

THE CONVENTUAL BUILDINGS OF ST. MARY, CLERKENWELL

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THE nunnery of St. Mary of Clerkenwell took its name from the Clerks' Well which was rediscovered in 1923. The excavation of the well is described in an article by Arthur Crow.¹ Thus the exact position of the well shown in Agas' map² is known.

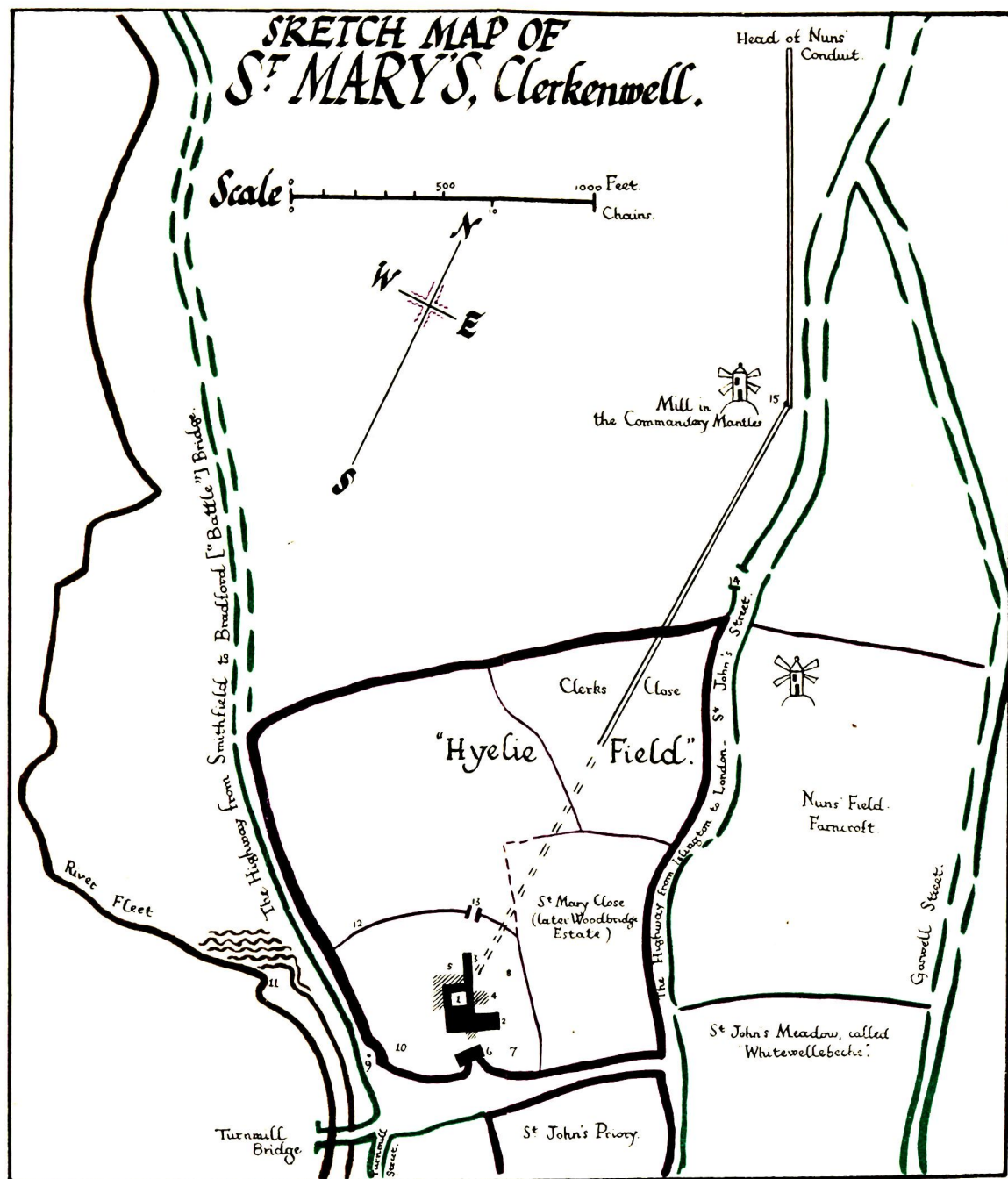
Arthur Crow's article is accompanied by numerous illustrations including photographs of the only visible remains of the walls of the nunnery still standing.

The boundaries of the precinct of the nunnery have been the subject of an excellent discussion by Miss Honeybourne.³

The south and west boundaries are clearly marked by Aylesbury Street and the continuation of Turnmill Street,⁴ and Miss Honeybourne supposes the northern boundary to have been just inside the street on the north of Clerkenwell Close shown in Ogilby's map.⁵ But on the eastern side she can find no clearly defined boundary. Pinks, however, shows⁶ that the Sekforde or Woodbridge estate, which was bounded by St. James' Walk, Aylesbury Street, St. John Street, and Corporation Row, and was called St. Mary Close, was "enclosed with brick walls" at "great charges" by Thomas Sekforde shortly before his death in 1588. As this piece of property, thus enclosed, occupied the rectangular area immediately to the east of the nunnery, the wall of the inner precinct could not have been further east than St. James' Walk. The supposition that St. James' Walk formed the eastern boundary of the inner precinct

SKETCH MAP of S^t MARY'S, Clerkenwell

Adapted from Miss Honeybourne's map of the precincts, the map of the Charterhouse Water Supply, in *Archæologia*, Vol. LVIII, plates 21 & 22, and the frontispiece of Pink's *History of Clerkenwell*.



N.B. This map does not represent Clerkenwell at any one definite date.

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|---|---|
| 1. Cloister. | 2. Church |
| 3. 'Nuns' Hall'. | 4. ? Site of Chapter House |
| 5. ? Site of Frater. | 6. Gatehouse. |
| 7. Graveyard. | 8. Garden |
| 9. Clerks' Well. | 10. Tenements surrounding outer Courtyard |
| 11. Pool above Weir, for Mill (? <i>Magnum Vivarium</i>) | 12. "Valley in which is Skinners' Well." |
| 14. Gate into St John's Field. | 13. Postern |
| | 15. Modern Sadlers' Wells. |

KEY

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|---|---------------------------------|
| — | Boundaries. |
| — | Outer precinct boundaries. |
| — | Nuns' Conduit. |
| — | Possible position of buildings. |
| — | Probable position of buildings. |
| — | Road |
| — | River |

is supported by the fact that it was the eastern boundary of the garden of Newcastle House which afterwards occupied the site of the nunnery.⁷

These facts about the Sekforde estate incidentally confirm Miss Honeybourne's suggestion that the 8-acre area, called St. Mary Close, which formed one of the two fields⁸ comprising the outer precinct, adjoined the eastern side of the inner precinct. But her conjecture that St. Mary Close may have been the same as "Clarkes' Close," though rendered probable by the fact that it also consisted of 8 acres, seems to be invalidated by the fact that "Clarkes' Close" was the name of some property left by John Meredith, in the seventeenth century, to the Skinners Company,⁹ which is shown by the *City of London Livery Companies Commission* to have been the area on the north side of St. Mary Close. On 2nd February, 1526, Isabel Sackville leased Clerks' Close to Robert Medylton and Joanna his wife. Within two years the tenants were to make a proper hedge on the boundary adjoining the highway from London to Islington. They were responsible for the hedges all round except that on the north side of St. Mary Close and the west side of Clerks' Close.¹⁰ The rent was 53s. 4d. On 21st March, 1553, Clarkes' Close (8 acres), described as in the tenure of William Avery, was granted to James Grenewood of Hauerboughe, *alias* Harborow, *alias* Market Harborowe, Leic., gentleman, and Durston Clarke, of the same, gentleman.¹¹ In 1524-5, according to Ministers' Accounts Henry VIII, 2116, the prioress had spent 12s. 2d. on making ditches round "Saint Mari Close."

The ecclesiastical division,¹² which is called in the Parish Clerks' Survey of 1732, the "Close Liberty," is shown by Miss Honeybourne to have included the area of the whole precinct. The part of this liberty north of the inner precinct and of the area called St. Mary Close is divided by St. John Street into two parts. West of this street is an area of 29 or 30 acres which is to be identified

with the "Hyelie Feld"¹³ and included the later Clerk's Close. In 1541 this 29 acres was described as lately leased to John Englund, and one acre of it was granted to Edward Sheriff, of London, brickmaker.¹⁴ East of the street was that portion of the Close Liberty which Miss Honeybourne proves to have been the "Nunnes Field."

Such were the boundaries of the precincts.¹⁵ On the west flowed the Fleet, by which was a mill which may have given Turnmill Street its name. An excavation for a sewer revealed the exact position of the weir. An account of the discovery, with an illustration, is given in *The Builder*.¹⁶ The original of the illustration in *The Builder* is in the British Museum.¹⁷ The original is accompanied by a note: "Thirteen feet below the surface a pavement of large boulder stones. In the bed of the sewer which appears to have been the branch of the River Fleet called Turnmill Brook, at a depth of 26 feet wooden piles, black and hard like ebony . . . a little lower than the piles, large wooden pipes formed of the stems of trees hollowed out. Natural surface of the ground, marshy. 1855." *The Builder* describes the position as "in Ray-street, near the corner of Little Saffron-hill."

But if medieval boundaries can be rediscovered, the above account is a warning of the importance of considering the differences between modern and medieval contours.

Mr. Reddaway says that the City scheme for dumping rubbish after the Great Fire did not go up the Fleet beyond Holborn Bridge. But before that date rubbish had been systematically dumped at Clerkenwell when the foundations of St. Paul's portico were laid under the direction of Inigo Jones.¹⁸ Another cause for the disappearance of valleys and depressions is indicated by the laystall shown on Ogilby's map.¹⁹

But it would be unnecessary, even if it were possible, to trace the rising and falling of the ground level in our

area. It will be enough, if it is possible, to show how deep is the medieval level at a series of points.

In 1788 when the old church was demolished, its floor was used for a "crypt or sub-church to the new one."²⁰ In the paragraphs below dealing with the Cloister and the Nuns' Hall it will be seen that there too the ground level had risen several feet between the days of the nunnery and the end of the eighteenth century. The cloister was 3 feet below the 1785 level, and the discovery of a spur in Goswell Street showed that there, there had been a rise in the ground by 1870 of 4 to 5 feet since the Middle Ages.²¹

The question is complicated by the fact that the "ground level," in terms of which the medieval level is measured, itself is subject to variations. An indication of the speed with which "recent" changes have at times taken place is given by Pinks' account²² of the houses in Rosoman Street "once approached by lofty flights of steps . . . scarcely elevated above the foot pavement."

The rate of change in level has been by no means even, a change of 26 feet has been already cited by the Fleet and a little higher up the stream the change was great, although not so great.²³ The nunnery stood on the western edge of a gravel patch, and immediately to the west must be visualised a wide and deep valley. That the ground within the inner precinct sloped sharply down to the valley is argued by Pinks²⁴ from the existence of three ranges of arched brick vaults, alleged locally to be part of the nunnery, but more probably built to overcome the declivity. North of the conventual buildings, beyond the valley, filled by the laystall marked in Ogilby, which would have been at right angles to the Fleet, was a hill,²⁵ vine-clad in the eighteenth century, where is now Vineyard Walk.

THE CHURCH.

The present church of St. James, Clerkenwell, is stated by the Royal Commission on Historical Monu-

ments²⁶ to have been on the site of the nunnery church. But as the church must be taken as a fixed point in any attempt to reconstruct the conventual buildings it is important to determine how far in fact the two sites exactly coincide.

Writing in 1849, Cunningham²⁷ called the church "originally the choir of a Benedictine Nunnery." By that time the old church had gone, but men still living could remember it. The following year Britton²⁸ said: "The parish of Clerkenwell was very different when I first visited it in 1787 to what it is at the time of writing this paragraph in 1850. The church, which now stands at the junction of the Close and the Green, was not then erected; but in its place was the church of the old Monastic Priory, with the Cloisters, &c."

The old church was destroyed in 1788, the year after Britton's first visit. The scene is described by Pinks,²⁹ echoing the words of Cromwell³⁰: "When the downfall of the church was decreed, its general aspect was that of an edifice antique indeed, but in which nearly every ancient feature was so mixed with modern repairs that few feelings of veneration could be excited by it. The large window at the east end of the chancel had evidently been altered both in size and figure from that or those originally placed there; at the top it formed a segment of so large a circle as to be nearly flat. The other windows were numerous, and of every variety as to date, dimensions, and shape—they were both acutely and very obtusely pointed, round-headed, square, oblong and oval, and introduced in all parts of the walls, without regard to symmetry or regularity. The portion most decidedly antique in character was a range of four pointed arches supported by large round clustered columns, between the chancel and south aisle; these though certainly not so old as the foundation of the nunnery were probably part of some re-edification or enlargement of the structure in the reign of Richard I or John."

Brayley³¹ speaks of the church as "having been

principally erected in Norman times." But a bull³² of 6th March, 1478, says that the "prioress and nuns have begun to build a church at the said house in honour of Almighty God and His Glorious Mother the Virgin Mary." Indulgences were granted to aid this work and it appears that the church if not being actually built was being reconstructed at this period. There is little early documentary evidence for expenditure on the nunnery buildings, but in 1281 the prioress had acknowledged herself bound to Robert de Tundresle for £50 for wax and lead.³³

A general impression of the exterior and interior of the church may be obtained from Illustrations 1 and 2. The exterior view is stated to be from the north-east. The interior view must be taken from the east as it shows an aisle on the left-hand side and the north aisle had vanished long before the time the water-colour was made.

Unfortunately, reliance must not be put on details. Pinks' description refers to the large window at the east end of the chancel. The head of this window is shown in the view of the exterior to form an obtuse angle. In the view of the interior in "The pulling down of the old church of Saint James, 1788," an engraving of which faces p. 49 in Pinks, this angle at the head of the window is replaced by a shallow curve. The tracery in this window, clearly shown in this illustration, is more impressionistically rendered in C. J. R.'s water-colour.³⁴ But in an engraving taken from this water-colour and signed J. Knight,³⁵ the five lancets are shown with simple pointed heads. J. Knight's engraving also differs from the original in the omission of a lay figure, and also of the cross on top of the tower, points which need not concern us as the tower was not the same as that of the nunnery church, but worth noting as warnings against too great a reliance on the fidelity of copies. The engraving also fails to state that the view is taken from the north-east. Incidentally, Knight is not to be

blamed as his engraving appears to be taken from another copy³⁶ from the same archetype³⁷ in which the window is rendered as in the engraving.

It would be interesting to know the nature of the "arches supported by large clustered columns" as these might date back to the days when the nunnery was young. But Pinks describes them as pointed, whereas in the engraving he produces, facing p. 49 they are round.³⁸ The Norman appearance of Richardson's view of the interior,³⁹ despite the furthest arch being pointed, is supplemented by a remark⁴⁰ that "in many respects, the old parish church bore a striking resemblance to the present church of St. Bartholomew the Great in Smithfield."

According to Pinks⁴¹ "the dimensions of the old church were as follows:—length of the chancel and of the south aisle within the walls, 80 feet; length of the nave or old vestry, 69 feet 2 inches; space between the nave and chancel, 20 feet 9 inches; entire length, 170 feet; breadth of the chancel and south aisle 45 feet 10 inches; breadth of the nave, 22 feet; length of the transept, 67 feet. The altitude of the church was only 34 feet." These dimensions appear to have been taken from Cromwell⁴² who corrected the dimensions given in Seymour's Survey (1735) by plans taken by the architect of the new church.

The nunnery church would have been larger than the "old church" for even before Stow wrote⁴³ "one great Ile thereof fell downe." Apart from the inference that might be drawn from the fact that pictures of the old church show pillars on the south but not on the north side, it has often been pointed out that the aisle which fell must have been the north aisle, for in 1587 Mrs. Dorothy Ley was prosecuted for trespassing on a piece of ground north of the choir which had formerly been the aisle.⁴⁴

The south aisle and chancel were stated to be 45 feet 10 inches wide. The nave was stated to be 22 feet.

If, therefore, the nave and chancel were of the same breadth, although this is only an assumption, the south aisle would have been 23 feet 10 inches wide, and if the destroyed north aisle was of the same breadth as the south aisle the total breadth of the original church would have been 69 feet 8 inches.

It is said that the chancel of the nuns' church extended 4 feet further eastward than the present church.⁴⁵ This would mean that the nuns' church would have extended west of the church as it now is, where there is still a patch of church land in addition to the churchyard on the south side of the church. For in the Act "for pulling down the church of Saint James at Clerkenwell . . . and for building a new church"⁴⁶ "it was laid down that any parts of the old church not built on, and the old church yard, were to remain consecrated ground.

Unfortunately, the dimensions given by Cromwell clash with those given by Hatton in 1708.⁴⁷ Hatton states that "the length of the church is 69 feet, the breadth is 42, the height is 34 and the altitude of the steeple consisting of Tower and Turret, is 80 foot." As he was giving the measurements of the church as it stood in his day they should have been the same as those of the surviving parts of the chancel of the nunnery church with whose destruction Cromwell was familiar. The height of 34 feet is the same in both versions. The breadth of 42 feet given by Hatton corresponds with the breadth of 45 feet 10 inches given by Cromwell for chancel and south aisle. But Cromwell gives the length of the chancel as 80 feet as against 69 feet given by Hatton for the length of the church. This difference could scarcely be caused by inaccuracy of measuring, and, as Cromwell gives the length of the then vanished nave as 69 feet 2 inches, it seems probable that the figures were transposed and that Cromwell meant to allot the 69 feet 2 inches to the chancel and the 80 feet to the nave. Along the south side of the chancel there were three arches supported by four

pillars. If the chancel were 69 feet long the centres of the pillars would have been 23 feet apart.

Such was the plan of the church. The elevation of the old church must not be taken to have resembled that shown on the medal struck in 1788.⁴⁸ The nuns' nave had gone, the tower was new, the gable to the east of the tower was the result of a restoration, and the only value of this representation is as an illustration of the medley of windows referred to by Pinks. In discussing Agas' view, Pinks⁴⁹ supposes the nuns' church to have had a low-bodied nave and chancel with a massive square tower surmounted by a small turret and cross in the centre of the south side. Except that there seems no reason to suppose that the original tower was not in the middle of the crossing this description seems a valid one.

The extreme external measurements of the present church, as "extracted from the papers of the Architect, are 110 feet by 62 feet.⁵⁰ The thickness of the walls varies from 2 feet 7 inches to 3 feet 9 inches.

THE CLOISTER.

In 1785 a view of the cloister was reproduced in the *Gentleman's Magazine*.⁵¹ "But for this view," it was said,⁵² "for which the work spoken of was indebted to an antiquarian correspondent, no memento of the conventual erections might have been now extant." Fortunately, the valuable evidence of Matthew Skinner, the correspondent in question, can be supplemented from elsewhere.

All the evidence shows that the cloister stood on the north side of the church, for the nunnery lay on the north side of a great city and in such circumstances such a position was not an unnatural one. One side of the cloister long survived the others, and this portion lay on the southern side, directly to the north of the church.⁵³

Yet the view of the exterior of the church, taken from the north-east in 1787,⁵⁴ does not show any cloister

remains although they might have been expected to appear against the north wall of the church. The difficulty disappears if it be remembered that the church shown in Illustration 1 only represents the chancel of the old church. This is explained above. The cloisters stood further west and would lie behind the building shown on the north side of the church. The Ordnance Survey should not therefore, it would seem, mark the site of the cloister directly north of the present church.⁵⁵

Pinks⁵⁶ says that the remains consisted of six arches. But the views of the interior,⁵⁷ one of which is reproduced by him,⁵⁸ show seven arches. On the other hand, his statement is supported by the views of the exterior⁵⁹ which are less likely to be incorrect than those of the interior as they are not foreshortened. The word of Pinks is to be taken with some confidence as it is the same as that of earlier writers.⁶⁰

If it is assumed that the portion of the church against which the cloister stood was 80 feet long, the centre of each of the pillars in the cloister arcade would have been 13 feet 4 inches from that of its neighbour.

Illustration 5 differs from Illustrations 3 and 4 in showing an erection built over the cloister in front of which it projects, being supported by wooden pillars designed in the Gothic manner. The realisation of the existence at one time of this superstructure explains the otherwise odd appearance of the trefoil arch seen between the first two pillars in Illustrations 6 and 10.⁶¹ At the same time as this addition, the three pointed arches at the end of the cloister seen in Illustrations 7, 8 and 9 were shut off by a screen with ogee arches shown in Illustration 10.

Illustrations 8 and 9 seem almost identical, and companion pieces have been found for some of the other illustrations. It has not been always possible to establish with certainty the relation to one another of two duplicates.

The exterior and interior views with the superstructure,

Illustrations 5 and 10, are both photographs of water-colours by J. Sanders dated 1786, which are at the Society of Antiquaries. There are two very similar water-colours at St. John's Gate, Clerkenwell, the St. John's Gate version of the interior even resembling that at the Society of Antiquaries in very minute details. The former is signed and bears a note in the artist's hand and the latter is also signed. Perhaps, therefore, Sanders was responsible for both. On the other hand, one may have been a copy of the other made without acknowledgment, for the acknowledged copy of Illustration 11 in the Finsbury Public Library, taken from the water-colour in the British Museum, shows that copies were sometimes made. It is, however, far more probable that the water-colours at St. John's Gate were rough copies for those at the Society of Antiquaries, for the St. John's Gate version of Illustration 5 is signed in pencil and bears a pencil note of a correction to be made.

In the same way if Illustrations 8 and 9 were not seen together either might be taken for a photograph of an original. Perhaps the former is a finished version of which the latter was a rough copy. But perhaps 8 is only a copy of 9 from which it differs in being unsigned. There are further grounds for suspecting 8, in that it is painted on the same page of the Crowle Pennant, as what appears to be a copy of a water-colour, of which another copy at County Hall is shown in Illustration 1. The date on 8 is also rather strange. For the superstructure does not occur in 4, made in 1785, but appears by 1786 in 5, 6 and 10. In 8, "taken 1787," it has gone again.⁶² But, as in the case of Illustration 1, Illustration 9 seems to be by C. J. Richardson, who could never have seen the cloister himself. It is therefore, possible that both 8 and 9 are only copies.

A number of pictures of the nunnery changed hands in the Gardner Sale, 1923-24. Some of these found their way into the collection at County Hall. But I

have failed to track Lot 307, "Saint James' Church and the Ancient Nunnery, a series of original drawings by John Carter, taken just previously to and at the time of the demolition of the old church, 1788, from the collection of J. G. Nicholls." This lot was bought by the late Mr. A. W. Wallis, but I do not know what happened to the pictures at his death. Perhaps the lot contained the archetypes of Illustrations 13 and 14.

The *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1846, New Series, Vol. 25, p. 247. Underneath Carter's engraving of the seat shown in Illustration 16 is the following footnote referring to a collection of Clerkenwell sketches by Carter: "Mr. Carter in his volume of sketches made in the year 1787 (now in the possession of Mr. Britton) has also left the following sketches: (1) Ground plan of the Priory Church of Clerkenwell; (2) View of the same from N.E.; (3) S.E. view of the remains of the Nunnery, with a doorway in the centre of the building, which Mr. Carter calls 'Saxon work'; (4) View of the Cloisters, exterior; (5) The same, interior; (6) S. view of the Church; (7) View of the east end of the Church; (8) View of the Chancel, interior; (9) and (10) Views of the Church, interior; (11) 'A Brass to Anne wife of William Bewicke—the Font.' Two other sketches irrelevant to our study are added."

The pictures made by contemporaries can be supplemented by illustrations of a few fragments found on the site of the nunnery and now preserved in Finsbury Public Library, shown in Illustrations 18, 19, 20 and 21.

But if there are at least some mementos of the conventual erections other than the representation of it sent to the *Gentleman's Magazine*⁶³ by Matthew Skinner, it is to him that we are indebted for a written description of the "curious remain of an ancient cloister" supplementary to his "representation of it consisting of six arches, with as much of the beautiful roof as the perspective would admit."⁶⁴

"It had an arched door, now walled up, communicating with the church, as appears at the west⁶⁵ end of the ambulatory, which is neatly paved with brick, and is about 3 feet below the surface of the present raised garden-ground adjoining, and has three or four steps descending into it from the gravel-walk. Paintings on board, representing a continuation of the cloister, with the names of the founders, are at each end. The roof is entire, and, viewed from either end, exhibits a most pleasing specimen of Gothic architecture, much resembling the beautiful roof of the cathedral church of Exeter, though on a smaller scale. The keystones are carved in the form of French marigolds, and other flowers. The ancient superstructure over the arches reaches not high, and is terminated with a layer of brickwork (as represented in the drawing), over which is a spacious ware-room, etc., the whole adjoining to the wall of the church."⁶⁶

The cloister appears to have been rebuilt early in the sixteenth century.⁶⁷

A letter signed Viator Londinensis and dated 28th September, 1788,⁶⁸ describes the next sad scene:—"The cloisters, which your correspondent presented you with a drawing of, are laid open, by removing the north wall of the church; and the west end of them by leave of the proprietor of the adjoining house and garden is fitted up for a temporary vestry. They are filled with the monuments removed from the walls of the church."

According to E. W. Brayley,⁶⁹ at the time the church was finally demolished in 1788, "the remains of the Nuns' Hall and cloisters were pulled down, except some slight vestiges of the latter among the buildings at the back of the church." Fragments of the Nuns' Hall are sometimes mentioned, but so little is heard after 1788 of the cloister that it may even be doubted whether *latter* was not an error for *former*. But that some fragments did indeed remain is shown by the examples drawn in Illustrations 17, 18 and 19.

NUNS' HALL.

The building described in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries as the Nuns' Hall is shown in Illustration 11 and details are shown in Illustrations 12, 13 and 14.

Pinks⁷⁰ wrote in 1865 that "the nunnery site was purchased by the late Mr. J. Carr, the architect of the present church of St. James, about the year 1793, who erected upon it the handsome dwellings known as Newcastle Place . . . and at this time every vestige of the old conventual buildings was removed, except a small portion of a wall of great thickness, and the jamb of a Gothic window which appears to have formed part of the Nuns' Hall, and which composes in part the side-wall of a house at the north end of Newcastle-street, and is, we regret to say, effectually hidden from view by a covering of Roman cement, as if the parish was ashamed to possess so venerable a monument of antiquity."

Perhaps this fragment is to be identified with that referred to by Malcolm⁷¹ in 1803, "*The priory has been so far demolished that only one piece of a wall, to the north of the church, is left.*" The same piece is evidently meant when we hear in 1828⁷² that "the only vestige of the ancient convent" was "an inconsiderable fragment of wall, at a short distance north of the present church, which has been worked into the composition of a modern dwelling."

Other references seem to imply that the Nuns' Hall actually abutted on the north-east corner of the cloister. Pinks⁷³ cites Noorthouck⁷⁴ for the position of Nuns' Hall in 1773. The passage in Noorthouck was actually taken from Maitland⁷⁵: "tho' the eastern part of the cloister be destroyed, yet the nuns hall, which was situated at the north end, is still remaining, tho' at present it is converted into a workshop." The phrase is echoed by A. Skinner.⁷⁶

Such a description might be interpreted as implying

that the Nuns' Hall was the refectory. But actually it appears to have been a little further north-east, not along the north side of the cloister, but at right angles to the probable position of the refectory. For Hughson⁷⁷ notes about the nunnery that "its remains may still be traced in the walls of an avenue leading northward from St. James's Street to Short's Building." And Cromwell,⁷⁸ with yet greater precision, says it was "where the Close unites with the north termination of Newcastle Street, and forming an integral part of the house there situated."

It will be shown that this building ran north and south not east and west. As it was, therefore, at right angles to the line of the north side of the cloister, and as it did not adjoin the cloister, it could not have formed the refectory. But this may well have been the infirmary for its position would have been the quietest in the nunnery, and it would have been conveniently situated in relation to the nuns' conduit the position of which is known from the map of the Charterhouse water supply.⁷⁹

Here would have been the *basilica de infirmatorio*,⁸⁰ and as the refectory probably lay along the north side of the cloister opposite the church, it is possible the kitchen was situated between it and the Nuns' Hall.

The position of the Nuns' Hall as stated here agrees with that shown in the map of William Newton in *London in the Olden Time*. This map must be considered, as Newton⁸¹ claims that "the arrangement of the buildings of this nunnery has been correctly ascertained, from vestiges of wall which stood within our memory, and from ancient documents." In so far as his map is really based on vestiges of this nature, as in the case of the Nuns' Hall may be true, Newton is an important authority. But his authority alone is not enough as he gives the elevation of the nunnery church "from a medal struck before the demolition of the church," ignoring the fact that it was struck long after the introduction of a gable just west of the tower had transformed

its elevation. But of the Nuns' Hall he wrote: "Some small remains of its ancient stone wall are still to be seen forming part of a modern building."

In Newton's map the Hall was orientated north and south; and that it was so, is indicated by a detailed note which accompanies William Capon's picture⁸² at the Society of Antiquaries. Referring to "some remains facing the east of ancient architecture at a little distance from the ancient church," he says: "This remnant was used as the workshop of a mason, the ground or floor of which was much lower than the outer level of the ground. The whole of this was destroyed shortly after I made my draught, but a small portion of the plain wall in continuation towards the north or right hand was standing several years after. . . ."

The fragment referred to by Capon appears to be the same as that referred to by Malcolm, Cromwell, Newton and Pinks. The fact that it faced east shows that it must have been situated on the west side of Newcastle Street. That the same fragment was referred to by all, may be inferred from the fact that only one fragment was known to exist. For it was clearly stated in a book⁸³ published in 1815 by a man who knew Clerkenwell intimately that "a small piece of the old wall, to the north of the church, is all that is left of the ancient priory."

There is an interesting note by William Capon⁸⁴ with his drawing at the Society of Antiquaries: "The walls were run up with heterogeneous materials partly of Kentish ragstone and Burford stone, etc., etc., of all sizes, sorts and shapes. The disposition of them was just as here seen. The carving of the outer moulding had been originally well done. The wall must have been stuccoed over and evidently intended for such external covering which assists in proving that the modes of building which had been practised by the Romans in this country were continued through the Middle Ages, but with a progressive alteration departing from the

real or nominal excellence which they possessed and was continued with the use of the circular arch until the gradual introduction of the pointed arch as a newer fashion, and which at length entirely superseded the circular one about the period of King John or rather Henry III.

"The left-hand arch was a very little pointed. The whole was almost choaked up with dirt and smoke, like soot, which adhered to the wall nor could I understand the carved moulding until having cleaned it with water and a brush and picked out the dirt with pointed sharp sticks. On the slab on the right is a section of the mouldings of the architrave and a plan of the left-hand arch on a slab in the recess of the left-hand arch."

The drawing is a nearer view of two of the arches shown in Illustration 11. William Capon described his work as "most carefully and exactly drawn to show one of the modes of building of our ancestors." Nor was he alone, in the early days of the Gothic revival, in recording the remains of the Nuns' Hall in detail. A pointed arch, which does not seem the same as that drawn by Capon, is shown in Illustration 14. Illustration 13 shows in detail what appears to be the same round-headed arch as is shown in Illustration 12.

CHAPTER HOUSE.

Newton⁸⁵ thought the Chapter House stood west of the church. It seems most unlikely that the Chapter House should have been anywhere other than on the east side of the cloister, but as the cloister was west of the present church the Chapter House would probably have been to the (north) west of the later church. But the tradition of the site seems to be confused.

Pinks⁸⁶ cites Weever as calling the Chapter House "the old vestrie" and says it "continued to be so called up to the time of its demolition." But he also⁸⁷ refers to the nave as the old vestry.

Cromwell⁸⁸ says the old vestry was the ancient nave

against which on the north stood the cloister and he adds that it ran westwards towards the present Close. He says⁸⁹ it became the Nuns' Chapter House. The position is clearly indicated, but that it should have been occupied by the Chapter House seems most improbable.

I have found no drawings of the Chapter House, though Newton said that such existed in the British Museum. He may have been referring to drawings of the old vestry shown by Cromwell's account to be the western projection of the old church. This projection is shown on the left-hand side of the church in Crowle Pennant VII, 237, 239 and 242. The last but one is described as "N.W. view," but must in fact be "S.W. view." It is also shown in an illustration in the Fauntleroy Pennant at the Sir John Soane Museum, and it is clearly marked in the maps of Ogilby and Rocque.⁹⁰

There are many references to transactions in the Chapter House of St. Mary's Clerkenwell. It must have been built by 1154, for not later than that date Albreda,⁹¹ the mother of Geoffrey Martel, was made a nun in the Chapter House in the presence of three bishops.

CLERKENWELL CLOSE.

The memory of the nunnery is still preserved in the name Clerkenwell Close, and Weever, who lived here himself has recorded the "frontispiece" on the house of Sir Thomas Challoner: —

"Casta fides superest, velatae tecta sorores

Ista relegatae deseruere licet.

Nam venerandus Hymen hic vota iugalia servat
Vestalemque pocum mente fovere studet."

"I hope and believe," was Fuller's comment,⁹² "that the same may be truly affirmed of many other nunneries in England, which now have altered their property on the same conditions."

The Close lies west of the church and of the site of the

Cloister. A good view of it is to be found in a water-colour of J. W. Archer.⁹³

On the south was the gate, the site of which is still indicated by a slight narrowing of the road, a narrowing which was still more marked on the older maps.⁹⁴ A view of the gate itself is given in the maps of Hoefnagel⁹⁵ and Agas.⁹⁶ It is also clearly seen in Faithorne and Newcourt's Map of the City of London of 1658, but the unsuitability for our purpose of this map is indicated by the omission of all the buildings north of the church. The existence of an angle between the axes of the church and of the gate seems to be indicated by Agas, and such an angle is marked in James Tyrer's Plan of 1805.⁹⁷ On the north of the Close there was probably a postern.⁹⁸

Newton⁹⁹ asserted that the house or mansion of the Lady Abbess¹⁰⁰ stood west of the Cloisters. Such a position, on the east side of Clerkenwell Close would have been on the site where later stood Newcastle House. Her house would presumably be the "Chief mansion house of the late monastery of Clerkenwell" mentioned in 1551 in an indenture between Thomas Colepepyr and John Aylworth,¹⁰¹ and Newcastle House would very likely have been built on this site.

This indenture refers to edifices, buildings, courts and quadrants. The relative positions of these cannot be now ascertained. But it is clear that in the outer court, where were "placed various offices and storehouses, and such buildings as the almonry and guesthouse, in which the monastery came into necessary contact with secular affairs,"¹⁰² contained a number of houses, the occupants of which paid rent to the nunnery. A list of these residents with the amounts they were paying shows that just before the dissolution the nuns had £32 3s. 4d. from this source.¹⁰³ But apart from the existence of stables and a tenement called Le Stone House, and the fact that one of these tenements paying 53s. 4d. was above the gate, and that another paying the same sum was next it,

little topographical information has been gained from here. One tenement is described as in the cemetery. These accounts may be supplemented by a document entered on the back of a Plea Roll¹⁰⁴ which shows that secular persons lived in the outer court long before the dissolution. The land of Agnes de Leya, a corrodarian, is here described as lying opposite the Hall of the Chaplains in the court of the nuns. On the south is the land once of Elias de Hereford, shut off by a wall 8 perches and $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet long; on the west stretched the *via regia* for 4 perches and 7 feet; on the north and east was the land of the nuns. The north side measured 5 perches and 13 feet, the east end measured 2 perches 4 feet in width and the middle was 5 perches 2 feet wide.

The Hall of the Chaplains was perhaps by the church, and may have been the later "Priest Chambers" at the east end of which was a stable converted into a dwelling.¹⁰⁵ That it was quite big seems to be indicated by the phrase "*Certis domibus vocatis the prest' chambers.*" A less attractive aspect of the monastery was the slaughter house hinted at in Ministers' Accounts Henry VIII 2120, the prioress' account for 1534-5, where we read of hides "*de necacione vijtem boum infra monasterium.*"

WATER SUPPLY.

Such was the geological nature of the district that Clerkenwell abounded in springs. Skinners well, Clarkes well,¹⁰⁶ Faggess well, Todwell, Loders wel and Radwell are named by Stow,¹⁰⁷ who remarks that the last five were in his time "so filled vp, that there places are hardly now discerned."

The springs he mentioned certainly could not all be indicated by Stow, for Radwell, a name he found in the cartulary, was really in Hertfordshire, and Todwell was an imaginary well created by a misreading of Loders wel.¹⁰⁸ On the other hand, it has recently become possible to identify the exact site of Clarkes well, which

was well known to Stow¹⁰⁹ and also that of Faggess well, which in his day was "now lately dammed vp."¹¹⁰

Tradition said that Skinners well was on the west side of St. James, Clerkenwell. But so full of springs is the neighbourhood that the mere indication of a spring which answered to this description would be quite insufficient basis for identification. Indeed, two cuttings from newspapers in a box of illustrations of Clerkenwell Church in Finsbury Public Library provides examples of two possible claimants.

In 1769 "yesterday afternoon a man going into the yard of a public-house in St. James's, Clerkenwell, the ground gave way and he fell into a well, which had been covered over for a great number of years, by which accident he was so terribly bruised, that he was carried to St. Bartholomew's Hospital without hopes of recovery." And in 1792 "in digging the foundation for the intended portico for the western door of Clerkenwell Church, the workmen discovered a subterraneous cavern, in which they found a well of fine spring water 20 feet deep, supposed to have supplied the antient priory which stood near this place, before the New River was brought to London." Actually Skinners well is described as lying in a valley and that valley seems to have been situated on the north of the nunnery and leading down to the Fleet.

WATER SUPPLY.

Though some of these wells doubtless were used by the inmates of the precinct, water was also brought from a distance. This would have been necessary for drainage if for nothing else. In fo. 32 v of the nuns' cartulary we learn that a cursus came from Lodders well bringing water to the cloister. The tendency of the ground is to rise towards the north-east, and this gives some idea as to the position of Lodders well.

The map of the Charterhouse water supply¹¹¹ confirms this supposition for "the condite of the nonys of

Clerkynwell" and its continuation "the pipe of Clerkynwell goyng undir oure home pipe" are clearly shown pointing south-west towards the nunnery.

The system of pipes shown by Sir William St. John Hope's reproductions of the Charterhouse map were apparently not laid down all at one time. The Charterhouse pipe extends much further northwards than the pipes of the Hospitallers and of the nuns, and Archdeacon Hale's conclusion¹¹² drawn from this fact that the system was the product of change and development is confirmed by an entry in the cartulary of the Hospitallers¹¹³ dealing with the aqueduct. We there read of extensions and improvements in St. John's conduit. This suggests that perhaps similar changes took place in St. Mary's.

In the part of St. Mary's pipe indicated on the Charterhouse map the nuns' conduit travels straight from a well marked "here begynneth the nonnys condite of Clerkenwell," just by the junction of St. John Street Road and Goswell Road towards a second well which is marked as even nearer the side of St. John Street Road than the first. At this second well there is an angle and the pipe turns in a more westerly direction to lead towards the nunnery *via* "the receyte of Clerkenwell condite" by the gate of St. John's field. If the nuns had, right from the first construction of the conduit, taken their water from the well marked at the head of their pipe, they would probably not have made their pipe longer by what seems an avoidable angle. In other words, that section of the pipe furthest from the nunnery would appear to be a later extension. As Lodders well is the name of the original head of the conduit according to fo. 32 v. of the nun's cartulary, it may very possibly have been the name of the well at the angle under discussion. Lodders well may, therefore, be considered as probably situated just west of the junction of St. John Street Road and Goswell Road, or else at some point on a line between this and the cloister.

In July, 1545, a grant to Walter Hendle, Attorney General of the Court of Augmentations, and Sir John Williams, included "omnes et omnimodas aqueductus et aquarum cursus ad dictum scitum nuper monasterii de Clerkenwell' predicti accurrentes spectantes et pertinentes. Ac totum plumbum et omnia les pipes per que aqua et aquarum cursus ad dictum scitum nuper monasterii . . . vehitur et traducitur. Ac omnes fontes et aquarum origines vnde et a quibus aqua et aquarum cursus . . . oriuntur et deueniunt. Vna cum plena potestate licencia et auctoritate . . . les pipes et eorum descensus de tempore in tempus structandi emendandi reparandi et de nouo faciendi totiens quociens necesse et oportuum fuerit in quibuscumque locis seu quorumcumque terris iacent et existunt inter . . . scitum nuper monasterii de Clerkenwell' et principales fontes siue origines . . ." as freely as the Duke of Norfolk or the last prioress or her predecessors had held such rights.¹¹⁴

MILLS AT CLERKENWELL.

It is stated with some reservation¹¹⁵ in Donald Smith's *English Windmills*, and the statement is repeated with less reservation in a review in the *London and Middlesex Archaeological Society* that the earliest windmill would seem to be one in Clerkenwell built on ground given for the purpose by Jordan Briset, *circa* 1100, considerably earlier than the 1191 windmill near Bury St. Edmunds.¹¹⁶

If true, this statement would lend peculiar interest to the Clerkenwell mill. But apart from the fact that Jordan's gift must have been some time later than 1100,¹¹⁷ there is no evidence for a windmill at Clerkenwell in the twelfth century. It is true Stow clearly states¹¹⁸ "Jordan Briset gaue also to that house one peece of ground thereby to build a windmill vpon, &c." But it is known that Stow's knowledge of early Clerkenwell was derived from the nuns' cartulary, Faustina B.ii, which he marked with his marginal notes. And though

Jordan's gift of the site for a mill, retaining his fine and place thereat is recorded,¹¹⁹ there is no mention of it being a site for a windmill, and in other deeds the mill stream is actually mentioned.¹²⁰ Actually the site of the weir for this stream appears to have been discovered in the nineteenth century.¹²¹ The nuns owned land, meadow and gardens between the mill and the Hospital-ers' garden, which seems to have lain to the south—for beyond it the nuns also owned land, messuages and rents above the Faggess well stream to its north.¹²² The miller had a garden¹²² and, north of it presumably, between it and the land of Wulward de Sittingbourne, was property granted to Henry Bacon, serjeant of the nunnery, by prioress Isabel.¹²³ At about the junction of Turnmill Street and the road between St. Mary's and St. John's the nuns had a garden¹²⁴ and they also held the meadow between the mill stream and the river.¹²⁴ The existence of these houses and gardens along the line of the stream where Turnmill Street was later the name of the road supports the common definition of the name of that street. By the end of the sixteenth century Turnmill Street was notorious; here Falstaff said of Shallow: "This same starved justice hath done nothing to me but prate of the wildness of his youth, and the feats he hath done about Turnbull Street."¹²⁵ In 1525-26 the farms of the tenements due to the nuns from Turnmill Street were worth £16 3s. od.¹²⁶ A long list of the names of the nuns' tenants in this street in 1490-91 is preserved.¹²⁷ Property in this street was also held by the Hospitallers of St. John of Jerusalem perhaps chiefly on the east side of the street¹²⁸ along which side of the street they owned Butcher Close, Bocherclose or Butclose.¹²⁹

But if Jordan gave no site for a windmill but only the site of the water mill which gave Turnmill Street its name, it is none the less clear that the nunnery had windmills in its neighbourhood at a later date. The map of the Charterhouse water supply actually marks

two windmills, one in the field called the Commandery Mantels, the other, the other side of the highway from Islington to London in another field which was called Farncroft, or the Nuns' Field, the former naming apparently only applying to part of it.

The second of these two mills would seem to have been built no earlier than 31 Edward III, when land had been demised for that purpose by the prioress, *Idonia Lutier, for 99 years for 12d. a year.*¹³⁰ A note on the Charterhouse map, made by a later hand than that responsible for the original production reads, "this hyll is made pleyne wt the ffelde."¹³¹ At the end of the 99 years the lessees' heirs were to have had the land forever for 13s. 4d. yearly.

The date of this lease is important because Donald Smith was aware of the existence of the Charterhouse map, and remarks that this "myll hille" may well have been that which has pride of place among mill sites of this country.¹³² It is the duty of the local topographer to refuse the honour proffered.

The name of the lessee was Roger de Stowe, and this suggests the possibility that this mill may have been the same as a mill called Stowellmill, Stowelmyll or Stowesmylle, described in 22 Richard II as being situated 5 perches from Farncroft and lying by the side of the way used by people walking from Edmonton to Westminster.¹³³ For as the position of Whitewellebeche is known, and the relative positions of it and Farncroft are amply known from deeds in the nuns' cartulary, it is impossible to accept Mr. C. T. Flower's conjecture that Farncroft may possibly be the manor of Farnfield in Hornsey, mentioned by Lysons.

This windmill is to be distinguished from yet a third, which according to Stow¹³⁴ was blown down by a tempest, and in its place Katherine of Aragon built a chapel and named it the "Mount of Calvary" which was in turn pulled down at the end of Henry VIII's reign, and a windmill set up as before. Pinks¹³⁵ says the site of this

mill was Mountmill at the west end of Seward Street, that is to say, towards the south-east corner of the nuns' field.

In the sixteenth century yet a fourth Clerkenwell windmill occurs as a landmark,¹³⁶ and is described as to the west of the Monastery.¹³⁷ As it lay in Clerkenwell parish and would therefore be east of the river, but as there would scarcely be room for it due west of the nunnery, this mill probably lay to the north west.

CONCLUSION.

Since the destruction of the old church little has been recorded as found on the site of the nunnery, though in March, 1856, T. Hugo made a note¹³⁸ on two fragments of painted glass found in February of that year in an excavation in "St. James' Square, Clerkenwell."¹³⁹ One of them bore part of a quatrefoiled flower, and the other was a portion of a pinnaced canopy.

Far more revealing for the ornaments of the church is an inventory dated 5th August, 1552. This Certificate of Plate, Jewels and Ornaments¹⁴⁰ contains many interesting items, among others a vestment of St. Thomas Becket. Such relics had been made illegal, but perhaps this one had been kept because the sister of St. Thomas had been an early benefactor.

It is very fortunate that anything of archaeological interest which did remain in the church was carefully recorded by Matthew Skinner. But such remains were very scanty.

At the time of the destruction in 1788 only one of the bells was found to be old.¹⁴¹ This bell bore the inscription "O presul pie Nicholae nobis miserere," an invocation which may possibly suggest a connection with the parish clerks. For the parish clerks were associated with the plays which took place at Clerkenwell and St. Nicholas was their patron. There does not, however, seem to be any reference to a Chantry of St. Nicholas among Chantry Certificates at the P.R.O.,

although this negative evidence is to be discounted by the fact that among the Chantry Certificates there are apparently no references to other Chantries which are at any rate known to have existed earlier at Clerkenwell.

Fortunately, we learn from Ministers' Accounts Henry VIII, 2116, 2117 and 2120 that sums of 5s. 8d., 4s. 2d., 5s. 8½d. and 5s. 2d. were spent on St. Nicholas' day according to the prioress' accounts for 1524-5, 1525-6, 1532-3, and 1534-5; and the connection with the clerks is established by Ministers Accounts Henry VIII, 2118, where the prioress' accounts for an expenditure in 1526-7 of 4s. 3d. "clericis in festo Sancti Nicholai."

The only other relics of the nunnery church seem to have been the old seat shown in Illustration 16, and a beam which was described by Matthew Skinner¹⁴² as "about five feet long, but very rotten at each end . . . the four mortises on its side shew that it belonged to some building, perhaps a chapel. It bore the inscription in gothic letter '*Pray for us evermore*'."

Weever¹⁴³ transcribes the motto inscribed after the dissolution on a sundial in the entrance gate of the nunnery: "Non aliter pereo species quam futilis umbra."

NOTES

1. *London and Middlesex Archaeological Society*, New Series V. 67.
2. Illustration 23.
3. Thesis presented for London M.A., 1929, fo. 78.
4. Illustrations 22 and 23.
5. Illustration 25. There is a depression in the ground although Ogilby marks a laystall in the space between this street and the supposed north wall of the inner precinct. Here was apparently a valley at right angles to the Fleet, for it was parallel to the way "que iacet iuncta muro curie Hospitalium [!] Iherusalem que via extenditur secundum longitudinem iuxta eandem Curias a strata de Witewellebechs vsque ad gardinum predictarum moniatium quod est super Holeburne que via habet in latitudine unam percatam terre," (i.e. Aylesbury Street), Cartulary of St. Mary, Clerkenwell, B. M. Cotton MS. Faustina B ii, fo. 33.
6. Pinks, *History of Clerkenwell*, p. 176.
7. Pinks, p. 96.
8. P.R.O., Ministers' Accounts, Henry VIII, 2396, mem. 99 d, cited by Miss Honeybourne. The 8 acres immediately to the east of the nunnery formed a single unit of property by the end of the twelfth

- century. For 2s. yearly Reginald de Ginges and Emma his wife gave to the nuns 8 acres held by William the Clerk of Smithfield just to the east of the nuns' garden. Cartulary of St. Mary, Clerkenwell, Brit. Mus. Cotton MS., Faustina B. ii, fo. 25.v. This 8 acres was confirmed by Henry II in 1181, see Faustina B. ii, fo. 6 v. There is a plan of the Sekforde Estate in Storer and Cromwell, p. 446. A house was described as newly built on St. Mary Close upon the highway lying in a certain street called St. John Street in 1585. E. A. Fry, *London Inquisitions Post-mortem*, III, 234-5.
9. *Records of the Skinners of London*, p. 401. *City of London Livery Companies Commission*, II, 405.
 10. Ancient Deed, B.8010.
 11. *Cal. of Pat. Rolls*, Ed. VI, Vol. V, pp. 197-8.
 12. Pinks, map forming frontispiece, *New Remarks of London* (Parish Clerks' Survey), 1732, p. 217, cited by Miss Honeybourne.
 13. The *Hyelie field* was valued at £7 10s. od., and the field called St. Mary Close at £4 os. od., P.R.O. "Ministers' Accounts, Henry VIII, 2396, mem. 99 d, cited by Miss Honeybourne.
 14. *Cal. of Letters For. and Dom.* Vol. XVI, p. 720 ("32" really 33 Henry VIII).
 15. That the walls included less than the 10 acres given by the founder may be inferred from the phrase "x acras . . . infra muros et extra muros," Faustina, B. ii, fo. 27 v.
 16. *The Builder*, 1855, p. 546.
 17. Brit. Mus., Archer, Portfolio XIV (22), reproduced Illustration 15. Above the weir was found evidence of the existence of a large pond. This would have been at the mouth of the valley on the south side of which lay the inner precinct, see n. 5. This pond must surely be the *viuarium* frequently referred to in late twelfth-century deeds as in that valley. In this valley also was Skinners Well, the position of which is said in local topographical works to have been forgotten. But for Skinners Well, see Kingsford's note, Stow II, 272.
 18. Allen, *History and Antiquities of London*, III, 302.
 19. Illustration 25.
 20. William Capon, Note to drawing, London Soc. of Antiquaries, Portfolios, Midd., A to C, p. 32.
 21. *Archaeological Journal*, XXX, 183.
 22. Pinks, p. 167.
 23. A kiln for encaustic tiles was found 14 feet deep. *Lond. and Midd. Arch. Soc.*, III, 31.
 24. Pinks, p. 166.
 25. For an account of the vineyard and of the levelling of the site for the erection of buildings, see Pinks, p. 188.
 26. Royal Commission on Historical Monuments, *London*, II, 16.
 27. Cunningham, *Handbook of London, Past and Present*, 253.
 28. Britton, *Autobiography*, Part I, pp. 61-62, n.
 29. Pinks, p. 38.
 30. Storer and Cromwell, p. 183.
 31. E. W. Brayley, *Londiniana* (1829), II, 124.
 32. *Papal Letters*, XIII, 244 [still unpublished, but available at P.R.O.] Reprinted by Mr. F. Mc.B. Marcham, in *Lond. and Midd. Arch. Soc. Trans.*, New Series, VII, 613.
 33. *Cal. of Letter Books*, A., p. 39.
 34. Illustration 1.
 35. Pinks, p. 33.

36. County Hall, L.C.C. Print Collection, Finsbury, E.2, 3. See Illustration 1.
37. Brit. Mus., Crowle Pennant, VII, 218. This water-colour differs from the County Hall version in being unsigned. It is painted on the same sheet as a water-colour reproduced in Illustration 8, which only differs from the water-colour shown in Illustration 9 in being unsigned also. But if, as seems probable, C.J.R. stands for C. J. Richardson, his water-colour must have been copied from someone else's, as he was not born until after the destruction of the old church. In this case both the versions in the County Hall Collection and the Crowle Pennant might only be copies. For C. J. Richardson's handwriting, see Proof Prints of Mr. Richardson's subjects for *The Builder* in the Brit. Mus.
38. The drawing was by H. Isham. Large aquatints of this and a view "looking south," both made by F. Jukes, also show round arches. Small engravings of both, by Storer, occur, Storer and Cromwell, facing p. 76.
39. Illustration 2. Cf. Crowle Pennant VII, 244.
40. Pinks, p. 37.
41. Pinks, p. 37.
42. Storer and Cromwell, p. 182.
43. Stow, *Survey*, II, 86.
44. Malcolm, *Londinium Redivivum* (1803), III, 204. Storer and Cromwell, p. 76.
45. Storer and Cromwell, p. 181.
46. 28 Geo. III, c. 10 (Public). This ground seems to have been partly covered by the "Old Vestry," which is discussed below in the section dealing with the chapter-house.
47. Hatton, *New View of London*, p. 283.
48. Pinks, p. 32.
49. Pinks, p. 50.
50. Storer and Cromwell, p. 208.
51. *Gentleman's Magazine*, Vol. 55, Part 2, Fig. 1, before p. 935. Illustration 4.
52. Storer and Cromwell, p. 49.
53. *Gentleman's Magazine*, Vol. 55, Part 2, p. 935. Storer and Cromwell, p. 215. Pinks, p. 96. Illustrations 8 and 9. Each has a note that the view is of the south side of the cloister.
54. Illustration 1.
55. Ordnance Survey, London Reg., 1921, Sh. VII, 44, Illustration 17.
56. Pinks, p. 96.
57. Illustrations 6 to 9.
58. Illustration 7. Pinks, p. 96.
59. Illustrations 3, 4 and 5.
60. Maitland (1761), *London and its Environs*, II, 146. His words are repeated by Noorthouck, *History of London* (1773), p. 751. Matthew Skinner, *Gentleman's Magazine* (1785), Vol. 55, Part 2, p. 935. A. Skinner (1795), *A New and Complete Description of the Cities of London, Westminster, the Borough of Southwark and parts adjacent*, p. 405.
61. Reproduced to illustrate Arthur Crow's article on Clerkenwell, *London and Middlesex Arch. Soc. Trans.*, New Series V, between pp. 74 and 75.
62. On the other hand, reference is made to a "ware-room above," in the article which accompanies Illustration 4. It may have been, therefore, ignored by the artist of Illustration 4, and if it was ignored by him, it might have been ignored again in the case of

Illustration 8, or the ware-room may have been demolished because of the destruction of the church.

63. 1785, Vol. 55, Part 2, p. 935.
64. Illustration 4.
65. But the illustrations show a door at the east end.
66. I.e., that part of the church called the Old Vestry.
67. In 1502 Sir Halnath Mauleverer or Maulyeuver, knight, among other bequests, left £10 "towards the new making of ther cloisture." P.C.C. Wills, 8 Blamyr. The work seems to have been going on in 1511, when William Hudson left 6s. 8d. "to the biolding of Clerkenwell Cloyster." P.C.C. Wills, 5 Fetiplace. [Cf. Ministers' Accounts for expenditure.] Henry VIII, 2117 and 2118, £9 for buying stone for the cloister (1525 -6) and 76s. for buying stone and 55s. 6d. for sawing timber for the cloister [1526-7].
68. Gentleman's Magazine, Vol. 5, Part 2, p. 853.
69. Londiniana (1829), II, 124.
70. Pinks, p. 97.
71. Londinium Redivivum, III, 203.
72. Storer and Cromwell, p. 49.
73. Pinks, p. 96.
74. Noorthouck, History of London (1773), p. 750.
75. Maitland, London and Its Environs Described (1761), II, 146.
76. A. Skinner, A New and Complete Description of the Cities of London, Westminster, the Borough of Southwark, and parts adjacent (1795), p. 465.
77. Hughson, Walks through London (1817), II, 294.
78. Storer and Cromwell, p. 219.
79. Reproduction in Archaeologia, Vol. 58, Part 1, Plates XXI-XXIV, facing pp. 296, 304, 306, and 308.
80. Cartulary of St. Mary, Clerkenwell, Brit. Mus., Cotton MS. Faustina, B. ii, fo. 89.
81. London in the Olden Time, p. 88.
82. Illustration 12.
83. E. W. Brayley and Britton, Beauties of England and Wales, (1815), Vol. X, Part III, p. 569.
84. Soc. of Ant. Red Portfolios, Midd. A to C., p. 32.
85. W. Newton, London in the Olden Times (1855), p. 88.
86. Pinks, p. 31.
87. Pinks, p. 37. Weever, Funeral Monuments (1767), p. 213.
88. Storer and Cromwell, p. 181.
89. Storer and Cromwell, p. 184.
90. Illustrations 25 and 26.
91. Cartulary of St. Mary, Clerkenwell, Faustina B. ii, fo. 16.
92. Fuller, Church History (1845), Bk. VI, Vol. III, p. 289.
93. Brit. Mus., Archer, Portfolio XIV (25).
94. Comm. for building 50 new churches (1723). Plan of the Parish of St. John, Clerkenwell. Crowle Pennant VII, No. 235.
95. Illustration 22.
96. Illustration 23.
97. Crowle Pennant, VII, No. 222.
98. The entrances to the Close were widened by Act of Parliament, 17 Geo. III, c. 63 (Public).
99. W. Newton, London in the Olden Time, p. 88.
100. Actually she was only prioress.
101. Brit. Mus. Harl. Ch. 77, H. 18.
102. Hamilton Thompson, English Monasteries, p. 39.

103. P.R.O., Ministers' Accounts, Henry VIII, 2117, 29th Sept., 1525-29th Sept., 1526.
104. De Banco Roll, Easter, 17 Ed. I, 96 d.
105. Pat. Roll. 36, Hen. VIII, Part 22, Mem. 18-19.
106. The plays connected with the well are most recently discussed in a note I have written in *Modern Language Review*, Vol. XXXIII, No. 4, pp. 564-7. (In this note, Fowler, in footnote 8 on p. 565, should read Flower.)
107. Kingsford, Stow, I, 15-16.
108. Faustina, B. ii, fo. 32v.
109. See Arthur Crow's article in *London and Middlesex Archaeological Society*, New Series V, 67-84.
110. Fagges well is correctly marked in Miss M. B. Honeybourne's Map of London under Henry II in Professor F. M. Stenton, *Norman London*, published by the Historical Association.
111. *Archaeologia*, Vol. 58, Part 1, Plates 21-23, show the map.
112. Sir William St. John Hope prints an agreement made in 1431 between the prioress and the Charterhouse about the pipes of the latter, *History of the Charterhouse*, pp. 136-7.
113. Nero E, VI, fo. 9 v. and 10.
114. Pat. Roll, 37 Hen. VIII, Part 14, mem. 6.
115. Donald Smith, *English Windmills*, II, 2.
116. *London and Middlesex Archaeological Society*, New Series VI, 694.
117. See J. H. Round's article on "The Foundation of the Priors of St. Mary and St. John, Clerkenwell," *Archaeologia*, LVI, pp. 223-8.
118. Kingsford, Stow, II, 85.
119. Faustina, B. ii, fo. 17.
120. Faustina, B. ii, fo. 27 v. and 33.
121. See p. 236.
122. Faustina, B. ii, fo. 27 v.
123. Faustina, B. ii, fo. 87.
124. Faustina, B. ii, fo. 33.
125. *Henry IV*, Part 2, Act III, Sc. ii.
126. Ministers' Accounts, Henry VIII, 2117.
127. Ministers' Accounts, Henry VII, 396.
128. See St. John's Cartulary, Nero E. VI, fo. 23 v. for a building lease given by prior John de Rodington of an unoccupied plot of land north of the tenement of the preceptor of St. John and south of the three tenements of the prior, on this side of the street. The house is to measure 30 feet by 17 feet.
129. Called an enclosure or pasture, *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1548-49, p. 123, and just west of the priory reached as far south as Fagges well apparently, *Cal. of Letters and Papers For. and Dom.*, Vol. XX, Part II, p. 224, yet apparently reached as far north as the road between St. John's and St. Mary's, *ib.*, Vol. XXI, Part I, 970 (1), p. 480. It is here described as in Turnmill Street, but between it and the road the prior had a tenement bounded apparently by the Fagges well on the south and the Cok on the north, *ib.*, Vol. XX, Part II, p. 224. For the Cok in Turnmill Street, *William Gybson v. Thomas Bucsyd* for detention of deeds, see Chancery Proceedings, Bundle 203/42.
130. *Cat. of Ancient Deeds*, Vol. II, Deed B. 3657.
131. *Archaeologia*, Vol. 58, Plate 22. This note would be later than 1512.
132. Donald Smith, *English Windmills*, II, 2. He cites the map from Elton, *History of Corn-Milling*, II, 251-2.
133. C. T. Flower, *Public Works in Medieval Law*, II, 37, and Coram Rege Roll, 22 Ric. II, rex. 10.

134. Kingsford, Stow, II, 80, cited by Pinks, *History of Clerkenwell*, p. 283, and Donald Smith, *loc. cit.*
135. Pinks, *loc. cit.*
136. *Cal. of Letters and Papers For. and Dom.*, Vol. XXI., Part I, 1546, p. 783.
137. *Cal. of Pat. Rolls*, 1554-5, p. 233.
138. *Archaeological Journal*, XIII, 189.
139. Perhaps this means Newcastle Place.
140. P.R.O., Misc. Bks., Augmentation Office, Vol. 498, fo. 40 v. and 41.
141. *Gentleman's Magazine*, Vol. 58, Part I, Fig. 1, facing p. 501, p. 853 and p. 1045. Four bells in the steeple, one sanctus bell without a clapper, and three small sacring bells occur in the inventory of 1552, fo. 40 v. But the inventory was made in order that all the church plate and bells still remaining should be surrendered into the King's hands. V.C.H., *London*, p. 296.
142. *Gentleman's Magazine*, Vol. 58, Part 2, p. 1045 (1788). The old church also contained a brass of the last prioress, which is now lost, see Illustration 17.
143. Weever, *Funeral Monuments* (1767), p. 214.

ILLUSTRATIONS

- Frontispiece. SKETCH MAP OF ST. MARY'S, CLERKENWELL, PAGE
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Signed C. J. R. 269
(a) County Hall, L.C.C. Print Collection, Finsbury, E.2.3
(b) Same occurs, but without artist's initials, in Brit. Mus. Crowle Pennant, VII, 218. The window differs in being represented as with five simple points. It is described as north-east view of the Priory Church, Clerkenwell, taken 1787. It is painted on to the same sheet as Illustration No. 8.
(c) Print signed J. Knight in Pinks, p. 33. Small differences. See section on the Church.
2. INTERIOR OF CHURCH. Water-colour. [C. J. Richardson.]
Signed C. J. R. 269
(a) County Hall, L.C.C. Print Collections, Finsbury, E.2.5. Cf. similar view on rather larger scale, Crowle Pennant, VII. 244.
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Gentleman's Magazine, Dec., 1785, Vol. 55, Plate II, Fig. 1, before p. 935.
Reproduced, Besant, *Medieval London*, Vol. II, *Ecclesiastical*, p. 285.

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|-----|---|-------------|
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| | (c) Reproduced to illustrate Arthur Crow's article on Clerkenwell. <i>London and Middlesex Archaeological Society Transactions</i> , New Series V, between pp. 74 and 75 (St. John's Gate Version). | |
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N.B.—Illustrations 22, 23, 24 and 26 are from maps fully reproduced by the London Topographical Society. Illustration 25 is from Ogilby and Morgan which has been reproduced by the London and Middlesex Archaeological Society. The dates of Nos. 22 and 23 are those given by W. Martin in his valuable article on "The Early Maps of London" in the <i>Transactions of the London and Middlesex Archaeological Society</i> , New Series III, 267 and 269.	
26. JOHN ROCQUE'S MAP. 1746	
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London, Reg. 1921, Sh. VII, 44. Scale 12 in. to 1 mile.	

In finding illustrations of the nunnery, the great value of the Royal Institute of British Architects' Index of Graphic Records was realised. A similar index of all *printed* illustrations made before a certain date of London buildings would be of great utility for similar work.



North-East view of the Priory Church Clerkenwell

1. NORTH-EAST VIEW OF THE PRIORY CHURCH, CLERKENWELL.

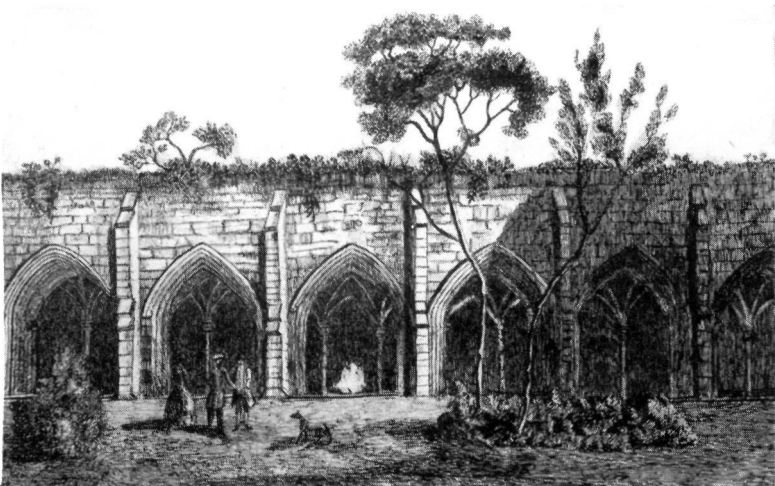
Water-colour. C. J. R. [C. J. Richardson.]
County Hall, L.C.C. Print Collection, Finsbury, E.2.3.
[Size $4\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$ inches.]



Interior view Priory Church of Clerkenwell

2. INTERIOR VIEW OF THE PRIORY CHURCH, CLERKENWELL.

Water-colour. C. J. R. [C. J. Richardson.]
County Hall, L.C.C. Print Collection, Finsbury, E.2.5.
[Size $4\frac{1}{2} \times 4\frac{1}{2}$ inches.]



3. CLOISTER, ST. MARY'S NUNNERY, CLERKENWELL.

Pen and ink.
County Hall, L.C.C. Print Collection, Finsbury, E.2.7.
[Size $8\frac{1}{16} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$ in.]

Fig 1 p. 935.

Ancient Cloister at Clerkenwell?

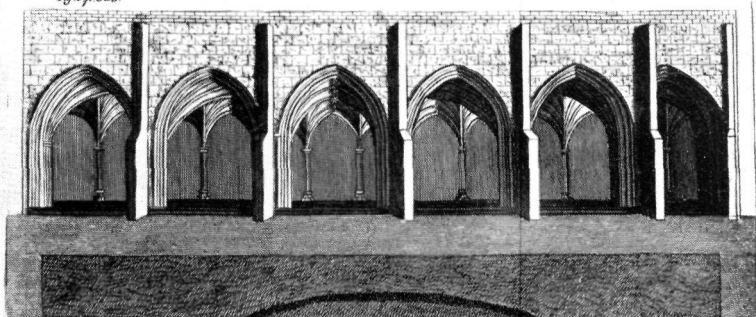


Fig 3 p. 936.

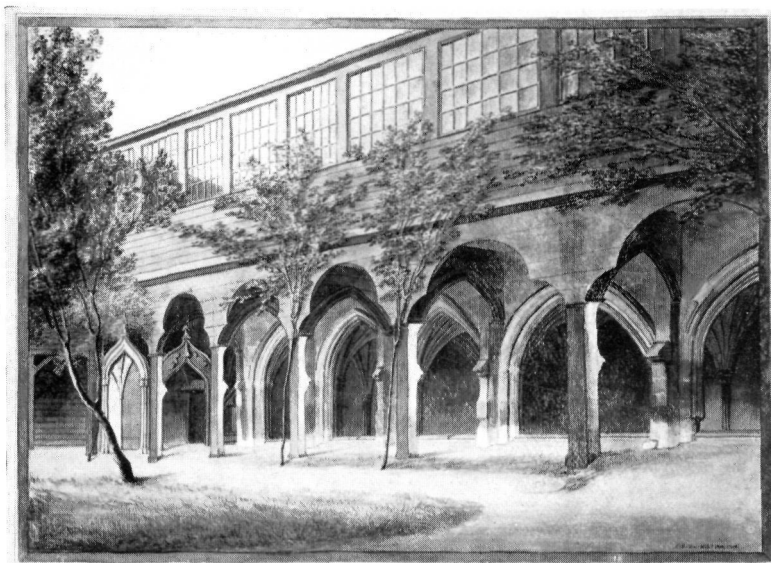
Fig 4 p. 937.

4. CLOISTER, ST. MARY'S NUNNERY, CLERKENWELL.

Engraving.

Gentleman's Magazine, December, 1785, Vol. 55, Plate II, Fig. 1, before p. 935.

[Size $8\frac{3}{16} \times 4$ inches.]



The actual view of the Ancient Cloister at Clerkenwell.

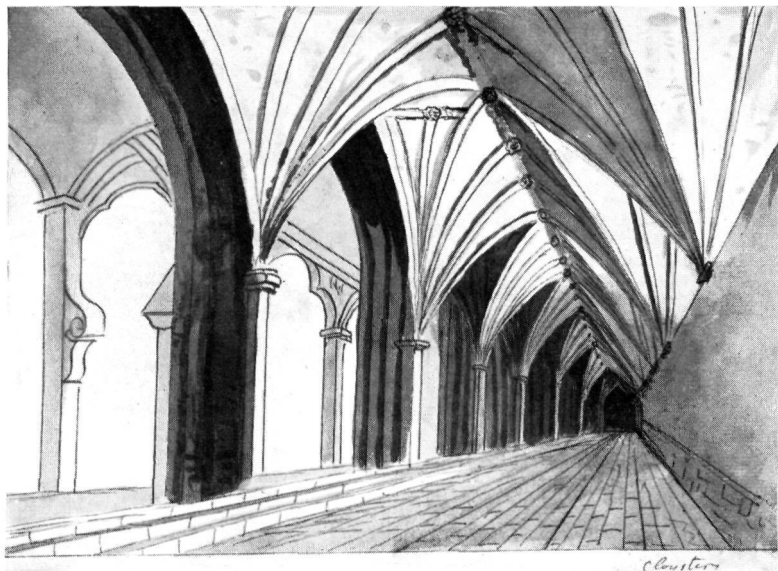
5. CLOISTER, ST. MARY'S NUNNERY, CLERKENWELL.

Water-colour. J. Sanders, 1786.

London, Society of Antiquaries, Portfolios, Middlesex A to C, fo. 30.

[Size, see scale on photograph.]

A similar water-colour at St. John's Gate measures $12\frac{1}{2} \times 19\frac{3}{4}$ in. The tree in the St. John's Gate version differs from the tree in the Society of Antiquaries version in being drawn inside the grass plot. A pencil stroke leading to the trunk of the tree has at its other end a pencil note, "ends here without the grass plot." This seems to indicate that the St. John's water-colour was a rough copy for that at the Society of Antiquaries. This and the other water-colour at St. John's, which is probably the rough copy of Illustration 10, were in the Public House at St. John's Gate before the occupation of the building by the present Knights of St. John.



6. CLOISTER OF ST. MARY'S NUNNERY, CLERKENWELL.

Pen and ink.

British Museum, Crowle Pennant, VII, 241.

[Size $8\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$ in.]



7. CLOISTER, ST. MARY'S NUNNERY, CLERKENWELL.

Water-colour.

County Hall L.C.C. Print Collection, Finsbury, E.2.91.

[Size $8\frac{13}{16} \times 7\frac{1}{8}$ in.]



8. CLOISTER, ST. MARY'S NUNNERY, CLERKENWELL.

Water-colour. [Like Illustration 9 by C. J. R. (C. J. Richardson) 1787.]

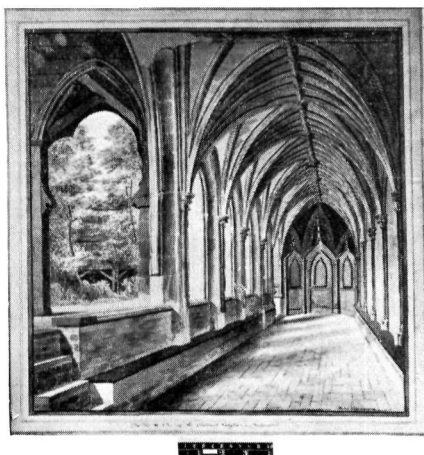
British Museum, Crowle Pennant, VII, 219.

Size $4\frac{3}{8} \times 5\frac{3}{16}$ inches.]



9. CLOISTER, ST. MARY'S NUNNERY,
CLERKENWELL.

Water-colour. C. J. R. [C. J. Richardson.]
County Hall, L.C.C. Print Collection, Finsbury, E.2.4.
[Size $4\frac{5}{16} \times 5\frac{1}{16}$ inches.]

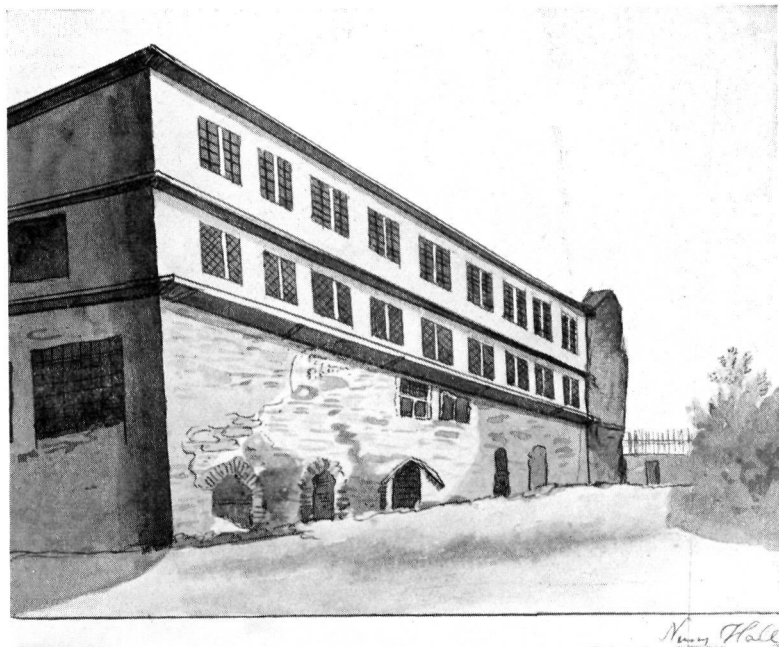


10. CLOISTER, ST. MARY'S NUNNERY,
CLERKENWELL.

Water-colour. J. Sanders, 1786.
London, Society of Antiquaries, Portfolios, Middlesex,
A to C, fo. 29.

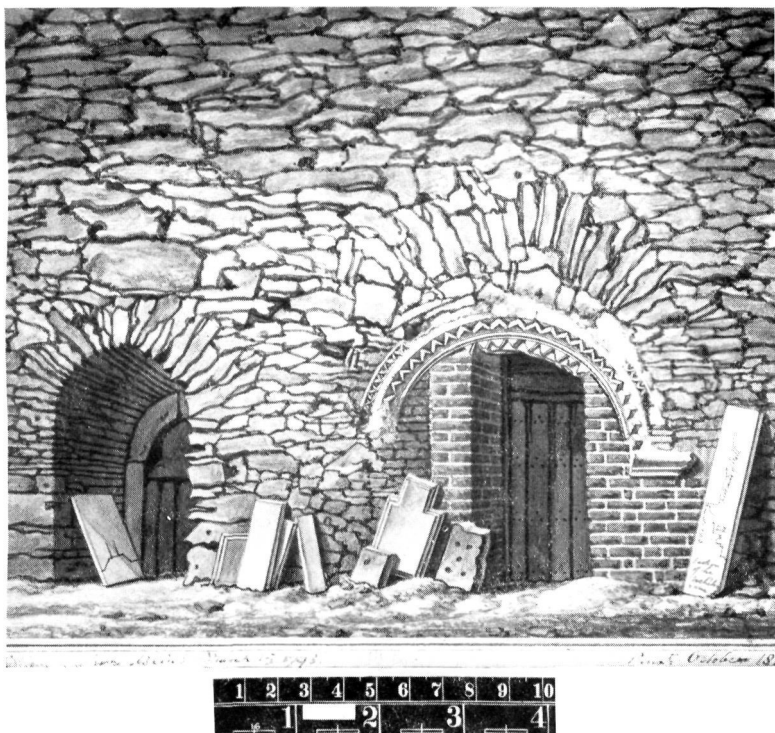
[Size, see scale on photograph.]

An almost identical water-colour at St. John's Gate measures $15\frac{1}{2} \times 16\frac{1}{2}$ in. It, and the St. John's Gate version of Illustration 5, were at the Public House at St. John's before the occupation of that building by the present Knights of St. John.

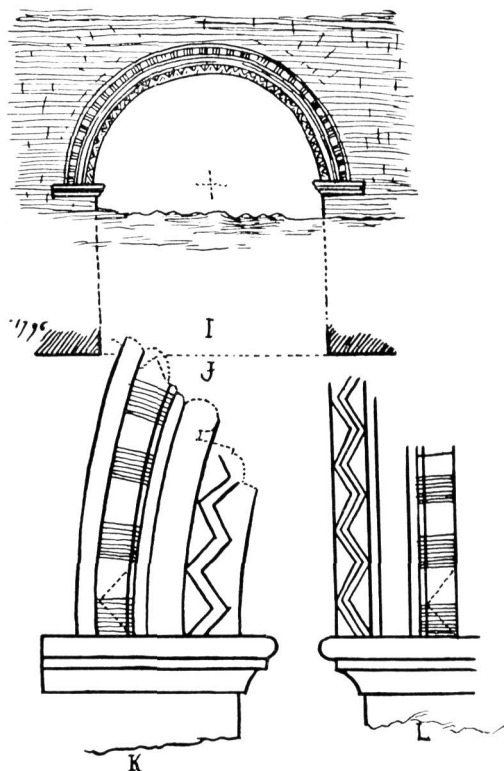


11. NUNS' HALL, ST. MARY'S NUNNERY, CLERKENWELL.

Water-colour.
British Museum, Crowle Pennant, VII, 240.
[Size $8\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{7}{16}$ in.]



12. ST. MARY'S NUNNERY, CLERKENWELL. Remains of a Norman arched opening.
 Water-colour. William Capon, 1783.
 London, Society of Antiquaries, Portfolios, Middlesex A to C, fo. 32.
 [Size, see scale on photograph.]

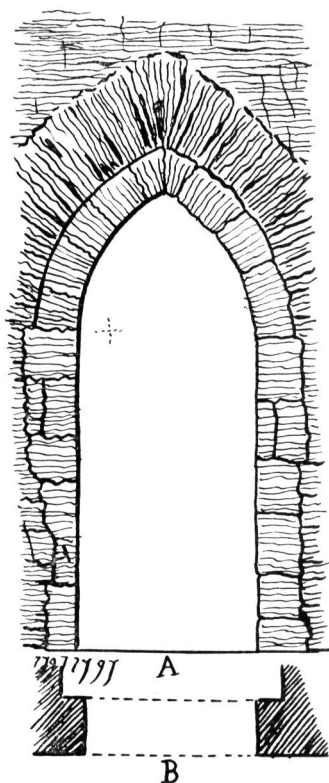


13. NUNS' HALL. Archway.

- I. Archway in the remains of the hall belonging to the nuns . . . adjoining the Priory Church, Clerkenwell. In the architrave, the diagonals are in the two positions above mentioned [i.e. one with its point projecting outwards, and the other with its point laying so as to follow the lines which circumscribe it, either horizontal, perpendicular, or circular]; the mouldings of the impost differ entirely from any yet introduced and partake of the Roman manner; the piers are nearly hid by surrounding rubbish.
- J. Plan.
- K. Impost with part of the architrave.
- L. Inner profile, in which the diagonals reverse their appearance.

The Ancient Architecture of England, Part I, p. 16, Plate XV.
J. Carter, F.A.S., with notes and copious indexes by John Britton, Esq., F.S.A., etc.

[Size $\frac{1}{4}$ of original.]

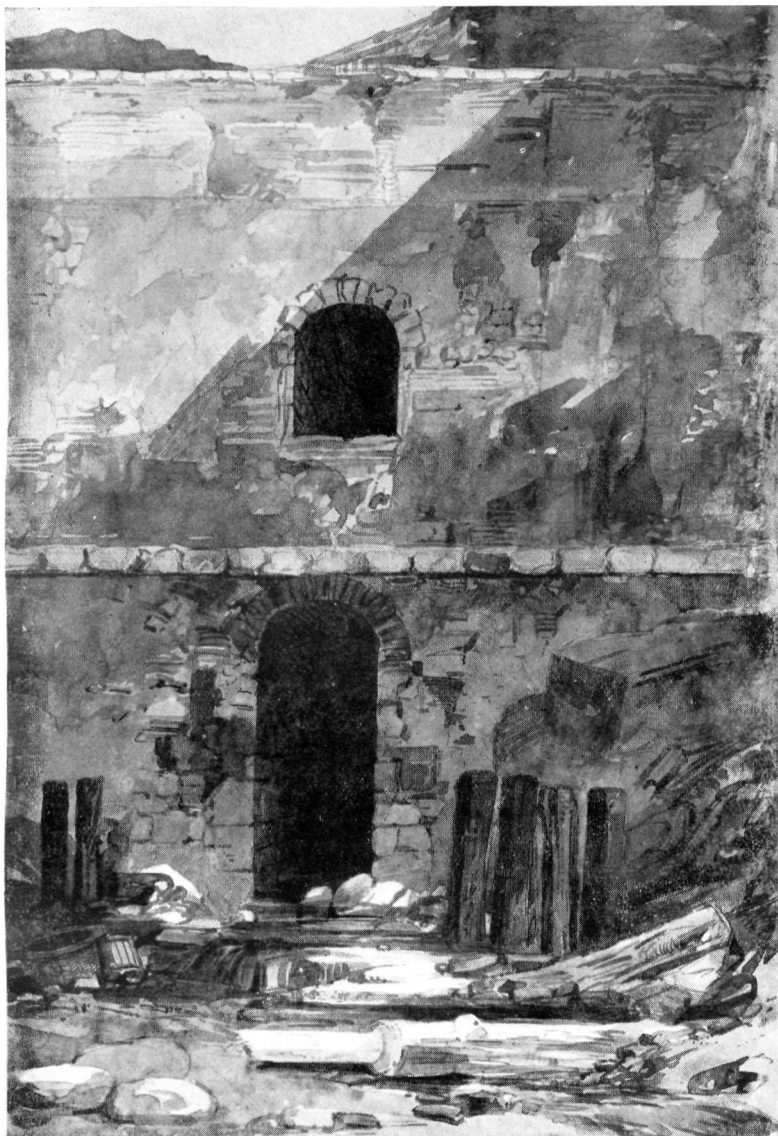


14. DOORWAY WITH POINTED ARCH.

- A. Doorway in the remains of the Nunnery, adjoining the Priory Church, Clerkenwell. The masonry is rough, and is without any cant, or other moulding.
- B. Plan.

The Ancient Architecture of England, Part I, p. 38, Plate XLIV. J. Carter, F.A.S., with notes and copious indexes by John Britton, Esq., F.S.A., etc.

[Same size. Copy.]

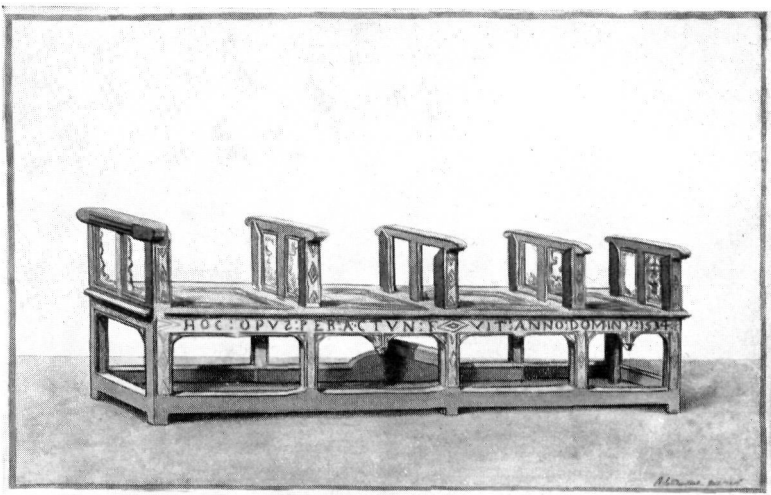


15. EXCAVATION AT CLERKENWELL SHOWING SITE OF A WEIR,
POSSIBLY OF THE NUNS' MILL.

Water-colour.

British Museum, Archer, Portfolio XIV (22).

[Size $13\frac{7}{16} \times 9\frac{7}{16}$ in.]



An Ancient Seat, in the Church of St. James (Yorkshire).

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

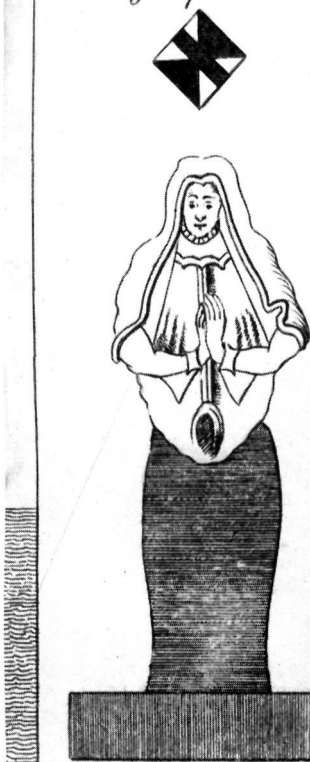
16. AN ANCIENT SEAT IN THE CHURCH OF ST. JAMES.

Water-colour. J. Sanders, June, 1786.

London, Society of Antiquaries, Portfolios, Middlesex A to C, fo. 28.

[Size, see scale on photograph.]

Fig. 2. p. 935.



17. BRASS OF THE LAST PRIORESS OF
ST. MARY'S NUNNERY, CLERKENWELL.

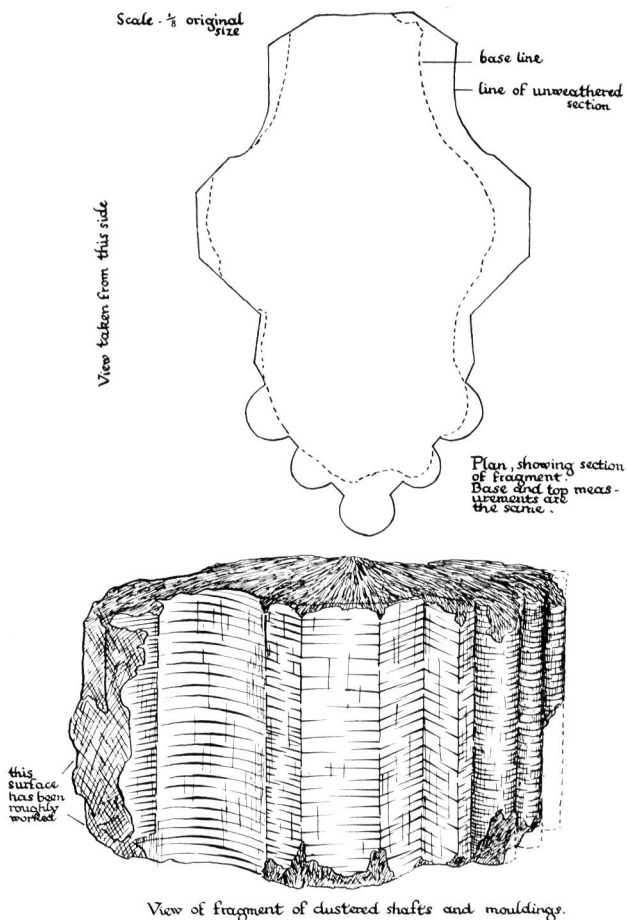
Engraving.

Gentleman's Magazine, December, 1785, Vol. 55, Plate II,
Fig. 2, before p. 935.

[Size, $1\frac{1}{2} \times 4\frac{1}{4}$ inches.]

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18. FRAGMENT OF STONE FROM THE SITE OF ST. MARY'S
NUNNERY, CLERKENWELL. 1937.

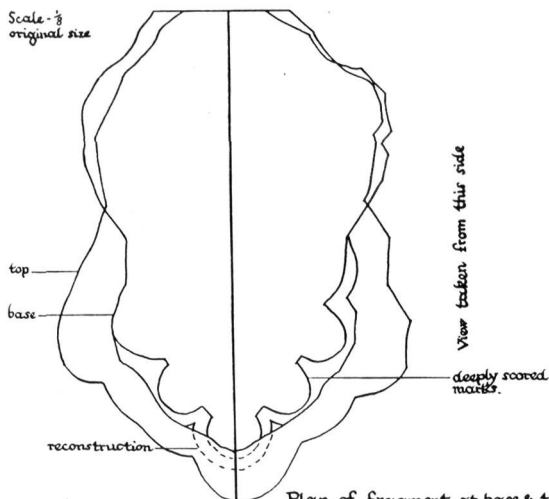
In Finsbury Public Library, Skinner Street.

Mr. H. W. Fincham says the stone was found in the garden of a house in Newcastle Place which belonged to John Brown & Son some years before the War. John Brown was at Number 3, Newcastle Place in 1896, according to Kelly, *Post Office London Directory* (1896), p. 548.

(Not in *Royal Commission on Historical Monuments, London*, Vol. II.)

[Drawn by Averil Hassall]

Scale - $\frac{1}{8}$
original size



Plan of fragment at base & top,
necessarily imperfect owing to
weathering of the stone.



View of fragment - possibly capitals
of shafts at springing of vault
arch.

19. FRAGMENT OF STONE FROM THE SITE OF ST. MARY'S
NUNNERY, CLERKENWELL. 1937.

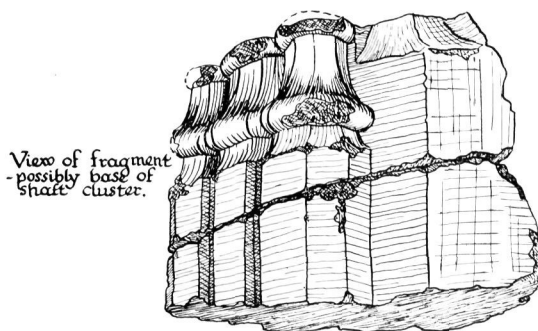
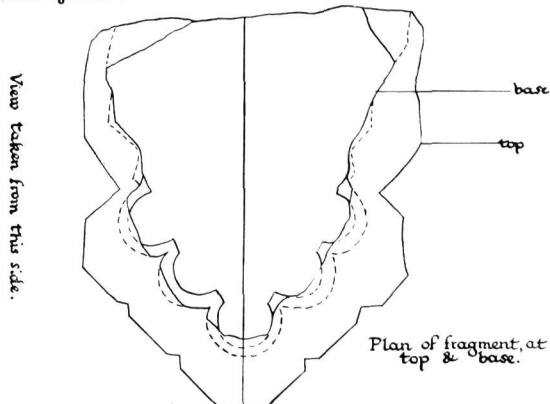
In Finsbury Public Library, Skinner Street.

Mr. H. W. Fincham says the stone was found in the garden of a house in Newcastle Place which belonged to John Brown & Son, jewellers, some years before the War. John Brown was at Number 3, Newcastle Place, in 1896, according to Kelly, *Post Office London Directory* (1896), p. 548.

(Not in *Royal Commission on Historical Monuments, London*, Vol. II.)

[Drawn by Averil Hassall]

Scale- $\frac{1}{8}$ actual size.

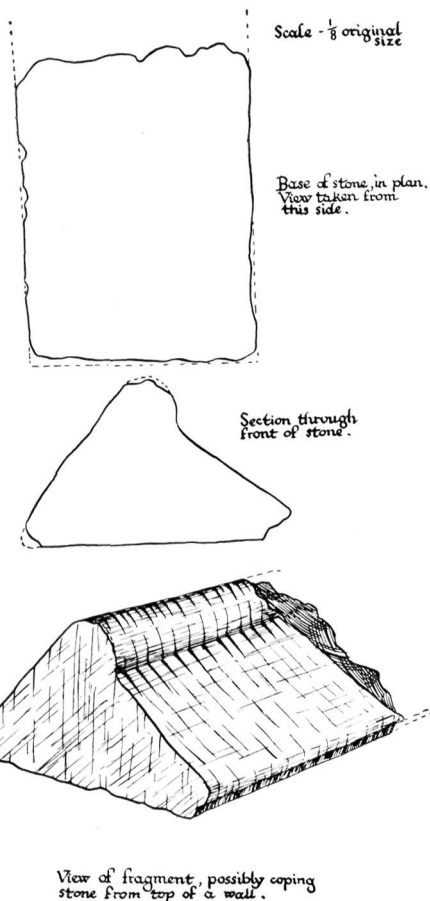


20. FRAGMENT OF STONE FROM THE SITE OF ST. MARY'S NUNNERY, CLERKENWELL. 1937.

In Finsbury Public Library, Skinner Street.

Mr. H. W. Fincham says the stone was found in the garden of a house in Newcastle Place which belonged to John Brown & Son, jewellers, some years before the War. John Brown was at Number 3, Newcastle Place, in 1896, according to Kelly, *Post Office London Directory* (1896), p. 548. (Not in *Royal Commission on Historical Monuments, London*, Vol. II.)

[Drawn by Averil Hassall]



21. FRAGMENT OF STONE FROM THE SITE OF
ST. MARY'S NUNNERY, CLERKENWELL. 1937.

In Finsbury Public Library, Skinner Street.

Mr. H. W. Fincham says the stone was found in the garden of a house in Newcastle Place, which belonged to John Brown & Son, jewellers, some years before the War. John Brown was at Number 3, Newcastle Place, in 1896, according to Kelly, *Post Office London Directory* (1896), p. 548.
(Not in *Royal Commission on Historical Monuments, London*, Vol. II.)

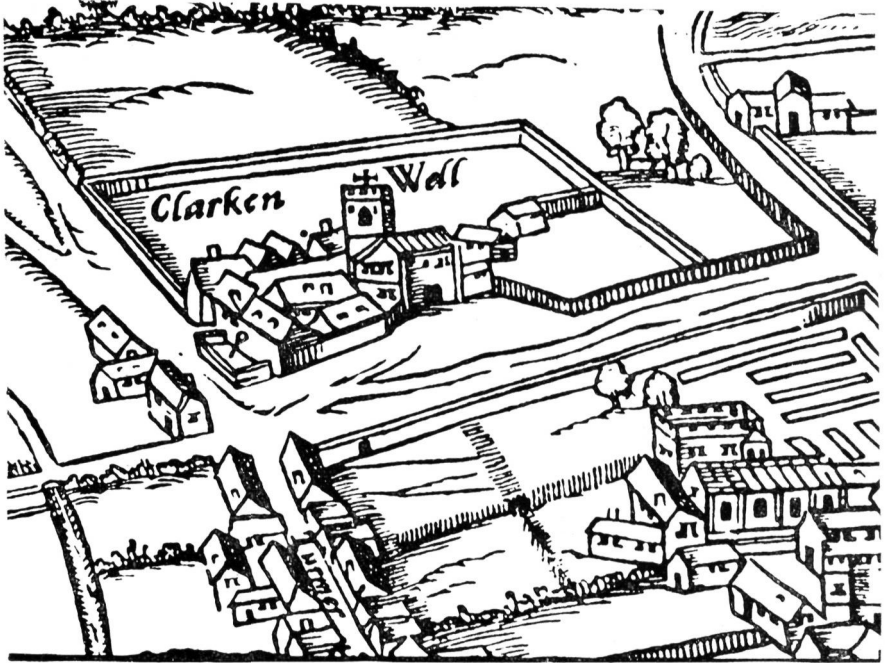
[Drawn by Averil Hassall.]



22. ST. MARY'S NUNNERY, CLERKENWELL.
Hoefnagel's Map from Braun and Hogenberg.
[1554-1558.]
[Size, $1\frac{1}{8}$ of original.]



24. ST. MARY'S NUNNERY, CLERKENWELL.
John Norden's Map. 1593.
[Size, $1\frac{1}{8}$ of original.]



23. ST. MARY'S NUNNERY, CLERKENWELL.
"Agas" map. [Earlier than 1561.]
[Size, $1\frac{1}{8}$ of original.]

