

THE PALACES OR TOWN HOUSES OF THE BISHOPS OF LONDON.

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I.—THE BISHOP OF LONDON'S PALACE, NEAR S. PAUL'S. ITS EARLY HISTORY.

CLOSELY adjoining the Cathedral, on the north-west, stood for several centuries the Palace of the Bishops of London. So far as I am aware, no serious attempt has ever been made to examine into its history. Casual notices of it are to be found in many chronicles and in most surveys of London ; but I do not know of any endeavour to trace out its exact situation and extent,¹ nor to determine the period at which it ceased to be the actual residence of the Prelates. I have done my best to elucidate these

¹ When these words were written, the able paper by Mr. H. W. Brewer on *The Churchyard of Old S. Paul's* (in the *Newbery House Magazine* of April, 1891) had not been published. I have read it with great interest, and have studied the accompanying plan very carefully. As will be seen later on, I am able with certainty to carry the wall of the Bishop's garden down to Ave Maria Lane, but I do not think that it extended to the Northern side of Paternoster Row.

points, and have spared neither labour nor cost in order to arrive at some definite conclusions.

Of course Stow does not omit to mention the building. Writing in 1598,¹ he says :—

“On the north-west side of this Churchyard is the Bishop's Palace, a large thing for receipt ; wherein divers kings have been lodged, and great household hath been kept, as appeareth by the great hall, which of late years, since the rebatement of Bishops' livings, hath not been furnished with household menie [meynie] and guests, was meant by the builders thereof, and was of old time used.”

“The Dean's lodging on the other side, directly against the palace, is a fair old house, and also divers large houses are on the same side builded, which yet remain, and of old time were the lodgings of prebendaries and residentiaries, which kept great households and liberal hospitality, but now either decayed, or otherwise converted.”

In Strype's edition of Stow, issued in 1754,² the above sentences are much modified, and there is added to the brief mention of the Palace, the statement that it has been “long since converted into tenements, now called *London-House-Yard*,” and that “the ground-rents are the Bishop's.”

Sir William Dugdale carries us a little further, and tells us, what we should have readily supposed would be the case, that the Palace contained a chapel. He uses, indeed, the phrase, “the lower chapel,” which indicates very clearly that there were two chapels : that is, probably, as at Lambeth Palace, a chapel with a crypt beneath it, which crypt was, in fact, a second chapel.

Here is Dugdale's account of the foundation and endowment of a chantry. I have carefully examined

¹ I use Mr. Thoms' edition. Stow, *Survey of London*, written in the year 1598 (a reprint of the edition of 1603), p. 138.

² Stow. *Survey*, edited by Strype. Sixth edition, 1754. I. 709,710.

the entry on the Patent Roll, from which I give a short extract below.¹

Dugdale states² that—

“In the lower chapel, within the Bishop’s Palace, did William de S. Maria, (a) Bishop of London, in the first year of King John, found a chantry of one chaplain to celebrate and pray for the souls of the Bishops of London and their successors; endowing it with a certain yearly rent, issuing out of the churches of Poltendon in Essex, and Mesdon in Hertfordshire, as also with two parts of the tythes of his lands within the Mannour of Harington, and of the old park at Hadham.³ After this, *scil.* in 4 Henry IV, Sir Gerard Braybroke, Knight, Edmund Hampden and John Boys, Esquires, gave their Mannour of Losthale, in the said county of Essex, to another priest perpetually celebrating in the same chapel, and to his successors, to the intent that they should pray for the good estate of the said founders;⁴ as also of Robert Braybroke, then Bishop of London, and for the health of his soul after his departure hence; and moreover for the souls of John Grandison, some time Bishop of Exeter, Nicholas Braybroke, Canon of Paul’s, and all christian souls.”

The original deed of foundation of this chantry, with two out of four seals appendant, is still preserved among the Harleian Charters in the British Museum. In 1408, these two chantries were united

¹ Concessimus et licentiam dedimus . . . Gerardo Braybrok junior Miles (*sic*) . . . pro viginti marcis . . . quandam cantariam de uno Capellano divina ad Altare beate Mariæ infra palacium Episcopi London in London navi ecclesie sancti Pauli London contiguam . . . pro salubri statu venerabilis patris Roberti Episcopi London dum vixit, et pro anima sua cum ab hac luce migravit, ac anima magistri Nicholai Braybrok nuper canonici Ecclesie Sancti Pauli London . . . (*Patent Rolls.* 4 Hen. IV, p. 2. m. 18.)

² History of S. Paul’s. Edited by Sir Henry Ellis, 1818, p. 93.

(a) That is, William of S. Mère l’Eglise, Bishop, 1190-1221.

³ Certif. de Cantar, f. 27, b. et 28. a.

⁴ Pat. 4 Hen. IV, p. 2, m. 18.

by Bishop Clifford, "in respect that the former of them was so slenderly endowed."

In the Deed (a) uniting various chantries in the Cathedral, both chapels are indicated. It deals with "quandam cantariam in inferiori capella infra Palacium Episcopale prope Ecclesiam Cathedralem Sancti Pauli Londoñ, subtus majorem capellam in dicto Palacio situatam:" and it speaks of "Altare beatæ Mariæ in capella supradicta navi dictæ ecclesiæ nostræ Sancti Pauli contigua."

The Rev. George Hennessy has compiled from the Episcopal Registers and from the Patent Rolls, a list of the names of the chantry priests appointed to these chantries,¹ and he kindly allows me to print that list as a note to the present paper. It would appear from his labours that some of these priests officiated in the Chapel of S. Mary, and others in the lower chapel, in *Bassa Capella*, but as the one list does not commence until after the latest date in the other, it is possible that the Chapel of S. Mary and the *Bassa Capella* are but one. The deed just quoted does not supply decisive information on this point: the *Capella Supradicta* may be either the *Inferior Capella*, or the *Major Capella*.

Two vellum rolls are preserved in the Cathedral,² recording unimportant alterations in the Palace. The first is dated 10 and 11 Henry IV, and is headed "Reparaciones domorum palacii:" it contains little

(a) Printed in my *Registrum Statutorum*.

¹ In 1271, we find mention of "Cantaria infra Palatium Episcopi London in London, navi Ecclesiæ S. Pauli London contigua." See my *Documents*. 179. quoting Liber L.

² The Rolls are preserved in Press B, Box 95.

worth extracting. Such purchases as that of “a Boket ad fontem palacii,” or of “cccc ffyue-peny naills XXd.” must have been of frequent occurrence.

The second roll is entitled “Thes be the costes y^t ben do in the New Pallys and in the tennentrees in Pator Noster Rowe yⁿ the xvij yere of King Edward the iiijth”: but the details are very unimportant, repairs of gutters, and the like. It is, perhaps, a little curious to find the Palace called “the New Pallys” in 1478, as we have already seen that it existed in the reign of King John. May we infer that the Palace had lately been rebuilt? In 1445, the steeple of S. Paul’s was struck by lightning,¹ “on Candlemas eeven,” and in the fire which “burst out of the steeple,” much mischief was done to the lead and to the timber: but I am not aware that the conflagration reached the Palace.

In 1395, Bishop Braybroke dates a document *infra Palacium suum London situatum*.² To the Priests of the Lancaster Chantry the same generous prelate gave part of his Palace “a certain piece of ground, containing in length 36 feet, and in breadth 19 feet,” as a place of residence.³

Can we determine the exact site of the Bishop’s Palace? We can, with tolerable accuracy.

The famous Cemetery called Pardon Church Haugh, surrounded by its cloister, adorned with the solemn painting of the Dance of Death, lay on the north side of the Cathedral; limited on the east by the north transept, and on the south by the north

¹ Riley. *Chronicles of the Mayors, &c.*, 184, 185.

² See my *Statuta S. Pauli*, 362.

³ Dugdale, *S. Paul’s*, 27.

aisle of the nave. Westward of this Churchyard, stood the Palace.

The building touched the Cathedral itself, as may be seen from the following passage in a contemporary account¹ of the fire of 1561.

“The state of the steeple and churche seming both desperate : my Lord Mayor was aduised by one Maister Winter of y^e Admiraltie, to conuerte the moste part of his care and prouisiō to preserue the Bishop's Palace adioynyng to the north-west end of the church : least frō that house beinge large, the fier might sprede to the stretes adioynyng. Wherupon the ladders, buckets, and laborers, were comaunded thither, and by greate labor and diligence, a piece of y^e rooffe of the northe ile was cut down, and the fier so stayed, and by muche water, that parte quenched, and y^e said Bishop's house preserved.”

John Philpot passes from the Bishop's Palace by a private “door that goeth into the church,” and he says,² “whoso walketh in the Bishop's outer gallery going to his chapel may see my window, and me standing in the same.” From which it would appear that an external gallery gave access to the chapel.

We have, so far, determined the eastern boundary of the Palace, that is to say, the cloister wall of Pardon Church Haugh ; and we have fixed its south-east angle, which touched the north-west tower of the Cathedral. I am able to determine, with some approach to accuracy, the western boundary. In the Record Office is an unpublished document, entitled, “A Copy of Parcel of the Survey of the Bishop of London's Palace,” dated 1650, when the honest men of the Protectorate were freely dealing with other men's property. From this it appears

¹ Reprinted in my *Chapters in the History of Old S. Paul's*, p. 137.

² Foxe. *Acts and Monuments*, vii, 647, 648.

that "parcel of the garden containing from east to west 52 foot of assize, together with the passage into Ave Mary Lane," was leased by the Bishop of London to Henry King, D.D., since Bishop of Chichester, for twenty-one years, rendering yearly 21s. This property is now enjoyed, continues the writer, by John Ireton, mercer, by order of the *Committee of Sequestration*.

"The said garden is on the west divided from Ave Mary Lane by a great brick wall, containing from the South corner thereof to the north corner thereof, reaching to an house in Pater Noster Row, now the 3 White Lyons . . . the whole length of that brick wall on that side, being 113 foot of assize."

At the north-west corner of the garden was a tenement, built in the garden, "between the Bishop's then hay barn, south, and the house then in the occupation of William Cicedall, north, containing in length from east to west, with the thickness of the wall, at the west end, 21 foot of assize, and in breadth from north to south 15 foot of assize."

The hay barn was converted by Ireton and Humfreyes into "a fair large warehouse," which adjoined the shop in Pater Noster Row aforesaid, called the 3 White Lyons, on the north, and abutted on Ave Mary Lane, west, containing from east to west about 35 foot of assize, and from north to south 20 foot of assize.

These very precise measurements would almost enable us to construct a plan of the ground occupied by the Palace and its gardens. The northern boundary of the gardens appears to reach nearly to Paternoster Row—the western boundary for at least 113 feet, is Ave Mary Lane. From the corner of Paternoster Row to Ludgate Hill, measuring along

Ave Maria Lane, is about 200 feet. The Bishop's garden occupied, therefore, more than half the length of the Lane. Going eastward from the corner of Paternoster Row, the ground included what is still called London House Yard: from which we must draw a line to the north-west angle of Pardon Church Haugh, a point not indeed precisely determined, but still ascertainable within very narrow limits.

On the strip of ground lying between the Bishop's garden and Ludgate Street, stood the houses of the Vicars. We possess amongst the archives (*a*) a "Demise of part of the tenement known as the Vicarage of the Vicars Choral of S. Paul's, bounded on the east by the Penitenciaries' House, on the west by Ave Maria Lane, on the south by the highway leading through S. Paul's Churchyard, and on the north by the Bishop's Palace." It is dated January 20, Elizabeth 45. The property comprised a mansion, hall, butteries, a garden, a long alley, and a little house within the said garden, sometimes called the Vicars' Stillitory House.¹

By the kindness of Mr. F. C. Penrose, I am enabled to illustrate this paper with a copy of a portion of a plan of the ancient Cathedral, preserved in the Wren Collection at All Souls' College, Oxford.² The original is on vellum.

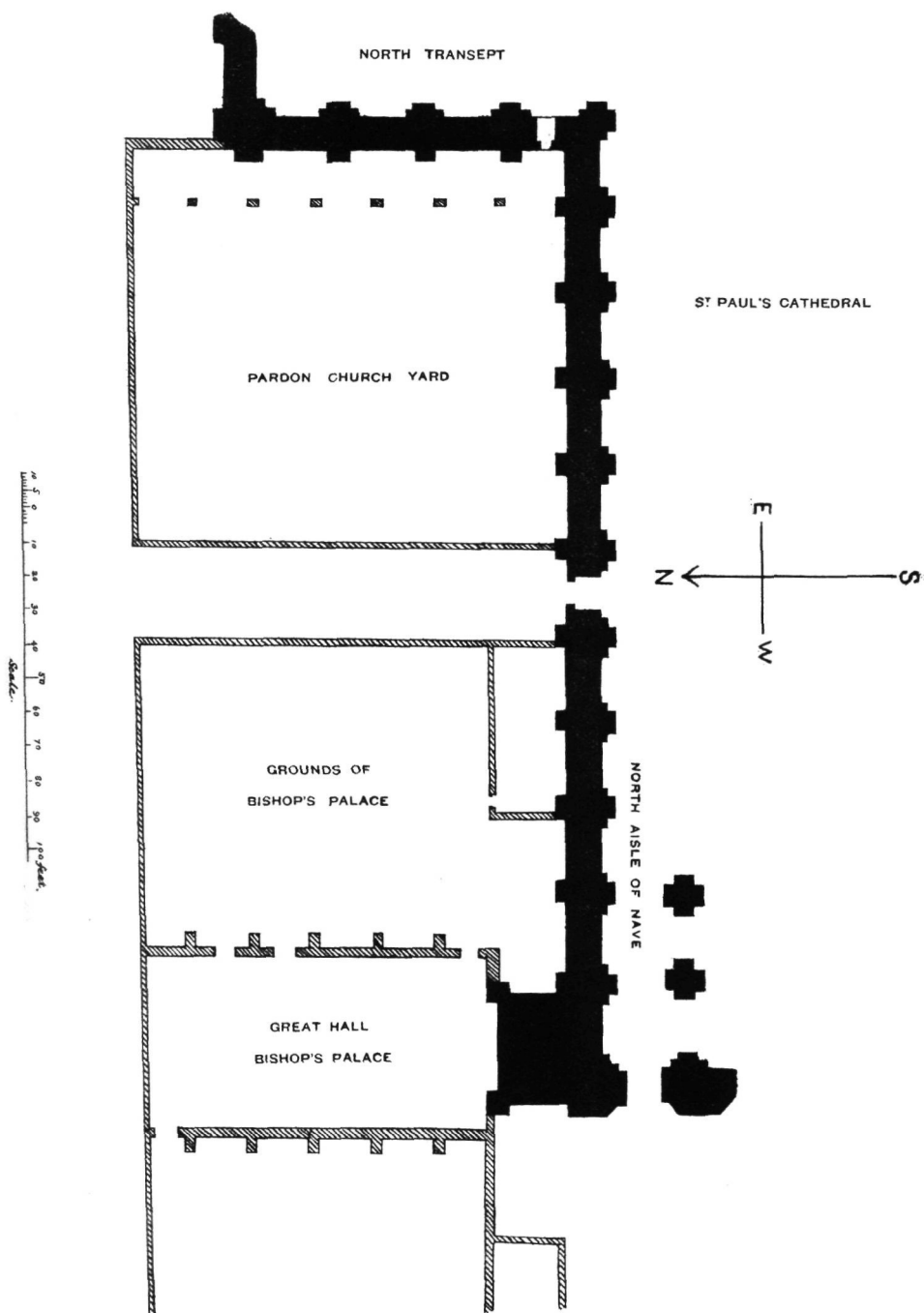
The plan fortunately extends beyond the limits of the walls of the Cathedral, and exhibits the eastern

(*a*) Press A, Box 24, No. 524.

¹ Stillitorie. A still: also a place where distillations were performed. *Halliwell*.

"Next to the stillitory wait for me," *Beaumont and Fletcher*. "*Faithful Fr.*," IV., 3. *Nares*.

² My cordial thanks are due to Mr. C. H. Löhr for a careful tracing from the plan.



PLAN SHEWING SITE OF BISHOP'S PALACE
AND PARDON CHURCH YARD. BEFORE 1620.

side of the Great Cloister, the alley leading to the "Little North Door," together with a portion of the Bishop's Palace. The large building, lying north and south, is evidently the Great Hall of the Palace; and it seems not unlikely that the lesser building lying to the westward is the principal entrance, the Great Gateway. The original plan was made before the addition of Inigo Jones's Portico: that is before the year 1620.

Leaving these somewhat dry details, let us turn to some historical incidents of which the Palace was the scene.

Here is a very early notice of the Palace from the chronicle of Ralph de Diceto.

Walter of Coutances, formerly Bishop of Lincoln, then Archbishop of Rouen, arrives in London on May 19th, 1194, and is received in S. Paul's Cathedral with a solemn procession. It was Ascension Day, and the prelate preached. Mass ended, he was received with great honours, and feasted in the Bishop of London's Palace.¹

Here, in 1309,² "xiii^o Kalendas Novembris abbas Latinensis* et Magister Haymo sedebant in aula Episcopi Londoniensis super inquisitione Templariorum." The lands of the Knights Templars in England had been seized on January 10th, 1308.

Here, in 1312,³ in the Bishop's House near S. Paul's, is lodged Cardinal Arnold: and whilst he lay there, one of his servants is slain near the church, *in atrio*,

¹ In domo Domini Lundoniensis cum lautarum affluentibus epularum receptus est honorifice. Ralph de Diceto, *Opera Historica*, ii. 115.

² Bishop Stubb's *Chronicles Edward I & II.* I. 268.

* Deodatus, Abbot of Lagny (Latigniac). Wilkin's *Concilia.* II. 329.

³ *Ibid.* I., lxxvi., 272, Aug. 26.

and the churchyard is polluted by this blood-shedding. A little later, the Bishop of S. David's reconciles the cemetery. Arnulphus, tituli sanctæ Priscæ Cardinalis, had been sent by the Pope *pro pace reformanda inter regem et comites*.

S. Paul's suffered much in the way of desecration from outrage and violence. "There was bloodshed there in October, 1329, when a certain squire struck Richard of Biflete, a rector of a parish unknown, at the Altar of S. John Baptist in the New Work. Service was suspended for five days: then the Archdeacon of Essex fetched holy water from the Bishop at Fulham." (a)

In 1321,¹ "the King Edward II found time to pay a visit to S. Paul's on the day of the commemoration of the patron saint. He was received with a procession, and the canons sent him a present of hot wastel cakes of S. Paul's." It was the day of the summer festival of S. Paul, June 30th. "The statutes of the Cathedral contain a great many directions about the bread baked at S. Paul's for the great staff of the church, and the regular allowance of commons made to each person according to his degree. Probably the king, as an honoured guest, was presented with commons of the best. Paul's bake-house yard still survives to commemorate this piece of cathedral economy: and a small loaf of the *panis sancti Pauli* is still given to each canon at his installation."

"Wastel bread," says Archdeacon Hale,² "was the best kind of wheaten bread, as appears from the *Assisa*

(a) Bishop Stubbs' *Chronicles*. I., xvi.

¹ Bishop Stubbs' *Chronicles*, &c. I., lxxxi., 297: "De gastellis sancti Pauli callidis."

² *Domesday of S. Paul's*, cxxxi. He is commenting upon a passage in a *Comptus Bracini S. Pauli* of 1283.

panis et cervisie (*Statutes of the realm*, f. 199), and also from the fact that at S. Paul's it was baked only for particular occasions, such as the Festivals of S. Paul and the Rogation Days, when the canons had three wastel loaves a day, and other members of the Church in proportion. The extravagance of the Princess in the care of her dogs is thus indicated in Chaucer's *Prologue* :

Of smale houndes had she, that she fedde
With rosted flesh and milk and wastel bread."

In the accounts of Gabriel Donne, Canon and Stagiary in 1555, I find a charge for these pleasant viands. Crystofer Hawk, Pitensarie to the minor canons received, on their behalf :

P^d. for flawne monye on y^e Rog'con dayes v^s. ij^d.
It, for Wassells on S. Pawle's daye ij^s. xj^d.

and in this year there was

P^d. to the Clerk of the Bake house for
bred money, Wastells and fflawnes * xxiiij^{li}. xvj^s. ij^d.

"On Monday next after the Feast of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross (14th Sept., 1297), in the 25th year

* An earlier *account*, rendered in 1522-3, enters into very minute details as to the distribution of the Wastells or Gastells, which, it appears, were valued at one penny each.

The Residentaries, then five in number, had each eight gastells; the major canons, four each; the sub-dean and the two cardinals, four each; the succentor three, other minor canons, two each; ten choristers, one each; the vergers, two each; the Curate of S. Gregory, and the clerk of the same church, one each.

On the Conversion of S. Paul, gastells were given to such only as were present at the procession. The two carriers of the Doe had nothing this

of the reign of King Edward I, the warden and aldermen" of the City of London "were summoned before the son of our lord the king and his council, in the house of the Bishop of London at S. Paul's: and there delivery was made by the hands of Sir John de Langalene, the then chancellor of our lord the king," unto the aldermen, concerning divers matters. They were to enquire what people were able to bear arms. They were also to guard the city, and to erect barriers and chains where need shall be; more especially towards the water, by the Friars Preachers, now called the Black Friars.¹ These were troublous times. Wallace was ravaging the north of England. Four days before, Hugh Cressingham, the treasurer, was slain at Cambuskenneth near Stirling; his body horribly mutilated by the victors. The king had sailed for Flanders on Aug. 22nd, leaving his son Edward as regent. Hence these precautions.

From the Bishop's Palace the Lady Katherine of Arragon passed to the Cathedral for her ill-fated marriage to Arthur Prince of Wales, son of Henry VII.

The young princess had a very stormy passage from Spain to her new home. A furious south wind

year, for the excellent reason that there was not a Doe offered at the Feast.

The distribution on the Feast of the Conversion of S. Paul cost 12*s.* 2*d.*; and on the commemoration of S. Paul 11*s.* 1*d.*, that is to say that 146 were given away on the first occasion, and 133 on the latter.

Flawnes, also valued at one penny, were distributed on the Monday and Tuesday in Rogation week.

Other recipients were, the keeper of S. Paul, the keeper of S. Erkenwald, the two keepers of Holy Cross, the illuminer of wax candles, six vicars, all which persons received one gastell each; whilst two of the said vicars carrying the copes, and the rulers of the choir received an extra gastell.—Pridden Papers MSS. S. Paul's Cathedral.

¹ Riley. *Memorials*, 35, 36.

assailed them, a succession of thunderstorms terrified them, the sea ran mountains high. Her beauty, her agreeable and dignified demeanour, won the hearts of all who saw her. An autograph letter in Latin, from Henry VII to her parents, is still extant, in which the king speaks in high terms of her.¹

A marriage had already taken place by proxy between the prince and princess on Whit Sunday, May 19th, 1499: on Sunday, November 14th, 1501, the solemn marriage in S. Paul's Cathedral was celebrated. The princess had landed at Plymouth on the second of October, and it had been intended that she should have been the guest of the Archbishop at Lambeth. The house, however, had been dismantled at the death of Archbishop Morton, and the new Archbishop, Henry Dean, had not been able to prepare for her reception: the Bishop of Rochester, Richard Fitz James, received her at *La Place*, his residence in Lambeth.

Shortly before the marriage the princess took up her abode at the Bishop of London's Palace. Hither she returned after the magnificent ceremonial. "The wedded pair were lodged for some nights in the Bishop's Palace. Six months had not passed when Arthur was in his grave, and the prudent king was already meditating the marriage of the high-dowered widow with Prince Henry."²

The chroniclers of the time can scarce find words to express the splendour of the marriage pageant. The Archbishop officiated in person. He was attended by the Bishops of Ely, Lincoln, Rochester, Llandaff,

¹ Dean Hook's *Archbishops of Canterbury*, v., 518, et seqq. *Simancas Papers* 305, 311.

² Milman. *Annals*, 170-172.

Bangor, and the Abbots of Stratford, Bermondsey, and Tower Hill. A costly pageant of S. Katherine and S. Ursula had greeted the princess at London Bridge, as she entered the city ; a second pageant awaited her at Gracechurch Street, a third at Cornhill, a fourth at Soper Lane, a fifth at the Standard in Cheap, a sixth at Paul's Gate. The conduit in Cheap "ran with Gascoigne wine, and was furnished with musicke." A raised platform of timber, at the height of six feet from the ground, had been constructed from the West door of the Cathedral to the topmost step leading into the choir. A platform "like unto a mountaine with steps on every side, which was covered over with red wusted" was erected near the commissaries court, and "upon the above named mountaine was Prince Arthur, about the age of 15 yeeres, and the Lady Katherine, about the age of 18 yeeres, both clad in white satine, married by the Archbishop of Canterbury, assisted by 19 bishops and abbots mitred."¹

The Grey Friars Chronicler² is not so much dazzled by the dimensions of the platform. In his hands the "mountaine" shrinks, if not to the size of a mole hill, at least to a more modest bulk. He is content to describe a *half pace*, that is a raised floor or platform, or, as he puts it—

"A halpas made of tymber from the west dore to the qwere dore of xii foote brode and iiii fotte of hyghte. And in the myddes of the same maryd. And the fest holden in the byshoppe of London palles."

The Tuesday following, the king and queen, who had been "all this season at Barnard's Castle, came

¹ Dugdale's *S. Paul's*, and Stowe's *Annals*.
Monumenta Franciscana, II., 184.

unto Pawles, and heard there masse, and then, accompanied with many nobles" went unto the Palace, and there dined with the newly married pair.

"Bowers" had been constructed from the Palace gate to the great west door of the Cathedral.¹ The whole church was hung with arras "so high that the lowest part thereof be seven or eight feet from the ground." A door was specially made over against the consistory, so that the king and queen might pass from the Bishop's Palace into the Cathedral, secretly, to the great platform in the nave. After the marriage, the youthful pair passed to their places near the high altar, for the mass. After mass, the prince departed, that he might receive the princess in the palace at her chamber door, he passing through the consistory door; the princess, led by my Lord of York, passed along the platform, the whole length of the church, out at the great west door, in at the great gate of the Bishop's Palace, "and so to her great chamber, where, at the door thereof" the prince received her, "as the custom of England is." Meanwhile "the minstrels, and after, the trumpets shall play, every man after his faculty;" and a "solemn conduit pompously devised" began to run divers sorts of good wine, from the time that the princess entered the palace, and so continually to run all that day and part of the night.

Of the feast which followed the marriage, Hall, the chronicler² says, that it was "sumptuous, and yet not so sumptuous as populous, nor yet so

¹ Malcolm. *Londinium Redivivum*, iii, 160-164; quoting the original orders of the King in Council. *Cotton MSS. Vespasian*, CXIV.

² Dean Hook, *Archbishops*, v., 521.

populous as delicate, nor so delicate as of all things abundant."

In the next scene Henry VIII is the central person. The Pope had sent a sword and cap of maintenance to the king. Fitz James was now Bishop of London. A vivid description, drawn from the despatches of the Venetian Ambassador, is given by Dean Milman.¹

"The king was in London, at the Bishop's Palace adjoining S. Paul's Cathedral, the two buildings being separated by a small square (*campiello*)² through which, on Sunday, May 21st, 1514, a grand procession moved . . . The position of the Episcopal Palace and the Cathedral," says the ambassador, "might be likened to that of S. Mark's tower and church.

The sword, long, with a gilded guard and scabbard—the cap, of purple satin, "a foot long, with a turned-up brim, covered with embroidery and pearls, with sundry small pendant tails of ermine," were presented to the king at the high altar. Both were emblematical, and it was not intended that he should wear them: but two nobles girded him with the sword, and placed the cap on his head, "which, by reason of its length, covered his whole face."

Music, vocal and instrumental, was performed during high mass: and then followed a banquet in the Bishop's Palace. The ambassador expresses his amazement at the massive gold chains worn by the nobles. They might have served, he says, "for fetters for felons' ankles, and sufficed for their safe

¹ Milman. *Annals*, 172–175.

² Is this "small square" the open space westward of the Cathedral, or is it, possibly, an enclosure within the walls of the Palace?

custody, so heavy were they, and of such immense value."

Pope Julius II had sent to Henry VII a consecrated sword. Cardinal d'Amboise, the minister of Louis XII, also sent as a propitiatory offering, on S. George's Day, 1505, a leg of S. George encased in silver. This precious relic was exhibited by Archbishop Warham's command, in S. Paul's Cathedral.¹

It would be useless to attempt to gather together all the passages in which the old chroniclers relate incidents occurring in or near the Bishop's Palace. One or two more brief extracts must suffice: they are chiefly drawn from quaint old Machyn:

"The ij day of November, 1551, cam to London from Hamton Courtte, and landyd at Benard Castyll, the old Qwyne of Schottes, and cam rydyng to the Bysshope Palles at Powlles with many lordes, the Duke of Suffoke, my Lord Marqwes of Northampton, my Lord of Warwyke, the Lord Welebe, my Lord Haward, my Lord Rosselle, Lord Bray, and dyvers mo lords and knyghtes and gentyllmen; and then cam the Qwyne of Schottes and alle owre lades and her gentyll women and owre gentyll women, tho the number of a C., and ther was sent her mony grett gyftes by the Mayre and Aldermen, as beyffes, mottuns, velles, swines, bred, wyld ffulle, wyne, bere, spysys, and alle thyngs, and qwaylles, sturgeon, wod and colles, and samons, by dyver men."²

On November 4th, the Queen rode to Court at Whitehall,³ the guards awaiting her there "in their best coats." The King saluted her,

"and dyd inbrasse her, and kyssyd her, and took her by the hand, and led her up in to the chambur of presence; and so ther was a

¹ Dean Hook. *Archbishops*, vi, 187.

² Machyn. *Diary*, 11, 322.

³ See also Stow's *Annals*, 606, edition of 1631.

bankett, and so when all was done the Queen toke her horsse and was browght unto the Bysshope's Palesse to soper, and ther she laye."

The entry relates to Mary of Guise, queen dowager of Scotland, who embarked at Edinburgh to visit her daughter in France, September 7th, 1550; on her return she landed at Portsmouth, on November 2nd, 1551.

On August 5th, 1554, "cam out of the Marsalsay," says Machyn, with a spelling which is quite his own, "the old Bysshop of London, Bonar, and dyvers bysshops bryng hym home unto ys plasce at Powlles," that is, I have little doubt, to his Palace.¹

"The xxiiij day of May, 1559, the inbassadurs the Frenche were browth from the Byshope Palles by land through Flet Street, unto the Qwen's Pales to soper, by the most nobull men ther was abowt the Cowrt, and ther was the hall and the privy chambur, and the grett chambur of pressens hangyd with ryche clothes of arres as ever was sene, and the cloth of state boyth hall and grett chamburs, and they had as grett chere at soper, and after a bankett as goodly as has been seen, with all maner musyke tyll mydnyght."

"The xxv day they wher browt to the Cowrt with musyke to dener, for ther was gret chere; and after dener to bear and bull baytyng, and the Quen's grace and the Embassadurs stod in the galere loking of the pastym tyll vj at nyght; and after they whent by water unto Powll wharff, and landyd, and contenent² unto ther logyng to the Byshope of London to soper, for ther wher gorgyus aparell as has ben sen in thes days.

"The xxvj day of May they whent from the Byshope howsse to Powlles warff, and toke barge, and so to Parys garden, for ther was boyth bare and bull baytyng, and the capten with a C. of the gard to kepe rowm for them to see the baytyng."

These "inbassadurs of France whent" away on

¹ Machyn *Diary*, 39. Strype, however, transcribes it "unto his place." *Mem.* III, i, 27.

² Incontinently unto their lodging.

the xxviii day of May, "and they cared money mastiffs with them for the wolf."¹

The French Ambassadors were Charles Cardinal of Lorraine, Anne Duc de Montmorenci, Jacques Marquis de Fronsac, Jehan de Morvillier Bishop of Orleans, and the Chevalier Claude de l'Aubespierre.²

"The Constable Montmorency," writes De Quadra to Phillip II, on May 30th, "with a number of French noblemen, have come over to ratify the treaty. On Corpus Christi day they were all at the royal chapel. The Queen placed herself close to the altar, and made Montmorency and his companion sit by her side, much to the scandal of the Catholics, to see them in such a place. Some English prayers and psalms, and I know not what were read, after which were to have followed some chapters, but as the chaplains began one chapter after another, the Queen cried out: 'Not that! I know that already. Read something else.'"³

It was an anxious time. De Quadra is writing about the Queen's proposed marriage. "She declared," he said, "she would never have a husband who would sit all day by the fireside. When she married it should be a man who could ride, and hunt, and fight. The Council," he adds, "are in an agony to have her married to someone."

I conclude with an extract relating to an archery match, between the inhabitants of S. Gregory's parish.

"The xiii day of July, 1562, was a grett sh[ooting of the] parryche of Sant Gregores in Powlles chyrche-yerd, [the one] halff

¹ Machyn *Diary*, 198.

² Editorial note to Machyn's *Diary*, 373. (See Rymer, *Fœdera*, xv., 503).

³ Froude, *History*, vii, 95, 96,

agaynst the thodur ; on syd had yelow [scarves, and] thodur red skarfies, and a vj drumes and iiij fluttes ; [and so] to my lord of London('s) plase to soper, a. c. mes[ses.]¹

S. Gregory's Church adjoined the Cathedral on its south-western side, occupying a position analogous to that of the Bishop's Palace on the opposite side. "My Lord of London," Edmund Grindal, gives a supper to his neighbours.

NOTE.

List of Chantry Priests in the Bishop of London's Palace. Compiled by the Rev. George Hennessy.

CHAPEL OF S. MARY.

Bandake			
51.b	Richard de Teye, pr.	1322. Sept. 4	
72.b	William de Stokton, deacon	1329. May 1	
	Bartholomew Sidey		Ex. 1362
	Thomas Keynes	1363. June 28	
	John Querneby, cl.		Ex. 1364
	William Boughbrigg	1364. Apr. 13	
	Richard de Pertenhale		R. 1366
	John Appelby, LL.D.	1366. Oct. 4	Ex. 1366 Oct.
	John de Egyngton	1366. Oct. 21	
	John Bonoyre de Berkyng		Ex. 136 $\frac{7}{8}$
	John	136 $\frac{7}{8}$. Mar. 17	
	Thomas West		Ex. 1368
	John de Newenham	1368. Apr. 28	
	Richard de Pertenhale		R. 1370
	John Ereton, pr.	1370. July 1	
86.b	Thomas de Sudbury	1371. Oct. 28	Ex. 1371
87	John Thetsand	1371. Oct. 31	

¹ Machyn's *Diary*, 287-288

IN BASSA CAPELLA.

Pat. Roll.	9, Henry V. pt. 2.		
m. 7	Richard Prentys	1421. Nov. 23	Ex. 1430
36.b	John Wylberfosse	1430. Oct. 12	D. 1435
36.b	William Waynflete	1435. June 23	
	William Elyot		D. 1439
23	William Kyrkeby, S.T.P.	1439. Sept. 26	R. 1439
23	Abel Lyvermore	1439. Oct. 9	D. 1467
105.b	Thos. Graunger, B.D.	1467. Apr. 10	R. 1486
211	Thos. Oty, cap.	1486. Dec. 11	
	John Belowe		D. 1518
76	John Graunger, cap.	1518. Oct. 9	D. 151 $\frac{8}{9}$
77.b	Robert Toller, cap.	151 $\frac{8}{9}$. Jan. 13	D. 152 $\frac{2}{3}$
2.b	Thos. Burton, cap.	152 $\frac{2}{3}$. Mar. 10	D. 1523
4	Stephen Hytton, cap.	1523. May 24	R. 1534
24.b	Robert Hygden, S.T.B.	1534. Oct. 24	R. 1542
140.b	John Longe, LL.B.	1542. June 22	D. 1544
150.b	John Combes, pr.	1544. Dec. 13	

II.—THE BISHOP'S PALACE, NEAR S. PAUL'S.

ITS PRISONS.

The Bishop's Palace has other associations connected with it, besides those of royal receptions, and of stately banquets. Like other episcopal residences,¹

¹ William Hynelond, clerk, leaves in his will, dated on the Feast of S. Lucy, virgin, 1371, certain gifts to the prisoners in the Bishops' Palaces, viz: at Storteford, Canterbury, Rochester, Westminster, Sarum, Wells, and Oxford. Dr. Sharpe. *Calendar of Wills*, ii., 152.

it had not only a stately banquet hall—it had also its dreary, gruesome prisons.

The Coal House in the Palace is a prison very familiar to the readers of the *Acts and Monuments* of John Foxe.¹

Here in October, 1555, lies John Philpot, martyr. "We were brought," he says, "through Paternoster Row to my lord of London Coal House; unto the which is joined a little blind house, with a great pair of stocks, appointed both for hand and foot. But, thanks be to God, we have not played of those organs yet, although some before us had tried them."² To this place he is remitted from time to time. "I was carried to my lord's Coal House again, where I, with my six fellows, do rouse together in straw, as cheerfully (we thank God) as others do in their beds of down."³ A little later, he is examined "in the gallery of my lord of London's Palace," before several bishops; and, by and by, the Bishop came into the Coal House at night, "with the keeper, and viewed the house, saying that he was never here before. Whereby a man may guess how he hath kept God's commandments, in visiting the prisoners, seeing that he was never with them that were so near his nose." A palpable hit! good Master Philpot! "And he came not then for any good zeal to view the place, and thought it too good for me."⁴ Still later, he is examined in the Bishop's Chapel, having previously been brought down into the Wardrobe, where, with a

¹ For convenience of reference I use the octavo edition in eight volumes, issued by Seeleys, in the *Church Historians of England*.

² Foxe, vii., 611.

³ Foxe, vii., 613.

⁴ Foxe, vii., 620-647.

keeper, he was left all day, returning at night conducted by three or four into the Coal House. Philpot's tenth examination takes place in my Lord's upper-hall; his twelfth in the chapel (he has previously been, "fet down to the Wardrobe adjoining" thereunto); on the 13th and 14th of December, he is examined in the consistory at S. Paul's.¹

In a note to these passages² the editor of the octavo edition of Foxe observes that "the Coal House was at the back of the Palace in Paternoster Row, near the alley which passes from thence to S. Paul's Church-yard," the Palace itself standing "at the north-west corner of the church-yard, the present site of London House Yard," and extending itself to the walls of the old Cathedral.

John Whittle writes "from the Coal House, this 4th of December," 1556, to his "dear Friend and Brother John Went and other his Prison-fellows in Lollards' Tower."³ Whittle was "a minister of Essex, a married priest, a man of godly zeal," and was burnt in the year above named.⁴

Archdeacon Philpot complains of the gloom of his prison⁵ to Edmund Bonner, Bishop of London, who thus deals with him, if Foxe is to be credited:—

"*London*: By my faith, thou art too well handled. Thou shalt be worse handled hereafter, I warrant thee."

"*Philpot*: If to lie in a blind Coal House may be counted good handling, both without fire and candle,⁶ then may it be said, I am

¹ Foxe, vii., 654-667-677.

² Foxe vii., 725.

³ Foxe vii., 724, 725.

⁴ Archdeacon Philpot's *Examination*, 13.

⁵ Philpot, *Examination*, 70.

⁶ It is the 19th of November.

well handled. Your lordship hath power to entreat my body as you list."

"*London*: Thou art a fool, and a very ignorant fool. Master Chancellor, in good faith, I have handled him and his fellows with as much gentleness as they desire. I let their friends come unto them to relieve them. And wot you what! the other day they had gotten themselves up into the top of the leads with a many of prentices, gazing abroad as though they had been at liberty. But I will cut off your resort: and as for the prentices, they were as good not to come to you, if I take them."

"*Philpot*: My lord, we have no such resort to us as your lordship imagineth, and there cometh very few unto us. And of prentices I know not one, neither have we any leads to walk on over our Coal House, that I wot of: wherefore your lordship hath mistaken your mark."

"*London*: Nay, now you think, because my Lord Chancellor is gone, that we will burn no more. Yes, I warrant thee, I will dispatch you shortly, unless you do recant."

"*Philpot*: My lord, I had not thought that I should have been alive now, neither so raw as I am, but well roasted to ashes."

The Chancellor (that is, I suppose, Thomas Gresham, Chancellor of Lichfield)¹ tries to moderate the tone of the discussion. He cries:—

"Cast not yourself wilfully away, Master Philpot. Be content to be ruled by my lord here, and by other learned men of this realm, and you may do well enough."

The editor² of *Liturgical Services, Elizabeth*, for the Parker Society, is disposed to think that in the *Liber Precum Publicarum* of 1560, there may be an attempt to represent Bishop Bonner's Coal Hole. In the initial P of the first word (*Pater*) of the Latin

¹ This conversation takes place 19th November, 1555: the Archdeacon was martyred 18th December in the same year. See *Examinations*, 161.

² The Rev. W. Keatinge Clay, *Liturgical Services, Elizabeth*, 339 note, and 352 note.

Litany is depicted "a traveller seemingly giving a letter to a man chained by the legs, and sitting in front of a hole, arched and dark." And in the initial P, in the collect for Septuagesima Sunday (the first word is *Preces*) is represented "a traveller in the act of receiving a letter from a venerable looking man through the bars of a cell in which he is confined."

John Fetty is sent to the Lollards' Tower, "where he was put into the painful stocks, and had a dish of water set by him, with a stone put into it: to what purpose God knoweth," says Foxe, "except it were to show that he should look for little other sustenance." One of Fetty's children, "a boy of the age of eight or nine years, came unto the Bishop's House," Bonner was then Bishop, "to see if he could get leave to speak with his father." A chaplain asks him, *who was his father*. "The boy then told him, and, pointing towards Lollards' Tower, showed him that his father was there in prison. *Why*, quoth the priest, *thy father is a heretic*. The child, being of a bold and quick spirit, and also godly brought up, and instructed by his father in the knowledge of God, answered and said, *My father is no Heretique; but, you are an Heretique, for you have Balaam's mark*. Whereupon the priest "took the child by the hand, and carried him into the Bishop's House (whether to the Bishop or not, I know not,¹ but like enough he did) and there amongst them, they did most shamefully and without all pity, so whip and scourge, being naked, this tender child, that he was all in a gore-

¹ Foxe, viii, 512. The admirable charity of suggesting that the whipping took place in the Bishop's presence will not be lost upon the reader. A.D. 1588.

blood," and so sent him to his father. "Within fourteen days the child died, whether through this cruel scourging, or any other infirmity, I know not."

Whether the following story¹ relates to London or to Fulham cannot be certainly determined, but if its contiguity to the last recorded incident can help to a decision, it occurred at London. It is unnecessary to give all the details, but Bonner takes "James Harris, of Billericay, in Essex, a stripling of the age of seventeen years," into his garden, "and there, with a rod, gathered out of a cherry tree, did most cruelly whip him." Foxe records many a similar deed on the part of Bishop Bonner. Those, however, who like to see both sides of a question will read, together with Foxe, Dr. Maitland's *Essays on subjects connected with the Reformation in England*, and especially *Essay xx*, entitled *Bonner's Cruelty*. But this enquiry would lead me far away from the subject of the present paper. It will suffice to quote the words in which that eminent historian, Mr. J. S. Brewer,² has recorded his estimate of the author of the *Acts and Monuments*. "Had Foxe, the martyrologist, been an honest man, his carelessness and credulity would have incapacitated him from being a trustworthy historian. Unfortunately he was not honest; he tampered with the documents which came into his hands, and freely indulged in the very faults of suppression and equivocation for which he condemned his opponents."

The mention of the cherry tree in the gardens of the Palace, reminds one of Ely House in Holborn,

¹ Foxe, viii, 525, 526.

² *The reign of Henry VIII, from his accession to the death of Wolsey.* By J. S. Brewer, edited by James Gairdner. Octavo. Lond., 1884, I. 52. Note.

and its strawberries. The Duke of Gloucester says :—

“My Lord of Ely, when I was last in Holborn,
I saw good strawberries in your garden there :
I do beseech you send for some of them.”

To whom John Morton, Bishop of Ely, makes reply :—

“Marry, and will, my Lord, with all my heart.”¹

Fair gardens were these. Bishop Cox, of Ely, when compelled to lease the garden and orchard, reserved to himself and to his successors the right of walking therein and of gathering twenty bushels of roses yearly.

Probably the Bishop of London's gardens had their rose trees, too. Does “Rose Street,” hard by, still embalm their fragrant memory?²

In 1329, a fruiterer gathering nuts in the Court of the Bishop of London's Palace, fell from the tree and was killed. The King's Coroner held an inquest on him in the Bishop's Hall, contrary to the immunities of the Church. Here is the original record :—

“Quidam fructuarius, colligens nuces de arbore in curia Episcopi Londoniensis juxta ecclesiam Sancti Pauli, cecidit . . . Coronator regis super inquisitione sedebat in aula Episcopi.”³

In 1324 a stag came *de foresta de Wolm Holte*, and was captured in Shoe Lane.⁴

Thomas Green is sent to the Lollards' Tower.⁵ He has had in his possession a book entitled *Antichrist*.⁶ He had been in custody but two hours when he is

¹ *Richard III.* Act iii., sc. 4.

² The suggestion is Mr. H. W. Brewer's. “Ivy Lane,” he thinks, may also preserve similar recollections of the gardens.

³ Bishop Stubbs. *Chronicles Edward I and II*, Vol. I, p. xcvi.

⁴ *ib.* i. 307.

⁵ Foxe, viii, 521–524. A.D. 1558.

⁶ See note in Foxe, viii, 786.

carried to another prison, the Coal House, in the Bishop's Palace. "There," says he, "I found a Frenchman lying in the stocks." Cluney, the keeper of the Lollards' Tower, takes the Frenchman away, and, says Green, he "put on my right leg a bolt and a fetter, and on my left hand another, and so he set me cross-fettered in the stocks, and there I lay a day and a night." After an imprisonment of some duration, Dr. Story "sent for me again, and called me into the garden, and there I found with him my lord of Windsor's chaplain, and two gentlemen more." He was sent back to the Coal House, but before he had been there a week fourteen prisoners were sent in, and he himself was transferred to "a prison called the Salt House; having upon my leg," he adds, "a bolt and a fetter, and my hands manacled together with irons, and there continued ten days, having nothing to lie on but bare stones or a board. On a time, while I lay there in prison, the Bishop of London coming down a pair of stairs on the back side, untrussed, in his hose and doublet, looked in at the grate, and asked *wherefore I was put in, and who put me in.*" After this short interview, he is "kept in the stocks more than a month, both day and night, and no man," as he laments, "to come to me, or speak with me, but only my keeper, which brought me meat." Bad as were the Bishop's prisons, "the stinking dungel" at Christ's Hospital, sometime the Grey Friars, seems to have been worse. Here he suffered scourging. "The two beadles came with a cord, and bound my hands together, and the other end of the cord to a stone pillar. Then one of my friends, called Nicholas Priestman, hearing them call for whips, hurled in a bundle of rods, which seemed

something to pacify the mind of his [Dr. Story's] cruelty : and so they scourged me with rods." They then " bade me pay my fees, and go my ways."

It will be understood that I am citing this passage solely for the purpose of illustrating the buildings of the Palace, for which purpose it is of considerable utility. It introduces us to the garden of the Palace, and to two prisons within the precincts of the Palace, severally called the Coal House, and the Salt House, the former capacious enough, it would appear, to hold fourteen prisoners.

The prisons still existing at Lambeth Palace in the Water Tower (mis-called the Lollards' Tower), and in the noble entrance gateway, called Morton's Tower, will give us, no doubt, some idea of these places of "little ease" at the Palace near S. Paul's.

The famous prison in the Water Tower is (I take Dr. Ducarel's measurements)¹ about twelve feet long by nine feet broad. "In it are eight large iron rings fastened to the wainscot which lines the walls, in this order : three rings on the south side, four on the west side, and one on the north side. The wainscot is of oak above an inch ; and the ceiling also is of oak. It has a small chimney on the north part ; upon the sides are various scratches, half sentences, and letters, cut out with a knife by some of the unhappy persons who are supposed to have been confined here." But a dungeon demands a more picturesque description ; let us hear that delightful guide, Mr. J. R. Green.²

¹ Dr. Ducarel. *History and Antiquities of the Archbishoppal Palace at Lambeth.* 45.

² J. R. Green. *Stray Studies : Lambeth and the Archbishops.* 121. (The prison is lighted by two small windows, one on the western side, the other on the north. The entrance is at the S.E. angle.)

"The massive oaken door, the iron rings bolted into the wall, the one narrow window looking out over the river, tell their tale as well as the broken sentences scratched or carved around. Some are mere names ; here and there some light-pated youngster paying for his night's uproar has carved his dice, or his

JESUS KEP ME OUT OF ALL IL COMPANE. AMEN.

But

JESUS EST AMOR MEUS

is sacred, whether Lollard or Jesuit graved it in the lonely prison hours ; and not less sacred the

DEO SIT GRATIARUM ACTIO

that marks, perhaps, the leap of a martyr's heart at the news of the near advent of his fiery deliverance." To which might well have been added the inscription

NOSCE TE IPS'M,

so appropriate in the enforced quiet of the prison.

The spiral stair leading from the *Post Room* to the prison is of wood.

"A massive oaken spar, rising in two lengths about 40 feet, forms the upright support of some sixty wooden steps. These steps were formerly of massive oak, as the under-boarding of the stairs testifies, remaining in its primitive simplicity and original material, rough outside planks of oak, with portions of the dried bark still visible upon them. No sign of the plane is here, but the woodman's auger holes may be seen, where bolts were driven in to serve as steps for scaling the tree, preparatory to its being fitted, and where the wooden stairs cease, a narrow doorway leads to a small stone newel-stair, rising up a few steps in a *tourelle* of a quaint and picturesque character, built on and projecting beyond the solid wall."¹

Down such a stair we may well imagine Bishop Bonner walking, and passing by the grating of the

¹ Rev. J. Cave-Brown. *Lambeth Palace and its Associations.* 200.

Salt House, exchanging a few words with Thomas Green.¹

In the grand Gateway Tower at Lambeth, on the right and on the left, are also places of detention for prisoners, with large iron rings still bolted into the walls.

"The extreme thickness of the walls, the massive double doors, the small windows with their iron bars, the heavy rings still remaining fixed in the walls, the names still legible on the sides, proclaim this to have been one of the prisons for the refractory, or the recusant. And here are traces of a custom, now emphatically condemned as un-English. Where the present entrance into this inner chamber has been cut through, the wall was originally only a single brick in thickness, so that anyone sitting in the recess thus formed in the outer face of the wall could overhear the conversations of the prisoners within, who, wholly unconscious that there were eavesdroppers on the other side of a thin partition, may have often sealed their own fate, or involved that of others, by unguarded conversations with their fellow prisoners."²

The Bishop of London's guards were not always very watchful, or, possibly, were not always very eager to retain their prisoners. One Dabney, a painter, had been sent up to be examined by Bishop Bonner, and whilst he was waiting for his dangerous interview, "suddenly word cometh to the Bishop to prepare him in all speed, the general procession tarried for him." Bonner hastened to "furnish the procession," he "buscleth himself," as Foxe³ says, and Dabney, left alone,

"cometh down to the outward court next the gate, there, walking with himself, all heavy, looking for nothing less than to escape that

¹ See *supra*.

² Cave-Browne, *Lambeth Palace*, 36.

³ In the edition of 1563 ; later editions read *busleth*. Foxe, viii, 551-789.

danger. The porter, who was only left at home, seeing the man to walk alone, supposing he had been some citizen there left behind, and waiting for opening the gate, went and opened the wicket, asking if he would go out. ‘*Yea*,’ said he, ‘*with a good will, if ye will let me out?*’ ‘*With all my heart*,’ quoth the porter, ‘*and I pray you so do.*’ and thus the said Dabney, taking the occasion offered of God, being let out by the porter, escaped out of the wolf’s mouth.”

And so, in like manner, did Edward Benet. He had been summoned with five other prisoners to hear mass in the Bishop’s chapel.

“The mass being done, and they coming out, five of them went to prison, and were after burnt. Benet being behind, and coming toward the gate, the porter, opening to a company going out, asked if there were no prisoners there. ‘No,’ said they. Benet, standing in open sight before him, with other serving men, which were there by reason that Bonner made many priests that day (having one of his sleeves and half the forepart of his coat burnt off in the prison, being more like a prisoner than any of the others) when the gates were opened, went out amongst them, and so escaped.”¹

The punishment of the stocks, though very common, must have been extremely severe in many cases. One Thomas Rose, said to have been privy to the burning of the Rood of Dovercourt, was imprisoned in the house of Bishop Longland (of Lincoln) in Holborn, and

“was very sore stocked. The stocks were very high and great, so that, day and night, he did lie with his back on the ground, upon a little straw, with his heels so high, that by means the blood was fallen from his feet, his feet were almost without sense for a long time : and he herewith waxed very sick, insomuch that his keeper, pitying his estate, and hearing him cry sometimes through the extremity of pain, went to the Bishop and told him that he would not keep him

¹ Foxe, viii, 561, 562. These incidents occurred in 1558.

to die under his hand ; and upon this he had some more ease and liberty.”¹

Here is a still more tragical incident :—

“The 25th of May, 1570, in the morning was found hanging at the Bishop of London’s pallace gate in Paules Churchyard, a bull, which lately had been sent from Rome, containing diuers horrible treasons against the Queenes Maiestie, for the which one *John Felton* was shortly after apprehended and committed to the Tower of London.

“The fourth of August was arraigned at Guildhall of London, *John Felton*, for hanging a bull at the gate of the Bishop of Londons pallace, and also two young men for coynying and clipping of coyne, who all were found guilty of high treason, and had iugement to be drawne, hanged, and quartred.

“The eight of August, *John Felton* was drawne from Newgate into Paules Churchyard, and there hanged on a gallows new set vp that morning before the Bishoppes palace gate, and being cut downe alive, he was bowelled and quartered.”²

In this bull the Pope deprived Elizabeth “of all title to her kingdoms, and absolved her subjects from their oath of allegiance, and charged them not to obey her upon pain of his curse and excommunication.”³ The bull stirred up the strongest feeling amongst the loyal English people. Bishop Jewel dealt with it very fully in

A View of a seditious Bull sent into *England* from *Pius Quintus*, Bishop of *Rome*, 1569. Taken by the reuerend Father in God, Iohn Iewel, late Bishop of *Sarisburie*. Whereunto is added a short treatise of the holy scriptures, both which he delivered in diuers sermons in his Cathedrall Church of *Sarisburie*, 1570.⁴

Bishop Cox of Ely, and Bishop Horn of Winchester, write upon the subject to Henry Bullinger, “a wise

¹ Foxe, viii, 582.

² Stow, *Annales*, 1631, 667.

³ Strype, *Annals of the Reformation*, I, ii, 354.

⁴ Printed by John Norton, London, 1611. Reprinted in Jewel’s Works, Parker Society, iv. 1127, &c. The Bull itself is printed, pp. 1131–2.

and grave divine, chief minister of Zurich," as Strype calls him, who undertook the task of confuting the Bull.

Dean Milman quotes the title of a Tract, edited by Mr. Henry Huth, for the *Philobiblon Society*.

"A disclosing of the Great Bull, and certain calves that he hath gotten, and specially the Monster Bull that roared at my Lord Byshoppe's gate."

The Dean speaks, in his graphic way, of the wild uproar at the Palace gates.

"The population of London were reading (if it was in Latin, there would be interpreters enough) a great placard, with the Papal Arms and signature, the Bull which Pius V. had launched against Queen Elizabeth. Imagine the indignant rage of some, the shuddering dismay of others (if there were any who felt joy in their hearts they would not betray it in their countenances), the frank loyalty of the masses, even of the Puritans, who, if their ardent love and reverence for the Queen was somewhat cooled, would only be more fiercely maddened by their hatred of the Pope. The tumult and uproar may be gathered from the ballads of the day, and the broadsheet literature, which was every where scattered abroad, read, sung, applauded to the highest, by the furious multitude. Here is a stanza from one ; pages might be filled with them :—

A Pope was wont to be an odious name
 Within our land, and scrapt out of our scrowles ;
 And now the Pope is come so far past shame,
 That he can walk with open face at Poules.
 Go home, mad Bull, to Rome, and pardon soules,
 That pine away in Purgatorie payne.
 Go, triumph there, where credit most remains ;
 Thy daie is out in England long ago.
 For Ridley gave the Bull so great a blow,
 He never durst apeach this land till now.

"The intrepid fanatic who had done the deed, and, in defiance of the law and the popular feeling, had nailed the Bull to the Bishop's

¹ Zurich Letters. I. 221, 254. July 10, 1570, August 3, 1571.

gates, seems almost to have disdained flight or concealment. He was apprehended, tried, condemned : and, if Bishop Sandys had looked from his windows on the morning of August 8 (we trust that he had retired to Fulham), he would have seen the body of John Felton, hanging on a gallows erected at his gates, amid the execrations of the citizens of London, and the silent and suppressed commiseration, even perhaps the admiration, of a few, by some of whom he was dignified by the much misused name of martyr.”¹

Apropos of Felton’s miserable end, Mr. Wheatley,² quotes a few lines from a *Pithy Note to Papists*, published on August 23rd. The execution took place on August 8, 1570.

Then was he hanged up a while
 In what a cace God knowes :
 Such as have judgement in the act—
 I leave the end to those.
 Cut down he was and lived again,
 But after spake not much,
 For why ? the Executioner served
 Him such a Traitor’s tuch.

III.—THE BISHOP’S PALACE, NEAR S. PAUL’S.

ITS LATER HISTORY.

LONDON HOUSE, ALDERSGATE STREET.

It is difficult to trace the later history of the Palace, as the statements found in the usual books of reference are very vague and contradictory, and as authentic sources of information are few and far between.

It would appear, however, that by the middle of the sixteenth century, the Bishop of London had

¹ Dean Milman. *Annals of S. Paul’s*. Second edition, 291–293. The verses are taken from Mr. Huth’s volume.

² *London Past and Present*.

ceased to reside within the Cathedral precinct, for I find in one of the Harleian manuscripts¹ a copy of an indenture executed by Edmund Bonner, Bishop of London in 1556,² in which he conveys to one Thomas Darbieshire—

“The messuage or tenement called the oulde Pallace, sett, lienge, and beinge in the churche yarde of the cathedrall churche of S. Paule, in the parishe of S. Gregorie within the Citie of London, together with all houses, sellers, sollers, chambers, and gardens, with other rights, commodities, and appertenaunces therevnto belonging . . . vnto thende and terme of three skore and one yeres.”

The lease contains the usual conditions as to repairs, right of re-entry, and so forth: and the consideration is “the old accustomed yerlie rent of seaven marks.”

Bonner, it will be remembered, was restored to his bishopric in 1553, displaced again 30th May, 1559, and died in the Marshalsea prison on the 5th September of the same year.³

Another *Harleian Manuscript*⁴ contains a lengthy record of matters in dispute between Archbishop Bancroft, who was translated from London to Canterbury 10th December, 1604, and his successor in the see of London, Bishop Richard Vaughan, who was translated from Chester, and installed in S. Paul's 24th December in the same year. The question of dilapidations is always a somewhat delicate and

Harleian MS., No. 2296.

² It is dated 2nd June, 2 and 3 Philip and Mary. See the *Harleian Manuscript*, fo. 136 b.

³ In 1573, an answer to a Popishe and slaunderous Libell, by D. Fulk, was “Imprinted at London by William Jones, dwellyng in Paules Churche Yearde, at the South-west dore of Paules, and are to be sold at his new long shop, neere to the Bishops Pallace.”

⁴ *Harleian MS.*, No. 589, folios 294, &c.

difficult matter, and in this instance, as in many others, the two parties were by no means agreed. The manuscript gives—

“The L. Arch. B. of Cant., his defence vnto the particularities of the decaies set downe by the B. of London,”

together with the Bishop of London's replies thereto.

These “decaies” were found in the Bishop's Palace at Fulham, the Palace near S. Paul's, and elsewhere. We are concerned only with some of the complaints relating to the Palace adjacent to the Cathedral.

It is admitted that the Palace is decayed: but the Archbishop had spent upon it, during his incumbency (1597–1604), no less than cxlviij^{li} ij^s ij^d.

The house or part of it had been let to one Gibbes, and after that to Willet.

Bishop Vaughan complains of the condition of the roof of the Great Hall. But the Archbishop replies that “The lead in the great Halle at London, charged in my L. of London's schedule at ccxli^{li} might have been repaired for iiij^{li} by yere:” and witnesses are called to support this view of the case. Whereupon the Bishop rejoins that “The witnesses doe not prove that they are here vouched for, only they say this, that if the leade worke were once well repaired, it might afterwards bee kept in good reparaçon for iiij or iiij^{li} per annum.”

And so the discussion proceeds as keenly as if between secular persons, rather than between high spiritual persons.

Meanwhile all that remains to us of living interest is the fact that the Great Hall deserved its name, if

the repairs to the lead roof could be fairly estimated at £241, a considerable sum in 1604.

A manuscript preserved in the Cathedral¹ enables us to take up the history at a later point, and, curiously enough, the lead roof comes prominently forward.

“*Coysh* : Whereas, Richard Coysh, haueinge heretofore contract wth vs the Contractors for the p’chase of a p’cell of ground belonginge to the late B^ps of Londons Pallace in London, and for the lead and other materialls vpon the same, p’tē of w^{ch} leade lyinge loose vpon the ground the surveyors haue since disposed of, as the said Mr. Coish did nowe informe vs, And turne noe reprisall of the lead soe disposed of out of the totall value of the lead by him contracted ffor, and the said Mr. Coysh did therevpon praye vs to allowe of as a good cause for his excuse in not p’secuting and A’fecting his conveyance wthin eight weekes lymited by ordinance of the 25th of September Last. W^{ch} wee doe nowe approve and allowe of as a good cause ffor his delay in the premisses, Hee the said Richard Coysh presenteing his conveyance to be p’fected wthin one monthe next after the reprisall of the valewe of the lead aforesaid shalbe ascertained by the surveyors of the p’misses. Witnes our hands this 26th No. 1647.

Will. Roberts

Ty. Midleton

Tho. Ayres

Edw. Cressett

Rob^t Ffenwick

Rich. Turner.”

A week previously, 19th November, 1647, a similar plea had been urged and accepted by John Bellamy and Henry Waller “on behalfe of the Company of Sta^coners ffor p’tē of the late B^ps Londons Garden, lyinge nexte Ave Mary Lane.” “The multiplicity of buisiness” had caused the matter to lie in the hands of the “Deputy Register and other clarkes employed in the seu’rall offices, through w^{ch} the purchasor is to passe by way of p’para^con to his conveyance.”

On the 13th March, 1648. “Captain Richard Coysh” has still further time allowed him to com-

¹ Press Mark, W. D. 51.

plete the matter : and on 14th March, 1650, Richard Coysh is described as “purchaser of the midle parte, of the late Bishop of London’s Pallace;” “the said reprice amounts to the grosse some” of £72.

The *Calendar of State Papers* adds some interesting particulars in relation to this Robert Coysh, who seems to have been actuated by the best motives throughout the transaction.

“Narrative of the purchasing and disposal of part of London House, the Palace of the late Bishop of London, by the late Rich. Coysh, citizen and skinner, of London. That on the debate about raising money for arrears of the Scots’ Army, Coysh did his utmost to prevent Bishops’ lands being sold, that they might be employed for uses of piety and charity, but being over-ruled, he, in 1647, bought part of London House, viz.: the Gate House, great Hall, Parlour with lobby, servants’ dining room and kitchen—all ruinous, having been latterly used as a prison—and several yards. For these he gave £817 13s. 4d., and for the ground on which they stood £1,201 1s. 6d., at 13 years’ purchase. He pulled it down, built 15 new houses, and let or sold the rest of the ground, setting aside £84 a year for charities, viz.: £42 for a *Lectureship* at S. Gregory’s Church, £8 and £16 for the poor of London, £10 for exhibitions for poor scholars at the University, and £8 for the propagation of the Gospel among the Indians in New England. He died in January, 1652, and by will he left $\frac{1}{2}$ of the rest of the purchase to his widow, and $\frac{2}{3}$ to his son Elisha, who has settled it on his wife. [*Printed Broadside, 1654 ?*]¹

The same *Calendar*² adds further particulars :

“1654, June 14. Petition of John Ireton, alderman, and John Humfrey, citizen of London, to the Protector. In 1644 we laid out £90 towards making London House a prison, and had, therefor, an old stable, on which we spent £286 to make it a warehouse ; but

¹ *Calendar of State Papers. Domestic. 1654, p. 432.*

² *Calendar of State Papers. Domestic. 1654, p. 209.*

on the Act for Sale of Bishops' Lands it was valued at £30 a year, and we had to buy it at 12 years' purchase, though before it was only worth £3 a year. The contractors for sale could not relieve us, but the Committee for Obstructions drew up a Report to be presented to Parliament, which we beg may be confirmed, and the premises conveyed to us on paying the remainder of the purchase-money. With order thereon that the contractors pass the conveyance, or certify, 30th January, 1653-4, and reference to Council, 3rd May, 1654."¹

Eight years elapse, and we are again able to take up the history of the Palace from a most authentic source: a private Act of Parliament, still in manuscript, of which I have obtained a transcript. Here is an abstract of the document:

"An Act to enable the Bishop of London to lease out the tenements new built vpon the scite of his palace in London. No. 40. 14 Car. ii.²

"Whereas the Pallace late belonging to the Bishopp of London, hath dureing the time of the late troubles beene destroyed, and diverse small tenements, shoppes, warehouses, and other edifices have beene built on the ground where the said Palace stood, and the Courts and yards therevnto belonging, soe that the same is now totally vnfit for the habitation of the said Bishopp of London or his successors: And the right reverend father in God, Gilbert, now Lord Bishopp of London,³ is willing that out of the fines which may bee raised by leasceing of the said tenements, shoppes, warehouses, edifices, ground, and yards, a convenient house for the habitation of the said Bishopp and his successors shall be purchased."

Hereupon the King, and the Houses of Lords and Commons, grant license to the said Bishop

¹ Annexed 21, ii. Copy of parcel of the survey of the part alluded to of the Bishop of London's Palace. [3½ sheets].

² From the original, a Private Act, in manuscript: in the Parliament Office of the House of Lords.

³ Gilbert Sheldon, Bishop of London, 1660-1663; Archbishop of Canterbury, 1663-1667. He was succeeded in the See of London by Humfrey Henchman.

to demise or lease the said property, "not being within eightene foote of the Cathedral Church of S. Paul . . . for the terme of three lives or vnder, or for the terme of forty yeares or fewer." A hundred pounds yearly rent, at the least, is to be reserved. The Bishop is to give security

"to expend before the first of May w^{ch} shalbe in the yeare of our Lord 1665, five thousand pounds at the least in the building, or purchaseing, and, makeing convenient a house for the habitation of the said Bishop and his successors, which house soe to bee built or purchased shall for ever hereafter be deemed, reputed, and taken to bee, and shall bee the Pallace of the Bishop of London and his successors, and shall bee called or knowne by the name of London House."

The Estate so to be purchased must not exceed ten acres in extent, and must be situate within the Cities of London or Westminster, or the suburbs thereof in the Diocese of London.

The date of this Act is 14 Charles II. The day of the month not being given, we cannot date it with absolute precision; but, 1662 will be sufficiently accurate for all practical purposes.

From S. Paul's Churchyard the Bishops of London removed to Aldersgate Street.

Although, as Seymour¹ said of that street in 1736, "the politeness of the town is far removed from hence," it was at one time the abode of nobles of high degree. The Earls of Thanet dwelt in Thanet House, a mansion built by Inigo Jones, afterwards known as Shaftesbury House, as the residence of the Earls of Shaftesbury. Lauderdale House, Westmoreland Buildings, Petre House, were the town houses of the

¹ Seymour's *Survey*, quoted in Wheatley's *London Past and Present*.

Dukes of Lauderdale, the Earls of Westmoreland, and Lord Petre.

Peter Cunningham, in his *Handbook of London* (I quote from the edition of 1850) says, that "London House, S. Paul's Churchyard, the inn or town House of the Bishops of London, was pulled down and built into tenements about the year 1650," and he gives as his authority for the statement a reference to a work entitled *A Discovery showing the great Advantages of New Building* (p. 11, quarto, 1678). I have not been able to find this work in the British Museum, even with the help of one of the Assistant Librarians, a well known expert in topographical literature, and I observe that the passage is omitted in Mr. Wheatley's comprehensive book.

In another part of the *Handbook*, Mr. Cunningham goes on to say that London House, Aldersgate Street, was "bought by the See of London when the Great Fire had destroyed the Episcopal Residence, S. Paul's Churchyard." It is not quite easy to see how the two statements can be reconciled.

As to the New Palace in Aldersgate Street, a good deal of information is to be obtained by searching through the various histories of London, though it must be admitted that they copy one another, generally without acknowledgment, in the most remorseless manner.

Malcolm,¹ writing in 1805, says :—

"London House is represented in the old maps as situated on the west side [of Aldersgate Street], with the fronts north and south, and a gable only to Aldersgate Street, in an irregular court. The site

¹ Malcolm, *Londinium Redivivum*, ii. 544.

was first known by the name of Dorchester Place,¹ afterwards Petre House, from those noble families having resided there. Subsequent to the Reformation,² it was purchased for the Palace of the See of London, and immediately received the name of London House; but, whether the prelates who inhabited it re-built the mansion, or made any additions, is not mentioned; though I have seen it described as a large brick building, with a neat chapel."

Hughson³ says that the noble family of Petre resided in London House till 1639, and he adds

"how the house was disposed of from this period has not yet been ascertained, but, in 1657, it was found to belong to Henry Pierpoint, Marquis of Dorchester, who, dying without issue, and the great fire having demolished the palace of the Bishop of London, near S. Paul's Cathedral, the house was purchased for a town residence, but only inhabited by one Prelate, Bishop Henchman, who died there in 1675, and was buried at Fulham."

This paragraph, however, contains inaccuracies, which will be rectified later on.

Further information is to be procured from Wilkinson's *Londina Illustrata*, where we find "A Plan of London House, now in the possession of Mr. Jacob Ilive, December, 1747;" with the following particulars:—

"It is situate on the west side of Aldersgate Street, in the Parish of S. Botolph. (It was formerly belonging to Lord Petre, but revolving⁴ to the Crown, king Charles II gave it to the Bishop of London). This house and garden was bounded by the Priory Wall of S. Bartholomew's the Great, which wall encompassed the garden

¹ "The seat of the late Marquis of Dorchester." Stow. i, 622.

² Probably an error for *the Restoration*.

³ *London*, &c., by David Hughson, LL.D., Octavo. London, 1806, vol. iii., 368-9.

⁴ Probably we should read *devolving*. As regards the alleged gift, see *infra*, p. 53. Lord Petre died a prisoner in the Tower in 1684. Lingard, *History*, x., 47.

and house as appears by the plan. When the Priory was dissolv'd in Henry VIII's time, Lord Petre built the Infirmary, now the Garden House, on the ruins and foundation of the Priory Wall, and it, therefore, belongs to the Parish of S. Bartholomew the Great. This is likewise the case of the Audit House, which is also built on the Priory Wall."

The plan it appears was

"Printed, in order to determine what part of this house is in the Ward of Aldersgate, Parish of S. Botolph, and what part is in the Ward of Farringdon Without, Parish of S. Bartholomew the Great. It stands on near two acres, or 14,256 feet square."

The scale of the Plan is somewhat small, and the measurements here deduced from it are consequently rough approximations only; but yet some idea may be formed of the dimensions of the House and its appurtenances.

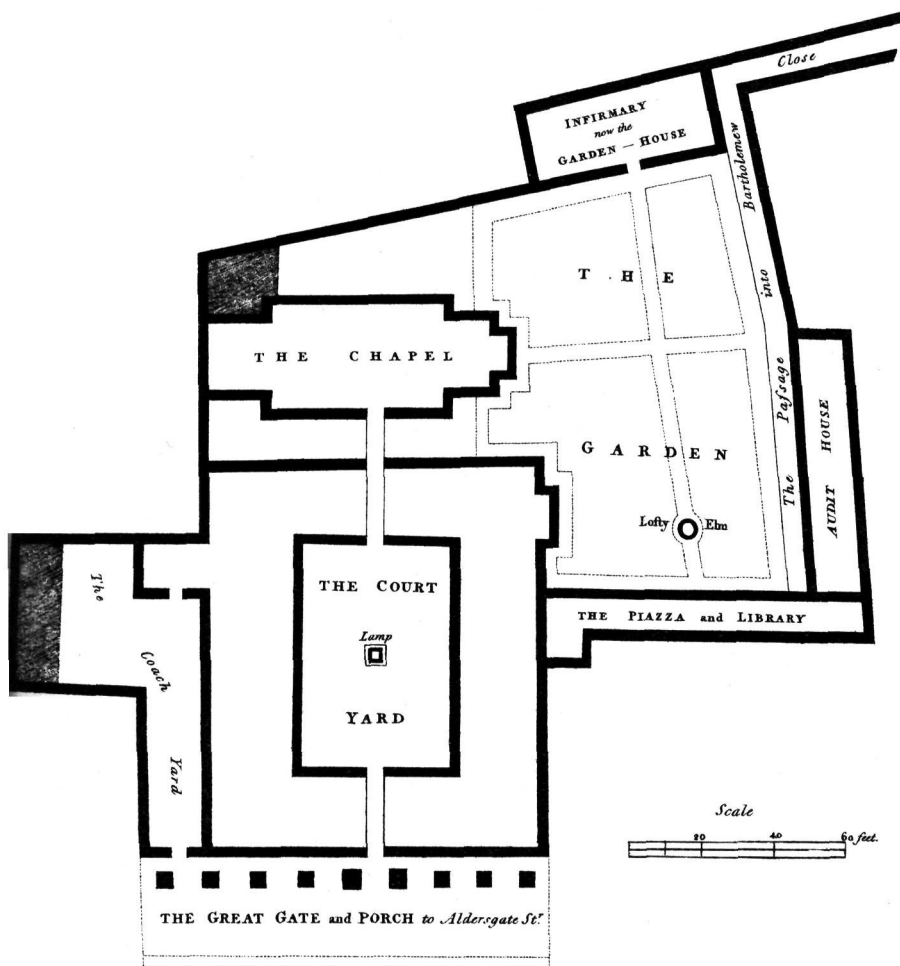
The great gate and porch were in Aldersgate Street, with a frontage of about 120 feet, the façade being adorned by a row of nine columns.

The house itself stood upon a plot of ground some 90 feet by 42, enclosing a spacious court.

Behind the house was the chapel, standing north and south, measuring 85 feet by 30.

The garden, an irregular plot of ground, measured 122 feet on the north, 55 on the south, 160 on the east, 130 on the west. Within the garden stood the chapel, and a "lofty elm" is also marked upon the plan.

West of the garden the "Infirmary, now the garden house," 50 feet by 20; north of the garden, the "audit house," a long, narrow building, 65 feet by 15, between which and the garden ran "the passage into Bartholomew Close." East of the garden "the Piazza



A PLAN OF
LONDON HOUSE, ALDERSGATE STREET.

From Wilkinson's "Londina Illustrata."

and Library," a narrow gallery, 82 feet by 10. And south of the house the coach yard.

The dimensions have been given in so much detail because they supply a definite idea of the ground plan of the town house of a great nobleman in the seventeenth century. The house is seen in a bird's eye view in the plan of Aldersgate Ward in Stow's *Survey*, but on too small a scale to give a clear notion of its proportions.

To this house fled the Princess Anne, afterwards Queen, from the Palace at Whitehall: as Lingard relates.¹

"Anne, the moment she heard of the evasion of her husband,² sent for the Bishop of London, to arrange with him a plan for her own escape. After the family had retired to rest, she left her bed-chamber, with Lady Churchill and Mrs. Berkeley, descended a back staircase, which had recently been put up for that very purpose, and found waiting at the gate a carriage, in which were the Bishop³ and the Earl of Dorset. She passed the night in the Prelate's house, in Aldersgate Street, hastened in the morning to Copt Hall, the seat of the Earl, and proceeded thence to a meeting of the prince's adherents, at Northampton."

The shock of her departure quite unnerved the king, her father, James II, who, on receipt of the intelligence, burst into tears and exclaimed: "God help me: my very children have forsaken me." During two or three following days those who were about his person observed occasional aberrations of intellect.

Here dwelt Bishop Compton; here, in 1673, dwelt Bishop Henchman, who re-built the house, says Dean

¹ Lingard. *History of England*, x., 174.

² Prince George of Denmark, 1688.

³ Bishop Compton.

Milman,¹ at his own cost ; and here, in 1720, dwelt Bishop Robinson.

Perhaps a few particulars of these Prelates may be here added.

"Humphrey Henchman, Lord Bishop of London, departed this life at his house in Aldersgate Street, London, on the seventh day of October, and lies buried in the south isle of Fulham Church, under a black marble stone, 13 ejusdem, 1675."²

When Prebendary of Salisbury he was instrumental in effecting the escape of Charles II, after the Battle of Worcester, when that monarch was travelling disguised in Wiltshire.

"He was, for his Wisdom and Prudence, much valu'd by King Charles II whose happy escape, after the battle at Worcester, this pious Prelate did admirably well manage, especially when his Majesty came in a disguise near Salisbury.

"He built the Chappel in the Bishops' Palace, in Aldersgate Street, now call'd London House."³

In the last statement, Newcourt is supported by Godwin,⁴ who says of the good Bishop :

"In Palatio Episcopali in vico vocato Aldersgate prope Londinum sacellum nitidum⁵ satis et decorum exædificavit."

It is not a little remarkable that at the time of the Restoration Henry Compton had been a cornet of horse.

"He entered into Holy Orders soon after that date, but in 1688, when he was a Bishop of fourteen years' standing, the excitement of the Revolution, and the danger of his pupil, the Princess Anne, so

¹ *Annals*, second edition, 385.

² Lyson's *Environs*, vol ii., part i, pp, 248-249.

³ Newcourt. *Repertorium* i., 32.

⁴ Godwin. *De Præsulibus*, 198 ; edited by Richardson, 1743.

⁵ Was Malcolm thinking of the phrase when he calls the building "a neat chapel."

roused the soldier in him, that he resumed his military dress, and, with sword and pistols by his side, escorted his charge to Northampton. 'In a little time' adds Burnet, 'a small army was formed about her, who chose to be commanded by the Bishop of London, of which he too easily accepted.'"¹

"It is rather curious that the last English Bishop who appeared in arms and took the command of troops should have been succeeded by the last Bishop who in England has held a high diplomatic appointment, and been, in a specific and individual capacity, a chief officer of state."²

"Dr. John Robinson was bred a clergyman, and had a living in the north of England, somewhere in the neighbourhood of Hull. His patron being sent with the character of President to the Court of Sweden, he accompanied him in the quality of Chaplain and Secretary: and upon his being recalled or removed, he succeeded him, first with the character only of Secretary-resident, but afterwards of Resident in which he lived so long at that Court that it could not be supposed any one understood the affairs of that kingdom better, which enabled him to write an *Account of Sweden*, a work justly esteemed. He followed the camp of Charles XII, and as he always supported the character so becoming his cloth (though he had for the time exchanged it for the sword) of being very grave and sober; and besides of being a man of solid sense; so on the other hand, he was always very vigilant and careful of the interest of his Sovereign; and he was at this time, 1707, in that extraordinary Prince's army, with the character of Envoy-extraordinary. Sometime afterwards he resided in *Hamburg* in the same character, with the addition of Plenipotentiary."

"He then took the gown again, and had, as a reward for his labours, the Bishopric of Bristol bestowed upon him; was of the Queen's Privy Council, Privy Seal, and first Plenipotentiary at the Congress of *Utrecht*; and lastly, was translated to the See of London,³ in which he died."⁴

The splenetic Oldmixon has been very severe upon the pomp and retinue with which Dr. Robinson

¹ Abbey. *The English Church and its Bishops*, i., 107. ² *ib.*, i. 108, 109.

³ The exact dates are these. Robinson, Dean of Windsor, was consecrated Bishop of Bristol, 19th November, 1710; translated to London, in which see he was confirmed 13th March, 1714. He died at Hampstead 11th April, 1723, *ætat.* 73.

⁴ Quoted in Lediard's *Life of Marlborough*, i, 406.

appeared at the Utrecht Congress. He says they consisted of—

“One coach with eight horses, and five with six horses, four pages, and twelve footmen in liveries ; with an appointment of 9,000 ounces of plate, half of which was gilt : and a black velvet gown richly covered with gold loops, having a long train, to be borne up by two pages in ash-coloured coats, with silver orvaces,¹ and green velvet waistcoats. This pompous account,” he continues, “is no more suitable to the pastor of a Christian Church, than it would be if he had been made Master of the Ceremonies. But neither this consideration, nor the care of two flocks of his as Dean of Windsor and Bishop of Bristol, could keep this Prelate at home,” p. 483.

Three of Dr. Robinson's letters (two from Dantzic, dated January 23 and September, 1706, and one from Leipzig, dated December 18, in the same year) are printed in Rebecca Warner's *Epistolary Curiosities*.² In the last of these letters he describes a visit of His Majesty the King of Sweden to the house of Count Piper, Minister of Charles XII ; he came thither, he says, “in great haste, and made but two steps of a pair of stairs of twelve.”

“The House,” says Malcolm,³ “was deserted as the Episcopal Residence so early as 1725.”

Through the courtesy of Mr. C. J. Ellis, I am able to give the following extract :—

Extract from Lease, dated *25th March, 1720*.
Granted by Bishop of London to Nathaniel May of

¹ Not in Planché's *Cyclopædia of Costume* ; Halliwell ; Nares, or Cotgrave.

² Printed at Bath in 1818. The letters are numbers cxxx–cxxxii, pages 220–229. The two paragraphs immediately preceding are taken from this volume.

³ Malcolm. *Londinium Redivivum*, ii., 544.

London House, Aldersgate Street, within the City of London :—¹

“All that messuage palace or dwelling house with the Courts yard stables buildings rights members and appurtenances to the same belonging commonly called London House situate and being in Aldersgate Street London. Except and always reserved out of this present Lease unto the said Reverend Father and his successors the Chappell there with the free liberty and use of the same at all times for divine service with free ingress egress and regress to and for him and his Steward Receiver and Servants into and through the said messuage or pallace unto the said Chappell at all times during the term hereby letten (there to search peruse and inspect the Records and evidences belonging to the See of London) and for his and their workmen at convenient times to repair the same and likewise the use of a convenient roome in the said messuage or Pallace for six days between Michaelmas and Christmas in every year yearly during the said term to and for the Officers of the said Reverend Father and his successors to hold and keep the audit of the said Bishoprick there and to receive the rents of the same with good accommodation for the bringing laying in and using for or during the said audit provision of meat drink fewell and other necessities for the same and like liberty of passing and re-passing to and for the severall tenants of the said Reverend Father and his successors or others concerned in payment of the said rents.”

In 1757, Maitland ² writes :

“It is a very large, commodious, and handsome brick building, with a neat chapel annexed ; but has long been deserted by the prelates of this see. It is let out into divers tenements and warehouses.”

Entick, ³ writing a few years later, states that :

“Its beauty has been suffered to pass away, and its honourable apartments let out into tenements, and even for warehouses, and more

¹ Ecclesiastical Commission. Document No. 131, 545⁺.

² Maitland, *History*, ii., 764.

³ Entick, *History*, iii., 341-342. 1766.

unworthy uses. The same fate has befallen the fine mansion of the Earls of *Westmoreland*, whose remains, a little to the south of *London House*, though now also let out in tenements and to mechanic uses, inform us that it was once not only a capacious, but a beautiful building." On the eastern side of the street stood "'*Shaftesbury House*,'" built with bricks and ornamented with stone, in a most noble and elegant taste, performed by the celebrated Inigo Jones, for the residence of the Earls of Shaftesbury."

In *London and its Environs Described*¹ published in 1761, is given a view of "Shaftesbury House, now the Lying-in Hospital, by Inigo Jones."

Pennant,² in a passage abounding with inaccuracies, yet adds a shred or two of information. The house in Aldersgate Street, he says :

"Did not acquire the name of *London House*, till after the destruction of the Old Palace near *S. Paul's* : after which it was probably purchased by the see to supply the loss of the former. It could be inhabited only by one Prelate, Bishop *Henchman*, who died there in 1675, and was buried at Fulham. *London House* has long since been sold under the powers of an Act of Parliament, and the house in *S. James's Square* (the present town-house of the Bishops of *London*), purchased for their use. The last tenant of *London House* was, I think, old Rawlinson, the non-juring titular Bishop of *London*, who rented it. He died about twenty years ago, and left his antiquities to the University of *Oxford*."

I have searched other Histories of London, Brayley and Nightingale, Chamberlain, Harrison, Lambert, Seymour, Skinner, Thornton, but I find nothing worth noting ; each copying from his predecessor, and

¹ *London, &c.*, iv., 160.

² Thos. Pennant. *Some Account of London*. Fifth Edition. 8vo. London 1813. 329.

taking great care not to refer to original sources of information.

It seems worth while to add a few particulars about one of the most notable inhabitants of London House, after the Bishops had deserted it.

“Thomas Rawlinson,¹ a man of learning and a patron of it in others, whose great collection of books obtained him the name of *Tom Folio* in the *Tatler*,² after he had stuffed four chambers in Gray’s Inn so full that his bed was obliged to be removed into the passage, hired apartments at London House, where he died August 6th, 1725, aged 44, and was buried in the adjoining church of S. Botolph. In London House his library was sold after his decease, 1725, by Charles Davis and by Thomas Ballard; and other parts of it at Paul’s Coffee House, 1727–8–9–32. In this house also lived and died, 1726, Dr. Richard Rawlinson, his brother, a greater collector.”

Rawlinson, it may be said, suffers severely at the hands of Mr. Bickerstaff, who describes him as a mere pedant, intimately acquainted with the title pages of books, but wholly unable to appreciate their contents.

“‘I told him,’ says Mr. Bickerstaff, ‘that Virgil possibly had his oversights as well as an older author.’ ‘Ah, Mr. Bickerstaff,’ says he, ‘you would have another opinion of him if you would read him in Daniel Heinsius’s edition. I have perused him myself several times in that edition,’ continued he ‘and after the strictest and most malicious examination, could find but two faults in him; one of them is in the *Æneids*, where there are two commas instead of a parenthesis; and another in the third *Georgic*, where you may find a semi-colon

¹ Malcolm. *Londinium Redivivum*, ii, 544.

² *Tatler*, No. 158.

turned upside down.' 'Perhaps,' said I, 'these were not Virgil's faults.'"¹

In 1747, Malcolm adds, the house "seems to have been in the possession of Jacob Ilive, a crazy printer and religious writer."

In 1749,² Parliament granted permission to Bishop Sherlock and his successors, to convey the premises for forty years on a building lease, or to demise or sell the place for the benefit of the see. It was divided into tenements, and Malcolm proceeds to relate that the house was destroyed by fire, and was re-built by Mr. Seddon "on a plan convenient and elegant;" but that "it was burnt a second time in 1783, when a great number of adjoining buildings were destroyed."

London House had been purchased some years after 1749, by Mr. Seddon, "an eminent upholsterer." After its destruction by fire on July 14th, 1768, it was re-built, and the upholstery business was continued here till a few years back.

"In 1814, was made here at an expense of £500, the cradle for Joanna Southcott's 'Prince of Peace,' with this inscription, 'The Free Offering of Faith to the Promised Seed,' and great crowds flocked to see it. The baby-linen with its laces &c., cost £500 more."³

The house was taken down and shops built on the site in 1871.

The abandonment of London House was effected by the authority of an Act of Parliament. Here follows an abstract of it :—

"An Act to enable the Bishop of London or his successors to demise or sell the capital messuage or Mansion

¹ *The Tatler*, No. 158. 13th April, 1710.

² See Malcolm; and Hughson, iii., 369.

³ Wheatley. *London Past and Present*.

House, called London House, for the benefit of the Bishoprick of London. No. 61. Anno 22^o., Georgii II.”¹

The Act recites briefly the substance of the earlier Act of 14, Charles II, already summarised in these pages, by virtue of which the Bishop of London for the time being had received authority to deal with the site of the Old Palace adjacent to S. Paul’s Cathedral.

Under the powers of this Act, the Bishop had purchased of William, Lord Petre of Writtle, “the capital messuage or mansion house called Petre House, with all appurtenances” thereof. The indenture of bargain and sale was enrolled in the High Court of Chancery on May 26th, 1662, Gilbert Sheldon being then Bishop of London, and paying for the property the sum of five thousand pounds. Petre House lies within the parishes of S. Botolph Without, Aldersgate, and S. Bartholomew the Great. The purchase includes

“all and singular Room, Cellars, Sollers, Lights, Ways, Easements, Waters, Water-courses, Courts, Yards, Orchards, Gardens, Stables, houses, Edifices, and buildings, thereunto belonging, or in anywise appertaining, or accepted, reputed, taken, or known, as part and parcel thereof,” &c., &c.

The right reverend father in God, Thomas,² that is, Bishop Sherlock, is now, in right of his Bishopric seised and possessed of this property.

The said Mansion House

“having for many years last past been let out for tenements, shops, or warehouses, is now in a ruinous condition, so as to be unfit for the

¹ From the original roll, a Private Act, in manuscript; in the Parliament Office of the House of Lords.

² The date of the Act is 1749. Thomas Sherlock was translated from Salisbury to London, 1st December, 1748. He was succeeded by Thomas Hayter, 1761.

habitation of the Bishop of London, and cannot be made habitable without expending a sum of money more than equal to the amount of the present value thereof."

The Bishop seeks license to demise or sell the said property. Leave is given to demise or lease the said premises, for any term not exceeding forty years, or three lives,

"to take effect in possession and not in reversion, so as in each and every the said lease or leases there be reserved and contained such annual rent or rents, for the benefit of the said Bishop and his successors, and such covenants and conditions as shall from time to time be approved of by the Chief Justice of the Court of King's Bench, the Chief Justice of the Court of Common Pleas, and the King's Attorney General for the time being, or two of them."

Leave is further given to the Bishop to take down such part of the mansion as shall not be of use to any tenant, and to dispose of the materials. A building lease for 99 years may be granted. Ground rents for the benefit of the Bishop to be approved by the aforesaid persons. At the expiration of this term of 99 years, the Bishop then being may grant leases for forty years of the property.

Power is also given to alienate, or sell the said property, "if it shall be found more beneficial for the said Bishop or his successors" so to do, with the consent of the aforesaid persons. The money accruing from the sale is to be duly invested, and the interest thereof to be paid to the Bishop of London, "until the principal money can be conveniently laid out in the purchase of lands, tenements, or hereditaments in fee simple, in possession to and for the

sole use and benefit of the said Bishop and his successors.”

I conclude this paper with the following miscellaneous assemblage of notes taken from the manuscript collections of the Rev. John Pridden in the library of the late Mr. John Gough Nichols. There are some inaccuracies in the account, but it is scarcely necessary to indicate them: the full details already given, may suffice. I print the notes chiefly because the writer gives some account, alas ! only too brief, of a visit which he himself paid to “the ruins of the house.”

“After the fire of London, when the Bishop’s Palace was burnt, this was given to the Bishops; and Bishop Henchman, while S. Paul’s was re-building, ordained the Clergy etc., in the chapel, which Bishop Compton re-built, and about 10 years ago the Bishop’s secretary removed the furniture, and a large collection of records to Fulham. The Library, which had been fitted up with handsome wainscot, was divided into a number of rooms, and let to one Daniel or David Avery, and his family, who had but just quitted it before it fell down in the day time. Avery was an odd fellow, but had been employed about the light-house at the Nore by the Government, who allowed him, afterwards, a guinea a week. Bishop Sherlock had been applied to to sell or alienate, and there is now but a little of the lease remaining. There is an old wall belonging to the Charter House under the building which has occasioned frequent suits between parishes, which may now be cleared up. I went over the ruins of this house, July 22nd, 1768, and saw in one room above, over the chimney, a handsome Coat of Arms, in wood, with supports and ornaments. The chapel was a modern stone building with a circular east end. A woman had told me the house had been a nunnery, and was 1,000 years old. Mr. Seddon’s policy for £3,000, expired the

¹ Mr. Pridden was admitted a minor Canon in S. Paul’s Cathedral, November 23rd, 1782.

I am indebted to the Rev. J. H. Coward, Warden of the College of the Minor Canons, for this extract.

Saturday before the fire ; he went in the afternoon to the office but the clerks were gone. He has £1,000 in the Union."

IV.—LONDON HOUSE, S. JAMES'S SQUARE.

When did the Bishops of London migrate from Aldersgate Street to S. James's Square, following the usual course of civilisation from East to West ?

Mr. Wheatley, in his account of S. James's Square,¹ notes that "No. 22 is the town residence of the Bishops of London, and has been so from about the year 1720, before which time London House was situated in Aldersgate Street."

Mr. Timbs, in his *Curiosities of London*, carries us a step further. "No. 22," he says, "is London House, re-built in 1820 for the Bishops of London."²

And, in his valuable work entitled *London Past and Present*, Mr. Wheatley corrects and amplifies his earlier statement.³

"London House, S. James's Square, was purchased for the see of London in 1771, when it was very old and dilapidated ; and an Act was passed in 1819 to enable the Bishop to borrow £10,000, to be expended in re-building it. The house was re-built from the designs of C. R. Cockerell, architect."

I am able to add the following details from an authentic source.

Sir Arthur Blomfield, to whom I applied for information upon the subject, tells me that London House, S. James's Square, was re-built by Cockerell, in 1820, for the then Bishop ;⁴ and that certain

¹ Henry S. Wheatley, *Round about Piccadilly*, 374. Octavo. London, 1870.

² *Curiosities of London*, 750. Octavo. London, 1855.

³ Henry S. Wheatley, *London Past and Present*, 1891.

⁴ Bishop Howley, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury.

alterations were made, at about the same period, in the Palace at Fulham, on the garden front. Of the alterations at Fulham Palace, he gives the following account:—"The two ends, *i.e.*, the present morning room at one end, and Porteus Library at the other, used to project, the centre being recessed. What the internal arrangements then were," proceeds Sir Arthur, "I cannot say, but I recollect an old water colour drawing showing this front with the recess and a battlemented parapet, modern, but certainly better than the present building. The present Porteus Library was then the chapel, but the floor must have been at a higher level, as there was a cellar below it. When the chapel was moved from this position, it was placed most improperly and inconveniently in the old hall of the Palace, now the entrance hall; and the altar piece, and I believe a good deal more of the woodwork, came from the old episcopal residence in Aldersgate Street."

Of London House, S. James's Square, there is little to be said. The reception rooms and staircase are good enough, all else was sacrificed to these; the rest of the house is badly planned and most inconvenient, the offices and bedroom accommodation are bad and inadequate. There was no attempt at a chapel, till Archbishop Tait, when Bishop of London, turned the only bedroom on the first floor, into what has since done duty as a chapel.

It is not my purpose now to speak of Fulham Palace "attached to the see by the traditions of eight centuries," with its spacious house, so "comfortable and domestic, the garden half hidden on the margin of the Thames, with its spreading lawn of soft and level turf shadowed with choice shrubs and goodly

trees, the avenue of ancient elms, the circling moat guarding the whole from intrusion ; so close upon the restless world, yet itself a haunt of ancient peace.”¹ I limit myself in the present paper to the London residences of the Bishop, the old Palace in S. Paul's churchyard, London House in Aldersgate Street, and to the briefest notice of the latest dwelling, London House, S. James's Square.

I must, however, add a few words about the old Chapel at Fulham, since it supplies an interesting link with London House.

The chapel at Fulham, writes Lysons,² “ was either removed to its present situation or considerably enlarged, and fitted up by Bishop Terrick. The wainscot was brought from the chapel at London House, in Aldersgate Street, where it had been placed by Bishop Juxon. The greater part of the painted glass, some of which is very fine, was removed from the same place ; it consists principally of the arms of the Bishops of London.”

“ In the first window, towards the west, are the arms of the Bishops Fitzjames, Kemp, Grindall, Tunstall, Compton, Savage, Fletcher, and Abbot ; in the second window, those of the Bishops Bonner, Laud, Fletcher, Tunstall, Gibson, and Porteus ; in the third window is a representation of the Lord's Supper, the arms of King Henry VIII, impaling those of Catherine Howard ; the arms of Edward VI, when Prince of Wales, the arms of the two metropolitan sees, with those of all the bishoprics within the two provinces, and those of Bishop Terrick. In the fourth

¹ *Memoir of Bishop Blomfield*, second edition, 361.

² Lyson's *Environ's of London*. Second edition. Vol. ii., part 1. p. 226.

window is a representation of S. John, baptising Christ, the arms of Bishops Laud, Robinson, with a rustic motto, Compton, Hayter, Savage, and Fitzjames. In the fifth window are the Royal arms ; a rose party gules and argent, the cognizance of Henry VII ; a rose with the red and white mixed, the cognizance, it is probable, of Henry VIII ; and the arms of the Bishops Aylmer, Osbaldeston, Tunstall, Sherlock, Savage, Lowth, Kemp, and Juxon."

"Bishop Osbaldeston, who died in 1764, left the sum of £1,000 towards the repairs of Fulham Palace. Bishop Terrick making use of this money, with considerable additions, probably of his own, fitted up the chapel as above-mentioned, and re-built the suite of apartments towards the river."¹

The present Hall (it is the Ancient Hall, restored to its proper use) contains the following inscription:²

"This Hall, with the adjoining Quadrangle, was erected by Bishop Fitzjames in the reign of Henry VII, on the site of the buildings of the old Palace, as ancient as the Conquest. It was used as the Hall by Bishop Bonner and Bishop Ridley, during the struggles of the Reformation ; and retained its original proportions till it was altered by Bishop Sherlock in the reign of George II. Bishop Howley, in the reign of George IV, changed it into a private unconsecrated chapel. It is now restored to its original purpose on the erection, by Bishop Tait, of a new chapel of more suitable dimensions. A.D. 1866."

¹ Lyson's *Environs*. ib. 227.

² For a transcript of which I am indebted to the Rev. Wilfred Ogle, Domestic Chaplain to the Bishop of London.

INVENTORY OF THE CHAPEL IN THE BISHOP'S
PALACE, *temp.*: EDWARD VI.

THE INVENTORI OF THE CHAUNTRE IN CAPELLA BASSA INFRA
PALLACIUM EPISCOPI LONDON.¹

Inprimis a Chalice Copper and parcell gylte praised at ...	xx ^d .
Item a whyght vestment with all therto belongyng ...	vij ^s .
Item a vestment of satten a briggs ² black with thapper- tenaunces	vij ^a .
Item a vestment of Grene color with a red cross with thappertenaunces	vj ^s . viij ^d .
Item a vestment of whyght fustian ³ with thapperten- aunces amise excepte	iiij ^s .
Item a vestment of whight saye ⁴ with flowers	ij ^s . viij ^d .
Item a vestment of whight fustyan	ii ^s .
Item an olde altar [cloth, ?] of diaper	xij ^d .
Item ij olde altar clothes	xvij ^d .
Item a diapere towell torne	iiij ^d .
Item the hangyng before the altare and behynd of olde dormick	xij ^d .
Item a corporase with the case	xij ^d .
Item a hanggyng of the forsayd satten a bryggs ...	iiij ^s .
Item the hanggyng behynd the altar of the same ...	iiij ^s . iiij ^d .
Item a courtayne of single sattayne tancy	xij ^d .
Item iiij cowrtaynes of canvas paynted	xvij ^d .

¹ Liber Cantariarum Ecclesie Sancti Pauli. Time of Edward VI.
[W.D. 26, last leaf.]

² Satten a briggs. That is, Bruges satin: an imitation satin with thread
weft. This material appears in an inventory of 1575 at 1s. 6d. the yard.
Beck, *The Draper's Dictionary*.

³ Fustian. In early times Barcelona, Naples, and Venice, were famous for
their fustians, which in those days was probably made with linen warp and
cotton woof. It is now a coarse twilled cotton cloth.

⁴ Saye. A sort of thin woollen stuff or serge: but sometimes, and probably
here, a thin silk or satin. The eastern counties were once famous for
their "Bays and Says."

Item ij paynted clothes oon to hang befor the altare and an other behynge	...	..	...	...	...	xx ^d .
Item on curtane of canvas dyde blewe	...	...	...	...	...	xi ^j ^d .
Item a litell coffer	...	...	...	...	...	xx ^d .
Item a litle rownde cheste	...	...	...	...	...	v ^s .
Item ij olde mass bokes of paper	...	...	...	...	...	ij ^s . viij ^d .
Item an olde masse boke of parchement	...	...	...	...	...	ij ^s .
Item an olde antiphoner of parchement	...	...	...	...	...	xvj ^d .
Item twoo olde canstyks ¹ of latyn and a sacring bell	...	...	...	...	...	xvj ^d .
Item a vestment with thappertenaunces of dornix ²	...	...	...	...	...	v ^s .
Item a vestment of red color with a whight crosse	...	...	...	...	...	ij ^s .
Item a litle presse of waynscot prise	...	...	...	...	...	v ^s .
SUMMA TOTALIS	...	...	...	...	...	iiij ^{li} . xix ^s .

¹ Candlesticks of a kind of brass.

² Dornix, dornick, dornock. A term now generally used for chequered table linen. Tapestry or Dornix hangings were made in Norwich, with silk, with wool, with thread, and with caddas (or yarn).