Scotland. When this juvenile oddity, at the age of four, was carried into the great hall of Stirling castle to open his parliament, after gravely reciting his speech the little creature, who had espied a hole in the roof, added, with the same seriousness, and to the consternation af all present, "there is ane hole in this parliament." See Strickland's Queens of England, vol. vij., p. 314.

Mr. Davey does not mention the funeral of Edward VI; it appears not to have been very splendid perhaps on account of the difference in his sister's religion. The body was borne to the Abbey in a car covered with cloth of gold, surmounted by the usual wax effigy, and laid in Henry VII chapel with the service of the reformed church, then for the first time used for the sovereign. "The greatest moan was made for him as ever was heard or seen; so the lamentations must indeed have been considerable. With "Calais on her heart" the body of Mary came five years later to the tomb. The funeral was not, as Mr. Davey says, a simple one, but most gorgeous, the wax effigy lay upon a pall of black cloth of gold which covered the coffin, and nothing seems to have been omitted at this the last state funeral of the Roman church in England. The strange ending of the ceremony was that when the officers broke their staves and flung them into the grave, the people took this action as a signal for a general scramble for the armorial bearings and hangings in the Abbey, "and every one tore him a piece as large as he could catch it."

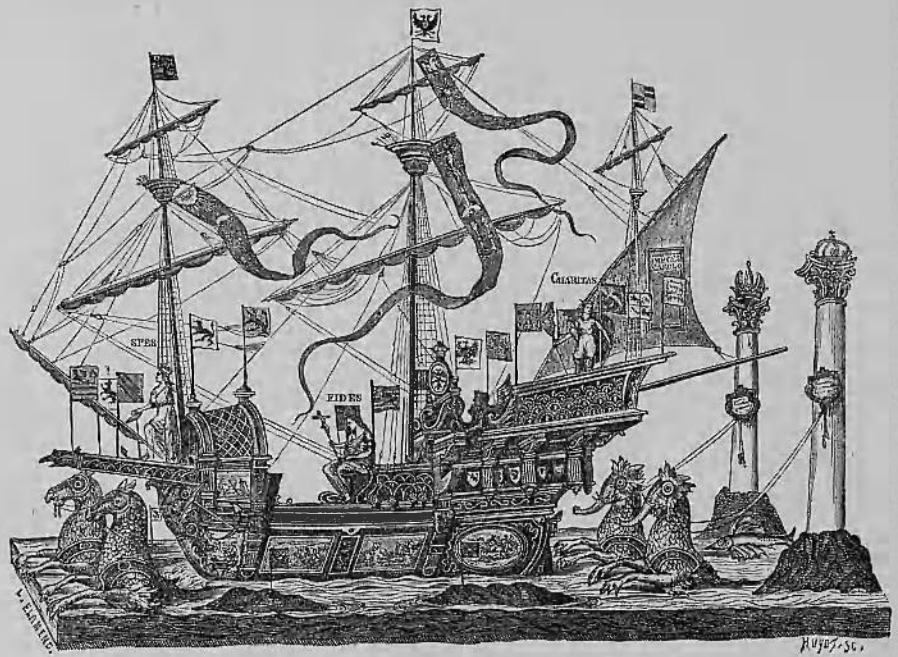
Mr. Davey gives an interesting illustration of the funeral of Elizabeth and we learn from Stowe, whom he quotes, that when the populace beheld her statue on the coffin, "there was such a general sighing, groaning and weeping as the like hath not been seen or known in the memory of man." But it is not that inspiriting figure, as our author imagines, which is now preserved in the Abbey. In 1708 the effigy of Elizabeth was dressed in "the remnants of an old dirty ruff, and nothing else to cover her." What now exists is the figure that was made in 1760, the effigy of Charles II. being the earliest original one among those preserved in the Abbey.

It is to the honour of James I. that he moved the bones of his mother from Peterborough to Westminster, and caused her stately tomb to be erected. Mr. Davey gives a notice of the solemn funeral at Peterborough. The minute and curious account in the Harleian MSS. is set forth at length in Gunton's, *Peterborough*, and again in Bonney's, *Fotheringhay.* The funeral sermon was preached by Wickham, Bishop of Lincoln, who,

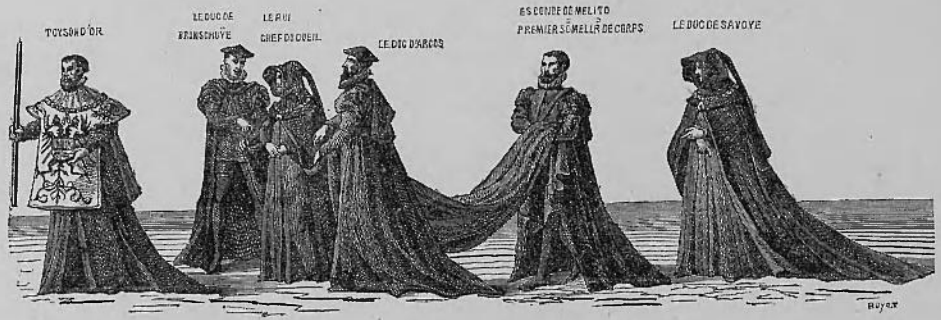


Death Watch of Mary Queen of Scots.

French Lady of the xvith century in widow's dress.

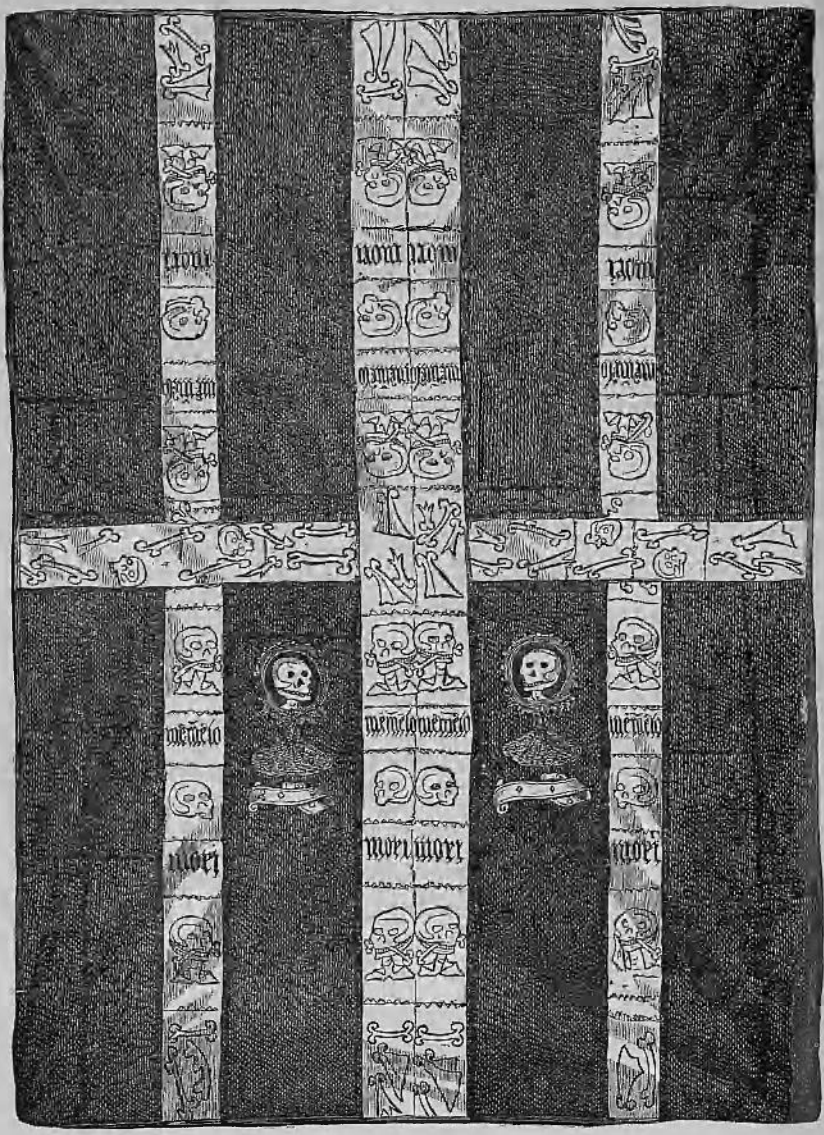


Ship from the Funeral Procession of the Emperor Charles V.
From Lacroix, Vie militaire et religieuse, p. 544.)



Philip II at the Funeral of Charles V.
(From Lacroix, Vie militaire et religieuse, p. 545.)

French Death Crier of the xvijth century.



Funeral Pall, in the Museum at Amiens.
(From Lacroix, Vie militaire et religieuse, p. 543.)

probably having an eye to the security of the temporalities of his see, prudently confined himself to generalities upon the vanity of all flesh, and only mentioned the queen in these discreet words—"Let us give thanks for the happy dissolution (she was executed nearly six months before) of the high and mighty Priucess, Mary, late Queen of Scotland, and Dowager of France, of whose life and death, at this time, I have not much to say because I was not acquainted with the one, neither was I present at the other." We give an illustration of the queen's well-known "death watch."

Mr. Davey has something to say about funeral customs and mourning habits in France, and gives an illustration from *Vecellio*, here reproduced, of a lady of the sixteenth century in the graceful dress of a widow. The character of this costume is said to be identical with the white mourning dress of Mary Tudor, when she married the Duke of Suffolk in 1517. It will be remembered that Mary Queen of Scots wore white as widow of Francis II. as is shown in the drawing by Janet which has been well reproduced as a frontispiece to this book. We also have an account of the magnificent funeral of the Emperor Charles V., December 29th 1558. It is estimated that eighty thousand persons walked in the procession, and that it took six hours to pass any one point. The accompanying illustration of a ship, intended to typify the maritime progress made in the reign of the monarch, has a special interest, as showing the form of a vessel of the period, recalling that of the "Mary Rose" and the "Great Harry" of our own Navy at the time, and of which drawings are preserved in the Pepesian Library. The example under our notice was dragged along by six black horses, and followed by representatives of the navies of Belgium and Spain. Not less interesting, but more sombre and appropriate for the occasion, is that part of the pageant which represents Philip II. walking with measured tread "in inky cloak and solemn black," and much gravity and decorum, as chief mourner.

To turn to another part of the book we get a little information—just enough to make us want more—about the guilds and brotherhoods, the death criers, and other officials who concerned themselves with burials,—

> "The knell, the shroud, the mattock, and the grave,
> The deep damp vault, the darkness, and the worm."

The seventeenth century death watch would cry *obits* about the town or parish and ask for prayers for the soul of the deceased. The pall which we illustrate is a very late example, reminding us, perhaps a little too rudely, of our kindred with corruption, and adding rather to the terror than the edification of the vulgar christian; for what can be in worse taste than a pall, for such a use, ornamented with a series of grinning sculls, gnawing human bones? Thus "man makes a death which nature never made."

There is much more in *A History of Mourning* which belongs rather to the present than the past, and many illustrations up to our own time, including one of the superb funeral procession of the Great Napoleon as it descended the Champs Elysées on December 15th, 1840, and the lying-in-state of Victor Hugo under the Arc de Triomphe which has a fine French dramatic dash.

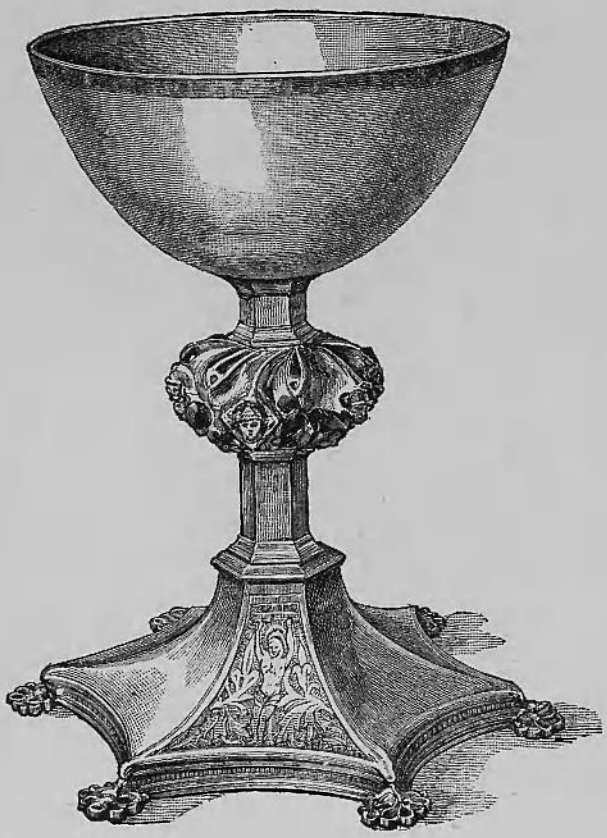
We take it as a good sign that a firm like that of Messrs. Jay has published this book, and the author may, upon the whole, be congratulated upon the way in which he has done his work in a field in which

he is perhaps not quite at home. We have alluded already to a certain deficiency at the beginning, and now at the end of the book we find another much more serious. There is absolutely no Index. We trust that a second Edition will soon appear, if only to remedy this fatal defect. We are aware that the making of an Index is not an exalting labour, but in this case it is imperative, and we trust Mr. Davey will lose no time in bending himself to it.

And when the new Edition does appear no doubt Mr. Davey, advised by us, will add a list of the numerous illustrations with which the book is adorned, and not omit the acknowledgment due to the authors, whose works have provided so many valuable auxiliaries to the text. The most important and reliable of the woodcuts are from the same blocks as those used in Lacroix's excellent volumes, and it is not captious criticism to take this opportunity of alluding to the inconvenience that arises from authors failing to give, wherever possible, in works of this kind, the sources of their pictorial information. This done, the book, in a new edition, might take its place among useful ones of the same nature. We of the present day do not feel compelled—speaking, of course, in an archæological sense—to take anyone at his word; we want to follow up and verify every question of armour, costume, or customs, and if, owing to the omissions to which we have referred, this cannot be done, a book may become rather a hindrance than a help to the free course of intelligent enquiry, and, the world might, in many cases, be better without it.

DIOCESE OF SALISBURY: THE CHURCH PLATE OF THE COUNTY OF DORSET. By J. E. NIGHTINGALE, F.S.A. (Salisbury: printed by Bennett Brothers, *Journal* Office, 1889.)—By parcel post 6s. 6d.

The Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archæological Society started a very great snowball rolling, when they launched upon the world their catalogue of all the Church Plate in the diocese of Carlisle. The example is being followed in all parts of England, and the contagion has extended to Scotland; but the results are too often buried in the obscurity of local transactions; thus Canon Scott Robertson's papers on Church Plate in Kent are concealed in the sixteenth and seventeenth volumes of *Archæologia Cantiana*; the Church Plate of the dioceses of Durham and Newcastle is slowly, but carefully, being dribbled (we mean nothing disrespectful) through the pages of *The Proceedinys of the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle-upon-Tyne*; and much good work by the Rev. C. R. Manning must exist embalmed in the Norfolk and Norwich Archæological Society's Transactions. One or two independent volumes have also appeared, and a list of the English counties that have published, or are about to publish, accounts of their Church Plate was printed in April last in *The Reliquary*, Vol. III., N.S. p. iii, by Mr. R. C. Hope. Mr. Hope does not mention anything about Scotland, but the Old Scottish Communion Plate exhibited in the Edinburgh International Exhibition of 1886 was described and illustrated by the Rev. Thomas Barnes in some papers in a periodical called *Life and Work*, a parish magazine issued at the publication offices, in Edinburgh, of the Church of Scotland. These papers have been expanded into a volume—*Historical and Antiquarian Records of Old Scottish Communion Plate*—with 50 full-page illustrations, published by R. and R. Clark of Edinburgh.



Coombe Keynes (nearly $\frac{2}{3}$ full size).

The volume now before us is the first instalment of a systematic attempt, undertaken at the instigation of the Bishop of Salisbury, to obtain authentic returns of the Church Plate belonging to every parish in the diocese: it deals with the Church Plate of the county of Dorset, which is conterminous with the Archdeaconry of that name, and when we mention that it is edited by Mr. J. E. Nightingale, all experts in silver plate will know that the would-be fault-finding critic will find his self-imposed task a fruitless one: to all who know Mr. Nightingale's work, his name is a guarantee of accuracy and excellence.

In his preface Mr. Nightingale gives one valuable piece of advice.

> And here it may be mentioned, for the guidance of any future explorers in the same field, that too much must not be expected from general "returns" of Church Plate where the object is archæological. When possible the shortest and most satisfactory way is to visit each parish, Cripps in hand, and note the details on the spot.

This agrees with our experience; we do not believe in the sending out of circulars, and we should like to know how many clergymen answered at all, or answered accurately, the elaborate and searching circulars about Church Plate, sent round the dioceses of Canterbury and Lincoln! Very few we fancy!

Let us proceed to the consideration of Mr. Nightingale's finds. First of all—the number of mediæval pieces of Church Plate now remaining in Dorset, which were in use before the Reformation, and are still devoted to the same purpose, amounts to only three, viz., two chalices and a paten. This last belongs to the parish of Buckhorn Weston; on the rim is a mark which Mr. Nightingale describes as "a circle, in which is a cross with a pellet between each limb, but without any border or shield"; his engraver makes it a cross *moline* voided. In the text Mr. Nightingale suggests that this is either a maker's mark or a town mark but in his preface he says:—

> Mr. Cripps informs me that "a single mark is always a maker's mark. If there is any local machinery for assaying plate and controlling its quality, it makes a second mark, because an essential part of hall marking is that the maker shall mark it first and the hall countermark it.

In this case the solitary mark is undoubtedly a maker's, and the chalice to which the paten belonged, would have in all probability a complete set of London hall marks, as the London assay office was frequently content to only assay and mark the chalice; thus S. Mary's Church, Carlisle, possesses chalice and paten each with maker's mark of an escallop, but the chalice alone has the other marks, showing it to be London of the year 1635-6. Mr. Nightingale assigns the Buckhorn Weston paten to between 1510 and 1520. The depression thereon is sexfoil with engraved spandrels: device the sacred monogram in small black letters within a cable moulding.

The second piece of pre-Reformation plate in Dorset is a chalice belonging to Coombe Keynes. It is a beautiful example, quite perfect, and exceedingly well preserved, as will be seen by the illustration, which we here reproduce. It is thus described by Mr. Nightingale.

> The dimensions are: Height, 6⅜ in.; diameter of bowl, 4 in.: depth, 2 in.; narrowest part of the mullet-shaped base, 3⅜ in.; widest part to the points of the knops [*sic.*], 5¼ in. The bowl is broad and conical; the somewhat slender stem is hexagonal and quite plain, with ogee-moulded bands at the junctions. The knot [*sic.*]

is full-sized, having six lobes spirally twisted with traceried openings, terminating in angels' heads crowned, It has a mullet-shaped foot with plain broad-spread and a vertically reeding moulding. The points terminate with an elegant knop [*sic.*] in the shape of a floriated Lombardic ΩΩ. In the front compartment of the base is the aural crucifix between two flowering branches on a hatched ground.

It is much to be regretted that Mr. Nightingale has abandoned his earlier usage and followed Messrs. Hope and Fallow in their new practice of calling the projection on the stem of a chalice the "knot," instead of the "knop," and of transferring the latter name to the toes of the foot. The late Mr. Octavius Morgan long ago wrote :—

A chalice consists of three parts : the cup, or bowl ; the stem, which is its middle swelled into a bulb, called the knop ; and the foot. Archæologia, vol. 42, p. 413.

In this sense the word "knop" has been used in papers in the *Archæologia*, which have become classical authorities on the subject, and the needless change is a mistake, which we hope will be speedily abandoned.

The Coombe Keynes chalice has no hall marks, but may be assigned to the year 1500 or thereabouts. The other piece of mediæval Church Plate in Dorset is a chalice at Sturminster Marshall; it is not in its original condition, as the original hexagonal stem has been replaced by a plain circular one, which fits but badly into the old cresting round the upper part of the foot. It is remarkable that both the bowl and foot of this chalice carry three hall-marks, viz., a Lombardic ΨΓ for 1536, the leopard's head crowned, and the maker's mark, T. W., in a shield, noticeable as the earliest example of a maker using two letters of the alphabet for his mark, instead of a device. The chalice in its original condition, probably much resembled, though plainer, the well-known one at Wylye, Wilts. Our author thinks it must have been intentionally defaced during the religious troubles of the sixteenth century, but it is difficult to see what there could have been on the knop or stem more offensive to Protestant zealots than the Crucifixion, with figures of Mary and John, still remaining on the foot. The double set of hall-marks would seem to indicate that bowl and foot were assayed as separate pieces, and put together after assay.

The special feature of the Dorset Church Plate is the large number of chalices or rather communion cups of the well known Elizabethan type, no less than one hundred and four, being a full third of the whole number of parishes in the county : most of these retain their original paten covers. Of these, seventy-four examples bear either hall-marked dates or inscribed dates: the earliest is a single cup marked 1562, the latest two of 1591, while by far the larger number are of 1570 to 1574. About thirty of these communion cups (twenty-eight cups and two patens without cups) bear the unknown provincial mark, of which an illustration is here given. The majority of these have inscribed dates varying from 1573 to 1578, but about half are of the year 1574. This must mark a period of activity on the part of some Puritan bishop of Bristol, in whose diocese Dorset was then included. The minute size of the cross to the sinister of this mark is curious, and suggests that it may be a workshop mark, the mark of the actual craftsman, who made the cups, while the monogram is the maker's mark or initials and the six-pointed star is the mark of some provincial touch. Is there any town in Dorset or Wilts with a six-

Sturminster Marshall.

Shipton Gorge ($\frac{2}{3}$ full size).

Paten. Whitchurch Canonicorum ($\frac{3}{4}$ size).

Paten. Whitchurch Canonicorum ($\frac{3}{4}$ size)

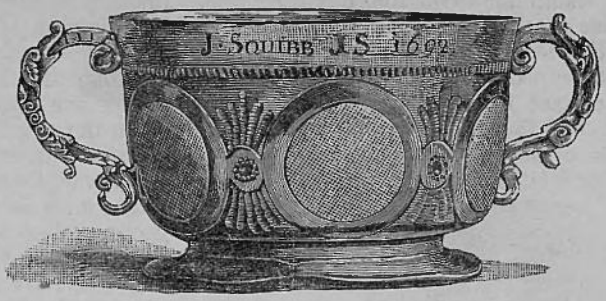
pointed star in its shield of arms, or that used such a mark to verify its weights and measures? Carlisle used the rose from its arms as a universal stamp for silver and anything else. Enquiry at Dorchester might have results. Church Plate with this mark is distributed nearly all over the county with a slight preponderance in the south. The other provincial mark found in Dorset is one of which the annexed illustration is given. Fourteen cups are found with it, and four others unmarked are clearly from the same *atelier*: it consists of seven pellets or perhaps roundels, with an enclosing circle of pellets and must be a maker's mark whose wares circulated in the north of the county in the left bank of the Stour. Two only of these cups have inscribed dates, viz., 1574 and 1607, but all of the undated ones are probably of the first date. In type they revert to a pattern in vogue under Edward VI., in which the stem has a flange instead of a knop, as will be seen by the illustration of the dated cup and paten cover, those of Gillingham.

GILLINGHAM.

In his Appendix ii Mr. Nightingale prints the Return of Church Goods made by the Dorset Commissioners of Edward VI, 1552. From this return we gather that each parish was then, in 1552, left with one mediæval chalice; the "worst chalice" in all cases where a parish had two or more. Speaking roughly, out of about three hundred parishes in the county of Dorset over one hundred retain their Elizabethan chalices; in the present reign some fifty parishes have made away with their old plate and got new, probably discarding many Elizabethan and seventeenth century cups. Everything points to some Elizabethan bishop of Bristol, in whose diocese Dorset then was, having taken very stringent measures to get rid of the massing chalices and substitute communion cups.

It is impossible here to go through all the Church Plate in Dorset; the county possesses some examples of unusual design. We give an illustration of one at Skipton Gorge, of undoubtable provincial work of Elizabethan character, date probably the end of sixteenth century. Mr. Nightingale says this has been formed out of sheet metal. Whitchurch Canonicorum possesses another provincial piece, hammer worked, out of thick plate silver, probably by an artist who had qualified as a "blacksmith, whitesmith, goldsmith, and silversmith," as did the members of the guild of smiths at Carlisle. Winterborne Whitchurch uses as

chalice a very handsome porringer of the year 1653; it was probably not given to the church until long after that date, as it is clearly a



WINTERBORNE WHITCHURCH, 1653.

piece intended originally for secular use. Lytton Cheney has among its plate one of the small shallow circular bowls with a flat handle, called "tasters;" it is used for private communion. Mapperton has a "bleeding bason," which is used as an alms dish. We must own we do not quite know how to discriminate between a "taster" and a "bleeding basin." Is the size the criterion? Cripps is not very clear on the point.

Sturminster Marshall possess a second chalice, the work of William Gamble, with a coat of arms on it, which was probably engraved by his apprentice, Hogarth. Two parishes have massive services of silver-gilt, viz., chalice, two patens, and flagon by Paul Lamerie, given by Mrs. Strangways Horner between 1737 and 1748; later, she also gave each parish a steel bread cutter with silver-gilt haft and sheath. One parish alone possesses a silver-spoon. No pains has been spared to make the book perfect; it is full of heraldic and genealogical information that must be most interesting to Dorset people. We hope Mr. Nightingale, to whom we are indebted for the loan of the wood blocks used in this notice will speedily complete a similar volume for Wilts.

We will conclude by reproducing Paul Lamerie's receipt for cleansing gilt plate, a copy of which Mr. Nightingale found with plate of his make at Stainsford.

Clean it now and then with only warm water and soap, with a spunge, and then wash it with clean water, and dry it very well with a soft Linnen cloth, and keep it in a dry place, for the damp will spoyle it.

Here is another receipt from the records of the dean and chapter of Carlisle, written at the foot of a list of the plate given to that body in 1680 by Dean Smith.

Directions for cleanning the said plate: Be careful to wipe it with a clean soft linnen cloath, and, if there chance be any stains or spotts that will not easily come off with a little water (the cloath being dipped therein), and so rubb the flagons and chalices from the top to the Bottome, not crosswise, but the Bason and patens are to be rubb'd roundwise not acrosse, and by noe means use either chalk, sand or salt.

These directions should be rubbed into the back of every parish clerk and butler in the British Kingdom; hundreds of pieces of plate are daily being spoiled by having the delicate chasing and engraving of artists like Lamerie ground away by plate powder in the endeavour to produce a high polish; the most shocking sight we ever saw was the vast and high-polished collection of plate in the plate room of a certain castle.

We are of opinion that it is a convenience to have the price of a particular book, such as this is, mentioned in a notice of it. And we have had the less scruple in adding this information to the heading because the author has generously been at the entire cost and charge. Perhaps the best way for antiquaries to show their appreciation of his efforts would be to take steps to place so careful and moderate a work on their shelves without delay.

THE DARK AGES; ESSAYS ILLUSTRATING THE STATE OF RELIGION AND LITERATURE IN THE NINTH, TENTH, ELEVENTH AND TWELFTH CENTURIES. By S. R. MAITLAND, D.D., F.R.S., F.S.A., sometime Librarian and Keeper of the MSS. at Lambeth. New Edition. With an Introduction by Frederick Stokes, M.A. London: John Hodges, Henrietta-street, Covent Garden, 1889.

These essays were originally published in the British Magazine, the first in March, 1835 (Vol. III.), and the last in February, 1838 (Vol. X.) At which time the periodical alluded to was edited, as it had been from its commencement, by the late well-known Rev. Hugh James Rose, who, in the first of these cited volumes, called the attention of the readers of the magazine to the great value of this series of essays. They were reprinted in one volume by Doctor (then Mr.) Maitland, in 1844, and since one or two other editions have passed through the press. These have all for some years been out of print—and a new edition has long been desired—and the public ought to feel greatly obliged to the publisher, Mr. Hodges, for this improved and handsome volume.

It will be well that the reader should bear clearly in mind the period of history embraced in the author's era of the Dark Ages. It extended from A.D. 800 to A.D. 1200 inclusive. When, therefore, the Dark Ages began the Heptarchy in England still existed and when it closed the Conquest of Ireland had been accomplished, and, although we possess but scanty records of the social condition of the country at this period, we all know that very great changes had been wrought, so that the Ages were not quite so dark as some people suppose and as some prejudiced writers have represented.

Contemporary secular works in the earlier centuries of this era are almost nonexistent and consequently it is upon Ecclesiastical records and religious treatises that we must chiefly rely for information. The Church in England at that period held the doctrines of the Papacy, and in these later days popular writers on history, so-called, blinded by their bigotry and intolerance, could see only evil and ignorance in the most holy, most self-denying, and most learned men—men whose literary attainments would cause these shallow writers to blush with shame—if they could blush. By vague general charges, misquoting the authorities they cite, or carelessness in not verifying their references, they have abused the public mind, and if not perpetrated have perpetuated the grossest libels. These scandalous misrepresentations, not only of individuals but of whole classes, Dr. Maitland has taken upon himself to counteract by a careful, unbiassed and impartial examination of authorities and by shewing what really were the doctrines and the life and conversation of the age and persons so shamelessly defamed.

In the space at our disposal it would be impossible for us to follow Dr. Maitland through his examination. His course has been to extract from the works under his notice the allegations made by their authors

of the low intellectual condition of the country during the Dark Ages, the illiterate character of the clergy, especially their ignorance of the Holy Scriptures, and, contrasting their statements with the actual text of the works which they cite as their authorities, pointing out how the extracts have been garbled, or the plain sense of the writers distorted, for the evident purpose of misleading the reader. Dr. Maitland's treatment of the subject is terse, witty, powerful in reasoning, pious in spirit, and profoundly learned; and his selection of topics enables every reader to judge for himself of the gross misrepresentations which have been promulgated by those popular writers, who, in Professor Smyth's words, have hitherto given the tone and the law to the public mind.

Dr. Maitland says the purpose he has in view is to furnish some materials towards forming a right judgment of the real state of learning, knowledge, and literature during the Dark Ages, in other words to shed some light on the darkness of the period in question, and in this object he has been eminently successful.

The authors whose works are chiefly commented upon are Robertson, Jortin, Mosheim, Maclaine, and White, but there are others who are equally untrustworthy, among them Hume and others of equal popularity and greater name; and historical students, after reading Dr. Maitland's work, will, it is hoped, be very cautious how they place any reliance upon the statement of such writers, and will verify their references.

Archaeological Intelligence.

The Right to a Parish Register.—It is not often that the proceedings of the metropolitan police courts have any archaeological interest, but the following report from the daily papers of Jan. 9th, 1890, may with advantage be enshrined in the *Archaeological Journal*.

"Mr. Henry Gray, a bookseller of Leicester Square, was summoned at the Marlborough Street Police court yesterday, by the Rev. J. M. Rees, Cwm, Flintshire, for detaining a 'certain manuscript, on vellum, consisting of a true note and terrier of the glebe land and tithes, signed by the minister and principal inhabitants of the village of Cwm, in the year 1781, and the baptismal and burial register of the years 1791 to 1812.' —Mr. Arthur Gill appeared on behalf of the Treasury to support the summons. The Rev. Thomas Major Rees said that he produced registers which were continuous up to 1820, except for the years 1791 to 1812. They bore the signatures of the Rev. Peter Whately, who was then vicar of Cwm. About three years ago a man called upon him and asked to be allowed to see the record of the burial of a person who died in the year 1810. On going through the registers the one containing the records of that year could not be found. Three or four weeks ago extracts from the catalogue of a sale at the defendant's premises, were forwarded to him by some friends, and in consequence of their containing a description of the missing book, he communicated with Archdeacon Williams.—Adolphus Emery, clerk to Messrs. Dalziel and Beresford, Solicitors, of the Strand, said that on the 13th of November he went to the defendant's place of business and served upon him a