

WESTMINSTER ABBEY.

SOME ACCOUNT OF THE FOUR NORTHERN CHAPELS OF THE
 APSE: ST. PAUL, ST. JOHN BAPTIST, ST. ERASMUS, AND
 ABBOT ISLIP.

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[Read at an Evening Meeting of the Society, 10th March, 1884.]

The object of this paper is to make known a conjecture which, when thoughtfully commented on, seems to clear up some of the unaccounted-for changes brought about nearly three centuries ago in some of the apsidal chapels on the north side.

This essay might, as regards the main object, have been much curtailed; but so much before unknown or newly-discovered has been brought into its scope that it is deemed best to include all the collaterals, even although they are not essential to the aforesaid main object in view.

The early history of the first three of these chapels is in impenetrable obscurity. Two are just mentioned in a cartulary now in Heralds' College, to which the attention of Dean Stanley was directed by Mr. Doyne C. Bell, F.S.A., in which it is said that "Brother John of London, afterwards the recluse, and brother J. Northampton, had made the painting of the higher panel of the altar of St. John Baptist for," and

“Brother John Sutton had made the painting of the dedication of the church at Westm’ with the judgments written at the altar of St. Paul. And likewise a picture at the panel of the King St. Sebert for.”* This is all that appears to be known regarding the first two chapels, but three others are named in the same cartulary, to which no places are now assignable, St. Helen, St. Thomas, and Holy Trinity. Probably St. Erasmus’s chapel was of later date, as certainly was that of Abbot Islip.

Although all who hear or read this paper may have seen these four northern chapels, yet few can remember or are aware of the greater confusion (bad enough now) which once prevailed in some of them, and therefore it will be the more to the purpose to commence this paper with a description of the chapels as they were from about 1600 to 1876.

In St. Paul’s chapel, at the time of the erection of the monument of Sir John Puckering, about 1598 (for the proper placing of which the western part of the screen, whatever it was, was necessarily cleared away), there existed only four monuments, namely, those of the Countess of Sussex and Sir Thomas Bromley against two of the beautiful old arcades, Sir Giles Daubeney on the floor, and Lord Bouchier in the screen. The other arcades were soon after monumented by Carleton 1631, Cottington 1635 and 1679, and Fullerton King Charles I.

In order to afford a good view of the Puckering

* This latter picture may have preceded the stone panel now over that king’s tomb, attributed to King Edward IV.’s period.

monument the adjacent part of the screen was then (1598) made of a plain wall, as shown in Dart's plan ; perhaps it was also a dwarf wall. In 1718 this low screen-wall was occupied on the north face with Scheemaker's monument of Sir Henry Belasyse. In 1766 the low screen-wall was raised to a prodigious height and to the full width of the space, so as to attach to its south face the large frontispiece monument of Pulteney, Earl of Bath, as it is shown in Neale's perspective view of the north aisle of the chancel.

In 1840 was placed on the floor of the chapel Chantrey's mass of marble to commemorate James Watt. About the same time there took place some rough dealing by Edward Blore, the then architect of the Abbey. He removed from under the canopy of Lord Bouchier's tomb the *en dos d'ane* covering of wood, which is so well shewn in Neale, Plate II. p. 75 (Neale says that there were once two leaden coffins). The donkey-back the writer well remembers, for he has often touched its loose oaken planks, and peeped behind to discover the contents. This valuable relic could well have been replaced with new work like the old ; but Mr. Blore preferred to overlay the tomb with a thick slab of stone—a deplorable change ! *

It will be proper here, before describing the modern

* There yet remains on the upper part of the monument much of the blazonment, in heraldry, badges, and mottoes, which Neale spoke of sixty years ago. These, with skilful treatment, could be developed and, moreover, preserved. See Neale, Plate VIII.

alteration made in St. Paul's chapel, to describe how this and many other even more important alterations were brought about.

It is due to the memory of a former Sub-Dean, the Rev. Lord John Thynne, to state that, up to a late period of his long and useful life, his was the ruling spirit of the Dean and Chapter in all matters relating to repairs, alterations, and restorations. His judgment in these processes was trustworthy, and he never flinched from preventing mischief or waste, whenever either showed itself; and thereby was accorded to him great power as well as influence in all architectural matters. Lord John had for many years expressed his abhorrence of the many enormous monuments of the last century placed in the midst of the area, and having still larger, and quite unnecessary, stone walls at their backs, generally of repulsive plainness and ugliness. He saw how much daylight they shut out and how much view both behind and before they obstructed. After much consideration designs for the reduction of the ugly intrusions were submitted, which met with the approbation of the Dean and Canons (notwithstanding the known repugnance and hesitation of the excellent architect of the Abbey to such alterations of monuments, even those of recent date), it was determined, despite all possible opposition, to proceed boldly with the reductions, to which in the end universal approbation was accorded, some valuable discoveries were made, and even the kind co-operation of the worthy Sir G. Gilbert Scott was acquired. The alterations were made in about six

months, at the end of which the writer was requested to make a Report on the works, which he did in January, 1877. The concluding paragraph of the Report is as follows:—

“Brick and Stone Walls cleared away.”

“Of these obstructions removed the superficial measurement is about 1,000 feet. As the greater part of these are intermediate or internal, stopping light and view as they did both ways, the actual gain is nearly twofold, *i.e.* 2,000 feet superficial. The floor space gained by the same means is at least 100 feet superficial.”

This is a digression; but it has seemed desirable to give this brief statement (perhaps the only one extant) of the origin and ultimate execution of alterations to many state and private monuments, before detailing those to the first that this Paper has now brought us to, namely, that of the Earl of Bath. Its erection in 1766, and its form, have already been adverted to. As to its reduction a few words will suffice.

It was evident that the whole extent of the stone wall beyond the architectural outline of the marble frontispiece of the Pulteney monument was superfluous to the design. That superfluity was therefore cut away, and thereby the back as well as the front of the monument presented the simple frontispiece outline as now seen. The monument was thus quite separated from both the main pier of the fabric on the west side and the jamb of the doorway on the east. Then from

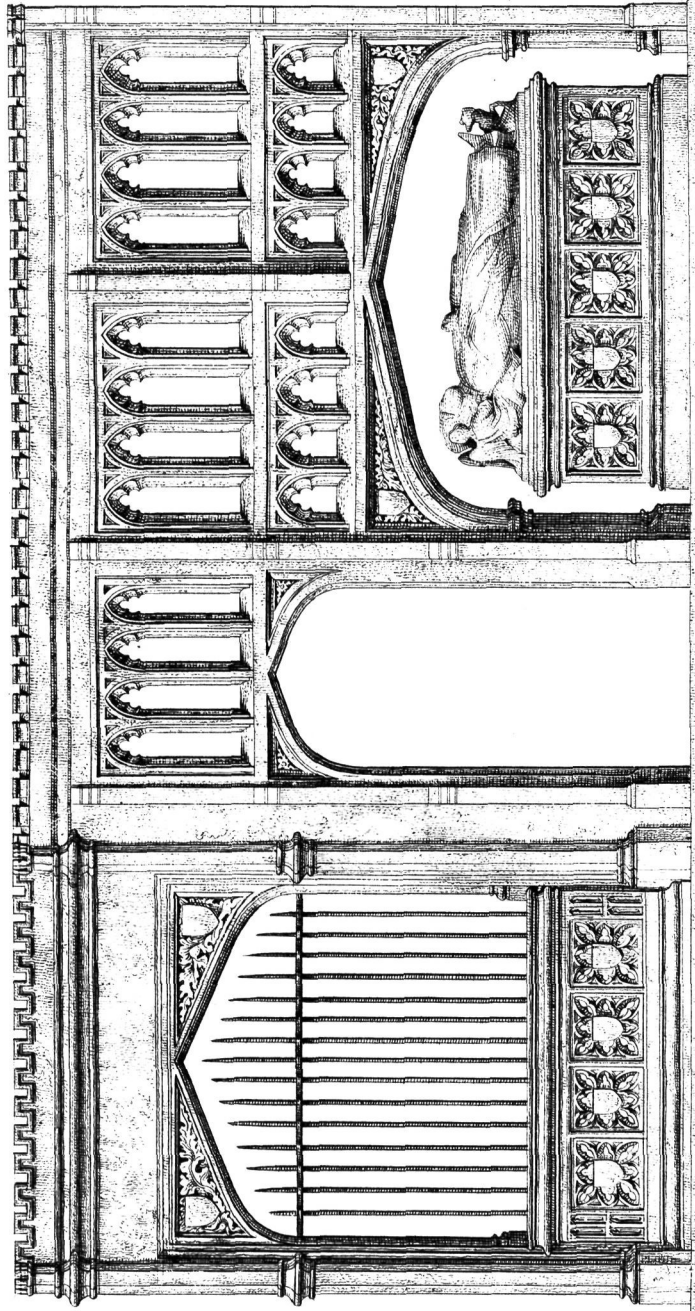
the back were removed the fine monument of Sir Henry Belasyse and the tablet of Captain Macleod, a small mural one. The former was deprived of an unnecessary sub-base, and replaced, not on one side, as before, but central with that of the Earl of Bath, thus combining two harmonious outlines; and by the union restoring the most perfect stability to the two, the isolation of the Bath monument having disturbed its former stability.

The adjoining doorway into the chapel had long been in a crazy state. Examination proved that it once had a screen, like that of St. Nicholas's chapel, on the south side. Bouchier's tomb had absorbed or removed the eastern half of the screen, and some other tomb or monument had caused similar destruction to the west side; but next the door-jamb vestiges were left, and under Sir Gilbert Scott's direction the vacancy between that door-jamb and the Bath monument was filled up with screen-work; a legitimate restoration, which, at the same time, gave complete stability to the loose door-jamb, and additional stability to the monument of the Earl of Bath.

There was confidence felt that the Puckering monument covered stonework of the ancient arcade of St. Paul's chapel. The southern massive pier of the monument was brick, plastered over, like that which now remains on the northern side. It was evident that the monument would look better without these piers, and that the partial if not entire removal of that on the south side, which buried much of the grand pier of the fabric, would restore lost beauty to the

fabric itself—would not detract from the beauty of the monument—and, especially, it might reveal some traces of the early arcade in fair preservation. On this began some careful cutting away of the solid brick pier, and soon came evidences of a successful issue, by the revelation of some fragments of beautifully carved drapery amongst loose pieces of stone rubble behind the brickwork. Soon after the spandril and arch, as well as the capital of a column, were reached, all in high preservation but ruthlessly mutilated. Careful cutting and scrutiny afterwards brought to light some of the carved spandrils of the arch, showing a most refined group of St. Anne teaching the Virgin Mary to read, St. Anne standing, and the child seated on a corbel. Nothing can exceed the beauty nor the high preservation of the work, for it was coated thickly with whitewash, which dimmed the work and damped the hopes of the discoverers; but not for long, for on carefully removing the whitewash the beauty of all became evident. It was moreover found that under the whitewash, as it was peeled off, the whole of the carving, whether solid or in loose fragments, had been tinted with a wash of Venetian red. The loose fragments are now in the case of curiosities in the Chapter House. The carving, *in situ*, is slightly seen from the floor, and fully seen from a short ladder. It is to be hoped that the *north* pilaster of the monument may some day be removed, and a similar discovery made behind it.

The chapel of St. Paul may for the present be dispatched with the intimation that at the back of the Bath monument there was left good room for the



Abbot Flaccet.

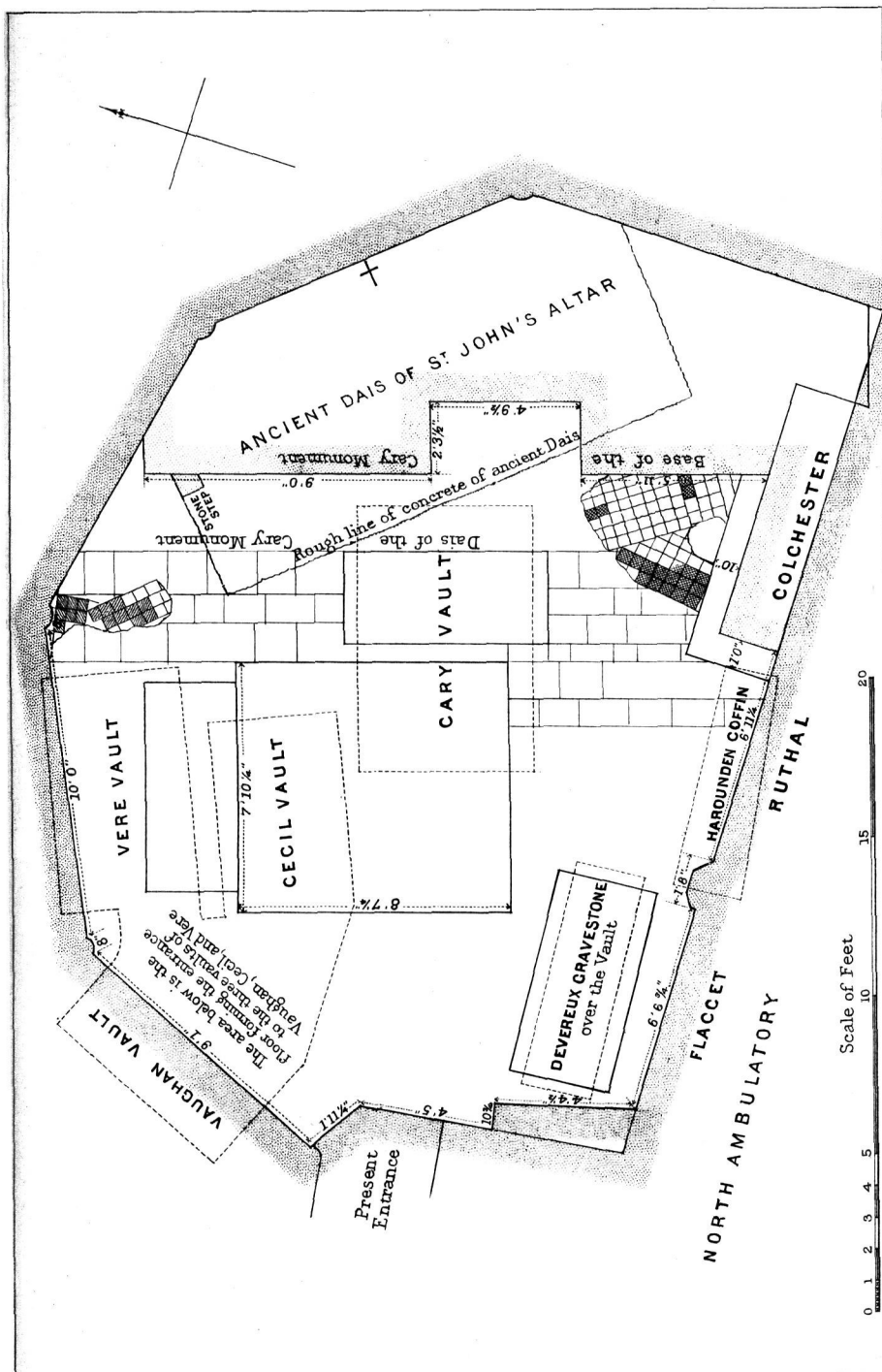
Entrance.

Abbot Colchester.

H. Poole, del.

J. & W. Ensley, lith.

THE SOUTH SIDE OF THE SCREEN OF THE CHAPEL OF ST. JOHN BAPTIST
showing its appearance before the intrusion of Bishop Ruthal's Monument.



FLOOR OF ST. JOHN BAPTIST CHAPEL from the Working Drawing, 1881.

attachment of two busts and their corbels (one of these places is already appropriated to the bust of Sir Rowland Hill), and with the intimation that on making the grave of Sir Rowland southward, that side of the vault of Sir Giles Daubeny and his dame was found insecure and was repaired. The vault has no covering except the table of the tomb, and it contains only one coffin rudely formed of inch oak boards. The lid was loose and broken across. Under it was found the body embedded on and enveloped in cerecloth, all perhaps characteristic of the time. In digging the grave a large portion of the lower part of a stone coffin much mutilated was found in the way. It was raised, and is now placed on the floor northward. In this small space forty-five burials are known—Sir Giles's dame 1500, to Baron Delaval 1808, and Sir Rowland seventy-two years later.

And now let us return to the immediate subject, the ancient screens of the two chapels of St. Paul and St. John, broken off at the description of Lord Bouchier's tomb.

Chapel of St. John Baptist.

One of the earliest notices of this chapel is in Camden's "Reges, Reginae, Nobiles et alii, 1600," soon after the monument of Lord Hunsdon had been made complete. He describes the tomb of the Bohuns as being the first on the left on entering the chapel. He then gives the other six in the following order, "Carey, Ruthal, Flaccet, Colchester, Millinge, Vaughan" (Colchester should evidently be next to Carey,

as the tomb always was). So all the places of that period can be accounted for. The then place of the beautiful tomb of the Bohuns was on the floor, so placed after its removal, probably from the recess in the wall of the south ambulatory, where afterwards were placed the grave and tomb of King Richard II. as suggested in Dean Stanley's paper in the *Archaeologia*, vol. xlv. Probably it was elevated on a basement, so as to be seen on all its four sides, with its inscription then more or less traceable. In making the circuit of the chapel with the first five tombs on the left he would come to the coffin cover of Abbot Milling on the floor near the south side, and on going out he would pass, still on the left, the tomb of Sir Thomas Vaughan, then a complete table-tomb, standing on the floor and attached to the west wall, near the south-west angle of the chapel. It must here be told that the Careys had made a large vault near the middle of the chapel with a descent to it on the south side, so there was then ample space for all the seven tombs and monuments in Camden's list.

The Carey or Hunsdon vault contains the coffins of two ladies whose names are associated with the promotion of early literature. One is the Lady Elizabeth Evers, daughter of Sir John Spencer, who suggested to the poet Edmund Spenser his "Mother Hubbard's Tale." To Lady Evers the poet dedicated it.

The other lady is Alice, daughter of John Egerton, first Earl of Bridgewater. An accident in her life, as related by Warton, led to the production of Milton's

“Comus.” She became the wife of Richard Vaughan, Earl of Carbery. Can the possible consanguinity of Sir Thomas Vaughan, whose vault and tomb are adjacent, have established a claim of Richard Vaughan’s family to be buried in the Carey vault? for of the later family three at least lie there.

Soon after the whole floor was honey-combed with other vaults and graves, which the writer has lately explored and made plans and notes of. Before there was only the Carey vault already spoken of, and an ancient vault partly under the north-western seat, not before recorded.

On the death of Dorothy (Nevill), the first wife of Thomas Cecil, the first Earl of Exeter, he made a vault north of that of the Careys. This was followed by another of the Veres, still further north, for which a cavernous recess in the main fabric wall was formed, and westward of the Cecil vault was formed a descent common to the two latter vaults as well as the ancient one described before. In the south-west corner of the chapel was discovered the lost vault of Devereux, the last Earl of Essex. The whole of the soil beside is filled with solid layers of coffins side by side. They are in number sixty-seven, comprising four abbots, fifty-six titled personages and their children, and seven knights and commoners, in date from 1420 (Abbot Colchester) to 1784 (the Countess of Home), a century since.

At this point it will be well to state that these explorations which led to the discovery of the coffin of

Robert Devereux, the third and last Earl of Essex, were instituted at the instance of the late Evelyn P. Shirley, Esquire, of Ettington, near Stratford-on-Avon, an eminent antiquary and a great promoter of antiquarian research. Mr. Shirley was deeply interested in the history of the Devereuxes, for through the marriage of an ancestor of his name with the heiress of the large estates of the Earls of Essex, both in England and Ireland, the said Evelyn P. Shirley had by descent acquired possession of those estates.

On his application to the Dean for information as to where the interment and memorial lay the Dean was unable to help him, for no record exists in the archives of the Abbey and no historical work exists which throws any light on the matter. The Dean, whose strong desire to elucidate any fact in history is well known, at once gave directions for search to be made. The particulars of this search are set forth in a Paper of the present writer, contributed to Money's "History of the First and Second Battles of Newbury" (Simpkin and Marshall, 1881).

It was not, perhaps, until 1608, when the first Earl of Exeter formed the Cecil vault, and followed up with the erection of the enormous table-tomb which covers not only the Cecil vault but partly also that of Carey, that the tombs of Bohun and Vaughan were found to be insufferable obstacles. They were got rid of by spoliation and replacement. Sir Thomas Vaughan's complete tomb was deprived of one side and one end, and, to place the other side and end and the top, the arcade where it now stands was almost wholly destroyed by cutting a deep recess in the

main wall, and on the seat so widened placing the imperfect tomb. The Bohun tomb, to make it more placeable, was mutilated at the back by the hammering away of the beautiful table moulding, and, perhaps, other parts. The beautiful arcade next St. John's altar, in which had been inserted an aumbry, was then deprived of its central pillar, and in the main wall a deep recess was cut, in which, and on the seat so widened, the half-buried tomb of the Bohuns now stands. All this terrible demolition of the arcades and tombs is due to the erection of the intrusive tomb of the Cecils. The tomb has gradually become ruinous, and no help has ever been given to stay that ruin, nor to secure the loose parts, many of which are therefore totally lost.

The reference to the Carey vault has naturally led to the description of other and later vaults, and to the Cecil tomb and consequent events in the chapel. This and the anticipatory information flowing therefrom is so far done with; and return now is made to 1596, when Sir John Puckering died in April, and Lord Hunsdon in July.

In that year the two powerful families of those deceased courtiers, having buried their chiefs in adjacent chapels, seem to have followed the fashion, which had already set in, of placing monuments to obliterate both the altar and the arcades of the chapels. St. Paul's altar and one of the arcades had already been seized, but the gem of architecture in the western arcade was free, and the Puckerings seized it; and in like manner the demolished altar of St. John, and the beautiful arcade south of it, were

with impunity seized by the Careys. Continuing their unanimity, the families had designs made for the contiguous monuments, each occupying the full width of the arcades taken, that of Carey towering up into the vaulted ceiling.

They next prudently considered how the monuments should best be exposed to view, and especially how the enormous monument of Lord Hunsdon could best be approached.

At that time all the chapels of the apse had the original central doorways with complete screens. But the earliest plan of the Abbey, in Dugdale's *Monasticon*, and the earliest allusion to the chapel of St. John, by Camden, both subsequent to the erection of the two monuments, indicate that the doorway in the screen of St. John's chapel was closed by the placing of the tomb of Bishop Ruthal. How came it to be placed there? And why? And where could it possibly have been before? For two centuries this has been a mystery—now by this Paper to be, it is hoped, for the first time dispelled. This is, indeed, the main object of this long communication.

Could the Ruthal monument ever have formed the western half of the screen of St. Paul's chapel? Yes; it is well suited, and would just fill that space and complete the screen in a manner exactly corresponding with that of Lord Bouchier in the other half of the screen. It was removed to afford the full space of the arcade to the new monument of Puckering, and to allow of the latter being fully seen from the ambulatory, for it is evident from Dugdale's plan that the

place of Ruthal's monument immediately became occupied by a plain and probably a low wall.

Chapel of St. Erasmus.

Before determining why the Ruthal monument was placed as at present, the original circumstances of the little area called St. Erasmus's chapel, must be considered. Recent exploration made by the writer has brought to light the existing remains of the eastern wall of St. Erasmus's altar, proving that the L-shaped space was truly a complete though small chapel, as indicated by the name over the entrance. The removal of plain modern casing on the panelled wall behind the monument of Mary Kendall, and an examination of the clumsily-arched opening beyond, show that similar open panel-work continued northward as far as possible, returning at an angle of 45° against the ancient pillar of the arcade. The writer had occasion to dig the ground under the floor, and there discovered the foot of the ancient altar-wall, which he marked by placing thereon a step of the exact size and shape of that altar-wall. The open panel work over the altar is evidenced by the wall mullion of the southern opening remaining exposed, showing that it, and detached mullions northward, stood on a sill about five feet above the floor, rising to the spring of the arched tracery behind the Kendall monument. By this open panel-work over the altar the space west of the altar was well illumined.

The placing of the Ruthal tomb in the middle of

St. John's screen deprived the chapel of its proper entrance. To supply the want the only means was to make a way through the altar-wall of St. Erasmus's chapel, thus converting that chapel into a passage, which has so disguised the little chapel that its name has nearly been lost, although distinctly written over the entrance. Yet not quite lost, for it has been applied by historians and by the people of the Abbey to St. John's chapel, and it is yet current with some.

Having made the opening through the wall, the groined ceiling was reduced by a triangular portion and then supported by means of an arch made of the two spandrils which formed the head of the open tracery removed from over the altar. These spandrils can be traced in their similarity to a corresponding spandril *in situ* behind the Kendall monument. They are now resting on a debased jamb and capital, and a corbel. Thus was obtained a new and excellent entrance into St. John's chapel, affording the most effective view of what became the principal object of interest there, namely, the Carey monument.

Now that attention has been concentrated on this most interesting little chapel of St. Erasmus, it seems opportune to revert to its original formation. There has been a belief prevalent that it was scooped out of the ancient solid pier. This may be legendary, and partly true. Looking across the sacrarium, at the corresponding pier on the south side, we see an arched recess of the period of Henry III., containing a small tomb of King Henry III.'s children. It may fairly be inferred that at first this northern pier was faced with a similar arch and recess, without a tomb.

In later times places were sought for additional chapels within the domus. It was seen that northward of the main pier and the said recess there was a space of 7 feet by 4 feet, and that by piercing through the wall at the back of the recess (a thickness of about 4 feet), there would be obtained a square lobby, which, joined on to the space of 7 feet by 4 feet northward, would be available for the desired chapel of St. Erasmus. The skill of the masons of that period overcame all difficulties of so apparently hazardous an operation, and they succeeded in combining a beautiful doorway, decorated walls, and groined ceiling, all in the solid pier. Continuing that ceiling over the northern space, and connecting with these features an altar-wall of open-work, and a continuation of similar wall surface towards the east, thereby covering the old wall surface, which would, if left, have been incongruous, the beautiful little chapel of St. Erasmus was created.

In order to obtain a parallel surface on the ancient northern wall, a depth of about 5 inches is cut away at the eastern end of that surface, as is shown by a portion of that lower wall yet standing above the floor of the raised dais. Not less curious is the worn surface of the ancient floor as seen against the south face of the dais step, which shows how much the floor was worn away by the devotees and monks who stood against the shrine on the north side.

It seems probable that the altar was a shelf-like slab, supported by corbels in the wall. There are two hagioscopes directed towards it, one from the adjoining chapel westward, now Abbot Islip's chapel,

another in the projecting angle on the south of the altar-space. There remains the wicket-gate at the entrance, two-fold, with iron grille-work attached to it, and suspended from the stone arch over it, at one time ensuring great security. On the step of the dais are indications of there having been an inner altar-gate, and over it of a hook to suspend a lamp, over which is a hole in the vaulted ceiling supposed to have been made for the escape of the smoke of the suspended lamp. The walls and ceiling have been profusely decorated. There remain indications of hooks in the upper part of the wall, as if to suspend tapestry or pictures. At the north end there is a bold corbel-table inserted in the wall, and on the wall over it is the mark of a standing figure, giving an impression that this was the shrine of St. Erasmus. Taking the chapel with all its combinations into consideration, it must have been a centre of great attraction and devotion. Those who well know this puzzling part of the Abbey may be able to apply all this description. Others must realise it by visiting the spot with this Paper or memoranda therefrom in their hand.

The tomb of Abbot Colchester now requires to have its final history related, and an attempt made to realise its first form. There can be no doubt that what remains of it is in nearly its original place, and that it formed part of the screen. But what were its accessories? I answer that the tombs of Lord Bouchier and Bishop Ruthal, combined with a doorway, formed before 1696 the screen of St. Paul's chapel; and the tombs of Abbot Colchester and Abbot Flaccet, simi-

larly combined with a doorway, formed the screen of St. John's chapel. It is reasonable to conclude that the Colchester tomb had accessories of some sort. Now, on examining that tomb, it is found that its two ends have always been exposed and free from attachments, and it may be assumed to have been enclosed by piers at its ends, and spanned by a broad arch resting on those piers. It therefore became an easy process to abolish both piers and arch, leaving only the table-tomb without accessories, thus making room for the entire tomb of Ruthal which could not be divested of similar accessories, and so the chapel of St. John lost its doorway and that part of its screen which was once combined with the Colchester tomb.

Now it may be asked what was done with the arch that once spanned the Colchester tomb? Let the querist stand in the ambulatory near Queen Eleanor's tomb, with his back towards it and his eye directed over the Ruthal tomb on to the arch which supports, and is so clumsily combined with, the ruined arcade over Sir Thomas Vaughan's tomb, and he will be struck with the suitableness of this arch to span the Ruthal tomb between, or rather the Colchester tomb next to it. This combination of objects has led to the conjecture that the arch is one of the two that faced the broad ceiling that spanned the table-tomb of Abbot Colchester, utilised to give support to the mutilated arcade. It is warrantable to assume that, as the death of Abbot Colchester occurred in 1420, and that of Robsert in 1431, the design of the monument of the first influenced that of the second; or, that the same architect having designed the simpler

one of Colchester, with an uncusped canopy and its detached tomb, may have modified Robsert's so as to make a richer monument adapted to the necessary attachment of a coffin-filled tomb made to rest on an abbot's or some other grave below.

With these conjectures, together with some facts, viz. the abolition of the greater portion of the screen of St. John's chapel and its door—the equally evident fact that the Ruthal tomb is now partly in the place of the abolished screen—and also the existence of an ancient arch in every way suited to span Colchester's tomb; these conjectures and these facts combined, I say, appear to clear up the mystery in which the chapel had been enveloped, and which has caused the production of the print annexed, and has also fulfilled the main object of this essay.

It is presumed that, as there are or were within the tomb of Lewis Robsert two coffins, there must have been some urgent necessity for its being so filled, even above the level of the floor of St. Paul's chapel. In those days it is probable that almost every chapel-screen had been used to bury, close to it and even under it, an abbot or other dignitary. The practice is exemplified by the recent discovery of Abbot Harounden's coffin partly under the screen of St. John's chapel. The urgency is exemplified in the instance of a more modern tomb, which the writer has found to contain two coffins, one wholly and the other, the lower, partly above the floor, evidently caused by the previous interments having been found in the way of getting a proper interment over them.

Now reverting to the alteration of the screen of St. John's chapel.

This demolition of the arcade has already been attributed to the requirements of the Cecils, when in 1608, on the death of Dorothy (Nevill), the first Countess of Exeter, the family vault was constructed and preparation made for the great tomb which occupies the central part of the floor. James Harvey, the experienced clerk of works of the period, had superintended and directed the work to the three chapels, viz. the removal of the altar wall of St. Erasmus', the destruction of the screen-doorway, and the arch canopy over Abbot Colchester's tomb, both in St. John's chapel, and the removal of Ruthal's tomb from St. Paul's chapel, and its re-erection in St. John's chapel. This clerk of works no doubt had stored the materials which those removals and clearances had produced, and he was quite ready to adopt such of them as were suitable, and so the Colchester arch was trimmed, as may be seen by examination, to suit the maintenance of the mutilated arcade under which he placed the Vaughan tomb.

It is to be feared that much destruction and mutilation took place under Harvey's direction, for his authority and connection with the Abbey extended from 1570 to 1628, but he was bed-ridden and pensioned in the last years of his long life. It is to be hoped that the successor, Edward Fulham, who was clerk of the works for 34 years, was more conservative, for his son the Rev. Edward Fulham, D.D., was the first canon of Windsor after the Restoration. These events occurred in the last five years of Dean

Goodman, who died in 1601; in the time of Dean Andrews 1601-5, and in that of Dean Neale 1605-10. Perhaps the first dean was too old, and the others too new, to take an earnest interest in such matters as monuments, and so the clerk of works under all three may have had almost uncontrolled direction.

But more damage still awaited the remaining part, the table-tomb, of the Colchester monument, which part had not suffered much through the loss of its arched canopy. In 1761 an admiral named Holmes died, and his two "grateful nieces" employed the sculptor Wilton to make a large monument, having the group a nearly life-size figure of the admiral, with his hand resting on a full-size gun on a wheeled carriage, behind which was a full-sized anchor, and a flag and staff of like proportion, the flag draping the whole back-ground. All these were on a large pedestal, and against a pyramid of marble of great magnitude, and behind was a stone wall occupying a width of nine feet and a height of sixteen feet.

In 1878 took place the reduction of this mass of masonry. The sculpture was reduced in subordinate parts, the pyramid was shortened, the wall was wholly removed beyond the outline of the pedestal and pyramid, and the back now presents the plain wall left with the architectural outline of the front. The gain of light and view was at the time appreciated by all. It is already a thing of the past and is scarcely remembered, and such particulars as are here given are the more necessary for the present as well as future time. Those who care to realise the reduction of this, and the monument of the Earl

of Bath, may do so by reference to Ackerman's Plate XLIX. p. 198, and Neale's plate of the north aisle, IV. p. 30. It may be noted here that the small mural tablet of Captain Macleod, necessarily taken from the back of the Earl of Bath's monument in St. Paul's chapel, was replaced in St. John's chapel at the back of the monument of Admiral Holmes. A kinsman of the Macleod family, missing the monument from its original place, became very indignant at the removal and at some very unimportant reduction which it underwent; but on finding that it occupied a place as good as before, and had been reverently dealt with, this gentleman became reconciled. This little incident is mentioned because it is the only expression of dissent that has occurred respecting the many and very much greater alterations of modern monuments.

But we must now return to describe the mischief done by the placing of this Holmes' monument partly on the site of the Colchester table-tomb. It was in the time of Dean Thomas and his clerk of works, Benjamin Fidoe, that all the intrusive erections of John Wilton, the sculptor, were erected.

The table-tomb of Colchester was then in the proper axis line of the screen, and otherwise complete as well as clear of the steps of the platform to the Carey monument. To have placed the monument against the tomb there would have greatly encroached on the floor of the ambulatory, and the thin wall of the monument would have been free of the pier of the fabric, connection with which was necessary for the support of the wall. Therefore the Colchester tomb

was placed further north, and raised upon the steps of the Carey platform; the plinth of the tomb was omitted and mutilation of its lower part followed, beside much damage arising from its total removal and unskilful re-erection.

There can be but little doubt that this removal of the Colchester tomb may have been the immediate or the remote cause of the fearful ruin of the Ruthal tomb as we now see it.

When in 1598, or thereabouts, the workmen removed the Ruthal tomb from between its effective abutments in St. Paul's chapel, they removed also the doorway of St. John's chapel, together with the piers and canopy of the Colchester tomb. They then proceeded to erect the Ruthal tomb between its new neighbours of Colchester and Flaccet, connecting it substantially with the latter as we now see it. But they were obliged to erect its eastern end without the high abutment it had before, and to be content with only the slight abutment of contact with the now low tomb of Colchester. The latter tomb was so far tolerably safe; but its safety was gone when, in 1761, the tomb of Colchester was removed to give place to the Holmes monument. The abutment, slight as it was, was destroyed; the pier at the foot was thrust eastward by the heavy and badly re-constructed arch, which fell down, and produced an irretrievable ruin, such that no skill of that period could overcome. They stuck up on the ruin of the western pier the heraldic and central stone of the bratishing of the south side, and they consigned the other, of the north side, to the head of the coffin of Abbot Milling, which had

already been placed on the table of Abbot Flaccet's tomb.

The chapel of St. John may now be dismissed with just one other fact, which ought not to be left unmentioned. The alterations of Vaughan's tomb seem to have led to the formation of a mass of masonry at the end of the recess and near the foot of the tomb. It had almost the appearance of a seat raised on the seat of the recess and it was topped by a portion of the ancient seat on which the tomb was placed. Examination of the parts adjacent showed how much improvement would result by the removal of this unmeaning mass, for the angle pillar would be revealed and the ancient seat would be made complete. The removal confirmed all this, and it became evident that the masonry had been so placed to conceal the absence of the lower part of a marble pillar, and to support the upper part left. The fragment of an old pillar of the same diameter was found to fill the vacancy; the old seat displaced was replaced properly, and some little new seat and ashlar restored all things to nearly their original state, and so the recess became decent and satisfactory. Schnebelie's drawing of the tomb and recess, in Gough's "Monumental Remains," shows exactly how they were up to 1878, and the comparison will confirm the propriety with which the restoration was made.

Before quitting the chapel of St. John the Baptist, it will be proper and opportune to notice two gross intrusions inside and outside. The first is the marble coffin of Abbot Milling, which after being placed for nearly two centuries with its lid above, and forming

part of the middle of the floor, was taken up and rudely consigned to the top of the table of Abbot Flaccet's tomb. It could not be placed on the table without mutilating the beautiful arched recess in the east end of the tomb by cutting away that feature as much as three inches. Thus the Flaccet tomb has been barbarously injured, the cross thereon concealed by the coffin, and the beautiful cross on the Milling coffin-lid, floreated and once plated, is too high to be seen without mounting. Moreover the bulk of the coffin cuts off the view both outward and inward, it also darkens the ambulatory, as well as utterly spoiling the grand simplicity of Abbot Flaccet's Tudor tomb.

It would be wrong thus to criticise and to invoke attention to this miserable mutilation and intermingling, if it were quite irremediable, but it is not so. There remains a space on the north side of the floor to which Abbot Milling's coffin could well be consigned. It is at the east end of that side of the chapel where the monument of Colonel Popham stands. By the insertion of a ledge of stone to represent the projection of the stone seat which once existed there, and by placing two blocks of stone against that ledge and of the same height, together with a long bearing-bar of metal resting on the blocks of stone, a good shelf-like support would be made to carry the coffin, and its top would be very nearly coincident with the top of the pedestal of Popham's monument. The plan of the chapel shows how well the wall under Popham's monument is adapted to the form of the coffin if the head of the coffin is put

towards the east, for then the space between the Exeter tomb and the coffin becomes nearly parallel, and the foot of the coffin being several inches narrower than the head of it, there is less appearance of obstruction. It is true that thus there is, at first thought, a seeming reversal of the head and foot of the coffin, but this is rendered unimportant by remembering that the coffin has been empty for nearly three centuries, and so the impropriety is counter-balanced by the fitness of the position to the place.

Of course this removal and alteration would involve the repair and joining of the lower part of the coffin, which is broken into three pieces; and also the making good the mutilated panel at the foot of the Flaccet tomb; but the improved view of both sides of the tomb, and the display of the two crosses on the table and lid, would greatly outweigh any regret of cost, and would retrieve the errors of the period.

The other case of intrusion is of even greater repulsiveness than the first, because thereby is hidden a large surface of one of the most important marble piers of the ancient fabric. The Jacobean monument of Juliana Crewe, 1621, which is in itself interesting, and of its kind pleasing, is most unsuitably affixed against the south side of the noble pier of the fabric against which the head of Flaccet's tomb abuts. Thereby about ten or twelve feet of height above the plinth of the marble pier and a width of four feet is concealed by the monument itself and by the vile plastering which has been laid over the round pier, the small pillar, and the moulded bases. Let this state of the pier be compared with that adjacent east-

ward, recently freed from the encumbering walls which had almost wholly buried that pier, and the need for removing the Crewe monument will become apparent.

Now returning to the Crewe monument, it is proposed to remove the entire monument and place it on a surface which has been reserved for such a change. There is on the back of the reduced wall of the Holmes monument a space admirably adapted for the Crewe monument. Above this space has already been placed a small tablet of Captain Macleod, and under the space is the tomb of Abbot Colchester. The intervening part is well illumined from the windows opposite, and there the monument will suit its new place under greater advantages. A slight reduction of the angel corbel and the vase at the summit will be requisite, and these two features may well be spared.

The Bohun tomb could with propriety be brought forward from its present cavity by widening its supporting seat similarly to what is already proposed for the bearing of the coffin of Abbot Milling. The double arcade in which it is now recessed is the most perfect one exposed on the north side of the apse. It is substantially complete, except the central pillar of marble, its stone base, and the now mutilated capital, which has been converted into a pendant. It would be an unpretending restoration to replace the pillar and base, and even the capital might be satisfactorily reproduced by a careful study of the four capitals remaining, for they furnish a very good authority.

Abbot Islip's Chapel.

The fourth and last chapel of the series now under consideration is that of Abbot Islip. It is situate west of the chapels of St. Erasmus and St. John. It corresponds in position to the royal chapel of St. Edmund on the south side, and it may have been originally similar to that chapel, until the time of Abbot Islip, and it may have had another name, as to which history is silent.

In the same manner that Islip's predecessor, Abbot Littlington, had formed the chapel of St. Blaize on a portion of the floor of the south transept, with the intention of its becoming his burial-place (for his gravestone once existed in front of the altar of "his chapel"), so Islip in similar plenitude of power and wealth appropriated the area now under consideration for his chapel, with like intention of being buried there. That intention was devoutly fulfilled, for the table and pillars of his tomb yet remain in the chapel.

The architecture of all the additions made by Abbot Islip to the ancient fabric is excellent. With the view of making an oratory or chantry over his chapel, and to make an access to it, a slip on the western side was enclosed for stairs of stone, thus reducing the space to an oblong. To obtain an effective light from outside the thick wall of the fabric was pierced for a Tudor window of four lights with narrow lights in the head. The jambs next the window are richly panelled, and the arched head between them similarly decorated. Beyond, south-

ward, is formed a beautiful groin supported on four clustered piers. The space beyond is similarly formed and ornamented as the corresponding space next the window, but the panelling of the ceiling ceases at the spring of the arch, and the jamb-wall contains a pretty Tudor doorway, which is at the foot of the stairs, and is really the proper and original entrance into the chapel, although it is now blocked up.

The manner of contriving the decorative screen which forms the south side next the ambulatory is most ingenious and admirable; the inside of it, towards the chapel, is made to agree, to a great extent, with the window-wall opposite; but the two main compartments are divided into three ranges, each of five lights, which combine with similar paneling on the south face of the screen. Outside and above this is a rich cornice, on which rests the parapet wall of the chantry. The face of this parapet is full of rich tabernacle work. At the western end of this façade is formed a beautiful doorway, which was once common to the chauntry and to the doorway now blocked.

This southern face of the screen and door of Abbot Islip's chapel below, and the parapet of the chantry above, are of the most refined character, and are well worthy of admiration. It is startling in passing out through the screen of the chapel to compare the inner face of the screen with the outer face. The transformation is admirable.

The blocking-up of the proper doorway into Abbot Islip's chapel led to the mutilation of the stonework of the screen. The range of five lights at the eastern

side was entirely cut away more than seven feet high, and a pair of folding doors, one of three lights and another of two, shaped like the stone destroyed, are made to serve at the entrance to the chapel.

The interior of the chapel is only further remarkable by containing the table and its metal pillars, which once formed the tomb of Abbot Islip. It now serves as a table, and is placed next the window. It stood, in the early part of the last century, in the middle of the chapel. It had a high base of stone or marble; at each corner was a metal pillar, and over them lay the black marble table. On the plinth lay an alabaster figure of the shrouded abbot. This figure had disappeared probably not long after the Suppression.

In 1619 died Sir Christopher Hatton, a kinsman of the Lord Chancellor. His monument was at once intruded against the arched recess on the east, which it entirely blocks up, together with the hagnoscope direct towards the altar of St. Erasmus. This was soon after followed by another classic Jacobean monument of Lady Hatton. It is a cenotaph, probably erected by their son, Lord Hatton, who died in 1670, and with his sister, who died in 1624, was also buried there. Some of the Pulteney family have also been buried in the Abbot's chapel.

And now for a few words on the once grand oratory over Abbot Islip's chapel. Its floor seems from early times to have been occupied by the funereal draped figures which accompanied the state funerals of royal and eminent persons.

It may be presumed that the east recess of Abbot

Islip's chapel had an altar which was demolished at the Reformation, and that its place was afterwards occupied by the Hatton monument. Ascending the stairs to the oratory there remains a pretty hagioscope opposite the place of the altar of the lower chapel. It is now crowded with glass cases containing effigies, several of which the writer remembers standing on the floor of King Henry VII.'s chapel.

The case against the ancient altar is remarkable for having been first covered with the remarkable Retabulum now so well placed for observation at the back of the sedilia over King Sebert's tomb, and so ably described by Burges in Scott's Gleanings. But Mr. Burges starts with an error in attributing the discovery to Mr. Blore, Sir Gilbert Scott's predecessor. It had been discovered late in the last century by that excellent antiquary and architect, John Carter. This fact, although printed in Carter's letters—Gentleman's Magazine—appears to have escaped both Blore's and Scott's, as well as everybody else's, observation.

It fell to the writer of this paper to carry out in 1876 the many alterations and reductions of the eighteenth century monuments in Westminster Abbey; and, soon afterwards, to explore the vaults in the chapels of St. Paul and St. John next to each other; but most thoroughly the last. From all this duty he has acquired knowledge confined for the most part to his own recollection. He previously had given continued study to the probable course of events connected with the important and grand monuments of Abbot Col-

chester, Bishop Ruthal, Lord Hunsdon, and Sir John Puckering.

Weighted with this knowledge and study, he determined to make an effort to disincumber his mind, and, conferring with some of the members of the London and Middlesex Archæological Society, he was encouraged to commit his study to a paper, which was courteously accepted by that Society, and read at their meeting on the 10th of last March. The acceptance was followed by the still more honouring determination of the Society to give it a place in their printed annals.