

The Greyfriars of Walsingham.

COMMUNICATED BY

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So complete has been the destruction of the English Franciscan houses that only a faint idea of their former size and importance can be gathered from the surviving remains. The buildings at Walsingham are therefore of unusual interest even in their present fragmentary condition, as they undoubtedly form the most complete example of the domestic portion of a Franciscan house now surviving in England. Moreover, the site, unlike those of most of the English Friaries, is for the most part unencumbered by later buildings, so that its complete excavation is both possible and desirable. Circumstances on the present occasion did not, however, permit of more than a preliminary investigation of the site of the church, and it is with the results of this work that the following report is primarily concerned, though the opportunity was also taken of making a complete survey of the surviving buildings, from which the accompanying plan has been prepared. The description of these buildings and their suggested use, however, must be to some extent tentative pending a more complete examination of the site.

The excavation, which was carried out between the 15th and 27th August, 1932, was undertaken with the ready permission of the owner, the Walsingham Estate Company, in the persons of Lady Gurney and her son, Mr. John Gurney, to whom the writer wishes to record his thanks. The writer is also greatly indebted to the tenant, Mrs. Symington and her son, Captain Symington, for every facility afforded during the work, and to the latter for his personal help throughout; to the Norfolk and Norwich Archæological Society for supplying the funds which made the work possible; to Mr. A. W. Clapham, C.B.E., F.S.A., and Mr. W. H. Godfrey, F.S.A., for suggestions on several points; to Dr. A. G. Little for kindly perusing the historical portion of this paper and for several additional notes; to Major Glendenning for taking rubbings of the masons' marks and for a report on the building materials used on the site; to H.M. Office of Works for permission to reproduce plates V., VI. A, and VIII.; to Mr. A. Stephenson for making the drawing for fig. 2; to the foreman, A. J. W. Dicks, whose previous experience of archæological excavation was most useful; and in particular to Mr. B. Cozens-Hardy, F.S.A., for constant and invaluable help throughout.

GENERAL HISTORY.

The small and picturesque town of Walsingham, or Little Walsingham as it is called to distinguish it from its once important but now insignificant neighbour, Old or Great Walsingham, lies in the valley of the Stiffkey rivulet on the road from Fakenham to Wells, and about six miles from the sea. Its importance in mediæval times was entirely due to the presence of the famous shrine of Our Lady of Walsingham, which attracted pilgrims from all parts of Europe, and brought great wealth to the Priory of Augustinian Canons within

whose precincts it was situated. It was this shrine with its magnificent treasures which excited the wonder and admiration of Erasmus; and its fame has conferred on the Priory an importance in modern times that has tended to obscure the very existence of the Franciscan house, established close by in the middle of the 14th century, whose surviving buildings are in some ways more interesting than the rather scanty remains of its more famous neighbour.

The followers of St. Francis, called Minorites from their humble desire to be regarded "less than the least," and Greyfriars from the colour of their habit, had arrived in England in 1224, two years before the death of their founder and three years after the arrival of the Dominicans. The Order flourished, and at the end of the century there were some 54 Franciscan houses in England alone. By the following century the early enthusiasm had considerably abated, and only four new foundations after 1300 are recorded. The first of these was that at Walsingham in 1347. This was soon followed by the establishment of houses at Ware in Hertfordshire about 1350¹ and at Plymouth in 1383; while the last of the English Franciscan houses, apart from the reformed or observant foundations of the next century, was established at Aylesbury in Buckinghamshire about 1386. Walsingham was thus one of the latest English houses of the unreformed Franciscans, a fact which had an important bearing on its plan and development.

The only other houses of the Order in Norfolk were at Norwich, King's Lynn, and Yarmouth; but the Carmelite Friars had a small establishment at Burnham Norton, some six miles to the west of Walsingham, and

¹ Licence for the foundation at Ware was granted 18 Feb., 1337, but the site does not seem to have been accepted until some years later.

another at Blakeney to the north-east. The district was also well supplied with houses of other Orders, for besides the neighbouring Augustinian Priory there was a priory of Benedictine monks at Binham and establishments of Augustinian Canons at Peterstone in Burnham Overy, Creake, Coxford, and Hempton, within a radius of about six miles.

The history of the Franciscan house at Walsingham is extremely scanty. On 1st February, 1347, Elizabeth de Burgh, Countess of Clare and daughter of Gilbert the Red, 9th Earl of Clare, was licensed to found a house of Friars Minor in Walsingham.¹ The licence was renewed in February of the following year, the proposed site being stated to contain 4 acres 1 rood, of which 4 acres were held direct from the King.² The settlement of the Friars was not carried out, however, without strenuous opposition from the Canons of the Augustinian Priory, who appear to have feared a diversion of offerings and bequests from their own house to that of the newcomers. The older Orders had from the first tended to regard the Friars with considerable suspicion, which often developed into active hostility, and the attitude of the Canons of Walsingham was therefore no new thing. As early as 1240 the settlement of the Friars Minor in Scarborough was opposed by the Cistercians, while the Benedictines of Bury St. Edmunds three times forcibly expelled the Franciscans from that town, and razed their buildings to the ground. Again the Canons of the Augustinian Priory at Dunstable made a determined but unsuccessful attempt to prevent

¹ Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1345-48, p. 255. In 1314, on the death of her brother, the 10th Earl, she had inherited the extensive estates of the Earls of Clare, which included the Manor of Walsingham, and subsequently endowed University Hall, afterwards Clare College, Cambridge. On her death in 1360 she left the Friars of Walsingham 100s. (Nichol's *Royal Wills*, 1780, p. 33).

² *Ibid*, 1348-50, p. 7.

the settlement of the Dominicans there in 1259. At Walsingham the Canons set forth their case at great length in a curiously naive and somewhat unconvincing document, which is still preserved in the cartulary of their house.¹ It is in the form of a petition to the Lady Clare. Among the arguments put forward were the prospective loss of tithes; that the Friars would draw the parishioners away from their parish churches and, by celebrating mass and hearing confessions, would deprive the parish priest of his effective cure of souls; that the offerings at churchings of women and burials would, "through the enticements, blandishments, and deceptions of the Friars," be lost to the church; that many other parochial rights would be infringed; that the gates of the Priory were closed at night against thieves so that the pilgrim who arrived during the night made his offering on the following day, which he would probably no longer do if he lodged at the Friary; that the Friars could not acquire a site without Papal licence, and that if they did, they would be excommunicated; and finally that no further house of Friars was needed, as there were already houses of the Carmelite Order at Burnham, four miles from Walsingham in one direction and at Snitterley (*i.e.*, Blakeney) five miles in the other. All opposition, however, was unavailing, as both Royal and Papal sanction were duly obtained; and by July, 1348, the Friars were already in possession. The licence of Pope Clement VI., which was granted at the request of Edward III. and his Queen Philippa, is dated 28th September, 1347, and is directed to the Provincial of the Friars Minor in England, authorising him to acquire a site at Walsingham to accommodate 12 Friars.²

¹ B. M. Cotton MSS., Nero E. vii., ff. 152-3 (in pencil, ff. 160-1). See Appendix IV.

² Cal. Papal Reg. III., p. 252.

At this date the English Franciscan province was divided into seven custodies, and from a list of these custodies compiled by Bartholomew of Pisa, *c.* 1385, we know that Walsingham formed a ninth house in the Custody of Cambridge.¹ In the official list drawn up at the General Chapter of Perpignan in 1331 the original eight houses in this Custody are given as Cambridge, Norwich, Bury St. Edmunds, King's Lynn, Yarmouth, Ipswich, Colchester, and Dunwich.²

The subsequent history of the house is chiefly confined to an occasional record of the acquisition of further land. The original site soon proved inadequate, for on July 7th, 1348, the guardian of the Friars Minor at Walsingham was licensed to acquire in mortmain a further 3 acres of land adjoining their dwelling place for its enlargement.³ Two years later, on 4th May, 1351, a further licence was granted, following an inquisition held by William de Middleton, the escheater for Norfolk, authorising the Friars, in consideration of half a mark paid into the King's hanaper, to enlarge their dwelling place by enclosing "a way leading from North Barsham to the chapel of St. Mary in Little Walsingham beneath the said dwelling place on condition that they make on their own soil there a way of the same length and breadth to wit 60 perches by 16 perches for public use."⁴ The main road which now skirts the site on the east was probably constructed at this time, in place of an earlier route leading more directly to the Market Place. This licence was confirmed by Richard II. on December 18th, 1384.⁵

¹ *Analecta Franciscana*, iv., 545-7.

² A. G. Little, *Studies in English Franciscan History*, p. 236.

³ Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1348-50, p. 122.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 1350-51, p. 71.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 1381-85, p. 490.

Some time before his death in 1425 the Friars obtained by gift from Edmund Mortimer, 5th Earl of March, a close of 3 acres on the south side of the mansion of the Priory. Owing to the absence of the necessary licence this property was forfeited to the Crown, but on 20th May, 1441, at the request of Richard, Duke of York, who had inherited the Manor of Walsingham from his uncle, the Earl of March, and is described in the licence (presumably on account of his descent through his mother, Anne Mortimer, from Elizabeth de Clare), as founder of the house, Henry VI. granted this property to John Hekelyng, the then warden, and the brethren in frankalmoign, and at the same time licensed the Duke of York to grant a cottage and another 3 acres and a garden containing a $\frac{1}{4}$ rood in Little Walsingham to the warden and brethren in frankalmoign.¹ This is the last recorded gift of land to the friars. If carried into effect it brought the total area of their property up to 13 acres 1 rood 10 perches. John Hekelyng or Hickelyng is the only friar of the Walsingham house, apart from Giles Coventry, who was guardian in 1535, whose name appears to have survived. He had been there at least eleven years before, for on 21st January, 1430, Alexander Farrenton, a Lombard living in London, was licensed to give letters of exchange payable in foreign parts for 20 marks to Brother Robert Colman of the Order of Friars Minor in Norwich and £10 to Brother John Hickelynge of the same order in Walsingham.² These Friars were possibly about to attend the General Chapter, which was held at Assisi on 4th June in that year.

By his will dated 13th December, 1457, and proved in the following month, Nicholas Esthawe of Bishops Thornham left to the Convent of Friars Minor of

¹ Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1436-41, p. 544.

² Cal. Close Rolls, 1429-35, p. 380.

Walsingham 20s. and 26s. 8d. to the Carmelites of Burnham and the Austin Friars of Lynn in addition to 6s. 8d. to every Friary in Norfolk.¹

In 1491 Robert Pigot desired to be buried within the Friary and gave 6s. 8d. for his burial, 6s. 8d. for prayers for his soul, and 6s. 8d. for a breakfast.² In the following year Margaret Odeham of Bury, widow, gave 6s. 8d. to the Friars of Walsingham among many bequests to Friaries,³ whilst in 1514 Robert Grey of Walsingham gave to the Friars two pair of censers of silver valued at 10 marks each.⁴ Earlier gifts of small sums occur in the wills of Sir Robert of Erpyngtham (1370), John Berneye (1374), and Richard, son of Lawrence of Althorpe and Rector of Thursford (1374).⁵

There is no further mention of the house until the eve of the suppression, when the *Valor Ecclesiasticus* of 1535 records that Giles Coventry was then guardian, and the annual value of three tenements is returned at 40s. and of the remainder of the property at 6s.⁶ Three years later the house was surrendered to Richard Ingworth, the Suffragan Bishop of Dover, who received the surrender of most of the English Friaries on behalf of the Crown. Towards the close of 1538 he wrote to Cromwell that he had received to the King's use the

¹ P.R.O. Cal. Ancient Deeds, Vol. V. No. A. 13389. This and the references below are the only references to the house in wills which have been noted. Others doubtless exist in the uncalendared wills of the Norwich Consistory and Archdeaconry Courts.

² Blomefield, *History of Norfolk*, vol. ix., p. 281.

³ Camden Soc., XLIX., p. 73.

⁴ Blomefield, *ut sup.*

⁵ J. L'Estrange. *Norfolk Wills in Norfolk Antiquarian Miscellany*, Vol. I., pp. 354, 362, and 370.

⁶ Rec. Com., *Valor Ecclesiasticus*, Vol. III., p. 388. Giles Coventry appears to have left Walsingham before the surrender, as he is one of the signatories to the deed of the surrender of the Franciscan house at Reading, which is dated 13th September, 1538. (Letters and Papers, Hen. VIII., Vol. XIII. (2), p. 130, No. 340.) He was a Bachelor of Divinity (*Ibid.*, p. 508, No. 1211).

Greyfriars at Ware, Babwell, and Walsingham among other houses, and adds that most of the substance of these houses had been sold or pledged before his coming and that little was left either in plate, lead, or implements, yet he had so ordered that both plate and lead had come to light.¹ The deed surrender has not survived, so that nothing is known of the inmates of the house at this date.

As soon as the surrender had been effected, Thomas Sydney, who was Master of the Hospital in Little Walsingham and grantee of the site of the Augustinian Priory, appears to have been appointed collector of the rents of the Friars' property.² It is probable that most of this property had already been let by the Friars before the suppression. In 1541, when Sydney returned his first account to the Exchequer, part of the site "with divers buildings lately built" and a close and another piece of land were in the occupation of Sir Roger Townshend³ and Anne, his wife, at a total yearly rent of 42s.; two cottages with 2 acres of land had been let to Sydney himself for 3s. 4d. a year; a tenement with a garden was in the tenure of William Reynolds at a yearly rent of 16s., another tenement was in the occupation of Thomas Jenninges at 20s., and another tenement or inn called the White Horse, with two gardens and a parcel of land called "le Carre" containing 1 acre was held under a lease by Richard Grene at an annual rent of 26s. 8d., so that the total income from the Friars'

¹ Letters and Papers, Hen. VIII., Vol. XIII. (2), p. 436, No. 1021.

² He died 17th June, 1542, and his son Thomas Sydney, junior, was granted general livery of his father's property in 1550 on attaining his majority. (Cal. Pat. Rolls, Edw. VI., Vol. V., p. 342.)

³ This was apparently Sir Roger Townshend, the eldest son of Sir Roger Townshend the judge, who died in 1493, and the ancestor of the Townshends of Rainham. He died at a great age in 1551, and in his will (Norwich Consistory Court) mentions his house in Little Walsingham called the Friary. (Norfolk Arch. Soc., *Visitation of Norfolk*, I., p. 315.)

property in that year was 108s.¹ In the following year a further 2s. rent is included in respect of a $\frac{1}{2}$ acre of land called "Aldercarre" with certain reeds (lez Redes) growing there in the tenure of Thomas Sydney.² This was either unlet or had been forgotten in the previous year, and brought the total income to 110s., at which figure it is returned in the accounts from 1543—1545.³ On 20th February in the latter year the whole of this property was sold, subject to the leases to Townshend, Sydney, and Grene and to the various tenancies (together with many other properties in Norfolk and Suffolk, including the sites of the Greyfriars and Blackfriars at Dunwich and King's Lynn, the Austin Friars at Lynn, and the Carmelites at Ipswich and South Lynn) to John Eyre, a local receiver of Augmentations, for a total sum of £761 12s. 8d.⁴ In the official "particulars" sent to the Court of Augmentations the description of the property is similar to that in Thomas Sydney's accounts for the preceding years.⁵ The grant was made by letters patent dated 20th February, 1545, but the purchase was doubtless purely a matter of speculation, as the property soon passed into other hands. Its subsequent history is obscure.⁶

Of the fate of the buildings very little is known. At the very end of 1538, the Walsingham Friary appears in a list of houses that had not yet been defaced or razed "as Mr. Sydney is accomptant for the buildings and all things left by the visitor."⁷ In the following year the

¹ P.R.O. Ministers Accounts, 31-32 Hen. VIII., Norfolk, No. 2632. See Appendix I.

² *Ibid.*, 32-33 Hen. VIII., No. 2633. See Appendix I.

³ *Ibid.*, Nos. 2634-6.

⁴ Letters and Papers, Hen. VIII., Vol. XX. (1), p. 1545, No. 282 (37); Pat. Roll, 36 Hen. VIII., p. 26, m. 12.

⁵ P.R.O. Augmentation Office: Particulars for grants, Hen. VIII., No. 422. See Appendix II.

⁶ See Blomefield, *History of Norfolk*, Vol. IX. (1805), p. 281.

⁷ Letters and Papers, Hen. VIII., Vol. XIII. (2), No. 1212.

accounts of the Guild of the Annunciation of the Blessed Mary at Walsingham record the laying out of 40s. "in part payment for the great bell of the late Friars Minor,"¹ and it is probable that the church was demolished very shortly after this date. The buildings around the little cloister appear to have been subsequently converted into a dwelling house, and the remainder were apparently allowed to fall into gradual ruin. The state of the buildings in the early part of last century, with a small cottage on the site of the present house, is shown in the accompanying illustrations. (Plate IX.)

In conclusion it is convenient to mention here that an anchoress is recorded to have dwelt within the Friary in the early 16th century. The existence of a male or female recluse was by no means uncommon at this date in Dominican houses, but they are comparatively rarely mentioned in connection with Franciscan houses. At Walsingham the earliest record of this anchoress seems to be in 1507,² and she was still there in 1526.³ There is no indication of the position of her cell, but in other houses this frequently stood in the cemetery or near the principal gateway.

THE PRECINCT.

The buildings stand in an enclosure on the southern outskirts of the town and on the west side of the road to Fakenham. The site is bounded on the north by cottages and gardens, on the west by an ancient lane called Back Lane, and on the south by an open pasture field, and is enclosed on all sides by a stone wall. It is

¹ *Proceedings of the Archaeological Institute, Norwich volume* (1847), p. 151. The original accounts are in the P.R.O. See Letters and Papers, Hen. VIII., Vol. XX. (1), p. 383. No. 757.

² J. L'Estrange, Wills III., f. 1600, quoted in R. M. Clay, *The Hermits and Anchorites of England*, p. 236.

³ Blomfield, *History of Norfolk*, IX., p. 281.

now a little over $2\frac{1}{2}$ acres in extent, but the cottages and Methodist Chapel on the north are clearly encroachments; and it is probable that all the land northwards to the market place was originally owned by the Friars. The whole of this area, however, is considerably less

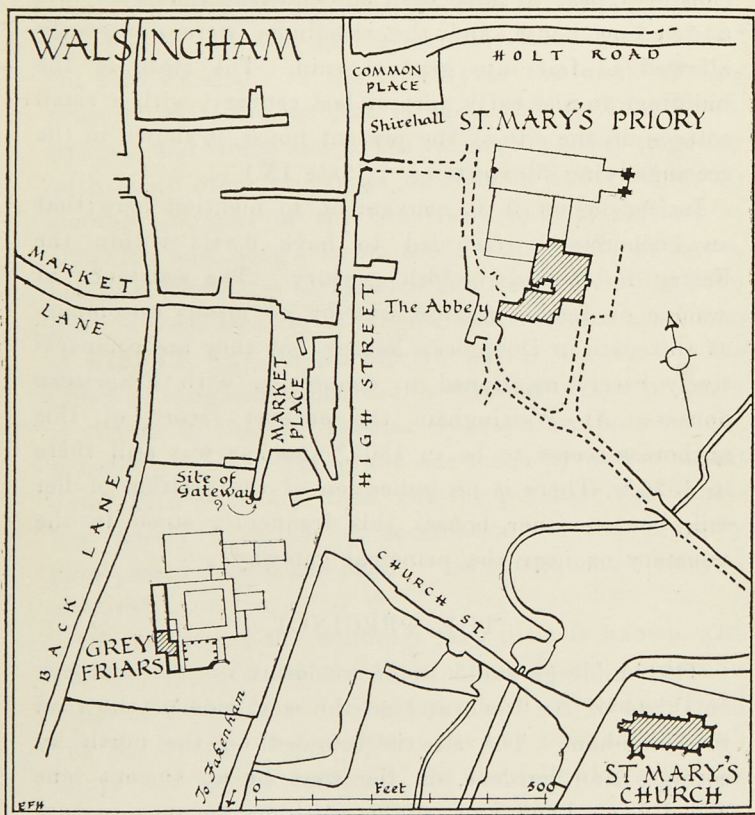


Fig. 1. Plan of Site and surrounding district.

than the 4 acres acquired by the Friars in 1347; and as they subsequently extended their holding to some 13 acres, it is clear that several of the adjoining fields must have been in their occupation, and were doubtless

a principal source of supply for their daily sustenance. Some slight indication of the extent and position of the Friars' property about the time of the Dissolution can be gained from a survey of the lands in Walsingham belonging to the neighbouring Augustinian Priory. In this it is stated that "in the Friday Market beginning at the house of the Friars proceeding west by the market, the Friars Minor hold their house there in pure and perpetual alms; Also the messuage called the White Horse; Also six cottages." This was within the town. Outside in the twentieth furlong, which lay between the London Way on the west and the common watercourse on the east, the Friars held "four messuages and nine curtilages in pure and perpetual alms: rent per annum 6s. 1d." and also "two acres by the gift of the Duke."¹ From these entries it is clear that they owned property not only in the Friday Market (or market place, as it is now called), but also on the east side of the London or Fakenham road. The mention of the White Horse inn as belonging to the Friars is interesting.² Some eighteen hostleries are mentioned in the survey as the property of the prior and canons, including "le Beere," formerly "le Dowe," which adjoined the walls of the Friary, and these serve to give some idea of the provision made in the town for the reception of strangers.

To what extent the Friars' property was encircled by a precinct wall is uncertain. The walls of the existing pasture field are, on the north and south, comparatively modern, but part of those on the frontage to the Fakenham road and the Back Lane may be original. In any case it seems probable that the precinct proper

¹ Harrod, *Castles and Convents of Norfolk*, pp. 192-3. from P.R.O. Augmentation Office, Misc. Books, Vol. 424.

² This property was held by the Friars at the suppression and was then in the occupation of Richard Grene. See Appendix I.

was confined to the area immediately surrounding the buildings and cemetery, and is represented approximately by the existing field, and that the rest of the Friars' land lay outside in the common fields of the township.

No original entrance to the precinct remains. The main public approach seems to have been direct from the south-west corner of the market place, where a *cul-de-sac* now extends in the direction of the Friary. This is obviously an ancient way, as it is bounded on the west by a picturesque half-timber cottage, probably of 16th-century date, and at its southern end, where there is now a modern shed, may have stood the main precinct gateway. A second or postern gate presumably existed on the east side, at or close to the point where the present gate gives access from the road. This was doubtless the private gate of the prior or guardian, whose lodging, there is some reason to think, stood to the south of the little cloister.

In common with other Franciscan houses of late foundation, the chosen site was in a comparatively small and unimportant town, where space was of less importance than in the often crowded and confined sites with which, as late arrivals in the larger towns, the earlier Friars had of necessity to be content. At Walsingham the site was restricted only by the natural features of the ground, which slopes abruptly from west to east, and it is therefore significant to find that every expedient was adopted in laying out the buildings to restrict their spread as much as possible. This was no doubt primarily owing to the necessity for economising in building material, though perhaps some lingering adherence to the ideal of poverty in buildings of the early Franciscans may still have influenced the builders. In plan the buildings comprised a great cloister with the church on the north, the dormitory and chapter

house on the east, a guest hall on the west, and the frater occupying the southern range, to the south of which was a second or little cloister surrounded by the kitchens and other subsidiary offices. These buildings will now be described in turn.

THE CHURCH.

During the second half of the 15th century the Chronicler, William of Worcester, visited Walsingham, and in addition to describing the buildings of the Augustinian Priory in some detail, he records the measurements of the church of the Friary, which was then, of course, standing and in use. His reference is brief but of considerable interest. It reads: "Longitudo ecclesiae fratrum Walsyngham 54 gressus. Latitudo ejus 32 gressus. Interstitium spacii Campanilis 10 gressus. Longitudo chori continet 50 gressus. Latitudo chori continet 17 gressus."¹ The exact equivalent of Worcester's "paces" has been in some doubt, but they seem to have been approximately $1\frac{3}{4}$ ft., which agrees fairly well when tested on surviving buildings.² If one accepts this unit, the friars' church had a nave measuring 94 ft. by 56 ft. and a quire 87 ft. by 30 ft., separated by the typical passage or "walking place" (as it is usually called in mediæval documents) beneath the bell-tower, to which Worcester's "interstitium spacii campanilis" clearly refers. These measurements imply an aisled nave and

¹ James Nasmyth, *Itineraria Symonis Simeonis et Willelmi de Worcestre* (1778), p. 335.

² There is some discrepancy in William of Worcester's own estimate of his "gressus." On p. 83 (Nasmyth, *ut sup.*) he notes that "24 steppys sive gressus mei faciunt 12 virgas," and on p. 282, "quaelibet virga 3 pedes," so that one of his steps would have equalled $1\frac{1}{2}$ ft., but on p. 83 occurs "50 virgae faciunt 85 gradus sive steppys meos," and again, "34 virgas id est 60 steppys meos." There are numerous other references which show that his "gressus" varied somewhat in relation to the virga or yard, but though it was frequently rather more than $1\frac{1}{2}$ ft., it was never apparently less than this figure.

an aisleless quire, but apart from this the extent and general arrangement of the church, prior to the recent excavations, were unknown, and even its position was a matter of some uncertainty. What has been discovered has confirmed the plan deduced from William of Worcester's statement, and affords a remarkable testimony to the general accuracy with which this mediæval antiquary made and recorded his measurements.

The church, in fact, consisted of a broad aisled nave 94 ft. 8 ins. long and 50 ft. 2 ins. wide, and a long aisleless quire 86 ft. by 28 ft. 3 ins., separated by a "walking place" 11 ft. wide internally, over which stood a steeple similar doubtless to those which still survive at King's Lynn (Greyfriars), Coventry (Greyfriars), Richmond (Greyfriars), and Atherstone (Austin Friars), and to the one formerly surmounting the "walking place" in the Blackfriars' Church at Norwich. The apparent discrepancy between the latter measurement and William of Worcester's 10 gressus (*i.e.*, 17½ ft.), is doubtless accounted for by the fact that he would have paced out the distance from the door into the nave to the screen across the entrance to the quire, thus including the thickness of the walls. This measurement, as far as it could be obtained from the surviving foundations, almost exactly agrees with Worcester's figure.

The combination of the wide aisled nave and aisleless quire was a common feature in churches of the mendicant orders, and, of course, bears a close analogy to the plan of the ordinary parish church. The intervening "walking place," which completely shut off the quire from the nave, is, however, a feature almost entirely confined to Friars' churches, and was no doubt dictated by the desire to provide a simple and inexpensive bell-

tower and at the same time to keep the public preaching nave entirely separate from the quire, which was the private chapel of the Friars. The Walsingham plan existed in the churches of the Blackfriars and White-Friars in London, and still survives in the great 15th century church of the Blackfriars at Norwich already alluded to. On a smaller scale it occurred in the Greyfriars and Blackfriars churches at Cardiff, though in both of these the distinctive "walking place" appears to have been absent. The total internal length of the Friars' church at Walsingham was 198 ft. Though small in comparison with the great London churches of the Friars, or even with the Blackfriars' Church at Norwich, it was of imposing dimensions for a small mediæval town; and, indeed, its length was little less than that of the neighbouring church of the wealthy Augustinian Priory. To turn now to the actual remains and to the results of the recent excavations which, as has been stated, were almost entirely confined to the site of the church: the only substantial portion of the building which survives above ground is the lower part of the south and east walls of the chancel. This part of the site slopes abruptly to the east, and the ground within these walls has been artificially heightened to the level of the nave, so that it is now on a line with the top of the original work, which acts as a retaining wall and has been carried up to form a low modern boundary wall for the cottage garden within.

The result of this curious and obviously artificial arrangement is that there is a drop varying from about 1 ft. at the west end to some 12 ft. at the extreme east end between the internal and external levels. This fact makes it somewhat difficult to visualize the precise arrangement of the interior when the church was built, in the absence of further excavation at the east end,

which it was impossible to carry out in the short time available, as this part of the site is in separate occupation. There appears, however, to be no evidence that the chancel was raised on a crypt; and presumably when the outer wall had been constructed the interior was filled up to the level required with soil brought from the west end, and the floor laid on a solid foundation of rammed earth. This might perhaps account for the unusually massive buttresses on the exterior. Such slight indications of levels as were obtained at the west end of the chancel suggest that the original floor was slightly lower than that of the nave, a fact which would not have been apparent owing to the interposition of the cross walls enclosing the "walking place." On the exterior, which is the only part of the chancel walls now visible, very little of the original face survives. The position of the buttresses, however, are clearly indicated, and their original projection can be ascertained from the more complete ones. One at the south-east corner is practically entire, while a modern shed has been built against and obscures the remains of one of the north-east angle buttresses. In the exterior of the east wall are two roughly semi-circular recesses which have apparently been constructed in later times and partially lined with brick, to form ornamental garden houses.

The only other fragment of the church standing above ground is what proved to be the south-east corner buttress of the nave, with a part of the east wall of the south aisle adjoining. This buttress is now in the north-east corner of a small modern enclosure, which was at one time roofed over as a shed, on the north side of the site of the great cloister. The only indication of it was some courses of neatly faced flintwork of obviously better workmanship than the surrounding

walls; but on clearing away an old rubbish heap which had been thrown up against it, its moulded stone plinth was found in a tolerable state of preservation. The modern walls which have been built against it have left only a portion of the original work visible, but sufficient of the adjoining wall remained for its purpose to be reasonably certain. As this discovery served as a definite point on which to work, excavation was begun in the adjoining orchard to the north, in order to discover the south wall of the nave. This was soon found, and proved to be 3 ft. 3 ins. wide. It was parallel to and partly underlay the modern brick wall on the north side of the small enclosure referred to above. Beyond this it continued in a westerly direction for some 10 ft., when it suddenly stopped, having apparently been cut through and the foundations to the west removed at some unknown date. Attempts to pick up the line further to the west failed.

Attention was next directed to the entrance of the chancel. From the surviving buttress already mentioned a portion of the original wall some 7 ft. in height and extending 11 ft. in a northerly direction still remains. This is clearly the east wall of the south aisle of the nave, and a trench cut along this line across the entrance to the chancel revealed a broad rubble foundation with an offset on the west and faced with stone on the east side and recessed in the manner indicated on the plan. At 13 ft. north of the chancel wall there was a gap, the foundations projecting 2 ft. into the nave. The same arrangement was repeated on the north side, though the remains were less well preserved; but these discoveries showed that the entrance from the nave was through a narrow arch or door scarcely 3 ft. 4 ins. wide. (Plate III. A.) In the projecting foundations on each side of this entrance were recesses from which the lowest stones

of the jambs of the arch or doorway had probably been removed. The massiveness of this work coupled with William of Worcester's reference to the "intervening bell-space," suggested, on analogy with other Friars' churches, that this wall formed the western wall of a "walking place" and served as the abutment of a steeple or bell-tower above. This was confirmed by the discovery, 9 ft. 2 ins. to the east of it, of a second and even more substantial wall, 5 ft. 4 ins. wide at its base and 3 ft. 4 ins. above. The upper part, which stood some 3 ft. high below ground where best preserved, projected 6 ft. from the south wall of the chancel and ended in a chamfered face, which probably at a higher level had formed the abutment of an arch spanning the entrance into the quire. The broad foundation below continued right across the chancel and was doubtless a sleeper wall. The precise width of the arch could not be ascertained, as the north side had been destroyed practically to the lower foundation, while the presence of a large tree almost exactly in the centre of the archway greatly impeded operations. The site, moreover, had been disturbed in comparatively recent times by a pit, which had been subsequently filled up and in which a quantity of animal bones were found. The width of the arch, however, certainly exceeded that of the unusually narrow entrance into the nave and must have been approximately 14 ft. Across it a screen would have served to shut off the quire. On a line with this wall and on the north side of the chancel was an exceptionally massive buttress to take the thrust of the tower. Its base was well preserved with a chamfered stone plinth and flint rubble core.

No remains of the north wall of the chancel survive above ground, but from this buttress up to the modern boundary wall which divides the site of the chancel

into two approximately equal parts, its foundations are well preserved, and have a broad sloping plinth of flint on the outer face. They doubtless continue along the line of the northern boundary of the adjoining cottage garden to the point where a part of the north-east buttress survives as already mentioned, but no further investigation was practical in this direction.

It remained, however, to trace the entrances to the "walking place" from the north and south, and to ascertain whether there had been a structural stair turret to the belfry. No definite trace of the door on the north side of the "walking place" was found as the wall had been destroyed to the foundation, but on the south side at a depth of 2 ft. 4 ins. below the present surface were discovered the bottom jamb stones of the door which led by a covered way into the cloister. (Plate II. A.) Superimposed on these remains is the wall which now forms a westward continuation of the south wall of the chancel, indicating that this section is entirely of post-suppression date. The doorway, which was subsequently traced again on the other side of this wall, was 4 ft. 5 ins. wide, and similar so far as the surviving remains indicated to the north door of the nave. Immediately adjoining it, on the inside, were several fragments of undecorated tiles with brown and dark green glazes which had formed the floor of the "walking place." Here also and all along the inner face of the walls of the quire, wherever these were uncovered, were found numerous fragments of painted glass together with some pieces of their lead casing, which must have fallen from the windows when the church was being demolished. The only portion of the interior of the quire to the east of the "walking place" which was explored was a small area in the south-west corner. This disclosed a projecting plinth varying from 1 ft. to 1 ft. 2 ins. in width

along the base of the south wall and returned against the west wall. The plinth, which was plastered with a smooth face on the top and side, stood to a height of 3 ft. 5 ins., and may conceivably have served as a support for the quire stalls. No definite indication of the floor level of the quire could be found, but if this plinth was originally wholly above ground, this must have been appreciably lower than that of either the "walking place" or the nave.

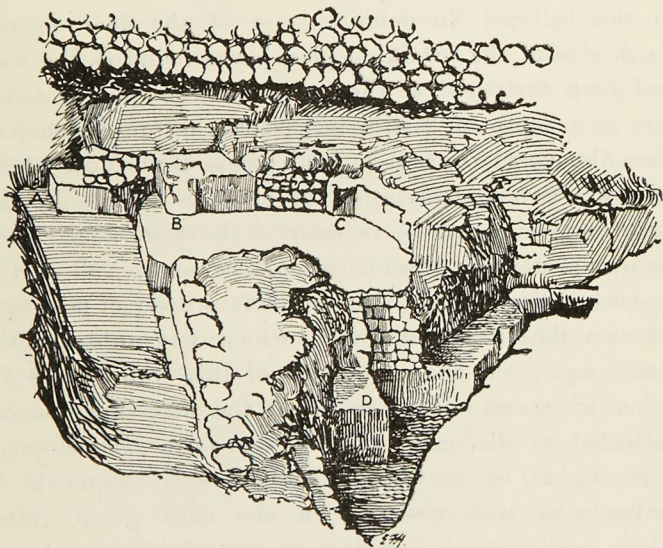


Fig 2. Base of Belfry Stair Turret.

The stair turret which led up to the tower stood on the south side of the chancel wall in the angle between it and a wall, the foundations of which were traced, which formed the outer side of a covered passage from the "walking place" into the cloister. These remains, although only a few inches below the surface, were unexpectedly well preserved. The floor of the turret was intact, with sufficient traces of the newel and first two

steps to indicate its plan. (Plate III. B.) It was approached from the passage by a door 2 ft. 2 ins. wide, in front of which was a single step, perfectly preserved, 2 ft. 8 ins wide and 5 ins. high. The moulded base of the door jamb on the north side was found *in situ* (fig. 2, B.) while the position of that on the south was clearly marked on the floor, so that the width of the door could be exactly determined. The structure of the turret generally was of flint, with ashlar dressings of Barnack stone and some good knapped flintwork on the exterior at certain points. On the upper surface of one of the corner stones (fig. 2, D.) was a large and well-cut masons' mark, a drawing of which made from a rubbing is here reproduced (fig. 3, No. 4).

To return now to the nave. The bottom courses of the north-east angle buttresses were found intact. They were 3 ft. wide with a projection of 3 ft. 4 ins., and at their corners on the upper bed of the stones where they would have been hidden by the stones above, were four masons' marks, each of different design. From here a section of the north wall of the nave was uncovered, another and slightly larger buttress being met with 19 ft. 6 ins. to the west. The wall was 2 ft. 9 ins. wide in its upper courses, where these were preserved, spreading in the foundation to 3 ft. 3 ins. As time was limited its whole length was not uncovered, but its course could be traced by a slight bank on the surface. As, however, it seemed probable that there had been a north door by which the townsfolk would have obtained direct access to the nave, the western section of this wall was uncovered and the bottom jamb stones of this door were found in position between the last two buttresses, and at distance of 80 ft. from the east and 5 ft. 10 ins. from the west walls of the nave. The doorway was 4 ft. 11 ins. wide and seems to have been perfectly

plain, as no architectural details of any kind were found associated with it. (Plate II. B.) Immediately inside and on the threshold were a few tiles still in position. They were quite plain with a pale yellow or green glaze, and among them were several fragments and at least one complete triangular specimen.

The evidence for the extent of the nave westward rests on the discovery of the two corner buttresses on the north-west. Of these, the one on the north side showed a curious alteration in lay-out during construction. The upper courses were laid at a different angle to the foundation beneath so that they projected very slightly at one corner over the edge of the latter. (*See plan*). From these buttresses the beginning of a substantial wall 4 ft. wide was found running at right angles to the north wall in a southerly direction, but at 3 ft. from the inside of the latter it had been cut through at an angle, leaving a rough irregular face. Beyond this no trace of its continuance could be found, although several trenches were dug across its line down to the natural chalk. There can be little doubt that this was the beginning of the west wall of the church, and it would seem that at some date subsequent to the demolition of the building the whole of the south-west part of the site had been levelled and the foundations removed, a process which would not have been difficult, as the nearness of the chalk to the surface caused by the artificial scarping of the hill, when the site was originally levelled for building, would have made any deep foundations unnecessary. Whatever the explanation, however, no trace of the west wall, apart from the fragment referred to, or of the south-west corner was found, although the position of the latter could be plotted with reasonable accuracy and the area was trenched systematically. In order to make matters

more certain, a trench was also dug across the line obtained by producing the west wall of the guest house northwards, in case the nave had been extended westward in some later reconstruction, but the chalk level was rapidly rising here and no sign of building was met with. Beyond this the slope of the hill makes the extension of the nave still further west unlikely. One may assume, therefore, with reasonable certainty that the dimensions of the nave were as stated above. Of the width of the aisles the evidence was less conclusive, as time only permitted of a search being made for the easternmost pair of piers of the nave arcade. Only the rubble foundations of these survived. They were approximately 5 ft. 8 ins. square and 20 ft. apart. The distance from the centre of these piers to the nave wall on each side was $12\frac{1}{2}$ ft., so that the original width of the aisles at the floor level must have been about 10 ft. The nave apparently consisted of only five bays, each arcade being supported on four columns with arches of considerable span.

Of the fittings of the church no trace was discovered, apart from a rough mass of flint rubble about 2 ft. high against the west face of the east wall of the south aisle on the left of the door into the "walking place." It is not improbable that this was the rubble core of a stone altar which must almost certainly have existed in about this position, but the remains were too slight to be certain.¹

The almost entire absence of moulded stones from the site of the church, and the fact that only the foundations of most of the walls survived, make it difficult to fix any precise dates for the various parts of the building. Bricks were used fairly freely for bonding the

¹ Blomefield mentions an altar to St. Anthony, but quotes no reference (*History of Norfolk, ut sup.* IX., p. 281).

flint foundations, but these are of a hard rough type with straw-marked bed, which were in use in Norfolk practically throughout the 14th and 15th centuries, so that they afford very little evidence of date.

It seems probable, however, that the quire was the earliest part of the structure, and doubtless dated from the foundation in the middle of the 14th century. There is practically nothing from which to date the nave; but as there was no evidence of rebuilding, it is reasonable to suppose that it also was of 14th-century date, though probably slightly later than the quire. The comparatively small projection of the buttresses supports this supposition. It is not unlikely that the masonry steeple with its abutments was a later addition, possibly replacing a wooden one, as the stair turret appeared to be of the Perpendicular period. Around it, and possibly fallen from the belfry, were several fragments of 15th-century window mouldings of clunch, while the mouldings on the door jambs of the turret itself also appeared to be of the 15th century.

In connection with the church it is convenient to consider its relation to the great cloister on the south. The discovery of the south-east angle buttress and part of the south wall of the nave seems to indicate that there must have been a narrow open court between it and the cloister walk. The present wall bounding the site of the cloister on the north, though for the most part modern, may in its centre portion be of older date. A trench dug on its north side for the purpose of examining the foundations showed that these were almost wholly absent, so that whatever its date it was clearly never intended to carry any substantial weight. That it is on a line with, and may have in part formed the outer wall of, the cloister walk separating it from the open court referred to above seems almost certain.

The existence of such a court is a not uncommon feature of Friars' houses. It occurred at the Franciscan and Carmelite churches in London and also in the Blackfriars at Norwich, and possibly also at Cardiff and Winchelsea (Greyfriars). The Cistercians had a somewhat similar arrangement in the lane which frequently abutted on one side of their cloister. The primary object in Friars' houses was doubtless to afford light to the windows of the nave, though it had the additional advantage of adding to the privacy of the domestic buildings by separating them from the public preaching nave. That this arrangement existed at Walsingham seems sufficiently implied to justify its inclusion on the plan, though the identification of the precise position of the great cloister in relation to the surrounding buildings is still admittedly uncertain.

THE GREAT CLOISTER.

The Great Cloister, so called to distinguish it from the Little Cloister, of which substantial remains survive, is indicated by the roughly square enclosure now used as a kitchen garden. This area, which measures 108 ft. from east to west and 99 ft. 6 ins. from north to south, was certainly less when the surrounding buildings were complete, though in the absence of systematic excavation of this part of the site, the suggested reconstruction shown on the plan is largely conjectural. The disposition of the various buildings around the cloister appears to have followed a more normal arrangement than was often the case in Friars' houses. On the east side were the dormitory and chapter house, the former probably projecting on the upper floor over the cloister walk. The existing wall on this side is in part original, and seems to have served as the inner wall of the cloister alley. The frater on the upper storey of the southern

range served to separate the main cloister from the little cloister and projected on both sides over their respective cloister walks. The northern wall of the frater, which presumably in the lower part contained the arcading of the cloister garth, has entirely gone; but it must have been on a line with the massive buttress which supports a single arch over the path on the west side of the present garden enclosure. This arch and buttress have been largely refaced, but doubtless incorporate the beginning of this wall. An attempt to trace its foundations further to the east was only partially successful. A single trench was dug across its line about 22 ft. west of the east wall of the enclosure, and at a depth of some 3 ft. a very rough flint foundation nearly 6 ft. wide and 22 ft. 8 ins. to the north of the little cloister was discovered. (*See plan.*) It proved impossible, however, to pick this up at other points by means of soundings with a crow-bar, and it would seem that these foundations have been almost entirely removed.

On the other two sides the boundary of the cloister is even less certain. The reasons for supposing that an open court or yard intervened between the church and the cloister on the north have already been given. That part of the existing wall on this side is original is not improbable, but it must have served only as a screen wall to support the pent roof over the cloister walk. At its eastern end this wall has been rebuilt, as there was originally a door here into the covered passage which led to the church. A straight joint some 12 ft. from the north-east corner indicates the junction with the older work. At the west end, for a distance of 32 ft. from the corner of the guest house, the wall is comparatively modern. It is perhaps significant that the point where the new and older work join almost

exactly coincides with the north-west corner of the cloister when plotted from the available data, assuming this to have been originally square in plan. As the late date of the present guest house implies that there must have been an earlier western range, it seems reasonable to conjecture that this may have stood somewhat east of the present building as has been provisionally shown on the plan, though there is at present no structural evidence for this building. It should be noted, however, that there is no indication of the abutment of a cloister walk on the east face of the existing guest house, and it is therefore possible that when the earlier building was demolished an open yard was left between the new building and the cloister, into which the doorways in the east wall of the present building opened. If this is accepted, the original cloister must have been approximately 60 ft. square, and was thus somewhat smaller than those of other known examples in mendicant houses, which were frequently 70 or 80 ft. square and occasionally, as in the Franciscan house in London, no less than 135 ft. including the alleys. The width of the cloister alleys at Walsingham appears to have been about 9 ft. or 10 ft., that on the south, and probably also those on the east and west, being incorporated in the structure of the flanking ranges under part of the upper storey. This somewhat niggardly arrangement was a common feature in Friars' houses and may be seen in surviving examples at the Blackfriars at Bristol and Norwich, at the Whitefriars at Hulne and Aylesford, and the Greyfriars at Ware in Hertfordshire and Yarmouth, as well as the now destroyed example at Bedford. It was undoubtedly due in the first instance to a desire for economy in building, coupled with the frequent necessity of utilizing to the maximum a restricted site, though the latter could scarcely have been the determining factor at Walsingham.

THE CHAPTER HOUSE.

The walls of the Chapter House still stand to a height of about 9 ft., and like those of the chancel, now serve as retaining walls, the ground within being on a level with their top. The building, which is in the normal position to the east of the great cloister, is rectangular, measuring 25 ft. by 46 ft. internally, and was entered apparently direct from the east cloister walk. The walls are of flint laid in fairly regular courses, and the present angle buttresses are modern. The remains of what appears to have been an original buttress on the south side, which has been subsequently incorporated in the east wall of the long narrow building to the south, is of well-faced flint with galletted joints and stands considerably higher than the surrounding walls. The whole of the west wall abutting on the site of the cloister seems to have been rebuilt. In it is a narrow brick doorway, possibly of 18th-century date. No trace of the original door survives.

Time did not permit of any excavation being carried out in this building, so that it is impossible to say what was the original level of the floor. This may have been laid on a foundation of rammed earth as has been suggested was done in the chancel, so as to bring the general level up to that of the cloister, but in the absence of excavation this is purely conjectural.

THE FRATER.

The frater stood in the normal position to the south of the great cloister, and in accordance with the not uncommon practice in Friars' houses already noticed was placed on the upper floor projecting over the cloister walk. Here, however, the arrangement seems to have been carried a step further owing to the proximity of

the little cloister on the south, the north walk of which was apparently only separated from the south walk of the main cloister by a solid wall, which formed the central support of the frater above, which thus projected over the alleys of both cloisters. Only the west gable of this building, with a large window, now devoid of tracery, survives. The main entrance was probably at the east end, but a small door high up in the west wall apparently gave access to the stairs adjoining the guest house, and thence to the upper floor of that building and the cloister below.

THE DORMITORY.

On the east side of the great cloister and to the south of the chapter house are the remains of a building of apparently late date, to judge from its inferior construction. It measures 46 ft. 10 ins. long and 13 ft. wide internally, and the present ground level inside is considerably lower than that of the cloister and chapter house adjoining. It seems probable that this was the sub-vault of the dormer range. The upper portion of the building has entirely gone, except for part of the south gable end; but unless the dormitory was unusually small it must have extended over the cloister walk and possibly across the western portion of the chapter house. The basement was approached from a passage from the little cloister by a flight of steps, some of which probably survive beneath the earth bank which marks their site. A small pointed window, about 9 ins. wide, with a broad splay which served to light these stairs still survives. The greater part of the eastern wall of this building has at some date been demolished and the gap filled in by a later and thinner wall. In the south end is a blocked doorway, 3 ft. wide, which

communicated with the exterior on the lower level, and over this are the jambs of a two-light window which lit the upper storey. (*See Plate VIII.*)

THE GUEST HALL.

To the west of the great cloister is a large hall of five bays, measuring internally 77 ft. by 24 ft. 3 ins. It is now roofless, but the walls are fairly well preserved, those at the north and south ends standing complete to the top of the gable. They are constructed of flint with stone dressings and a single course of brick over the arches of the windows and doors. In the east and west walls, 19 ft. from the north end and at a height of about 12 ft., are two carved stone corbels for the floor beam carrying one bay of the flooring, and in the north gable wall are corresponding joist holes. How the floor of the rest of the building was supported is uncertain, as there is no indication of further corbels, apart from a small one at the south end, and no joist holes in the south gable wall. That the whole building was on two storeys, however, seems clear from the indication of an upper series of windows on both sides, and from the remains of the external staircase on the east side, which must have given access direct to the first floor. The building has at some time been used for farm purposes, and several of the openings have been widened to admit farm carts; but enough remains to show that on the ground floor on the west side there was a series of splayed windows with arches so depressed as to be almost flat. The openings on the east side, which are now blocked up, are somewhat similar, though wider, and appear to have been doorways rather than windows, as there is no indication of a sill, the openings being continued to the ground. In

the centre of the south wall is a doorway of earlier date with moulded jambs and pointed arch which is still in use, and gives access to the kitchen apartments of the modern house. It has probably been rebuilt, but may indicate an original opening. Another door of uncertain date opens from the east wall into a small recess beneath the original stairs outside. The upper floor was lit by a range of windows on either side, whose jambs survive though the arches have gone. These are worked in brick, the ends of which have not, however, been cut to the angle of the splay, leaving a rough and unfinished appearance. In the south gable is a large window of better construction, though none of its tracery remains. In the eastern continuation of this wall, which formed the enclosing wall of the external staircase mentioned above, is a narrow blocked doorway, which apparently communicated possibly by means of a bridge with the frater on the upper floor of the southern range. On the west side, in place of one of the buttresses, is a massive projection of flint with stone quoins, which presumably provided thickness for a fireplace and chimney recess on the upper floor. The existence of this fireplace, coupled with the general character of the work, the almost flat arches of the windows and the texture and size of the bricks used suggest a very late date for the building, and it seems probable that it was erected only a few years before the suppression of the house, or at any rate not earlier than the beginning of the 16th century. As to its purpose it is difficult to speak with certainty. Locally it is always referred to as the refectory, but it seems more probable that it was in fact the guest hall built to accommodate some of the numerous pilgrims who continued to be attracted by the fame of Walsingham until the eve of the Dissolution. These would have

been accommodated on the upper floor, while the lower storey may have been used for stabling or storage and similar purposes.

The possibility of an earlier guest house or western claustral range having existed to the east of this building has already been discussed in connection with the cloister.

THE LITTLE CLOISTER.

The little cloister is the best preserved part of the surviving buildings, the inner wall of the garth standing in one place almost to the top of the upper storey, which seems to have projected here on all sides over the cloister alleys. The garth itself, which is turfed and forms a pleasant lawn, is 50 ft. square. The walls are of flint, with stone dressings for the windows and buttresses. The lower windows on the east and west are of three lights with square heads and moulded dripstones, two on each side, retaining their tracery intact. These were glazed only in the heads of the lights. On the east side, where the wall is considerably higher, one of the upper windows with the sill and jambs of a second survive. Like the lower series it has a square-headed frame, but with two cinquefoil cusped lights divided horizontally by a single transom. The upper part appears to have been rebuilt with the original stone. On the north side only the sills of the windows survive, but they seem to have been similar to those of the east and west. On the south side the three windows have slightly pointed arches worked in flint and brick. In the south-east corner a stair turret projects into the cloister garth. It is approached by a plain doorway with a four-centred arch from the site of the south walk of the cloister, and gave access to the upper floor of the southern range, all trace of which has disappeared.

The cloister is now entered from the south by a pointed archway of brick and flint, which spans the north walk and has recently been repaired. In the south face over this arch is a lozenge-shaped tile bearing the name Nehemiah Bond and the date 1648, on either side of which is a curious carved brick medallion with a grotesque man's head on one side and a female figure on the other. (Plate X. A.) They are said to have been brought from the neighbouring manor house at East Barsham, and were probably placed there when this part of the site was converted into a dwelling-house.

THE KITCHENS.

A long narrow apartment on the west side of the little cloister was probably the conventual kitchen. It is constructed of substantial flint walls and measures internally 51 ft. 6 ins. by 20 ft. 6 ins. The northern part has recently been enclosed and now forms the drawing room of the modern house, a doorway having been cut through the original wall in the north-west corner. In the north wall are two original single-light windows and a door with moulded jambs and pointed arch, all of which are now blocked up. There are also several blocked doors and windows in the un-enclosed part of the building, and the whole bears evident traces of having been much altered. An original feature, however, is a recess in the exterior of the east wall with a pointed brick arch of good workmanship. (Plate VII. A.) It is 7 ft. wide and 5 ft. 6 ins. high to the apex of the arch, and contains a timber frame within, which is also visible on the other side of the wall where it extends 2 ft. 1 in. to the south. The rubble filling of the wooden frame is modern, but the frame itself is undoubtedly original, and is almost certainly the buttery hatch opening into the western walk of the little

cloister, from where the food must have been carried up to the frater. The extension of the wooden frame on the inner side was doubtless to allow for the sliding back of a shutter.

EASTERN RANGE OF THE LITTLE CLOISTER.

A large building of uncertain use stood on the eastern side of the little cloister, constructed, as were most of the buildings on this side, on the lower ground so that its upper storey was on a level with the adjoining cloister. Part of the south wall and gable of this building survives, and sufficient of the east wall to determine its size. On the west side, where it abutted on the cloister walk, the wall stands to a height of some 7 ft. from the cloister level. In this wall are two narrow doorways of similar design, which retain the hinge pins for the doors. (Plate VII. B.) They are constructed of stone with four-centred arches, and must originally have opened direct into the upper floor of the building, as there is now a drop of about 8 ft. to the ground on the east side. That this building may have been the infirmary is not improbable. The twin doorways are apparently late insertions, as the upper part of the wall in which they are set seems to have been rebuilt. They are probably part of the apparently extensive work undertaken in the early part of the 16th century and may have given access to the reredorter, the position of which, owing to the absence of running water on the site, would have been fixed by the general lie of the ground in relation to the adjoining buildings.

THE PRIOR'S OR GUARDIAN'S LODGING.

The ground to the south of the little cloister is rough and uneven, and almost certainly conceals foundations of other buildings in this direction. This is borne out by

the accompanying views of the site in the early part of last century, which appear to indicate a fairly lofty fragment of a building still standing in this area. (Plate IX. A. and B.) It was not unusual in the later period for the guardian of a Franciscan house or a Dominican prior to have a separate lodging, which would also doubtless have been used for entertaining the Provincial when he visited the convent on the occasion of a provincial chapter; and it is not improbable that such a building stood in this position at Walsingham.

THE CEMETERY.

The lay cemetery, which probably also served as a preaching yard, as was the case in many Friars' houses, must have been to the north of the church, between it and the gatehouse. This ground has never been built on, and is now part of the orchard in which the remains of the church are situated. The Friars' cemetery was probably to the east and south of the chancel of the church where the ground slopes down to the roadway.

OBJECTS OF INTEREST FOUND.

Apart from a quantity of pottery, mostly of quite recent date and none of which could be definitely ascribed to the mediæval period, a certain number of moulded stones and several 17th and 18th-century clay pipes, the only objects found during the excavations were a few pavement tiles, many fragments of painted glass, and the masons' marks already referred to. It is desirable to deal with these briefly in conclusion.

TILES.

Very few of the tiles were complete, and most of the fragments, apparently *in situ*, were found close to the

walls and on the threshold of the doors of the church, suggesting that the floor had been deliberately stripped and that only the broken tiles at the edges had been left. These varied in thickness from slightly less than $\frac{3}{4}$ in. to $1\frac{1}{4}$ in. They are of a good hard texture, the body varying in colour from red to light brown. None of them had any decoration other than a plain glazed surface on the upper face. These glazes were of four varieties: a very dark brown with a highly glazed enamel-like surface; a dark green with less polish occurring on an unusually thick tile; a pale yellow, also highly glazed; and a dull mottled green and brown. Of the latter type there were several triangular examples, one of which was complete and measures 5 ins. on its shorter sides, $6\frac{3}{4}$ ins. on the base, and $1\frac{1}{4}$ in. in thickness.

MASONS' MARKS.

As already mentioned, five stones with masons' marks were found. All of these were still in position, the mark in each case being on the top bed of the stone where it would have been originally invisible. Four of the marks were on the corner stones of the two north-east angle buttresses of the nave. Three of these were clearly cut in the roughly faced surface of the stone, but the fourth was barely discernible. (*See* fig. 3, Nos. 1, 2, and 3). The fifth and best preserved of these marks is on a corner stone on the external face of the belfry stair turret. (D. on fig. 2.) It measures about 4 ins. by 3 ins. and consists of a series of crossing and curved lines over a central oblong. (*See* fig. 3, No. 4.) It has been suggested that this was the distinctive mark of a mason whose family had been in the trade for some generations, as it is said to have been the practice for

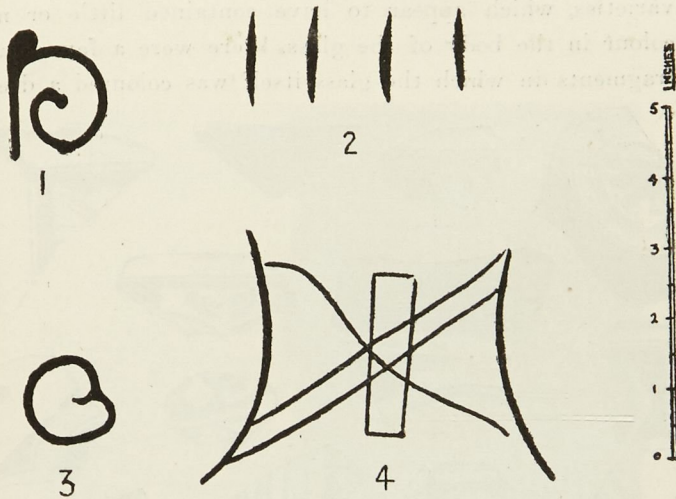


Fig. 3. Masons' Marks.

a son to adopt his father's mark with one or two additional lines, and this comparatively complicated design certainly suggests an elaboration from a simpler original. The fact that these marks are all on the top bed of the stone points to a late date for the work.

THE PAINTED GLASS.

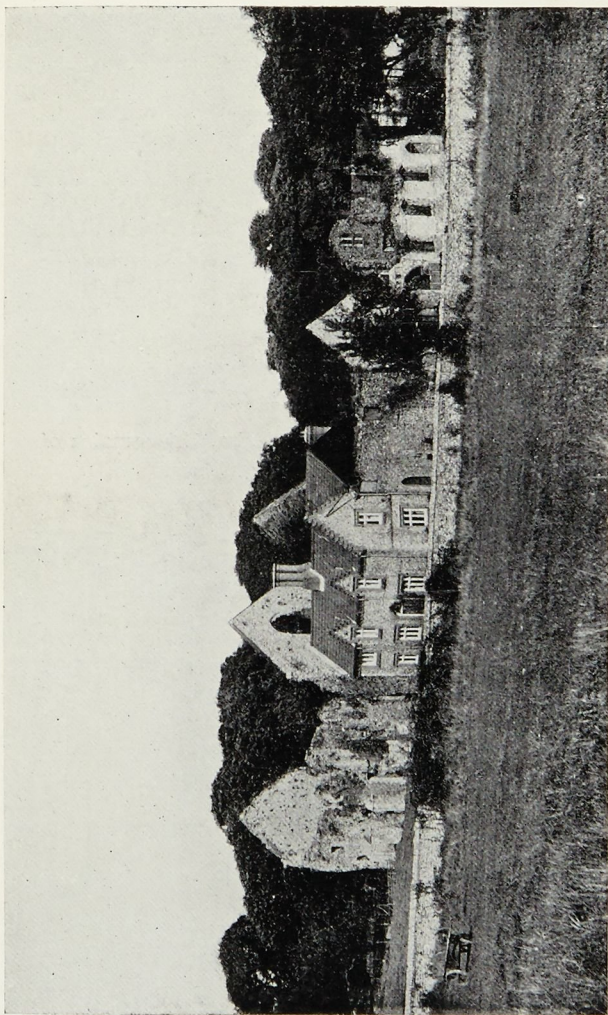
Although a large quantity of painted glass was recovered, the fragments were always too small to identify any of the subjects depicted. Several pieces contained portions of a black letter inscription, but no single word could be recognized. The fragments seem to fall into at least two varieties: a thin, more or less transparent glass with architectural and floral designs in a red-brown paint on one surface, and a thicker but much more brittle and almost opaque glass which often crumbled at the touch. The portions of inscription were usually on the latter. In addition to these

varieties, which appear to have contained little or no colour in the body of the glass, there were a few small fragments in which the glass itself was coloured a deep

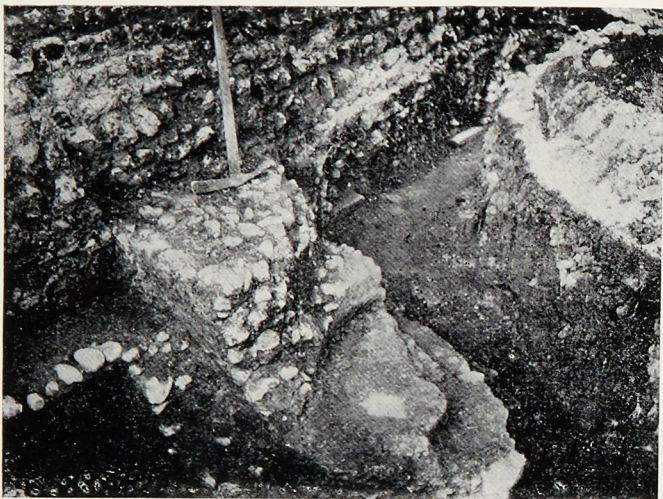


Fig. 4. Painted Glass from Walsingham Friary.

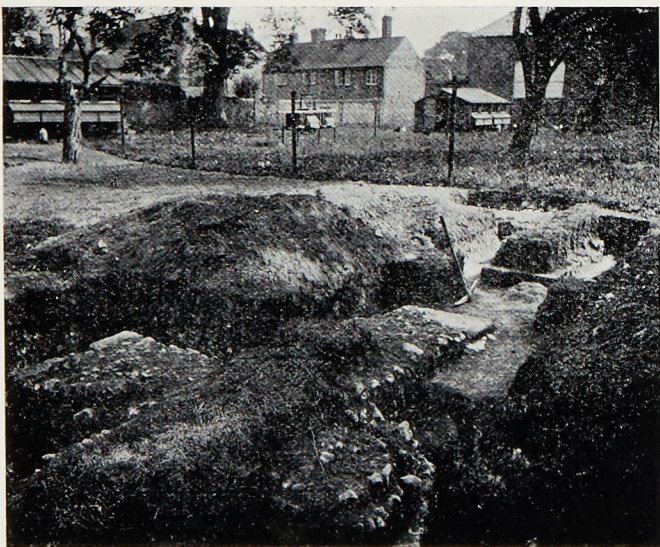
red or blue. These may possibly have been of slightly earlier date, but the bulk of the fragments appear to date from the 15th century.



Walsingham Friary from the South-West.



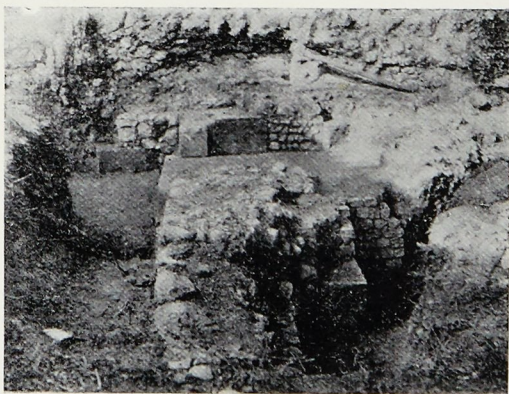
A. South-West corner of the Quire with remains of South Door of "Walking Place."



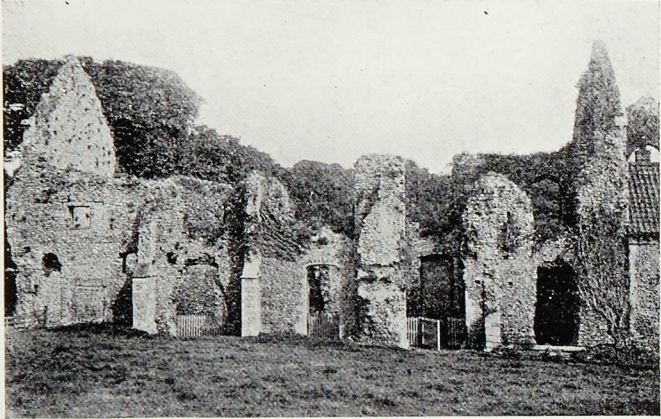
B. North-West angle of Nave with remains of North Door looking North-East.



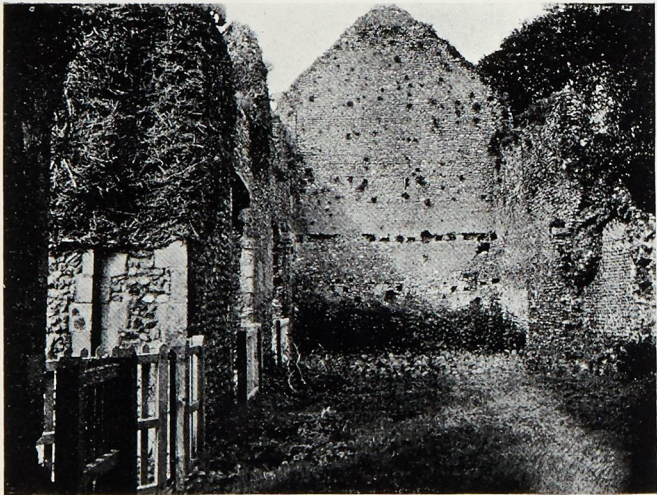
A. East Wall of Nave and Entrance to
"Walking Place."



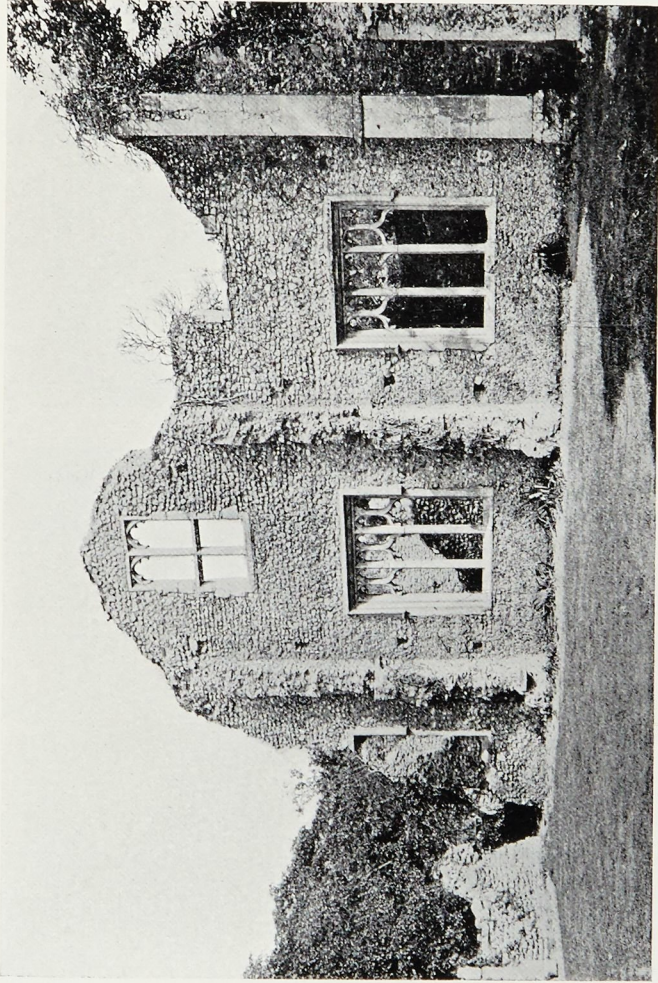
B. Base of Belfry Stair Turret.



A. The Guest House from the West.

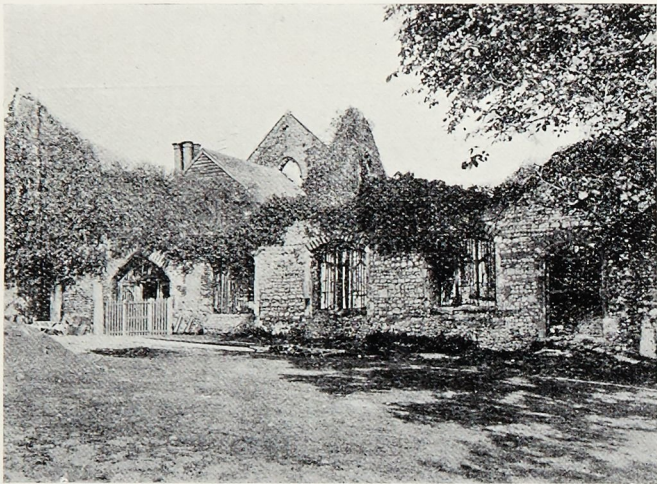


B. Interior of Guest House looking North.



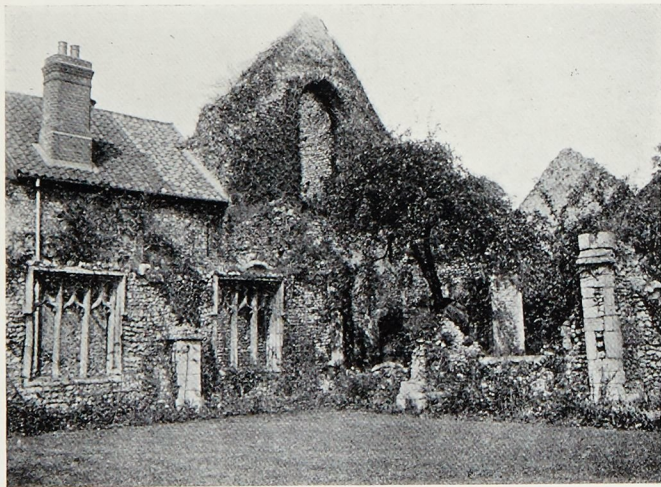
Eastern range of the Little Cloister.

[Reproduced by permission of H.M. Office of Works.]

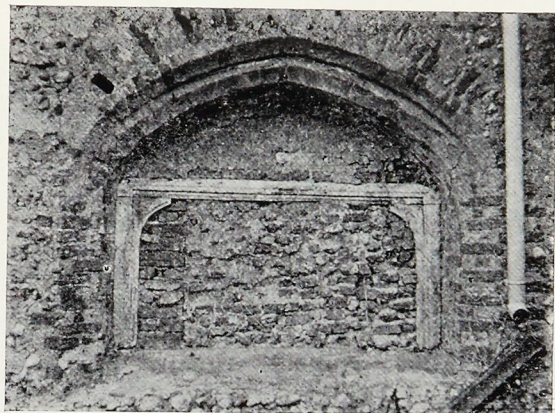


A. The Little Cloister from the South.

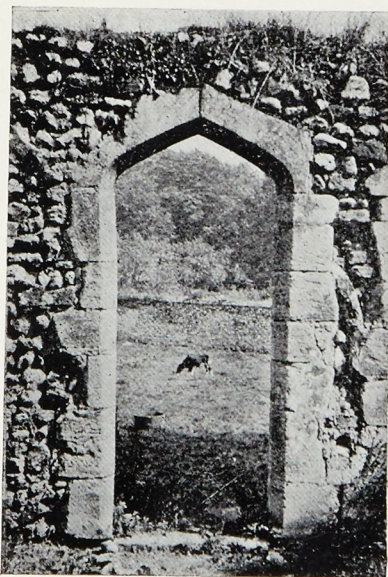
[Reproduced by permission of H.M. Office of Works.]



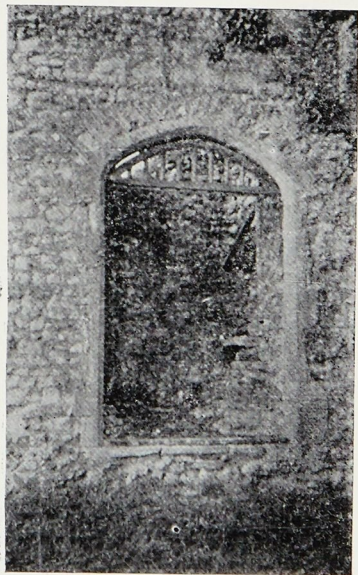
B. The Little Cloister looking North-West with
West Gable of Frater in background.



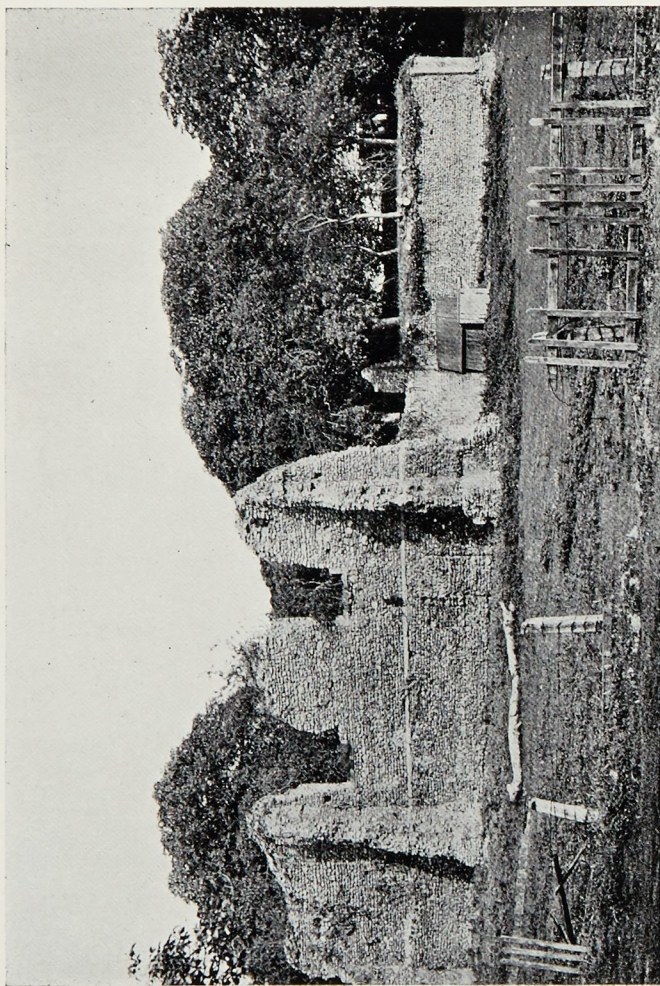
A. Serving Hatch in West Alley of Little Cloister.



B. One of Twin Doors in East range of Little Cloister.

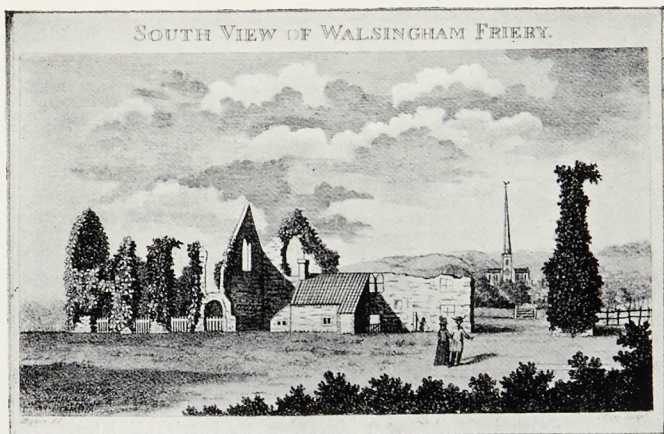


C. Door to Stair Turret in Little Cloister.



Eastern range of Great Cloister and Chapter House from the South-East.

[Reproduced by permission of H.M. Office of Works.]



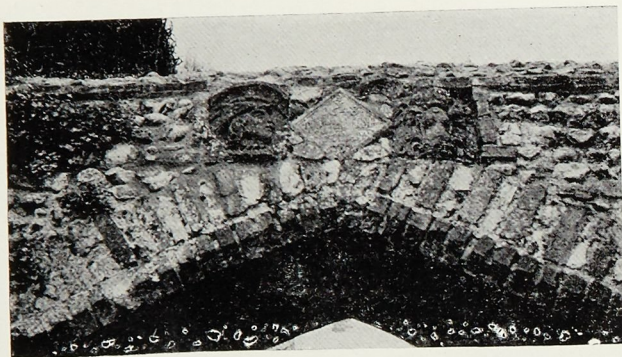
A. Walsingham Friery from the South-West (c. 1800).

[From an engraving by J. Page after H. Repton.]



B. Walsingham Church from the Friery.

[From an engraving in "Virtue's Beauties of England and Wales."]

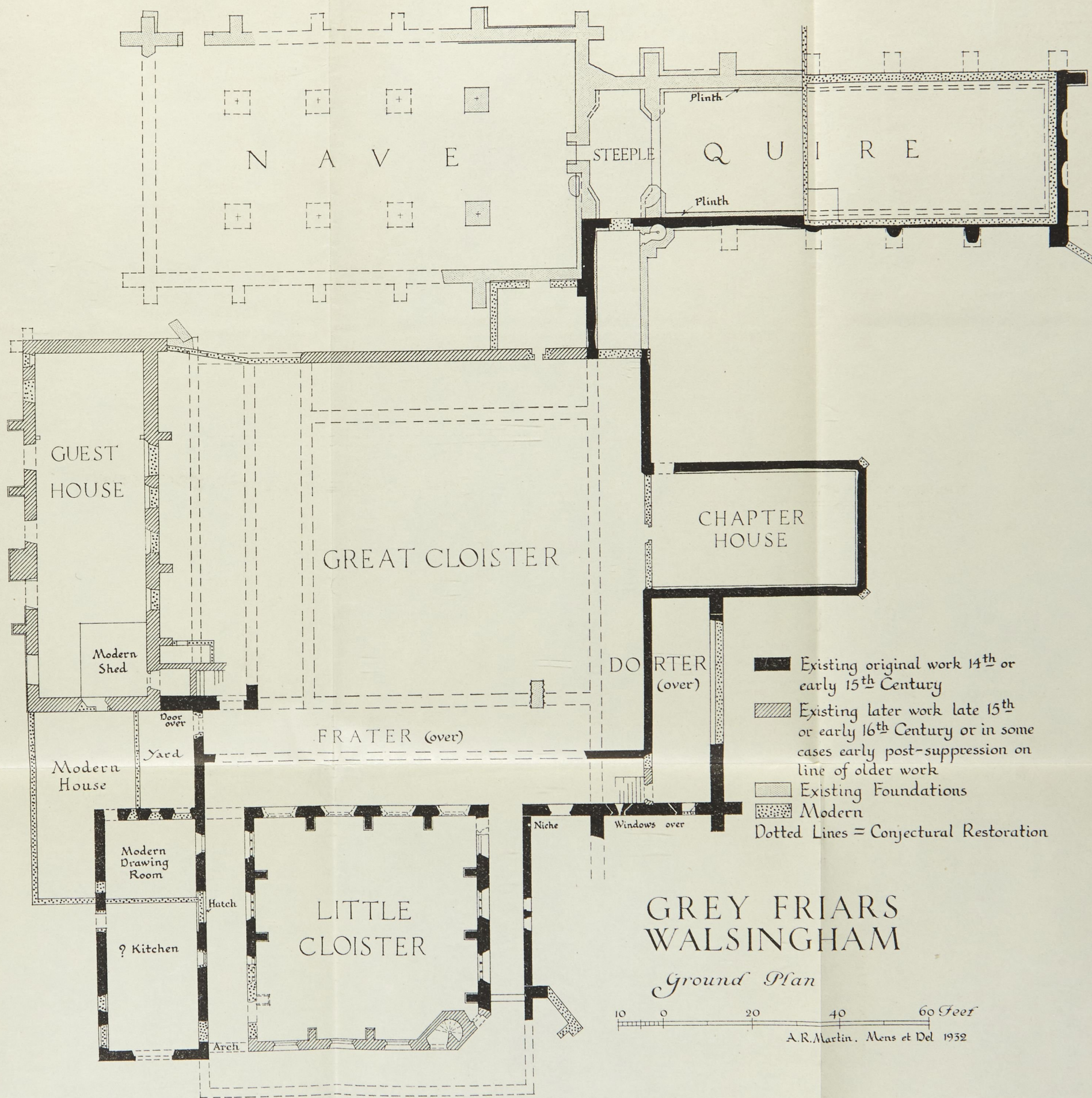


A. Moulded Bricks over Entrance to Little Cloister.



B. Probable original Entrance to Precinct from the Market Place.

LAY FOLKS CEMETERY



APPENDIX I.

RENTAL OF THE SITE IN 1539-40.

Ministers Accounts. Henry VIII. Norfolk No. 2632.

Account of Thomas Sydney collector of the rents of the lands and possessions of the late house of the Friars Minors of Walsingham Michaelmas 31—
Michaelmas 32 Henry VIII.

Arrears:—None as appears at the foot of the account of the preceding year.

Firma scitus nuper domus ibidem: Set reddit comptum de 40s. de firma partis scitus predicti cum diversis edificiis desuper edificatis dimisse Rogero Towneshend militi et Anne uxori ejus per indenturam pro termino annorum solvendis ad terminos predictos (*i.e.* Lady Day and Michaelmas). Et de 20d. de firma unius clausi ibidem in tenura dicti Rogeri per annum solvendis etc. Et de 4d. de firma unius pecie terre ibidem in tenura dicti Rogeri per annum solvendis, etc.

Summa.....42s.

Firma tenementorum infra villam de Walsinghame:—Et de 3s. 4d. de firma duorum cotagiorum unacum 2 acris terra ibidem dimissorum Thome Sydney per Indenturam pro termino annorum ut dicitur solvendis etc. Et de 16s. de firma unius tenementi ibidem cum uno gardino in tenura Willelmi Reynoldes per annum solvendis, etc. Et de 20s. de firma unius alii tenementi ibidem in tenura Thome Jennynges per annum solvendis, etc. Et de 26s. 8d. de firma unius tenementi sive diversor[ar]ii ibidem vocati le Whyte Horsse cum duobus Gardinis unacum parcella terre ibidem vocata le Carre continenti per estimacionem unam acram dimissi Ricardo Grene per indenturam pro termino annorum ut dicitur solvendis etc.

Summa.....66s.

Sum total of the receipts.....108s.

P.R.O. Ministers Accounts Henry VIII. No. 2633.

This is the account for 32-33 Henry VIII. and is similar to the before mentioned, but with the following addition at the end:—

Novus Redditus in Walsinghame. Et de 2s. pro redditu unius
parcelle terre ibidem continentis per estimacionem dimidiam
acram vocate an Aldercarre cum certis lez Redes ibidem
crescentibus in tenura Thome Sydney per annum solvendis
etc.

Summa.....2s.

Sum total of the Receipt.....110s.

NOTE.—The accounts for 34-36 Henry VIII. (Nos. 2634—2636 inclusive) are identical to the above. That for 36-37 Henry VIII. (No. 2637) records that owing to the sale to John Eyre no account is entered on this roll.

APPENDIX II.

PARTICULARS FOR A GRANT TO JOHN EYRE 1544.

*Augmentation Office: Particulars for grants 36 Henry VIII.
No. 422.*

10 November 36 Henry 8 (1544).

m. 7. Friars minor in Walsingham co. Norfolk.

Scitus de nuper domus valet in:—

Firma partis scitus predicti cum diversis edificiis
desuper edificatis dimisse Rogero Townesend
militi et Anne uxori eius per indenturam pro
termino annorum Reddendo inde ad Festa
Annunciacionis beate Marie Virginis et Sancti
Michælis Archangeli equaliter per annum. xls.

Firma unius clausi ibidem in tenura dicti Rogeri
de anno in annum Reddendo inde per annum. xxd.

Firma unius pecie terre ibidem in tenura antedicti
Rogeri de anno in annum reddendo inde per
annum. iiiiid.

at xxi (sic)

xliis.

APPENDIX III.

VALOR ECCLESIASTICUS 1535.

(Vol. III. p. 388.)

Domus Fratrum minorum in Walsyngham Magna (*sic*).

Egidio coventre gardiano ibidem.

Valor in temporalia in comitatu Norfolk.

Firma trium tenementorum in Parva Walsyngham.

Clare per annum lxs.

Que remanent clare

Decima inde vis.

APPENDIX IV.

PETITION OF THE PRIOR AND CANONS OF WALSINGHAM AGAINST
THE FOUNDATION OF A FRANCISCAN HOUSE THERE.

BRITISH MUSEUM COTTON MSS. NERO E. VII. FF. 160-1 (in pencil).

Egredie et venerabili domine de Clare si placeat dominacioni sue monstrant sui sacerdotes humiles Prior et Canonici prioratus sui de Walsyngham quod si aliquis locus infra parochias eorundem de Walsyngham Magna vel parva fratribus minoribus vel quibuscumque aliis ordinibus mendicantium concedatur ad edificandum, et illi ibidem virtute illius concessionis edificent et inhabitent Dampna inde et grauamina predicto Prioratui contingent innumerabilia ut in articulorum subscriptorum inspectione patencius iminebit.

Primo advertendum est quod in edificacione et constructione domorum et murorum infra parochias predictas fructus terre et loci ex quibus decime solui consueuerunt consumerentur. Ac dicti locus et terra si edificati confundentur adeo ut de cetero decime in ea parte non pervenient. Et si generaretur perpetuum prejudicium ecclesiis parochialibus antedictis.

Item advertendum est aliud periculum et magis ponderandum quod dicti fratres infra dictas parochias sic edificantes habitantes et celebrantes attrahent sibi parochianos earundem ecclesiarum et peruertent corda eorum ab ecclesiis

suis parochialibus predictis ut in Missis et confessionibus audiendis, sic quod ubi iidem parochiani ex deuotione quam gerebant erga ecclesias suas parochiales missas in eisdem ecclesiis audire solebant et multis beneficiis ea occasione eisdem ecclesiis subueniebant, et se capellanis suis parochialibus quibus cura animarum suarum committitur confitebantur, ipsos ecclesias et capellanos parochiales in premissis et aliis quibus iidem parochiani dictis ecclesiis tenebantur et tenentur omnino relinquunt.

Item advertendum est quod ubi dicti parochiani solebant audire missas suas quasi singulis diebus in ecclesiis suis parochialibus, quibus purificationes mulierum et sepulture hominum communiter accidebant, et oblationes suas ex deuotione in hujusmodi purificationibus et sepulturis faciebant; per alleccionem et verba blandiciosa et deceptibilia dictorum fratrum ecclesiis suis parochialibus predictis hujusmodi subtrahent; et sic dicte ecclesie parochiales eisdem et consimilibus defraudentur.

Item advertendum est quod dicti fratres occasione premissa multa alia jura parochialia convertent in usus suos singulares et communes in prejudicium dictarum ecclesiarum parochialium, cum iidem fratres nichil proprium aut commune habere poterint juxta assercionem eorundem.

Item advertendum est quod porte Monasterii dictorum prioris et canonicorum de Walsyngham propter incursum latronum et minas eisdem quampluries illatas, pro securitate tam personarum quam rerum de noctibus clauduntur, quibus temporibus nocturnis tempore peregrinationis durante populi habetur accessus, qui quidem populus tempus diurnum pro oblationibus faciendis expectat, quod verisimiliter non faceret si ad loca fratrum recursum haberet.

Item advertendum est quod omnia bona spiritualia et temporalia eisdem priori et conuentui collata non sufficerent per medietatem anni ad onera supportanda prout nunc, si dictis oblationibus in futurum carerent.

Item advertendum est quod si fratres predicti dicant se velle cavere de indemnitatem premissorum, hoc esset per pignora fidejussores vel per juramentum, et iste cautiones in hoc casu non sufficiunt, pro eo quod jura ecclesiastica sunt inestimabilia, et ad hoc dicti fratres sunt persone exempte.

Et si cauciones predicti essent commisse, non succurreretur predictis priori et conventui, nec alicui Rectori ecclesie per aliquem ordinarium, nisi per solum papam vel ejus delegatum, et esset impossibile dictis priori et conuentui vel Rectori pro quolibet gravamine ecclesie sue in premissis et circa ea illato prosequi. Nam fructus et prouentus ecclesie sue non sufficerent in ea parte, et sic eadem ecclesia sine remedio in ea parte remaneret imperpetuum.

Item advertendum est quod dicti fratres non possunt sibi acquirere noua loca absque licencia sedis apostolice; Et si fecerint, sunt excommunicati, et ideo de hoc caueatur.

Item advertendum est quod dicti fratres locum infra dictas parochias seu earum alteram edificare et inhabitare non solummodo ad commodum suum intendunt, immo magis ad deterioracionem et confusionem ecclesiarum parochialium predictarum et prioratus predicti, quia apud Burnham per quatuor leucas a dictis parochiis de Walsyngham ex una parte distantem, constat habitacio fratrum Carmel' fratribus repleta et apud Sniterle ex altera parte per quinque leucas ab eisdem parochiis distantem alia habitacio fratrum ejusdem ordinis, qui satis occupant partes propinquas, unde nullo modo possent fratres de nouo in locis premissis edificare ad eorum commodum, nisi verteretur predicto prioratui in infinitum dispendium.

De predictis igitur dispendiis et gravaminibus et aliis per edificacionem et inhabitationem dictorum fratrum in prefatis parochiis casualiter superventuris, placeat illustri domine predicte, prenotati prioratus venerabili patrone, caritatis intuitu respectum habere, et prioratum suum predictum in iuribus et commoditatibus suis gracie auxiliari et manutenere, sicut per illam et antecessores suos hucusque manutenentis et auxiliatis extitit, ne in edificacione fratrum predictorum noue caritatis presumpcio dicti prioratus summa caritatis deuocione prius fundati perpetua generetur consumpcio. Et si talem noue caritatis deuocionem predicta domina venerabilis mente conceperit que in perpetuum prejudicium dicti prioratus sui verteretur, ut in edificacione fratrum predictorum in locis predictis concedenda, suppliciter hanc rogant sui sacerdotes humiles prior et canonici prenotati ut caritative propositum illud revocare dignetur.

[Here follows a transcript of the same document in French.]