Oliver
Geo.

AN

ACCOUNT

OF THE

RELIGIOUS HOUSES,

FORMERLY SITUATED ON THE EASTERN SIDE OF THE RIVER WITHAM;

BEING THE SUBSTANCE OF CERTAIN PAPERS READ BEFORE THE LINCOLN TOPOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY, IN THE YEAR 1842.

WITH NUMEROUS ILLUSTRATIVE NOTES.

BY THE

REV. GEO. OLIVER, D.D.,

INCUMBENT OF THE COLLEGIATE CHURCH, WOLVERHAMPTON; VICAR OF SCOPWICK; A VICE-PRESIDENT OF THE ABOVE SOCIETY; MEMBER OF THE ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY OF SCOTLAND, &c., &c., &c.

Omne tulit punctum, qui miscuit utile dulci,
Lectorem delectando, pariterque monendo.
HORACE.

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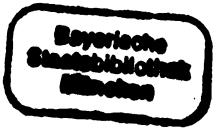

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TO

RICHARD ELLISON, ESQ.,

OF SUDBROOKE HOLM;

Late President of the Lincoln Topographical Society, &c., &c.,

DEAR SIR,

After expressing my grateful acknowledgements for your kindness in allowing the following pages to be dedicated to you, as the late President of our defunct Topographical Society; and a proprietor of the Witham navigation; I take the liberty of making a few observations, which, I am persuaded, will not be considered intrusive.

The Topography of Lincolnshire occupies a very equivocal position. Although it is one of the principal counties in England, yet little appears to have been done towards its general illustration. We do not possess a standard work of sufficient importance to occupy a reputable station in the local literature of the island. Some attempts have been made to illustrate individual places; but in

every instance the remuneration has been so tardy in its progress, and so inadequate in its amount, that any systematic endeavour to extend a knowledge of the topography and antiquities of the county, is virtually interdicted. The materials are abundant—the field is open—the harvest plenteous—but the labourers are few. And why? Not from any deficiency in native talent—not from a lack of antiquarian zeal and industry—but from an apparent indifference and apathy in the inhabitants. The conclusion is therefore unavoidable. Either Lincolnshire is not a reading county; or if it be, topography is not the sort of lore which is congenial with its taste.

I have often reflected on this unfavourable picture with feelings of the deepest regret; and have contributed my mite towards furnishing the remedy.[1] Still, my dear Sir, you will agree with

[1] The Topographical gleanings connected with the county of Lincoln which I have laid before the public, are:—1. The Monumental Antiquities of Grimsby, 1825.—2. Illustrations of forty Lincolnshire Churches, published in the Boston Gazette, 1829—1831.—3. The History of the conventual Church of St. James at Grimsby, 1829.—4. Numerous Topographical Papers in the Gentleman's Magazine, from 1829 to 1834.—5. Parochial Illustrations; sixteen Letters in the Lincoln Gazette, 1837.—6. History of the Holy Trinity Guild at Sleaford, 1837.—7. Scopwickiana, 1838.—8. Natural History of Lincoln Heath; forty-eight Letters in the Lincoln Standard, 1839—1841.—9. Account of Temple Bruer, printed in the Transactions of the Topographical Society, 1843.—10. The present Work, 1846.

me on the existence of the melancholy fact. For instance; what has been done towards illustrating the city of Lincoln—a British and a Roman town, and a metropolitical see? comparatively nothing. A few Guide Books, and architectural surveys of its magnificent Cathedral, are all that has been accomplished. Boston, Stamford, and some of the minor towns, as well as the Isle of Axholm have been more fortunate; but nothing of importance has been accomplished for the county in general.

The city of Lincoln abounds with materials of great interest, both monumental and documentary, which are suffered to remain almost unnoticed. Its Roman antiquities are numerous. Specimens of tesselated Pavements, basements of pillars, and other marks of the occupancy of that magnificent people, are turned up wherever the soil is excavated to a moderate depth. Mr. Nicholson, one of the projectors of the Topographical Society, says, in a Paper read before that body, that "amongst the opportunities for observation that had fallen to his own share, he might mention the discovery of very many Roman coins, together with the brick matrices in which they were cast, on the site of the Tread-wheel of the city jail;—the removal of a considerable portion of the east

wall of the city next to Broadgate, when levelling the Sheepmarket;—the exposure of a very singular work of an octagonal form, built with Roman bricks, when excavating for the cellars of the house occupied by Mr. Jackson, chemist, in High-street, north of the Butter-house;—the discovery and destruction of extensive remains of a Roman bath, with the hypocaust and paving of very perfect tesseræ, near the north end of the Wesleyan chapel, next to Grantham lane;—and many others." Since this paper was read, two pavements have been found in different parts of Lincoln; and many remarkable antiquities were discovered amongst the excavations made by Messrs. Norton, when building their house in High-street.

The city is surrounded by vestiges of the highest antiquity, in the form of stone idols and tumuli, which are daily disappearing before the progress of agricultural improvements; and every memorial of our remote ancestors, the aborigines of the soil, will soon have entirely passed away, and become as though they had never been. A British deity on Cabourn wold, near Caistor, called the "Stone sack," has, I believe, been removed; and the Drake Stone at Anwick, may not be suffered to occupy its position much longer, although, for many centuries, it was regarded

with devotional feelings, and esteemed a potent divinity.[2] It is true, these feelings have been effaced by the substitution of a more perfect plan of salvation; but the superstitions attached to them are still in being; and it is an interesting employment to trace these superstitions to their source; and to mark the progress of the human mind from point to point, till the enquiry terminates in traditions, widely differing from the primitive fact, but corresponding thereto by a figurative reference, and an indubitable connection.

In every part of the county, similar monuments exist, marking the ages that have gone by, and each distinctly proclaiming the epoch to which it owes its existence. The residence of the Britons, the Romans, the Saxons, and the Danes, is designated by appropriate monuments. These were followed by the baronial castles, and religious houses; the cathedrals and churches of the Normans; and the distinctive style which characterized each particular era, is marked in broad and indelible lines which cannot be mistaken. These remarkable peculiarities appear to have been un-

2 I am preparing an essay on the monumental remains of the Britons southward of the city of Lincoln; with some conjectures on the use and references of the Drake Stone at Anwick, which will shortly be published.

accountably overlooked. If they are seen, it is only to be disregarded; and the student in Antiquities moves on in the dark, enlightened only by painful and laborious researches, with scarcely a ray to conduct him in his path.[3]

The documentary evidences of these early times are equally abundant; and I have not the slightest doubt but materials might be found for a succinct history of the city from the Norman Conquest to the reign of Edw. I., which would occupy a moderate sized volume. These materials are accessible to ordinary research; and I am persuaded there are many antiquaries in the county whose Common Place Books contain the greater portion of them.

When I first heard of the establishment of the Topographical Society in Lincoln, I entertained the most sanguine hopes, though residing in another county, that its existence would have regenerated the public taste, and gradually pre-

[3] It may be necessary to remark in this place, that the Topographical Collection in the Lincoln Library contains many valuable MSS. The Committee employed Messrs. Brooke last year to arrange and print a Supplementary Catalogue, and they have succeeded in bringing the existence of these MSS. fairly before the Subscribers. Sir E. Ffrench Bromhead has the merit of having commenced the Topographical Collection many years ago, and had there being a corresponding feeling amongst the Members, a considerable collection of MSS. might have been the result.

pared the way for the operation of some practical expedient towards the production and arrangement of materials for a County History. It commenced at a fortunate period, and its first efforts were well directed and abundantly effective. The antiquarian feeling of the city was roused, and it was confidently anticipated that, from the praise-worthy exertions of its members, the literature and antiquities of Lincolnshire would derive a lasting benefit. During its brief existence, many interesting antiquities were rescued from oblivion, and their secret history brought to light. Tattershall Castle, the Malandry at Lincoln, with many obscure points in the ecclesiastical architecture of the city, Temple Bruer, and the monasteries on the Witham, were illustrated; and several subjects connected with the Geology, the Antiquities, and other particulars in the county, ably treated on. But alas, for the vanity of all worldly expectations! This useful Society scarcely survived its fourth year, although the causes of its dissolution appear difficult to explain. Its subscribers were numerous—its funds were ample—and its contributors were always at their post;[4]

[4] No better proof of this can be adduced than in the following list of Papers read before the Society.—IN THE SESSION OF 1841. Introductory Address, by E. J. Willson, Esq. On the Stone

and yet it has ceased to exist—its books and papers are, many of them, missing—and its friends can only lament that such an excellent and promising institution should have been suffered to fall into oblivion.

Arch in Lincoln Cathedral, by W. A. Nicholson, Esq. On the Electrotype, by Dr. Cookson. On the Geology of Lincoln, by Mr. Bedford. On the British occupancy of the Witham, by the Rev. Dr. Oliver. On the ancient division of Time, *First Paper*, by Mr. Goodacre. On the Lophius Piscatorius or Frog-fish, by Dr. Cookson. On Temple Bruer and its Knights, by the Rev. Dr. Oliver. On the Pretended Antiquity of the Annals of Egypt, by Mr. Goodacre. On the styles of Architecture at Lincoln, by W. A. Nicholson, Esq. On the Malandry at Lincoln, *First Paper*, by Dr. Cookson. On the Polytheism of the Eastern nations, by Mr. Boole. On the fallacies of the lunar influence, by Mr. Goodacre. IN THE SESSION OF 1842. The religious houses on the Witham, *First Paper*, by the Rev. Dr. Oliver. Roman remains at Lincoln, by W. A. Nicholson, Esq. On the formation of coal, by the Rev. W. Worsley. On Tatershall Castle, by W. A. Nicholson, Esq. On the ancient divisions of Time, *Second Paper*, by Mr. Goodacre. On the history and use of Bells, by the Rev. Dr. Oliver. Journal of a Privateer, by the Rev. J. Penrose. On popular superstitions, by the Rev. Dr. Oliver. On the Malandry at Lincoln, *Second Paper*, by Dr. Cookson. The religious houses on the Witham, *Second Paper*, by the Rev. Dr. Oliver. IN THE SESSION OF 1843. The religious houses on the Witham, *Third Paper*, by the Rev. Dr. Oliver. On Swan marks. by J. N. Bromehead, Esq. On the Carboniferous strata, by the Rev. W. Worsley. On a submarine forest on the coast of Lincolnshire, by the Rev. Dr. Oliver. On the Roman sepulchral remains in Lincoln, by Dr. Cookson. On the Manor-house at Gainsbro', by Mr. Hardy. On a hospital at Stamford, by Dr. Cookson. On a subterranean passage in the Bail of Lincoln, by W. A. Nicholson, Esq. Are the planets inhabited? by Mr. Boole. A legend of Mull, by

There now remains, as it appears to me, but one feasible method by which the history and antiquities of the county can be rescued from the state of uncertainty in which they are unhappily placed. And that is, by the formation of a Society on some such plan as distinguishes the Camden and Parker Societies; at the head of which should stand the Bishop of the diocese, and the Lord Lieutenant of the County, in the character of Presidents; while the nobility and the entire magistracy should undertake the duty of Vice-presidents. A general committee should be formed at Lincoln to decide on the publication of the Essays, which ought to consist of active and energetic men, whose leisure has been devoted to antiquarian and topographical researches, that they may be enabled to determine correctly on the merits of the Papers committed to their inspection—and many such may be found within

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Dr. Cookson. On the habitations of the working classes in Lincoln, by Mr. Hainworth. On a Torques of Gold. On the ancient hospitals of Lincoln, by Dr. Cookson. In addition to these communications, various antiquities were at different times submitted to the inspection of the members; as several British Celts found at Bullington, by E. J. Willson, Esq.; two British urns found at Wold Newton, by the Rev. Dr. Oliver; many British and other antiquities found at Quarrington, by the Rev. Dr. Yerburgh; a scull from the Catacombs of Egypt, by Dr. Cookson, &c., &c.

the limits of the city. Local committees might assemble in each large town, to correspond with the general committee; and to them all papers and essays ought to be submitted for examination and approval, before they are forwarded to the general committee. I am persuaded that some such plan, if maturely digested, and the details conducted by a master mind, would be effectual to place Lincolnshire on a par with the most eminent topographical counties in England.

On this subject, you may perhaps think I have been too diffuse; but the error—if error it be—must be attributed to its true cause—an excess of antiquarian zeal. I shall proceed therefore, with your kind permission, to introduce my little Book to your notice, in the humble hope that it may have the good fortune to merit the patronage which you have bestowed upon it.

The ethnic poet advises,

> Quidquid præcipies, esto brevis: ut cito dicta
> Percipiant animi dociles, teneantque fideles.
> Hor. De Arte poet. 335.

There is so much sound sense in this maxim that it has never altered its character amidst all the fluctuations of states and nations, manners and customs, language and religion. The great and magnificent empire which was dignified by the existence of such a poet, as well as by its noble

acquirements in arts and arms, has passed away from the earth, but the accuracy of the precept remains unchanged. It has been said, and with some truth, that "a great book is a great evil;" and the adage is founded on the presumed dulness by which a bulky compilation is usually accompanied. It is only by paring off superfluities; by eschewing dry and uninteresting details; and condensing the spirit of his materials, that a topographical or antiquarian writer can hope to escape the contagious examples of dulness with which this leaden world abounds, and be able to entertain a rational hope of being read—at least by those who take an interest in such enquiries.

The same poet recommends the above process in his most felicitious manner, when he says,

> Quintilio si quid recitares, Corrige, sodes
> Hoc, aiebet, et hoc; melius te posse negares,
> Bis terque expertum frustra; delere jubebat,
> Et male tornatos incudi reddere versus.
>
> Ibid. 440.

And if the author be obstinate enough to persist in retaining his faults, the friendly mentor abandons his cause, and leaves him to the tender mercies of critics and reviewers.

You will easily perceive, my dear Sir, that my references to this inimitable poet are not without their object. And there may perhaps be a little—

a very little—selfishness in the application; for when was there ever an author without some slight tinge of vanity. My book is small, and I defend it on the authority of Horace; but it is probable the world may say that if it had been voluminous, I should have been at no loss for a precedent to justify it.

Perhaps the world may be right; but I am not without another reason—a reason which appears insuperable—for the brevity of the following pages. And that is, the impracticability of extending the design consistently with the terms of my undertaking. I never intended to write a complete history of these Monasteries; much less did I contemplate the impossible scheme of comprising it within the limits of a duodecimo; when in fact each monastery would have required a separate volume to contain all the particulars which might be collected respecting its ancient history, and the remains that have been left behind. But in such a case, what has been gained in bulk would have been attended with increased dulness; and if it had the good fortune to be read at all, the experiment would supersede the necessity of a soporific draught, and act as an opiate on the adventurous patient.

——— et rursus molli languore solutus,
Deposuitque caput, stratoque recondidit alto.
Ov. Met. xi. 10.

But, Sir, I am sanguine enough to predict that my little book will be read—and what is more—that it will be digested without any effects but those which are agreeable to the reader.

When an indifferent person hears a book named which professes to treat on the monastic institutions, he concludes that it must necessarily contain a dry detail of uninteresting facts, consisting chiefly of long latin Charters, interminable lists of names and dates, architectural descriptions of forgotten edifices, and tedious pedigrees of extinct families; and consequently adapted solely to the perusal of a professed antiquary. But if such an opinion should be formed of the present volume, I will venture to affirm that it will be found erroneous.

You will bear in mind that it professes to contain "the substance of certain Papers read before the Topographical Society." In the preparation of such Papers, to be submitted to a promiscuous audience, it is necessary to use the spirit of the materials only, condensed into a popular and interesting form, that they may contribute equally to the information of those who desire information, and to the amusement of those who assemble for amusement only. It will be unnecessary to add that this process has been observed in the present

instance, because every page of the book proclaims it; and I flatter myself it has been constructed in such a manner as to convey to the general reader entertainment as well as information.

In these times, when a great revival of the Roman Catholic system of christianity is contemplated, it may be accounted a delicate undertaking for a Protestant clergyman to write an Essay on the origin, the working, the abuses, and the ultimate dissolution of the monastic institutions; and I assure you, Sir, that I have not been insensible to the responsibility of the position in which I placed myself, by engaging in such a design. To escape the charge of bigotry on the one hand, and an affectation of liberality on the other, I have treated the subject strictly as a matter of history; and it will be found that no fact has been introduced but on the most unexceptionable authority, nor has any line of argument been adopted which will not bear the test of critical examination. I am persuaded, therefore, that I cannot be justly charged with being either an apologist or a partizan.

It is well known that the monks were called Regulars, because they lived under a Rule, which commanded them to abstain from certain carnal gratifications and indulgences; and they bound

themselves to the observance of this rule, by the most solemn vows. Now it is a well attested fact, that while many of the religious orders, both male and female, were true to their vows, there still were numerous exceptions; and monks and nuns were everywhere found, to whom the wholesome restraints of monastic discipline were irksome; and who did not hesitate to violate their sacred obligations. While on the other hand it is equally true that how flagrant soever these violations might be, they were greatly exaggerated by the commissioners appointed to visit the monasteries previously to the dissolution. I have been careful to keep these points prominently in view throughout the ensuing pages; and I trust it will be found that in the execution of my task I have neither exceeded the truth of the facts, nor ventured on a remark which cannot be borne out by the most ample and unquestionable evidence.

Under these circumstances, as the Committee of the Topographical Society expressed their conviction that my attempt had been successful, by deciding that the Papers should be published; and as the Society became extinct before the second annual Number of its Transactions appeared, I have been induced to believe that, with a few slight alterations in form and arrangement, they might

contribute to augment, in a trifling degree, the list of authentic records which are calculated to increase the knowledge of local history and antiquities in the county of Lincoln. And for this purpose I have ventured to commit the experiment to the judgment of the public. The division of the subject into chapters will, it is hoped be found useful, as well as its illustration by the addition of the notes; and it will be gratifying to know that by the issue of this unpretending little volume, I have not sacrificed any of the literary laurels which—I speak it with great humility—have been assigned to my former productions, by the almost unanimous consent of those who hold in their hands the current of public opinion—the wits and critics of the age.

I have the honour to be,

Dear Sir,

Your most obedient Servant,

GEO. OLIVER, D.D.

SCOPWICK VICARAGE,

March 31*st*, 1846.

AN

HISTORICAL ACCOUNT,

&c.

CHAPTER I.

Origin of Monachism.

The plan of the Monastic life was not original, for it had already been practised both by Jews and Heathen; and with the latter, in the school of Pythagoras, it had attained great celebrity.[1] The

[1] Iambl. c. xvii. The Essenian Jews practised Monachism. They lived together in sodalities, says Philo, eating and drinking at the same table. They had a common fund from which the expense of clothes and provisions for the whole community was furnished. This was the type of Christian Monachism; and the most famous rules of the order are but a modification of the Essenian institutes; although it is not improbable but the anchorites would find precedents of still greater antiquity; as Moses at Horeb; Elijah on Mount Carmel, from whence the Carmelite monks actually derive their patronymic; and the Christian hermit would cite, as a familiar example, John Baptist in the wilderness of Judea.

earliest account we have of its existence amongst Christians is about the year of our Lord 250; and the first ascetic was a youth of good family, of the name of Paul, of the country of Thebais, in Egypt. He fled to avoid the Decian persecution, and fixed his abode in a secret cave, where he avoided, as much as possible, all communication with mankind. His austerities, however, became known, and he was soon esteemed to be a person of singular piety, and a favourite of the Almighty.

About twenty years after his retirement, another young gentleman of the same province, called Anthony, was incited by emulation to follow his example. And retiring for that purpose into a desert place, he embraced the life of a hermit, and was followed by many other persons, who lived according to the same rule; and the practice became so popular as to be exalted into a work of supererogation. Penances and inflictions were added to the rigours of poverty and self-denial; and thus early the presumptuous doctrine of human merit became engrafted on the stock of pure and primeval Christianity.

It is remarkable how rapidly the innovations increased. Seclusion from the comforts of society was soon considered insufficient of itself to merit the divine approbation. Something must be superadded. What was that something? A thirst for distinction amongst the recluses themselves soon resolved the enquiry. It became a point of ambition who should invent and endure inflictions

the most painful, and penances the most severe;[2] and the ascetics emulated the character of the Indian Yogees.[3] As witness the burning couch of St. Francis; the conflict of St. Margaret with the deceiver of mankind; and the reputed feats of the fanatic, Simon Stylites.[4] Some scourged their

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[2] Some persevering anchorites are represented to have "sunk under the painful weight of crosses and chains; and their emaciated limbs were confined by collars, bracelets, gauntlets, and greaves of massy iron; others aspired to reduce themselves to the rude and miserable state in which the human brute is scarcely distinguished above his kindred animals; as witness the feats of a numerous sect of anchorites, who derived the name of Boskoi from their practice of grazing in the field with sheep and oxen." (Gibbon. Rom. Emp. vol. vi. p. 264.)

[3] The penances of these primitive saints is as nothing in comparison with the performances of the Yogees; because here considerable imposture might be practised, but with them there could be none;—striking hooks into the flesh and suspending the whole weight of the person from them—casting the naked body on a platform of sharp spikes, in the presence of numerous spectators, would not admit of deception. To which of these charlatans shall the palm be awarded—to the christian or the heathen ascetic—for so far as utility or merit is concerned they stand upon an equal footing? A lively picture of one of these primitive ascetics has been drawn by Sir Walter Scott, in his beautiful tale of the Talisman.

[4] This sanctified person is said to have attached himself by a ponderous chain to the summit of a column, which was successively raised from the height of nine feet to that of sixty feet from the ground; in which situation he braved equally the heat and cold of 30 summers and winters.

naked bodies with rods, and, like the priests of Baal, cut themselves with knives and lancets; each emulating a spirit of endurance beyond that of his cotemporary devotees. Others exposed themselves naked to the piercing stings of mosquitoes. And the most absurd fables were published to show that such self-inflicted torments were highly meritorious and acceptable to the deity.

The fruits of such examples were so abundantly prolific, that Anthony, who lived more than a century, had the gratification, if it were one, of seeing congregated in the desert and mountain of Nitria more than 5000 disciples.[5]

The system was attractive, although its profession included chastity,[6] obedience, and a life of

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[5] The system was improved by Pachomius in the fourth century, and he was soon able to number 50,000 persons who followed his rule. See Jerom, ad Eustat. Tom. 1, p. 146. Nay, so rapidly did fanaticism multiply its votaries, that the historian was enabled to say, quanti populi habentur in urbibus, tanta pœne habentur in desertis multitudines monachorum. (Rufin. c. 7. in vit. Patrum. p. 461.) Pachomius is frequently reputed to be the *founder* of the cenobitic plan. See his Institutes in Rufinus ut supra; most of them founded on the Pythagorean silence, and the Essenian seclusion and want of sociality.

[6] So strict were the ordinances respecting the regulation of the passions that the sixth general Council, (Can. 47.) prohibited all intercourse between the sexes; and the Nicene Council (Can. 20.) forbad the existence of communities of men and women under the same roof.

poverty and mortification.[7] But to qualify these privations, it combined, in its improved state, popularity and influence in this world,[8] with a confident expectation of reward in the next;[9] and what mortal can resist such absorbing incitements? It soon found its way into this island, and its professors became as devout and self-enduring as in any other country.

The introduction of Christianity into Britain is placed by some writers at a very early period after the crucifixion of its author; and there are reasons for supposing that it was the work of St. Paul himself, under the sanction of the family of Caractacus.[10] It was certainly known here about that period, for a British lady, named Claudia Rufina, is mentioned in the Epistle of St. Paul to

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[7] The ancient monks were divided into three classes. 1. The *solitary*, who were simply hermits, and lived a solitary life in detached lama or cells. 2. The *Cenobites*, as their name imports, (from κοινος common, and βίος life,) lived in communities. 3. The *Sarabaites*, who were little better than strolling beggars.

[8] I am afraid Monachism had received a taint of impurity even in these early times. St. Augustine (de Op. Monach. c. 12.) accuses the monks of serving their bellies rather than God; and he terms them hypocrites. (Serm. domin. in monte.) Hilary (in Psal. 52.) also accuses them of being unprofitable to the service of religion; and St. Bernard adds (in Cantic. Hieron. ad Eust.) they pretend to serve Christ, but really serve antichrist.

[9] Chrysos. Tom. 1. b. 1.

[10] Stillingfleet. Orig. Brit. c. 1.

Timothy.[11] Camden and others[12] assert that it was introduced by Joseph of Arimathea,[13] in the time of Suetonius, and preached by Simon Zelotes[14] in the time of Agricola; and several authors, in defence of the antiquity of the British Church, have shown much ingenuity in their attempts to prove that it was established here by other of the Apostles.[15]

Christianity made very little progress, however, for many years subsequently to their time; and

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[11] 2 Tim. iv. 21. Martial. iv. 13.

[12] Cur. Dis. vol. 11. p. 161. Speed. Brit. p. 202. Gent. York. p. 195.

[13] A manuscript in the British Museum informs us that it was introduced by Joseph who begged the body of Christ. This document says, that in the 31st year after the crucifixion, 12 disciples of St. Philip the Apostle, of whom Joseph was the head, came into this island and preached christianity to the king. Their mission being successful, they obtained from him twelve hides of land at Glastonbury, whereon they erected the first British Church.

[14] Stukely says that Simon Zelotes, one of our Saviour's Apostles, preached in Britain, wrought miracles, and was martyred and buried there. And he cites the testimony of Nicephorus Dorotheus, the Greek Monologies, wherein he is said to have been crucified and buried in Britain. (Itin. Cur. vol. 1. p. 155 n.)

[15] See Stillingfleet. Orig. Brit. c. 1. Hakewill. Cur. Disc. vol. 11. p. 170. An old Manuscript in the Vatican library reports, that Lazarus, Mary Magdalen, and others, being banished from Jerusalem, were exposed to the mercy of the winds and waves in a vessel without tackling, and being driven to Gaul, from thence passed over into Britain. See Camden ut supra.

idolatry was not extirpated when the Abbey of Bardney was built, which event occurred very soon after this province had been converted by the exertions of Paulinus. This active missionary having persuaded Blecca, the governor of Lincoln Castle, to embrace the gospel, he built a stone church in the vicinity, which is said to have been beautifully decorated and enriched; and afterwards, in the presence of Edwin, King of Northumbria, baptized a numerous assembly of converts in the river Trent, at Torksey. The heathen temples were now converted into Christian Churches, and dedicated to a Christian saint instead of a Pagan deity;[16] and there are instances on record where the temples contained two altars, one for the use of the Christians, and the other for the unconverted natives, who were permitted to assemble there, and offer their sacrifices to the Saxon triad Woden-Thor-Frea.[17]

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[16] The large open temples of the Britons were frequently removed to give place to a christian church; which excited the unappeasable indignation of the people, who appear to have been shocked at the sacrilege. Specimens of this indignation may be found in the Bardic writings. Thus, Merddin complains to Taliesin, amongst other things, of the profanation committed by a removal of the *grey stones*, for which a terrible retribution is threatened. (Welch Arch. vol. 1. p. 48.) And in another poem, (Ibid. p. 74.) this retribution is explained to mean, the absolute destruction of the world; which the fanatical bards expected would certainly take place, as the punishment of such a horrible desecration.

[17] Bede. l. ii. e 15.

CHAPTER II.

Design of Monachism.

The ostensible design of Monachism was to imitate on earth the blessed employment of the saints in heaven, who rest not day or night in singing the praises of their Redeemer.[1] It may be unnecessary to add that this strict discipline was frequently dispensed with, although the Monastic rule was very severe.[2]

Many Monasteries existed in Britain before the Norman conquest, but they were not governed by any uniform system of discipline, for the rule of

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[1] Rev. iv. 8.

[2] Thus under an inflexible superior, flagellation was inflicted for very trifling offences; (Cod. Reg. ii. 74.) imprisonment to a solitary cell with an inadequate supply of food was a common penalty; and as if these were not sufficiently exemplary, the horrible and revolting *vade in pace* was resorted to, or in other words, the culprit was immured in a wall or stone cell, and left to perish by famine or suffocation. But we may readily believe that these extreme punishments would more frequently proceed from private malice or revenge, than a strict severity of discipline. Sir Walter Scott has some impressive lines on this subject in his poem of Marmion. (Canto ii.)

St. Benedict was only introduced in the ninth century, [3] and it made very little progress until the Normans had permanently established themselves. The Monks were denominated Regulars, because they were under the guidance and discipline of a prescribed rule. They lived in communities, and were obliged to observe the statutes of the order they professed. To uphold a system which was considered so highly meritorious, and deserving of the divine approbation, pious and well-intentioned men were induced to devote a portion of their substance to such a holy purpose from a principle of zeal for the honour of God and the propagation of christianity, although it proceeded from a belief that expensive masses had the power of expiating sins, and redeeming souls from purgatory. There can be no doubt however, but it was the offspring of religious zeal; and if it sometimes canonized bad men, it also tended to perpetuate the memory of those who had died surrounded with a train of blooming virtues. [4]

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[3] Some say, however, that this rule was introduced into England by Austin the Monk, A.D. 596; (Dugd. Mon. vol. i. p. 12.) others that St. Wilfrid brought it in about the year 666; (Dec. Script. col. 2232.) and a few are of opinion that it was not observed till the Conquest. (Hickes. Dissert. Ep. p. 67. Nice. Hist. Libr. p. 143.)

[4] I stop not here to enquire into the object and tendency of those virtues; nor does it make a single shade of difference in the estimate. They were the virtues of the times, and included faith, piety, devotion, self-denial,

It was from this cause, in the first instance, that the Norman nobility built so many Churches and Monasteries. [5] It is evident that a belief was prevalent in those times, that such works would entitle the munificent founders to a claim for reward in another world. [6] This belief increased the num-

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which are virtues of all times; virtues which were commended by the Author of our religion, and consequently entitled to the approbation of his disciples.

[5] Sharon Turner says, "if the Norman Conquest had not occurred, religion would have expired in England, or have sunk to that combination of ceremonies and sensualities which the paganism of antiquity had displayed in its declining state. The common clergy would have secularized into laity, as they were doing when Lanfranc saved religion from its shipwreck. Monasteries therefore grew out of the necessities of the day and were efficacious of the national melioration till better agents arose." (Hist. Eng. vol. v. p. 82.)

[6] A curious instance of this belief occurred in our own neighbourhood. Jerome Bertie, the ancestor of the late Duke of Ancaster, being at church on a certain Sunday in Lent, was surprised to hear the preacher declaim against a murder which was said to have been committed by his grandfather. Stung by the imputation, he took the law into his own hands—drew his sword, and killed the preacher on the spot. The matter being reported to the Archbishop, Bertie was excommunicated. As was usual in those times, he went to Rome to solicit absolution; which the Pope granted him on condition that he should appear publicly in the monastery at Canterbury, and there ask pardon of the Archbishop and the Monks. He was further enjoined to build a church there; which, says the Chronicles, much impaired his fortune upon earth, but by it he obtained a greater in heaven, for he saved his soul.

ber of religious edifices amazingly during the reign of the first Norman Kings, [7] and the several orders of Monks established a rivalry which stimulated their wealthy supporters to vie with each other in the number and splendour of their respective institutions. But it is painful to reflect that an increase of wealth soon induced a relaxation of discipline; [8] and the monasteries, instead of being the consecrated abode of piety and peace and every resplendent virtue, were found to nurture intemperance, [9] and to encourage factions and quarrels among their inmates; and there existed, as we shall presently see, ambition amongst their

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[7] The duty of building churches and monasteries was frequently imposed on the wealthy as a penance for sin; for it had been ordained by the council of Enham, A.D. 1011, that all fines for sins committed, should be expended in the repairs of churches, providing for the maintenance of the minister, or the purchase of vestments, or other necessary appendages to the rites of worship.

[8] Some monks however were exceedingly rigid in their renunciation of the world. Thus we are told of a certain Abbot who refused to assist his friend in getting his ox out of a quagmire, for fear of incurring the sin of meddling with worldly things; (Marul. l. v. c. 9.) and a Monk would not discover a thief who had stolen a horse, because it would lead him to speak of secular matters. (Tit. 80. sec. 4.)

[9] The Monk, in the time of Chaucer, though only the superior of a cell, had all the pride and luxury of an Abbot. His sleeves were purpled with the finest fur; his hood was fastened with a curious gold pin, a love-knot in the greater end (though jewellery was forbidden

rulers, with envy and animosity amongst the brethren; and every worldly vice [10] in all these establishments, ranged free and uncontrolled. [11]

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in the monastic rule,) his boots were supple, and his horse highly bred and fed. Epicurism was legibly written on his bald head and face, shining like glass. In a word, "he was a lord full fat, and in good point."

[10] Conc. Tom iii. con delect. Card. p. 822. Cardinal Pole was of opinion that "many of the Monks and Friars were so vile as to be a disgrace to the seculars. As for the conventual orders, it would benefit religion if they were all abolished."

[11] The first Paper on this subject which was read before the Topographical Society at Lincoln ended here; but I regret to add that it is probable some omissions may have occurred; for the MS. deposited with the society, has unfortunately been mislaid; and I am in possession only of a few detached memoranda on loose scraps of paper, which contain but a very imperfect outline of my Essay on the origin of Monachism.

CHAPTER III.

Monkish Employments.

While viewing the system of Monachism, we are apt to indulge, from the record of the wealth of these unworldly establishments, bright visions of splendor and gorgeous display.[1] It is described as being

> "Like the bee in summer's prime
> Sucking the marigold and thyme;
> Which from flower to flower doth glide
> Sweetly by the river side."

But if we look more closely into its details, I am afraid we shall find these magnificent edifices the

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[1] A remarkable instance of this is related by Stevens, (vol. 1. p. 442, cited by Tanner ii.) One of the Kings of the Heptarchy gave 2640 pounds weight of silver to make a chapel at Glastonbury; 264 pounds weight of gold for the altar; the chalice and paten had 10 pounds of gold; the censer 9 pounds; the candlesticks 12 pounds of silver; in the covers of the book of the Gospels 20 pounds of gold; the vessels for the altar 17 pounds of gold; the basins 8 pounds of gold; the vessel for the holy water 20 pounds of silver; the images of our Lord, St. Mary, and the twelve Apostles 175 pounds of silver and 38 pounds of gold. The altar and priestly vestments were all interwoven with gold and precious stones.

abode of human passion and human frailty;[2] and, the gaudy prospect fades gradually away, till we cease to wonder at the dissolution of the system, however we may regret the dilapidation of the edifices where it was practised.

The architecture of the monasteries was rich, light, and effective. They had lofty pillars supporting pointed arches; and windows mullioned with stone, and lighted by glass gorgeously painted, and stained with transparent colours,[3] depicting the history of Christ, and the lives of saints and martyrs.[4] Some of them were furnished with spires

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[2] Grostete, bishop of Lincoln, said of the cloistered persons of his time, especially of the Friar, that "he was a dead body come out of the sepulchre, clothed in funeral garments, and living among men, agitated by the devil. It was a corpse, because it was dead in soul, though living in bodily life. The corporeal frame ought to possess a vitality derived from the spiritual soul. The Monks were hypocrites using religion to deceive the church."

[3] The silver light so pale and faint
Showed many a prophet and many a saint,
Whose image on the glass was dyed;
Full in the midst, his cross of red
Triumphant Michael brandished,
And trampled the Apostate's pride,
The moonbeam kissed the holy pane,
And threw on the pavement a bloody stain.
SIR WALTER SCOTT.

[4] "Each of the compartments ordinarily contain one or more figures of patriarch, prophet, saint, king, warrior, founder, or benefactor, occupying frequently a sumptuous niche, whose rich canopy filled out the space above,

and battlements; and they possessed cloisters, dormitories, cells, a refectory, and a chapel. They had also capacious vaults for wine, ale,[5] and other domestic stores, and dungeons for prisoners.

The rules of Monachism were very stringent.

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while in that below were seen the armorial bearings either of the individual so depicted, or of some other of note; the whole being there circumscribed by a continued border of roses, oak or vine leaves, fleur-de-lis, or other objects. A repetition of the same general features prevailed throughout the remaining lower compartments; and the head of the window was then decorated, according to the forms produced by its ramifications; with sometimes, similar devices of figures, grotesques, diapers of foliage, or occasionally with the beautifully flowing vine branch, on a ruby or other ground."—(Graphic Illustrator p. 10.)

[5] Great quantities of ale were consumed by the religious houses—in the practise of hospitality, it is to be presumed. Fifteen hundred quarters of malt was the annual allowance in the priory of Norwich; and Ingulphus laments, amongst other losses sustained during the fire at Croyland Abbey in the 11th century, "the cellar and the casks full of ale therein." And at a much earlier period we find the following statement in the Saxon chronicle. (Ingram. p. 93.) "A.D. 852. About this time, Abbot Ceolred of Medhamsted (Peterborough,) with the concurrence of the Monks, let to hand the land of Sempringham to Wulfred, with the provision that after his demise, the said land should revert to the monastery; that Wulfred should give the land of Sleaford to Medhamsted, and should send, each year, into the monastery 60 loads of wood, 12 loads of coals, 6 loads of peat, 2 *tuns of fine ale*, 2 neats carcases, 600 loaves, 10 *kilderkins of Welch ale*, 1 horse also each year, with 30 shillings, and 1 night's entertainment."

The minutiæ would be out of place in a short Paper before a popular auditory; but it may be useful to mention a few of the broader features of the system, because it will tend to show that the devotion was mechanical, and did not commonly penetrate to the heart.[6] The Monks rose every day at the same hour, and the routine of prayer was prescribed by authority.[7] At a given time they adjourned to labour in the garden[8] or field,

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[6] It was ordained ut studio orationis major præstetur occasio, volumus quod singulis diebus à dicto completorio, fratres omnes præter infirmos ac forenses et eis servientes, infra spatium comprehendens curiarum sevocatarum, (aut quid simile) claustrum, librarium, dormitorium, *et secretæ naturalitatis locum*, usque ad primum signum diei sequentis se recolligant et includent. (MS. Bodl. 1882. p. 47. b.)

[7] A canon of Elfric, Archbishop of Canterbury, regulated the tide songs that were to be sung, according to the hours of the day; viz., the Ught song, early in the morning; the Prime song, at 7 o'clock; the Mid-day song, at twelve o'clock; the None song, at 3 o'clock; the Night song, at 9, and the Midnight service at 12. In conformity with this latter custom it is usual in some places, on Christmas Eve at the same hour, to commence a peal upon the bells. "This ringing," says Peck, (Desid, Cur. p. 227.) "shows that in these early times, on Christmas-day all the kingdom rose to nocturns. As courtiers congratulate kings on their birthdays, they then thought it a piece of religion to pay their duty to the king of kings on his."

[8] The Monks were fond of horticulture; and every house had a spacious garden attached to it, which was planted with avenues of lilacs, laburnums, yews, barberries, and junipers; and contained shrubs and ever-

and thence back to the cloister or choir, the refectory or the dormitory;[9] and the monotony of their lives must have produced a monotony of feeling which would destroy the existence of spiritual devotion.[10]

The religious services were, however, diversified by many secular employments.[11] They were

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greens of great beauty and variety. They were also ornamented with covered walks, arbours, and small mounds, "writhen about with degrees like cokil shelles," as Leland expresses it.

And for to keepen out wel the sunne,
The croppes were so thicke irunne,
That every braunche in other knitte,
And full of grene sitte,
That sunne might there noue descend,
Lest the tender grasses shend.
(The Romaunt of the Rose.)

[9] It may be useful to state the rule observed at Tupholme during the summer season. "From Chapter after prime, work. After Tierce was the great Mass, immediately followed by the Sext; then reading, and refection. After this the Monks were allowed to sleep till Nones; they followed the Vespers; after which they read till the collation."

[10] This was set forth in Monkish verse, beginning,

Omnem horam occupabis
Hymnis, psalmis; et amabis
Tenere silentium.
Super hoc orationem
Diliges et lectionem,
Nutricem claustralium, &c.

[11] "The dull monotony of a religious life," says a writer in the North British Review, "the Monks pleasantly variegated by exhilarating sports, and the con-

expert agriculturists,[12] and by persevering indus-

temporary literature is rich in the glowing descriptions of their skill. On rising at the matin bell, the Monk, after his orisons were said, would, if of a placid disposition, take his rod, and on the bank of the river (Witham) he could with great benefit, pass the forenoon. But if of a more energetic disposition, his hounds and his nets would do effectual execution upon the game of the monastic preserves. On the Monk's return, he would shrive any unfortunate victim who was ignorant of the law and susceptible of flattery, and with an appetite sharpened by his forenoon's exercise, he would sit down to the plentiful repast which his hunting or fishing had catered. They threw a pleasant air, even over the gloom of devotion; and in their religious duties they were unable to restrain their jokes. This having apparently scandalized the vulgar, certain rules were enacted; and by the Constitutiones Lincolnienses they were directed to enter the place of worship, not with insolent looks, but decently and in order; and were to be guilty of no laughing or of attempting the perpetration of any base jokes."

[12] To the monastic orders in general mankind were much indebted for the improvements in agriculture which conferred such abundant blessings on the people of England in these early ages. Barren and useless lands were converted into prolific fields and rich pastures by drainage and tillage; most frequently by the hands of the monks themselves, who were ever the first to set an example of practical industry and patient toil. (See Bede, Eccl. Hist. l. ii. c. 2. Thomasin. Discip. l.'Eglise. Tom. iii. p. 1090, Mabell. Etud. Monast. Tom. i. p. 116.) They were not however free from superstition even in the management of their lands. Weever (Fun. Mon. p. 724.) says, that the monks used "certain wax candles, which ever and onely they used to light in wheat seeding; these they likewise carried about their wheat grounds,

try,[13] converted the grounds adjoining to their houses into a rich and prolific tract,[14] which distinguished them from the estates of the neighbouring proprietors;[15] with whom war and plunder were more cultivated than their hereditary patrimony. An amusement which the Monks very much enjoyed was found in an attendance at the periodical fairs[16] of Lincoln

believing verily that hereby neither darnall, tares, nor any other noisome weeds would grow that yeare amongst the new corne."

[13] Some of the Fathers say that it was a law in Egypt amongst the primitive monks—"whoso will not labour, shall not eat." (Hierom. in vit. Hilar. Aug. ad fratres in Erem. Serm. i.)

[14] Although these grounds were originally waste and sterile—a desert or a marsh—before the monks had possession. Thus, Temple Breur, was built on the barren heath; Catley, Haverholme, and Kyme, in a flooded fen; Epworth Priory in a wood; Swineshead Abbey "amongst the willows in a marsh;" and Grimsby Abbey stood in a swamp. At Croyland "all the edifices stood upon piles driven into the bog, and instead of a high and dry hill, there was nothing but a dead wet flat; and unless in those parts where the monastery and the trees stood, the ground was so rotten and boggy that a pole might be thrust down thirty feet deep. Next to the church was a grove of alders, but there was nothing else round about but water and bogs, and the reeds that grow in the water." (Camp of Refuge, vol. i. p. 148.)

[15] During the fine days of harvest, mass was frequently celebrated very early in the morning, that the monks might be at liberty to devote their time more uninterruptedly to the labors of the field.

[16] These fairs were held under the authority of royal charters, and yielded a considerable profit to the lord of the soil, who had a court of *pie poudre*, where he admin-

and Boston;[17] where they were in the habit of recruiting their domestic stores of wine, cloth, groceries, &c.; and they ventured to traffic in articles of general request amongst their richer neighbours; such as broad cloths, velvets, tissues of gold and silver, embroidered garments, tapestries, and costly trinkets decorated with gems and precious stones, with other bijouterie; which were usually disposed of at a considerable profit.[18]

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istered justice in all matters of dispute. (Stat. 17. Edw. I.) The nobility, &c., laid up their year's provisions and other necessaries at the annual fairs, where every article of consumption was retailed by the merchants themselves. Some notion may be formed of the importance of these fairs from the jury of the Hundred having found (2 Edward I.) that twenty-seven men had suffered damage to the amount of £20, from being compelled by Walter Shelfhanger, the sheriff of Lincoln, nnder a false writ, to go from Lincoln to London at the feast of St. John the Baptist, whereby they were deprived of the advantage of attending the fair at Boston. The business of these fairs was conducted principally on stalls, for which a duty was paid to the King, or to the Lord who had an assignment of them by charter. (Mad. Exch. p. 530.)

[17] It appears by the Compotus of Bolton Abbey that the Canons of Bolton were in the habit of attending Boston fair, to lay in a supply of clothing and other articles. And, says Mr. Whitaker, in his history of Craven, they were so "good natured and accommodating, that when they resorted to St Botolph's fair, they purchased articles of dress of a superior quality, such as could not be had at home for the gentlemen, and even for the ladies of Craven."

[18] The merchandize was usually so valuable, that, at

The life of a Monk would have been exceedingly dull, if he had not contrived to diversify it by recreation.[19] It is true, his relaxations were sometimes not strictly in accordance with his profession.* But this did not deter him from their practise, even though it was occasionally extended to pleasures that were unlawful; which became, in the end, a

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the conflagration of Boston, during the fair of 1400, it is said that "veins of melted gold and silver, mixed in in one common current, ran floating down the streets." (Rot. Parl. 18 Edw. I. n. 177.)

[19] His duties are enumerated in Bodl. MS. Archiv. Selden, b. 52. "To pray, groan, and weep for his faults; to subdue his flesh; to watch and abstain from pleasures; to bridle his tongue, and close his ears to vanity; to guard his eyes, and keep his feet from wandering; to labour with his hands, and rejoice his heart by the praises of God; to bow down with bare head and bended knees before the crucifix; to obey his superiors, and never contradict them; to comfort the sick brethren; to renounce the world and fix his thoughts solely on heaven; not to be subdued by the temptations of satan, but to conduct himself on all occasions with prudence."

* At Horncastle, where the sports of the people were often directed by the Abbot of Kirkstead, there remained at the beginning of the last century, according to Stukeley, (Itin. Cur. p. 29.) "A maypole hill where probably stood an Hermes in Roman times. The boys annually keep up the festival of the Floralia or May-day, making a procession to this hill with May gads, as they call them, in their hands. This is a white willow wand, the bark peeled off, tied round with cowslips, a Thyrsus of the Bacchanals; at night they have a bonfire, and other merriment, which is really a sacrifice or religious festival."

formidable article of accusation against the religious orders.[20] There is no question but the inmates of our monasteries practised bibliomancy,[21] and encouraged the visits of wandering minstrels,[22] jocu-

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[20] Nor were the clergy exempt from the same complaints. They were enjoined not to frequent taverns, public spectacles, or the cells of strumpets; not to visit nuns; nor play at dice or improper games; not to have concubines, &c. (Wilkins. Conc. vol. ii. p. 290.) In 1309 they were prohibited from the use of arms; and from associating with thieves and robbers for the purpose of plunder. (Ibid. p. 415.) The monks celebrated midsummer by Dæmonium ludos et nefandas saltationes. (Du Cange. v. Caraula.)

[21] As may be proved by many well attested instances. In the original Paper read at Lincoln, I related an amusing anecdote of this propensity; but the MS. deposited with the Topographical Society has been lost, and as I have no copy of it, I am constrained to omit the anecdote, although it was founded on undoubted authority. It appears that Bibliomancy was practised by the followers of Mr. Wesley, as may be seen from the following passages in his Journals. They have, says he, "a peculiar esteem for lots to decide points of importance—as the only way of setting aside their own will, and clearly knowing what is the will of God." (2 Journal. p. 81.) Again, "I am come to know assuredly, that where reason fails, God will direct our paths by lot," (Ibid. p. 7. 8.) "I desired my master to answer for me, and opened his Book," (Ibid. p. 31, 33.) I have reason to believe, however, that the Wesleyans have abandoned this superstition.

[22] It is said of William Longchamp, bishop of Ely, the Pope's legate and a great favourite of Rich. I., that he kept a number of poets in his pay, to make songs and poems in his praise; and also that with great gifts

lators and gleemen,[23] who entertained them[24] with music,[25] legerdemain, poetry, and jests.[26]

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he allured many of the best minstrels from the Continent, to sing those songs in the public streets of the principal cities in England." (Benedict. Abbas, sub an. 1190, cited by Strutt, Sports. B. iii. c. 3. s. 18.)

[23] Warton's Engl. Poet, vol. iii. p. 324.

[24] In a book of royal accounts taken in the reign of Edw. III., now in the British Museum, (Cott. Nero. C. viii. 277,) we find the following entry:—Facienti ministralsiam suam coram imagine Beatæ Mariæ in Veltam, rege presente 5 sol.

[25] "We have introduced," says Erasmus, "into the churches a certain elaborate theatrical species of music, accompanied with a tumultuous diversity of voices. All is full of trumpets, cornets, pipes, fiddles, and singing. We come to church as to a playhouse; and for this purpose ample salaries are expended on organists and societies of boys, whose whole time is wasted in learning to sing. Not to mention the great revenues which the church squanders away on the stipends of singing men, who are commonly great drunkards, buffoons, and chosen from the lowest of the people. These fooleries are so agreeable to the monks, &c. See the whole passage in Warton's Sir. T. Pope. 427, cited by Fosbroke Monach. c. 52.

[26] These arts were frequently performed by women. It is also a curious fact that the mimics sometimes assumed the part and bearing of ecclesiastics. An anecdote illustrative of this resemblance is related in the history of Oxfordshire. Two itinerant priests coming, towards night, to a house of the Benedictines near Oxford, gained admittance on the supposition that they were mimics or minstrels. But the Sacrist, and others of his brethren, disappointed in the expectation they had formed of being entertained with mirthful performances

On appointed days—the sabbath being generally set apart for this purpose—mystery plays[27] on scripture subjects[28] were performed in the monasteries;[29] which, for that purpose, were converted

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and finding them to be nothing more than two indigent ecclesiastics, beat them and turned them out of the monastery. (Strut. Sports. B. iii. c. 3. s. 19.)

[27] Mystery plays were very popular in the city of Lincoln; and the Gentleman's Magazine (vol. liv. p. 103.) records the particulars of the *properties* of these amusements as used at Lincoln during the Mayorlty of Richard Carter. The play appears to have been acted in Broadgate, and was the history of Tobit. "*Lying at Mr. Norton's house.* Hellmouth with a nether chap. A prison with a covering. Sarah's chamber. *Remaining in St. Swithin's church.* A great idol, with a club. A tomb with a covering. The cyty of Jerusalem, with towers and pinnacles. The cyty of Nineveh. The King's palace of Nineveh. Old Tobye's house. The Israelite's house, and the neighbour's house. The King's palace at Laches. A firmament, with a fiery cloud and a double cloud, in the custody of Tho. Fulbeck, Alderman."

[28] It appears from the Northumberland Household Book, 1512, that the monks performed Mystery Plays at Christmas and Easter, under the direction of an officer called the Master of the Revels. Bishop Percy relates several particulars of the sums payable to the monks and clergy for these performances, which were frequently enacted in the halls of the nobility for the entertainment of their guests. It appears to have been the duty of the chaplain, not only to write sermons, but to compose plays.

[29] Before the suppression of the Monasteries the Grey Friars of Coventry were particularly celebrated for their exhibitions on Corpus Christi day; their pageants being

into theatres;[30] and being frequented by the country people as places of amusement,[31] money was

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acted with mighty state and reverence by the friars of this house, had theatres for the several scenes, very large and high, placed upon wheels, and drawn to all the eminent parts of the city, for the better advantage of spectators. (Dugdale. p. 110.)

[30] Temporary scaffolds, three stories high were erected for the performers; on the uppermost stage of which, under a superb canopy to represent heaven, was placed the deity and his attendant angels; the next in gradation was occupied by saints and holy men who had been canonized by the church; and the lowest stage by mortals who were still in their probation. In the floor beneath was a hole to represent hell. It was a dark cavern, occasionally illuminated by fire and flames issuing from an enormous mouth, and accompanied by the shrieks of souls in torment. It is remarkable that this mouth, which represented hell, was sometimes placed amidst rivers of ice; and extreme cold was substituted for heat, as a medium of torment. Thus in a Black Letter Book without date, in the possession of the late Mr. Douce, is the following passage:—"And the sayde beest, (with his enormous mouth,) was upon a ponde *full of strong ysse;* the which beest devoured the soules within his wombe in such manere that they became as unto nothynge by the tormentes that they suffered. Afterwarde he put them out of his wombe within the yse of the sayd ponde, &c."

[31] The intelligent Author of "Recollections in the Peninsula," upon the performance of religious subjects at Lisbon, observes, "the scenic representations of Gospel history, which on high fasts and festivals are to be met with in almost all the churches of the Peninsula, however ridiculous they may appear, are not without their use; for to them (most inadequate, I admit, to

collected under colour of paying the expences.[32] They had also their festivals of the saints;[33] of the lord of misrule;[34] of the boy bishop;[35] the feast of

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their purpose,) the poorer classes are, nevertheless, indebted for much of the instruction they receive, concerning the life and miracles of the divine founder of our blessed faith." See much more of this in Sharpe's Coventry Mysteries.

[32] In 1542, Bishop Bonner issued a proclamation to the clergy, prohibiting all manner of common plays, games, interludes, to be played, set forth, or declared, *within their churches, chapels, &c.*.

[33] Bishop Hall, in his Triumphs of Rome, alludes as follows to these convivial festivals. "What should I speak of our merry Wakes and May Games and Christmas Triumphs, which you have once seen here, and may see still in those under the Roman dition; in all which put together, you may well say no Greek can be merrier than they." Mr. Strutt gives the following quotation from an old MS. legend of John the Baptist. "And ye shal understond and know how the Evyns were furst found in old time. In the begynning of holy Chirche with candellys brennyns, and wold wake and coome with light toward to the Chirche in their devocions; and after they fell to lecherie and songs, daunces, harping, piping, and also to glottony and sinne, and so turned the holinesse to cursydnesse; wherfor holy faders ordenned the pepul to leve that waking and to fast the Evyn. But it is called Vigilia, that is waking in English; and it is called Evyn, for at Evyn they were wont to come to Chirche." See Sir Henry Ellis's Notes to Brand's Antiquities; art. Country wakes.

[34] The office for this mummery was strongly condemned by our reformers. "Polydor Virgil affirmes in expresse tearmes that our Christmas Lords of Misrule, which custom, saith he, is chiefly observed in England,

fools;[36] of the ass;[37] the processions of Corpus

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together with dancing, masques, mummeries, stage plays, and such other disorders now in use with christians, were derived from these Roman Saturnalia and Bacchanalian festivals; which, concludes he, should cause all pious christians eternally to abominate them." (Prynne. Histrio Mastix. p. 757.)

[35] The boy bishop was an ancient ceremony and has even been traced to the time of the Saxons. Warton says, (Hist. Eng. Poet. vol. iii. p. 325.) "At the Constantinopolitan Synod, anno 867, at which were present 373 bishops, it was found to be a solemn custom in the courts of princes, on certain stated days, to dress some layman in the episcopal apparel, who should exactly personate a bishop, both in his tonsure and ornaments. This scandal to the clergy was anathematised. But ecclesiastical synods and censures have often proved too weak to suppress popular spectacles, which take deep root in the public manners, and are only concealed for awhile, to spring up afresh with new vigour."

[36] At this festival "the priests and clergy create an archbishop, or a bishop, or a pope of fools, and so call him. Putting on faces of monsters, in the time of his celebrating the divine office, or clothed like women or minstrels, they begin dances, sing abominable songs, eat rich puddings on the corner of the altar, near where mass is celebrating, play at dice thereon, incense it with a fetid smoke of burnt old shoes, and run leaping about over all the church." (Turner's Hist. Eng. vol. v. p. 104.)

[37] "The first evening of this feast, after vespers, the grand chanter, headed the jolly band into the streets, preceded by an enormous lantern. A vast theatre was prepared for their reception before the church, where they performed not the most decent interludes. The singing and dancing were concluded by throwing a pail of water on the head of the grand chanter. They then

Christi;[38] church ales,[39] &c. They were allowed

returned to the church, to begin the morning office; and on that occasion, several received on their naked bodies, a number of pails of water. At the respective divisions of the service, great care was taken to supply the Ass with drink and provender. In the middle of it, a signal was given by an Anthem, *Conductos ad ludos*, &c., and the Ass was conducted into the nave of the church, where the people mixed with the clergy, danced round him, and strove to imitate his braying. When the dancing was over, the Ass was brought again into the choir, where the clergy terminated the festival. (Ibid. p. 106.)

[38] "On Trinity sunday there was usually a grand procession, and especially on Corpus Christi day, instituted by Urban IV., and great pardons granted upon it. All the trades in the different places where they were held, with banners and candles, and a shrine containing the pix, or crystal box enclosing the host, went in procession, and were joined by the Convent, who worshipped it, and had a service in the choir." (Fosbroke Mon. c. 5.)

[39] "In certaine townes where dronken Bacchus beares swaie, against Christmas and Easter, Whitsundaie, or some other tyme, the Churchwardens of every parishe, with the consent of the whole parishe, provide half a score or twenty quarters of malte, whereof some they buy of the churche stocke, and some is given them of the parishioners themselves, every one conferring somewhat, according to his abilitie; whiche mault being made into very strong ale or bere, is sette to sale, either in the church or some other place assigned to that purpose. Then when this is set abroche, well is he that can get the soonest to it, and spend the most at it." (Stubbs. Anatomie of Abuses. p. 95.) It appears that in the County of Dorset, the Church Ales were kept upon the sabbath day, which was spent in bull and bear baitings, bowlings, dicing, dancings, drunkenness, and whoredom. See Sir H. Ellis's Notes to Brand. Art. Whitsuntide.

occasionally to amuse themselves by dancing;[40] and practised many other recreations under the plea of devotion.[41]

Some of the Monks employed their leisure time in writing out copies of the charters, ordinances, and other muniments for the monastic library; and their caligraphy is beautifully executed. They were all taught the art of writing, but there was a particular officer in most of the greater monasteries, called Antiquarius, who was appointed to this duty alone.[42] In a word, the employment of the religious orders was as diversified as that of secular men; and it is to be feared that the number of monasteries which adhered strictly to their rule, bore a very small proportion to those whose discipline was lax and ineffective.

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[40] This was sometimes continued till midnight; and we are told (Angl. Sacr. i. 19) that when Aldhelm returned from abroad, he was received with dancing; which was also encouraged by many bishops and friars. (Decem. Script. 678) Du Cange, (v. Crontochium.) seems to intimate that the dormitories and other private places in the monasteries were open to buffoons and prostitutes.

[41] An old author quoted by Strutt (Sports. B. iv. c. 3. s. 28.) says, "the people assembled on the vigil, or evening preceding the saint's day, and came to church iu their devocion, with candellys burnyng; and afterwards fell into uncleanness and sin."

[42] Astle's Writing, p. 192. The pen, however, was an instrument which they all had, according to that verse.

Cingula simplicia, tabulas, et pecten acumque
Fila, stilum, cartas, encaustum pennaculumque.

CHAPTER IV.

Bardney Abbey.

The river Witham was accounted a sacred stream [1] by our idolatrous predecessors in this locality; [2] and it appears to have retained its

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[1] There is no doubt in my mind but the ancient Britons paid divine honours to the Grant-avon, or dividing stream, subsequently denominated the Witham; und the Drake stone at Anwick was situated near the source of one of its branches. Gildas has transmitted the fact that they did worship the running stream, which they supposed to be the residence of a presiding deity; and Taliesin has an observation, to the same purport when he speaks of "the divine river." (Welch. Arch. vol. i. p. 62.) All nations practised this superstition. Homer says the river Scamander was esteemed sacred. The Persians, the Indians, the Medes, the Parthians, and particularly the Egyptians, paid divine honours to their great rivers.

[2] The banks of the Witham were peopled with a tribe of aboriginal Britons, who possessed defences in their woods and fastnesses interspersed with morass, which they deemed impregnable; and the chief station was at Bardney. Hence it became one of the most early places in this part of the country that was exclusively appropriated to the practise of true religion, by the erection of a monastery. This constitutes an undeniable argu-

character after the inhabitants had embraced christianity.[3] Its banks were the site of many sacred edifices of druidical origin,[4] which were succeeded by a series of religious structures dedicated to christian worship;[5] to the illustration of

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ment that Bardney was originally a place of sacred celebration, as in Ireland the fire towers of the ancient inhabitants were almost always appended to christian cathedrals and churches.

[3] Stukely was of opinion that in very early times, 'the Witham "ran across the east fen, along that natural declivity full east into the sea, as in the map of Richard of Cirencester. This channel might pass out of the present river Witham a little below Coningsby, where the river Bane falls into it Dockdyke and Youldale, by the waters of Hobridge north of Hundle House, so running below Middleholme to Backsoke, it took the present division between the two Wapentakes, all along the south side of the deeps of the east fen, and so by Blackgote to Wainfleet, the Vainono of the Romans." (Rich. Cir. p. 27.)

[4] The rites of druidism were always connected with a lake or river, which was considered an emblem of the stream of life, and most sacred at its source and termination, particularly if it ran in an easterly direction, which is the character of the Witham. This leaves little doubt, that being honoured by the Britons, they established colonies on its banks for the convenience of performing the sacred rites, that they might receive protection and favour from the invisible deity of the liquid element.

[5] The devotional attachment of the people to this river may be estimated from the fact, that even after its transmission from father to son for many ages, it still remained so strong as to induce the erection of twelve religious houses on the sites of the old superstition upon its banks, within the narrow space of twenty miles, exclusively of

four of which the present attempt is devoted. They were placed on the margin of this river partly on account of its reputed sanctity, and partly for the convenience of its fish and other luxuries. The abbot of Bardney had eleven fisheries on the Witham;[6] which had been given to him by Walter de Gaunt;[7] and the monks of Kirkstead had one fishery, the donation of Philip de Kyme.[8] The river abounding in excellent fish, supplied the abbot's private stew ponds plentifully; and shell and sea fish were furnished by the fishermen of Boston; so that the lents and fastdays of the abbey had more the appearance of festivals than days of mortification; and every kind of fish in its season was placed on the well stocked board. In addition to this privilege, great quantities of

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the cathedral, fifty-two churches and fourteen monasteries in Lincoln; viz., the monastery of black or preaching friars called Monks' House; Barlings, Bardney, Tupholm, Stixwold, Kirkstead, and Tattershall, on the eastern banks; and on the western, Kyme, Haverholm, Catley, Mere and Nocton.

[6] "It seems that it was not lawful to eat the flesh of any animal nourished on the earth, because this had been cursed by God; but this curse not extending to the air and water, birds were permitted, as created of the same element as fish. Hence the prohibition of quadrupeds. But notwithstanding this, it was found both impossible and impracticable for inland monasteries to have fish enough, and to eat flesh became unavoidable." (Fosbroke. Monach. c. 35.)

[7] Dugd. Mon. p. 142.

[8] Relig. Galen. Introd. xxiii.

ducks and geese were constantly seen floating on the surface of the river; and the lordly peacock was a luxury which the abbot would not lack on state occasions. He had also a swannery which was placed under the direction of the Prior,[9] and protected by law under heavy penalties.[10]

Bardney[11] was a mitred abbey,[12] and its superior,

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[9] Archæol. vol. xvi. p. 153.

[10] Any person stealing or taking swan's eggs, was subject to a year's imprisonment, and a fine at the discretion of the king. (Stat. Hen. vii.) The swanneries on the Witham were governed by a code of general laws which made certain offences therein named penal. The domestic fowls bred on the abbey demesne, of which the fraternity received a portion in the form of rent from their tenants and vassals, were under the direction of cellarer.

[11] This name is evidently British, with a Saxon termination. It is admitted by Camden, Spelman, and other learned men, that a considerable part of the present language of Britain, is to be derived from that old one which was used by the inhabitants of this country, in common with Gaul, Germany, Spain, Illyricum, and most of the other nations of Europe, before they were overcome by the Romans. "From the ancient language, call it British, Saxon, or Celtic, for they were nearly the same, as dialects only the one of the other, we may derive successfully many words and phrases which would be otherwise inexplicable." (Pettingal on the Gule of August, in Archæol. vol. i. p. 63.) And bishop Percy says, (Preface to Mal. North. Ant. xxxix.) that "the hills, forests, rivers, &c., of this country, have generally retained their old Celtic names."

[12] The mitre of an abbot differed in form from that of a bishop; and he carried his crosier in his right hand, while the bishops bore theirs in the left.

who was denominated the Lord of Lindsey, had a seat in the house of Lords ;[13] and a dwelling-house or palace in London, for his residence during the session of parliament. The monks were of the Benedictine order, and the abbey was dedicated to the saints Peter, Paul, and Oswald the martyr.[14] It possessed great power and influence, and its inmates were proportionably proud of their station.[15] They wore a black loose coat or gown of stuff, reaching down to the ground, with a hood of the same, and a scapulary; under which was a white habit composed of flannel.

The abbey was of Saxon endowment, and established before the year 697.[16] It is impossible, at

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[13] Not because he was a mitred abbot, but because he held his possessions in capite of the crown.

[14] Burnet says, (Disc. on the Roman Church p. 15.) "they set up the dœmon and Baal worship to the apostles and other saints and martyrs; which Theodoret doth most ingeniously acknowledge to have been set in the stead of their gods. They became afterwards so exact in the parallel, that as the heathens had of these lesser gods for every nation, so there was a saint appointed for every nation; St. Andrew for Scotland, St. George for England, St. Patrick for Ireland, and many more for other nations. And as every house among the heathens had its household god, so every person was taught to have a tutelar saint."

[15] The abbot prefaced his instruments with the words, "A B, by divine permission;" and sometimes like a monarch, "by the grace of God, abbot of Bardney, &c."

[16] According to Leland, (Itin. vol. vii. p. 42.) this abbey did not occupy the site where the abbey of Re-

this distance of time, to say by whom, because there are more than one claimant for the honour. Leland asserts that the monks themselves were ignorant of the name of their founder. It is quite certain however, that Ethelred king of Mercia, was a great benefactor to it. And when this monarch relieved himself from the cares of government after a long reign of war and bloodshed, in which he had recovered "the isle of Lindsey" from the Northumbrians, and ravaged the kingdom of Kent, sparing neither age nor sex, church, nor monastery, by resigning his kingdom; to atone for his misdeeds, he retired to spend the remainder of his life in Bardney Abbey, and accepted the office of its abbot;—thus exchanging his crown for a mitre, and his sceptre for a pastoral staff.[17] Ethelred does not appear to have been the only monarch whose remains were deposited here; for the Saxon writers inform us that the bones of Oswald, king of Northumbria, were also entombed at Bardney;[18]

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migius, as it was called, was afterwards built; but stood at a place called Bardney Dairy. And he places the foundation in 712. (Collect. vol. vi. p. 214.)

[17] A large barrow or tumulus still remains near the site of the abbey, where tradition says he was buried. It is called to this day "King's (Conig) Garth."

[18] Sammes, (Hist. Brit. p. 539.) says, "Penda the pagan king of Mercia, envying the greatness of his state, made war upon him, and at a place called Maserfield, now Oswester in Shropshire, cut him in pieces, with a great part of his army, on the 5th of August, 642. His body was buried at Bardney in Lincolnshire.

and miracles were said to be performed at his shrine. Indeed Gilbert de Gaunt states, in his charter of foundation, that it was the reputation of these miracles which induced him to re-edify the abbey. [19]

It is asserted by Mr. Britton, in the Beauties of England and Wales, who had it from a Mr. Evans, that, when the bones of Oswald were transferred from Bardney to Glo'ster, the right hand was retained as a relic. But this appears to be extremely doubtful; [20] for I am persuaded that the monks of Bardney never had possession of this miraculous hand. [21]

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[19] Vid. Dugdale, and Archæol. vol. i.

[20] An ancient Saxon historian gives the true version of this tale. He says that "when Oswald was slain, his head and hands were ordered to be cut off and fixed on poles for public exhibition. The head was subsequently placed in the shrine of St. Cuthbert at Durham; the hands were conveyed by his brother Oswy to the royal palace; and the body was enshrined in the abbey of Bardney, surmounted by Oswald's gorgeous banner, viz., a cross between four lions rampant, which was adopted as the abbey arms." We find some variety of opinion respecting this shield. Bede says the tinctures were purple and gold;—Cole, in his MSS. in the British Museum, asserts that they were red and silver;—and Tanner has engraved them as being, on a field Gu. a cross between four lions rampant, Or.

[21] It had a very curious legend attached to it. Bishop Aidan, being one day at dinner with the king; a silver dish, well replenished, was placed on the royal table. Before Oswald began his repast his almoner reported that a great assembly of mendicants waited at the door.

The flourishing state of this monastery marked it as an object of spoilation to the rapacious Danes;[22] by whom, under Inguar and Hubba, in the year 870, it was plundered, burned, and three hundred monks slaughtered without mercy before the altar,[23] whither they had fled for sanctuary. After remaining in ruins for 200 years,[24] it was

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The king immediately ordered the whole of the meat—dish and all—to be divided among them. This benevolent act was so pleasing to the bishop, that he grasped the king's right hand exclaiming, "It is impossible that this hand, so munificent and charitable, should ever perish." And the monks say it never did. When he was slain, his brother placed the incorruptible hand in a silver shrine, and deposited it in St. Peter's church at Bebba, now called Bamborough. From hence it was stolen, as Malmsbury asserts, by a monk of Peterborough, and placed in the abbey there; where it is said by Nicholas Harpsfield, to have remained in a perfect state till after the Reformation. Query, what became of it?

[22] The Danes discouraged conversion, and especially persecuted the monks, lest the number of their effective troops should be thus diminished, and the converts refuse to fight against their ministers. By this means, in the time of Alfred, none but boys were willing to become monks, and monachism was almost extinct. See Fosbroke's Monach. c. 3, with authorities.

[23] Simon Dunelmensis says, that after the devastation of the country by the Danes, who destroyed all the monasteries and churches, christianity itself became almost extinct; few monasteries were refounded for nearly 200 years afterwards, and very few churches, except such as were built in a temporary manner, with wicker walls, and straw or reeds for a covering; and these remained till after the conquest.

[24] There is no mention of the abbey in the Domesday

restored by Gilbert de Gaunt,[25] who succeeded to a portion of the confiscated property of Ulf, a Saxon Thane of great wealth and rank, under a license of bishop Remigius,[26] and filled it with Benedictine monks. He endowed it with princely possessions,[27] and was buried in the abbey.[28] His

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Survey. It gives an account, however, of a claim which was made upon some part of the property by a Saxon Thane called Chetelber, who contended that Gilbert de Gaunt held it unjustly. But, as might be expected, the unfortunate Saxon lost the land by a decision of the Norman Jury.

[25] Gilbert de Gaunt was the nephew of William the Conqueror, who conferred upon him fifty-four lordships, and the head of his barony was at Folkingham. He died in the time of William Rufus and was buried in Bardney abbey. His successor Walter de Gaunt, has been represented as a person of great piety and humanity.

[26] Leland, Collect. vol. i. p. 92.) says, "Remigius Episcopus Linc. *reparavit.*" On the north side of Lincoln Minster is an uninscribed tomb which is supposed to be the burial place of Remigius; whose bare sheet of lead, says Peck, (Desid. Cur. p. 300.) is now to be seen.

[27] In the Record called Testa de Nevill, (p. 338.) we find the following entry. Gilb's de Gaunt tenuit in cap' de d'no rege iiijor caruc' t're in Bardhenay, Surraye, Baccehat, Angoteby, et eas dedit abbacie de Bardenaye in purà elemosina'. Rog's Marmiom tennit in capite de d'no Rege unà caruc' t're in Butehate. Et eam dedit ab'bie de Bardenaye in pur' elem'.

[28] There were buried in the abbey, Oswald, Ethelred with his queen Ostryth, who was murdered by the Danes, and they were canonized. Also Gilbert de Gaunt, and many other nobles and gentlemen, all of whom doubtless had stately monuments. (Lel. Coll. App. 215.)

son Walter added to the buildings and endowments of Bardney;[29] which were further augmented by the families of Marmion and Kyme.[30] These endowments were confirmed by a charter granted by King John in the 6th year of his reign, which assigned to the abbey all the liberties and free customs usually accompanying the possession of property by the religious orders. This was followed by a charter from Henry I., and another of confirmation from Henry III., in which were conveyed to the abbot and monks the privilege of a market[31]

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[29] Cartam Walteri de Gant recit. et confirm. cartam Gislebert de Gant, patris sui de restauratione cœnobii Bardney, &c. It is said that Gilbert de Gaunt had a daughter Maud, wife of Ralph Fitz Ooth, a Norman, Their son, William Fitz Ooth, married the daughter of Paganel Beauchamp, from whom sprang Robert Fitz Ooth, commonly known by the name of Robin Hood. (Stukely. Palœog. Brit. vol. ii. p. 115.)

[30] Cartas Roberti Marmiun de villa de Butegate. Philippi de Kyme de ecclesia de Soteby, &c. (Ex Reg. de Bardeney.)

[31] The immunity of exemption from tolls was commensurate with the liberty of holding markets and fairs in places privileged by charter. The sale of goods was prohibited except in these places, and there only in the presence and under the sanction of a magistrate; and no person could claim a fair or market but by grant from the king, or by prescription, which supposes such a grant. They may, however, be forfeited, if the owners hold them contrary to charter; or by disuse, or by extorting fees and duties where none are due, or more than are justly due. (2 Inst. 220. Finch. 164.)

and free warren at Bardney, with bridtol[32] et siut quieti de theolonio et pontagio,* et passagio, et pedagio, et lastagio, &c., with infangthef, and a gallows at Bardney.† It was repeated by Edw. I., and Edw. III.[33]

The property possessed by this abbey, with all its live stock both human and bestial, was dispersed all over the county of Lincoln, and even extended beyond it, for we find an account of some estates in London, and at Hesslein, Yorkshire.[34] The abbot had possessions in the city of Lincoln, and

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[32] This word refers to a small toll payable by custom to the Lord of a town or market for setting up of tables, booths, or boards; and those who were exonerated from this payment, had this word inserted in their letters patent. It is derived from two Saxon words, *Brid*, a board, and *Tol*, toll.

* That is, freedom from tolls, payments on building and reparing bridges, and other customary impositions, to which all subjects were liable.

† Infangthef was a criminal jurisdiction granted to all great proprietors, by which thieves found on their territories, might be punished without appeal.

[33] Rot. Chart. under the dates of 6 John;—Hen. I.; 16 Hen. III.; 13 Edw. I.; 5 Edw. III. The abbot had also Patents of confirmation from 4 Edw. II.; 11 Edw. II.; 11 Edw. III.; 18 Edw. III.; 19 Edw. III.; 2 Rich. II.; and 5 Hen. V.

[34] The detail and description of all the property and civil rights enjoyed by the abbey of Bardney, are too diffuse to come within the scope of this little treatise. It may suffice to present my readers with the general outline, by which they may be able to form some judgment of the extent and value of their possessions.

in the deaneries of Graffoe, Horncastle and Hill, Bolingbroke, Candleshoe, Calceworth, Wraggoe, Walshcroft, Langoe, and Boby, Yarborough, Elloe, Lafford, Gartree, and Laures.[35] He held the manors of Bardney,[36] Burton near Lincoln, Hagworthingham, Lusby, Steeping, Edlington, and Hunmanby;[37] and the advowsons of, or pensions from the churches of Bardney,[38] Barton upon Humber,[39] Sotby, Falkingham, Walcot, Skendleby,

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[35] It would be tedious, even to enumerate all the places where their lands lay. A few will suffice. The monks had estates at Bardney, Barton upon Humber, Osgodby, Steeping, Frisby, Winthorp, Strubby, Burgh, Sutton, Wooton, Hole Park, Great Hale, Partney, Skendleby, &c.

[36] The property of the abbey was subject to many payments to the crown; not only for charters, patents, &c., at the commencement of almost every new reign; but also on particular occasions, as the marriage of the king's daughters, &c. For the ransom of Richard I., the abbot was taxed at one quarter of his income, and was obliged to melt down his plate to meet the subsidy.

[37] The profits of his manors consisted of free rents, customary rents, hen rents, greenshaw rents, shearing rents, moss rents, and fen rents; fines on the death of tenants or the transfer of lands; customary services, tolls, amendals of assize, courts, fisheries, &c.

[38] When the monks could not succeed in procuring the appropriation or rectory of a church, they often contrived to get a pension out of it; and these were sometimes of more value than the advowson.

[39] In the Close Rolls, 8 Hen. vi. m. 11, we find a composition between inhabitantes de Barton super Humber et abbatem de Bardenaye, tenementem Eccl. de Barton in proprios usus, de consuetudine ibidem habita de custod.

Partney, Frisby, Lusby, Beckingham, Scampton, Bamborough,[40] Edlington, Heckington, Hale,[41] Silkwilloughby, South Kyme, Winceby, and Hodmanby in Yorkshire.[42]

The annual value of all the property belonging to this abbey, according to Dugdale's estimate, was £366. 6s. 1d.[43] This sum appears trifling,

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campest. et messium in antumna, &c.; et de conviviis et jentaculis eisdem dari solitis ab abbate vel ballivo ejus.

[40] Tax. Eccles. temp. Edw. I. I find, however, amongst the Charters of Bridlington, a grant of the church of Bamburg, with 120 acres of land from Gilbert de Gaunt to that monastery, and confirmed by charter of Hen. II.

[41] In the reign of John we find the churches of Heckington and Hale in possession of the lepers of St. Lazarus of Jerusalem, which they held by charter; (Rot. Chart. 2 Joh. m. 32.) but subsequently, by an inquisition taken 18 Edw. III., the abbot of Bardney was allowed to appropriate them to his own proper use. (Inq. ad quod dam. 18 Edw. III. n. 31.

[42] These appropriations were ruinous to the secular clergy, and many attempts were made by the highest authorities to get rid of them. Pope Innocent III., issued a Decretal, (Ep. ii. c. 114.) to enforce the payment of tithes to the officiating clergy, which had been evaded by payment to the monasteries; and thus the actual incumbents of the churches were rendered so poor, that they had no means for the exercise of charity, and procured with great difficulty the necessaries of life.

[43] Speed, however, makes it £429 7s. 0d., and Leland £432 0s. 0d. It may be observed here that 1 Hen. VIII. a pound weight of gold of the old standard was to be coined into 24 sovereigns. In 34 Hen. VIII., the sovereign was worth 20s.; in 4 Edw. VI., it was valued

and totally inadequate, according to our ideas, to the value of the extensive possessions above enumerated, and incompetent to the maintenance of such a large and powerful establishment. A view of the comparative value of land and produce,[44] however, will enable us to pronounce that the

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at 24s.; and 6 Edw. VI., at 30s.; and the same in the reign of Elizabeth. (Cowel.)

[44] In the 10th century land was sold for something less than one shilling an acre. (Hist. Elien. p. 473.) Hume gives the average *rent* of land a century later, at 2d. an acre. (Hume, vol. ii. p. 36.) In Lincolnshire A. D. 1280, we find, from an authentic document, that land was let there on the same terms. (Reg. Hon. de Richmond, 8 Edw. I. p. 37, Append.) These statements display the advantages resulting from an improved state of society; in which industry, scientific management, and an increased population, have advanced the landed property of this kingdom some hundred times beyond its former value. Again, in the reign of Hen. I., as much bread as would serve 100 men for a day, was worth 3s., now it would be worth £5. An ox, which in these times sold for 5s., (Wilkins, p. 66.) is now worth £20. In the time of Hen. II., according to an account in the Great Pipe Roll, 32 cows and 2 bulls were sold for £8 7s.; (Mag. Rot. 30 Hen. II.) 11 heifers, £4 4s.; 22 old sows, 22s. In the succeeding reign, the price of a sheep was 12d.; of a cow, 6s. 8d.; of an ox, 8s.; the same for a cart horse; (Ibid. 14 Hen. III.) a chicken after it lays, 1d.; a sheaf of barley, 1d.; a sucking pig, 2d.; and a yearling goat, 1½d. It must be remarked, however, that the 12 silver pennies which formed the Norman shilling, were equal in weight to something more than 3 of our shillings. Hence the pound would be worth £3 2s. of our money. (Rudd. Glouc. p. 80.)

annual income of Bardney abbey in our present currency, could not be less than £16,000.[45]

Thus it appears that although Monachism imposed on *the individual members* of its profession a voluntary poverty, no such restriction was laid on it as *an aggregate body*.[46] In fact the monasteries were rich and powerful; and as there is sufficient evidence to prove, frequently luxurious,[47] tyranni-

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[45] Supposing the abbey to be worth £400 a year at the dissolution, we may make our estimate pretty correctly by analogy. The income of Temple Bruer, at the same period, was returned at something less than £200 a year, and the establishment possessed 10,000 acres of land. Now if this produced a rental of £200 a year, the income of Bardney being double that amount, will of course give 20,000 acres of land to the abbey. In other parts of England I find nearly the same result. The collegiate establishment of Wolverhampton was valued at the dissolution, at £90 a year. The same property has now a rental of £4000. According to this analogy the income of Bardney, in our times, would have exceeded £16,000.

[46] "Christianity was so corrupted by the vicious habits of the world, that we have the censures of St. Jerom for our testimony, that amassment of wealth had become a leading object with the clergy. They made merchandize with the goods of the church. Some became rich by turning monks; many, poor and mean before they entered the sacred order, were afterwards distinguished for their affluence and pride." (Turn. Hist. Eng. vol. v. p. 26.)

[47] There were 53 farms appropriated to supply the kitchen of the abbey of St. Albans, "and notwithstanding the canons, and the furiousness of the Bishop of Lincoln against cups with circles or feet, our monks

cal, and oppressive.[48] The monks of Bardney, as we have already party seen, were addicted to the pleasures of the festive board; for the indulgence of which their wide and well wooded demesnes,[49]

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had such cups as personal property, besides spoons and other gold or silver trinkets. Seculars used often to dine and sup with them, and very often low people, and they took advantage of meal times to receive the visits of women." (Fosbroke. Monach. c. 35, with authorities.)

[48] They possessed valuable plate, gems, and rich vestments; and "fared sumptuously every day." Farmer has a capital anecdote in illustration of this latter fact. He says that King Hen. VIII., having disguised himself in the dress of one of his guards, contrived to visit, about dinner time, the abbey of Waltham, where he was immediately invited to the abbot's table. A sirloin of beef being set before him, he played so good a part, that the abbot exclaimed, "well fare thy heart, and here's a cup of sack to the health of thy master. I would give a hundred pounds if I could feed so heartily on beef as thou dost; but my poor, queasy stomach will hardly digest the breast of a chicken." The king pledged him in return; and having finished his dinner, thanked the abbot for his good cheer and departed. A few days after, the abbot was sent for to London, and lodged in the Tower, where he was kept a close prisoner for some time, and fed upon bread and water. At length a sirloin of beef was set before him, on which he fed as heartily as one of his own ploughmen. In the midst of his meal, the king burst into the room from a private closet; and demanded his hundred pounds; which the abbot gave him with no small pleasure; and on being released, returned to his monastery with a heart and pocket much lighter than when he left it.

[49] The oak trees which covered the low lands of Lincolnshire at the above period, were probably coeval with

stocked with venison and all kinds of game, afforded ample means.[50] Like most of their brethren, they were not contented with the double ale, the mead and hydromel, or even the grape wines of their own brewing,[51] but imported a more generous

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the times which followed the universal deluge; and different parts of these umbrageous groves were devoted by the aborigines to the purposes of druidical worship. We are furnished with sufficient authority to conclude that "at the commencement of the christian era this wood was denominated 'the Caledonian forest.'" It is mentioned by Florus; and Richard of Cirencester says, "Coitanni in tractu sylvis obsito, qui, ut aliæ Brittonum sylvæ Caledonia fuit appellata." The western confines of this forest, consisting of wood and morass, were intersected by the river Witham. In the year of Christ 518, we find a wood in this situation; and Matthew of Westminster informs us that king Arthur routed the Saxons here and chased them into a great wood by Barlings; and hewed down immense trees to obstruct their retreat. This wood is called by Henry of Huntingdon, the wood of Chelidon; and it extended over all the southern parts of Lindsey, and a portion of Kesteven and Holland,

[50] The dykes and meres in the fenny country on the western side of the river, furnished them with abundance of wild fowl, herons, and ducks, snipe and woodcocks. And the cook was not the least important functionary of the establishment.

[51] According to Malmsbury, "the fens were a very paradise, and seemed a heaven for the delight and beauty thereof; the very marshes bearing goodly trees, which for tallness, as also without knots, strived to reach up to the stars. It is a plain country and as level as the sea, which with green grass allureth the eye. There is not the least portion of ground that lies waste and void

beverage[52] from the Elbe, the Rhine, and the Moselle, in their own ships by the port of Boston.[53]

The abbot was not very scrupulous in his dealings, when incited by interest and ambition; and in the time of Edw. I. the complaints alleged before the jurors of the hundred, afford many curious traits of lawless proceedings, which had occurred during the preceding reign,[54] even amongst these holy men.[55] It was complained that the abbot of

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there. Here you shall find the earth rising somewhere for appletrees; there you shall have *a field set with vines*, which either creep upon the ground, or mount on high upon poles to support them."

[52] A guager of wines resided at Boston by royal appointment. (Rot. Chart. 12. Edw. II.)

[53] Mag. Rot. 9 Edw. I. Without importation in their own bottoms, the monks had no security that the article would be genuine. Banks, (Dorm. Baron. vol. i. p. 42.) gives an amusing anecdote illustrative of this fact. The Lord Mayor of London ordered one of his officers to summon all the Brewers in the city to appear before him the next day; and the officer took such pains that the vintners also appeared. The Lord Mayor in an angry mood rebuked the officer, who answered, "Sir, you gave me orders to bring all the brewers in London before you, and I have done so, for I am sure these vintners brew as fast with water as either the ale brewer or beer brewer."

[54] After the battle of Lincoln, 19th May, 1217, the Earl of Chester sent for young Henry, who, during that interval, lay privately in a cowhouse belonging to Bardney Abbey, which is now called Bardney Dairy, and setting him on the altar, delivered him seizin of this kingdom, as his inheritance; the duke, and the rest of the nobility present doing him homage. (Archæol. vol. viii. p. 207.)

[55] It appears also that internal disputes distracted the

Bardney had made divers encroachments on the public highways and watercourses, to the great prejudice of the king and his people;—that he refused to pay his fee farm [56] rents to the crown;[57] and that he was in the habit of receiving annual rents to a considerable amount from the occupiers of tenements in the city of Lincoln,[58] which were reputed to be royal property.[59] The abbot's right

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abbey; for we have an account in Prynne's Papal usurpations of the dismissal and restoration of two abbots during this reign. See this confirmed by Rot. Pat. 5 Edw. I. m. 27, and 32 Edw. I. n. 20.

[56] Feodi firma, is a compound of Fee and Ferme, and signifies in a legal sense, land held of another in perpetuity to himself and his heirs, at a certain yearly rent, without homage, fealty, or other services; except perhaps, in some cases, the finding of a chaplain to sing, divine service, &c. See Exposition of the Statute of Gloucester, An. 6 Edw. I.

[57] It appears that the payments to the crown were considered very burdensome to the religious houses. Walsingham informs us that a mitred abbot paid as much as an Earl for himself, and 6s. 8d. for each of his monks. And while the four greatest sea ports in England paid each to the Quinzeme, in the reign of John, on the average, only £745, the abbot of Bury St. Edmunds paid to the same tax £666 13s. 4d.

[58] Namely £40 a year. From the alteration in the value of money and property, these tenements would now be worth £1600 a year. See above, note 45.

[59] The abbey was situated just without the liberty of the city, which extended to the borders of Hanworth fen, on the opposite bank of the river. But the abbot possessed property at Lincoln, in land and houses to a great amount.

of free warren over his demesne lands was questioned. It was complained that he would not suffer writs or executions to be served by the king's bailiffs [60] within his jurisdiction.[61] And the Jurors were further informed, that twenty years before the Inquisition he had erected a gallows at Candlesby, where he executed offenders on his own authority.[62]

It is evident there was some foundation for these charges; for a commission was appointed to enquire into and amend them. The abbot was

[60] According to the tenure on which the abbot held his lands, he was obliged to pay all the fines, rents, and services which he owed to the king, as well as the return of all writs, through the medium of the sheriff or the king's bailiff, who was thus empowered to give him trouble, and in cases of hostility, which were very common in those times, often proceeded to harass him severely. It appears, however, that in the present instance, the power of the bailiff was completely set at nought.

[61] Rot. Hund. 3 Edward I. The king's bailiffs were obliged annually to account at the exchequer for all profits and rents received on behalf of the king, the original tenants when they held at rent in specie, accounting to the bailiff. But when any bailiwick, held immediately of the crown, like the abbacy of Bardney, he was allowed to account immediately to the exchequer, and not to the bailiff or sheriff of the county.

[62] Rot. Hund. 3 Edw. I. The religious were generally fond of litigation. Thus Hearne (Bened. App. lix.) says of the abbot of Burg, "omnia quæ de jure pertinebant ad ecclesiam Burgi viriliter retinuit; vel placitis aut armis juste recuperavit; nam armatum illum multi viderunt in illa adquisitione."

summoned, and he appeared before the king's justices to answer these complaints.[63] He succeeded in substantiating his claim to most of the above privileges; asserting that by charter of Hen. I., confirmed by Hen. III., he was entitled to infangthef and the right of "pit and gallows" at Bardney and Steeping;[64]—that the abbey was free from all the customary amerciaments and payments;‡ of aid to the Sheriff, and tolls everywhere;[65]

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[63] Unfortunately even Justices were not immaculate, and some of them suffered excessive fines for their corruption. Sir Adam Stratton, chief baron of the Exchequer, and Sir Ralph Bingham chief justice of the higher Bench, were convicted of gross bribery in the execution of their office, and were fined by Edw. I., the former 3400 marks, and the latter 7000 marks; Sir John Loveton, justice of the lower Bench, 3000 marks; Sir W. Brompton 6000 marks; Sir Solomon Rochester 4000 marks; Sir T. Loddington, and Sir Walter Hopton each 2000 marks; and Sir W. Ingham 3000 marks. These were Justices itinerant. (Weever. Fun. Mon. p. 158.)

[64] And several other places. It seldom happened, however, that any were executed upon them but the unhappy Saxons.

‡ The charter of Hen. III., thus mentions this privilege. "H. Dei grat, &c. Sciatis nos concessisse et confirmasse omnes donaciones et tenementa que Gilbertus de Gaunt primus et ux' ejus Alic', &c., dederunt in elemosynam monasterio Sancti Oswald' de Bardenaye et fratribus ibidem Deo servientibus cum infangenthef in in liberam puram et perpetuam elemosynam *quiet' ab omni seculari servicio*, &c. Dat' apud Westm' xx° die Jan' anno r' sui sexto decio.

[65] His claims are thus enumerated in Placit. de quo War. (p. 409.) Abb's de Bardeneye ven' hic coram

that it had emendals of the assize of bread and beer over his estates; § with the privilege of an

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Justic et clam' here lib'am warrenam in om'ibz d'nicis t'ris suis in Bardeneye, Osgotebye, Hinteyate, et Suthereye per cartam d'ne H. R. p'ris d'ni R. nunc quam p'f't et que hoc idem testatur dat' ap'd Westm' xx° die Jan' anno r' sexto decio. Clam' et h'ere furcas et infangenthef in Bardeney que des'viunt Osgoteby, Bottegate, Surreye, et Hacwrthingham. Et furcas in Edlington et Steping que des'viunt Friseby et hoc in d'nicis t'ris suis t'm in p'dicis vill'. Clam' et esse quietus de secta com' wapp'nt' et trithing auxil' Vic' visu franci pleg' co'i am'ciamento et om'i alia consuetudine regali et p'statione et om'i theolon' p'cartas et donaciones cujusd' G. de Gaunt fil' Rob'ti de Gaunt et o'im ant' suos quas ip'i fec'unt monst'io S. Petri et S. Oswald' de Bardeneye, &c., in puram et p'ptuam elemo'iam quas quid' cartas et donac'ones p'f't et hoc id' testant'. Clam' et h'ere unam feriam sing'lis annis in Bardeneye p'duos dies duratur' videl't in vigil' et in die S'ct' Oswald'. Clam' eciam visum franci pleg' et emend' assié cervis' de om'bs tenetibus suis in p'd'cis vill'. Et sim'l'r visum franci pleg' et emend' assié cervis' fracte de tenentibus suis in Barton', Sutton, Parteneye, et Skendleby, et hoc ab antiquo, &c. (Ro. 11. d.)

§ At the period under our consideration, when ale was the principal beverage, alike of the lord and retainer, many regulations were made respecting its manufacture; and the right of having a private brewery was considered a privilege worthy of the interference of the monarch, who conceded it by charter for a valuable consideration; and penal statutes were in force for the punishment of those who should violate their provisions by brewing without authority. In every case where it was brewed for sale, a public assize was fixed and regulated according to circumstances for the protection of the consumer;

annual fair at Bardney on the eve and day of St. Oswald;[66]—and that his predecessors had purchased free warren over the demesne lands of the abbey by a heavy fine; not so much, he said, for their own diversion,[67] as to protect their estates from the encroachments of the neighbouring gentry;[68] who broke their fences, trod down their

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and hence in charters of immunity, a clause was generally introduced, empowering certain individuals to enquire into violations of the assize, and receive the fines thereon, in the name of emendals. This privilege the abbot of Bardney claimed, and was allowed.

[66] This was the 5th of August.

[67] It is quite clear that the abbots and bishops, as well as the monks and clergy of these times, used the diversions of hunting and hawking; and our Lord Abbot had a hunting box at Bardney Dairy. Even Thomas à Becket was passionately fond of the sport; and under such a sanction it was carried to an unlawful extent. An edict was issued, 13 Rich. II., prohibiting "any priest or other clerk, not possessed of a benefice of the yearly amount of £10, from keeping a greyhound, or any other dog for the purpose of hunting; neither might they use ferrets, nets, hare pipes, cords, or other engines to take and destroy the deer, hares, or rabbits, under a penalty of one year's imprisonment." The dignified clergy and abbots were not affected by this statute, but retained their ancient privileges, which appear to have been very extensive. (Strutt. Sports. B. i. c. 1. s. 9.) Bishop Juxon was so keen a sportsman that he is said to have had the best pack of hounds in England. (Acta Regia. 787.)

[68] The religious orders were much more liberal in their construction of the forest laws, than the barons, who would punish an offender with greater severity for killing a deer, than for slaying a bondman.

cornfields, and abused their bailiffs if they complained of the trespass. [69]

The monks pursued their usual avocations under a long succession of abbots, sometimes in peace, and sometimes in litigation and dispute; the superior living in state, and exercising amongst his vassals and dependants the power with which he was invested, by encouraging the industrious, and punishing the idle and vicious, until the time of abbot Woxbrigg, in A. D. 1406, when the monastery was honored with a visit from King Hen. IV., attended by a numerous train of noblemen and gentlemen of the first quality both English and Scotch. [70] The Lord Abbot received his royal

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[69] We have some intimation, however, that the monks themselves were not very scrupulous in their diversions. "Hart and hind," says the writer in the North British Review already quoted, "boar and roe, the eyries of falcons and tersels, were preserved intact; and hunting with hounds or nets, or setting traps to destroy game, were sins which scarcely repentance could atone for." And yet the monks appear to have been addicted to a little poaching themselves, if we may judge from the jealousy of the neighbouring proprietors, altho' hunting and fishing by night (per noctem venaciones et piscationes,) were expressly forbidden. (MS. Ashm. Mus. 1519. f. 716.)

[70] We find the following names in the catalogue of persons present on this occasion, Thomas, Duke of Clarence, and Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, the king's sons; the Earls of Douglas, Fife, and Orkney, and three other Scottish Earls; two bishops; Earl de Grey, the king's Chamberlain; Lord Kingstone his Treasurer; a

visitor with every requisite formality. He met him at the outer entrance of the abbey in solemn procession; when the king dismounted from his horse, and with bended knees saluted the holy crucifix. He was conducted to the high altar, where he heard the solemn service of mass; and after many ceremonies, was installed in his seat at the banquet.[71] While he remained in the abbey, he was visited by the bishop of Lincoln, Lord Willoughby, and other noble persons: and when the king issued his commands to depart, he was attended beyond the exterior gate of the abbey, by all the monks in procession, bareheaded, with crucifix and relics elevated; and having thus performed all the rites of a profuse and dutiful hospitality, the abbot took his leave and returned to the convent, while the king and his retinue pursued their journey.

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great number of Knights, et alii multi proceres et magnates, quorum nomina nobis penitus sunt ignorata.

[71] A full account of the ceremonial may be seen in Leland's Collectanea, vol. vi. p. 300.

CHAPTER V.

Tupholm Abbey.

A mile or two southward of Bardney, and in the same parish, stood the abbey of Tupholm. It was founded in the reign of Henry II., by two brothers Alan and Gilbert de Nevil,[1] for Premonstratensian canons,[2] and dedicated to the Blessed Virgin. The monks followed the rule of St. Austin. They were also termed White canons, from their habit, which was a white cassock with a rochet or surplice over it; a long white cloak and white caps.

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[1] Dugd. Monast. makes the above assertion, as does also Tanner in loc. Leland, however says, "Ranulphus de Neville, D. de Raby, 1s fundator." (Collect. vol. i. p. 92.)

[2] The rule of the Premonstratensians was said to be inspired from on high. Indeed Bellarmin affirms, that the orders of Benedict, Romualdus, Bruno, Dominic, Francis, were from the Holy Ghost. (De Rom. Pont. l. iii. c. 18.) Pope Hildebrand, it is said, (Brev. Monast. May 5.) actually saw Christ sitting in Chapter by the side of St. Hugo, approving all his dictates with a nod, and suggesting the rules of the Premonstratensians, brought from by heaven by St. Austin.

The property of Tupholm Abbey lay in the city of Lincoln, and in the deaneries of Wraggoe, Horncastle and Hill, Yarburg, Bradley Haverstoe, Walshcroft, Langoe and Boby, Gartree, and Holland;[3] and the abbot held the manors of Middle Rasen, Great Coates, Ranby, Witheringham, Burreth, and Tawel; and the advowson of Stratton Church. This property at the dissolution was valued at £100 14s. 10d. a year, according to Dugdale; but Speed makes it worth £119 2s. 8d. which would be equal to between £4000 and £5000 of our money, taking into account the alteration in the value of money and produce.

None of these religious houses were exempt from charges of illicit practices, even so early as the 13th century. It was stated before an inquisition holden in the city of Lincoln, that the Prior of Tupholm refused to pay his crown quit rents, and illegally took emendals of the assize of bread and beer[4] in the borough of Louth.[5] He was

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[3] Their lands lay in Middle Rasen, Great Coates, Stratton, Suthery, Louth, Beckering, Ashby, Toynton, &c., &c.

[4] At an inquisition holden at Louth, 3 Edw. I., it was found that "Will's Malerbe et Joh'es Bude persona prebendal' de Luda et abbas de Tupholme capiunt emendas panis et s'visie et cur' tenent de tenent' suis in Luda s'z nesciunt quo waranto nec a quo t'p'r'. (Rot. Hund. p. 332.)

[5] I am ignorant of the amount of this privilege at Louth; but the profits of the assize of bread and beer for the year 1279, in the borough of Boston were

further accused of withholding his services to the crown for lands at Beckering, and in Middle Rasen.[6] And that he claimed free warren over all his estates.[7] But a more serious charge was made, on another occasion, against one of its Priors. He was accused of forgery, and counterfeiting the current coin of the realm;[8] with which

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£8 14s. 3½d. (Reg. Hon. Rich. p. 37. App.) A large sum in those days where land was worth only about 1s. an acre.

[6] Abbas de Tupholm in Bekering, tenet j bo' t're unde R h'uit unum adventum ad wap' per ann' et éé solet geldabilis et dare auxilium vic. s. ij d. per ann' et framp' j d. per ann' q'd jam subtrait' per xvj ann' et nesciunt quo war' ad dampnum R. ix. d. per ann'. (Rot. Hund. p. 365.) The record contains a singular entry on page 361, about Middle Rasen.

[7] In these early times the hunting grounds of each proprietor were distinguished by an imaginary boundary line generally coincident with a manor, or a series of manors, lying together and belonging to the same proprietor, who was privileged by a grant from the monarch to keep game within it. But these animals, been considered *ferœ naturæ*, were originally at the disposal of any individual who would be at the trouble of killing them. This occasioned all the confusion incident to trespass; to prevent which the Normans introduced the forest laws, which gave the property of all game to the king, who issued charters of free warren to the proprietors of the soil, empowering them to take their pleasure in these privileged places; but with the express proviso that they should preserve the game from all encroachments, and protect the rights of the monarch at their own expence.

[8] It was enquired at the monastic visitations whether

he purchased corn and wine, and disposed of them at a considerable profit;[9] and that he carried on a traffic in horn, in violation of the law.[10] He

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the monks were guilty of superstition, apostacy, treason, incest, adultery, &c. And again, " vel sunt furatores, *vel faciunt numismata* regni, proditores. (MS. Cott. Cleop. B. ii. p. 59.) Invectivum contra Monachos, &c. t. R ii. In the Notices des MSS. are more proofs of coining. A monk of Peterborough stole jewels, &c., and gave them to women of the town. (Gunton. 55.) Thomas Strutt sold privately the Pix of the monastery at Drax. (MS. Cott. Cleop. E. iv. f. 154 a.) Theft is mentioned in the general confession of crimes which might happen to monks in MS. Cott. Calig. A. 1. Our Prior of Tupholm was very ingenious in making false money. (Monast. Angl. ii. 629.) One William Pigun, a monk of St. Albans, forged the convent seal. (M. Paris. 1048. Fosbroke Monach. c. 27.)

[9] In the composition of these papers, I have had repeated cause to regret that the records of the religious houses under our consideration, and particularly respecting this of Tupholm, are so scanty as to afford very little scope for the exercise of historical reasoning. The facts are few in number, and the deductions are therefore necessarily circumscribed.

[10] At the period above referred to, horn was used for a variety of useful purposes. For windows, hunting horns, spoons, beehives; and was manufactured into beads and other trinkets, Almost all kinds of drinking vessels were made of horn. There is at this time in York cathedral, and at Queen's college, Oxford, curious ancient horns of this description. The crutched walking sticks used by the monks and friars, were headed with horn; and bow staves were tipped with it. Thus horn was an article of considerable traffic; and the manufacturers were protected by a guild charter under the

was also charged with selling other people's wines[11] in his own name,[12] and defrauding the

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denomination of "The Horner's Company." (Vid. Stat. Edw. II., et 6 Edw. IV.) Now it is clear from undoubted testimony, that the monks lost no opportunity of enriching themselves by any lucrative traffic, provided they could do it secretly. Amongst others, they did not neglect the horn trade. They were in the habit of buying up the horns of cattle in great quantities and removing the external coat, which was the valuable part, they buried the pith or refuse on their premises, that its existence might not excite suspicion. This they disposed of to foreign merchants, who smuggled it abroad in their piratical vessels; and afterwards introduced it into England manufactured ready for use. The practice was at length carried to such an extent, that the Horner's Company applied to parliament for protection; declaring that they were in danger of being ruined; and that, if not checked, the practice would become a national injury, by the entire loss of the trade. We have no positive evidence to prove that the monks of Tupholme were parties to this nefarious traffic; but the presumptive evidence is remarkably strong. I am informed by Mr. Pell, who resides at Tupholme abbey, that while making excavations for some agricultural purpose in the abbey yard, he found great quantities of the pith, or interior substance of the bullock's horn; *all of which had been divested of its coating.*

[11] And perhaps the following entry may have some relation to it, connected with the abbot's rights of assize at Louth. Dicu't q'd Rog'us fil' Ric' de Luda dux' unum tonellum vini de S'c'o Botulph' in Tu'by in Regali via ibi ven'unt homines d'ni Simonis de Dryby per p'ceptum d'ci Simonis et duxerunt plaust'm cum doleo vini ad man'ium suum ap' Tu'by et detinuit et adhuc detinz et valuit doleum vini xliij solid' ad dampnum d'ci Rog'i lx solidos anno r'R. H. lº vjº (Rot. Hund. p. 333.)

crown of its duties.[13]

It has been asserted that King Henry III., by charter, gave to this abbey a canal from the Witham, so wide and deep that ships might pass up it, and discharge their cargoes beneath the abbey walls.[14] The charters[15] concede and confirm the claims of the abbot and canons to certain

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[12] This custom appears to have been carried to an unpardonable extent by both monks and clergy. Thus by Stat. 21 Hen. VIII. 13, the clergy are prohibited from "keeping tanhouses or public brewhouses." They were forbidden to "give themselves to base and servile labour; or to sell ale, beer, wine, or provisions in their parsonage houses;" a business which was sometimes carried on even in the church itself. (Vid. Concil. Turon. ap. Regin. p. 52.)

[13] Acta Reg. i. 249. Rot. Hund. 3 Edw. I. Monast. Anglic. ii. 269. These charges, however, were rebutted by the following admission of the Justices of Eyre. Et quo ad hoc quod clam' h'ere emend' assi'e de tenentibz suis de Rasen, Randeby, Brocklesby, Luda et Askeby d'nt q'd p'd'cus Abbas et omnes p'dec' sui ab'bes de Tupholm solebant h'ere emend' assie c'vis' in p'd'cis vill' a temp'e quo no est memoria et p'd'cs Abb's inde continuavit seys'am suam. I'o cons' est q'd p'd'cs Abbas inde sine die, &c., quousq', &c. (Plac. de quo War. apud. Linc. 9 Edw. I. Rot. 9. d.)

[14] The words of the charter of Hen. III. are; "Ex dono Henrici regis, avi nostri, unum fossatum tam largum, quod naves possint ire, et redire à flumine de Withoma usque ad Tupholm." The existence of this canal is however somewhat doubtful, because the land on which the abbey stood is higher than the level of the water.

[15] The charter of liberties is dated 19 Hen. III., and of lands and privileges, 20 Hen. III. The patents bear the dates of 16 Edw. II., 5 Edw. III., 7 Edw. III.

property and privileges in Middle Rasen,[16] Ranby, Brocklesby, Louth, and divers other places; including free warren, emendals of assize[17] of bread and beer;[18] a court of frank pledge; to be quit

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[16] The abbot of Tupholm, and the Prior of Drax in Yorkshire, each laid claim to the appropriation of the church of St. Peter in Middle Rasen; which brought on a severe contest about the tithes of corn and hay arising out of some lands in the parish, called Germayn land, and containing about 100 acres. After much litigation it was determined that the abbot of Tupholm should in future enjoy two-thirds of these tithes, and the prior of Drax the remaining one-third. Hence the two parishes obtained the names of Rasen Tupholm and Rasen Drax, by which they are known at the present day.

[17] In the first year of the reign of King John, the assize was regulated by statute; and if any were found guilty of adulteration or exorbitant charges, the punishment was by fine or imprisonment. An assize of bread was instituted to prevent monopoly or famine in times of scarcity: and it varied according to circumstances. Thus, when wheat was sold at 10d. a quarter, the farthing loaf of wastel bread ought to weigh 6lb. 16oz.; and the farthing loaf of cocket bread 2 oz. more; and so on in proportion with the price of corn. In like manner when barley was 20d. or 2s. the quarter, brewers were enjoined to sell their ale at two gallons for a penny.

[18] In an ancient poem in the Harl. MS. B. M. marked 913, is the following exposition of the cheats of brewers and bakers, which evinces the necessity of an assize, and the utility of its being placed in influential hands for the protection of the people.

Hail be ye Bakers, with yur lovis smale,
Of white bred and of blake, ful mani and fale,
Ye pinchet of the rigt wigt, agens goddes lawes,
To the fair pillori ich rede you take hede

of suit and service at the Wapentake and riding courts; of aids to the Sheriff; fines on the commission of murder;[19] common amerciaments;[20] and of all tolls by land or water in every part of England. There are a few other things named of

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This vers is wrowgte so welle, that no tung i wis may telle.
Hail be ye Brewsters, with your galuns,
Pottles and quartes, over all the tunnes,
Yur throwines brith moch awai, schame how the gyle,
Beth i war of the cockingstole, the lak is dep hori,
Sikerlich he was a clerk, that so sleilich wroghte this werke.

[19] When a murder was committed, all the property in the district was liable to contribute towards the payment of compensation, when the murder remained undetected. But if the criminal were apprehended, the district escaped the penalty, for it was paid by the party. From this contribution the monks of our district appear to have been relieved by charters of immunity. In Saxon times, the crime of murder was compensated by a fine, and the sums were regulated by law according to the rank of the persons slain. This privilege was continued by William the Conqueror in favour of the Normans; but before the statute, 14 Edw. III. c. 4, the district could relieve itself by showing on the inquisition that the person slain was an Englishman.

[20] Some of these abbeys were endowed with a series of curious privileges, some of which are difficult to comprehend. Thus we find in an old charter the immunities following, granted to the prior of Merton. Emendetur et de vüs per forestam danegeldis hornegeldis fetgeld blodwyte fithwyte leyrwyte hengwyte flemenesfrithe wardpeny averpeny hunderpeny thykinpeny brithalpeny et de operacionibus castellos et poncium p'cos vivarios stagnos de sumagio, &c.

lesser consequence; as twelve pence a year paid by the nuns of Stixwold, for a right of fishery at Chakegard; mills at Shill, and at Stratton, with mulcture over the whole demesne, and common of pasture for two hundred sheep in the field there; a mill at Nettleton, &c., &c.[21]

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[21] The possessions of this house lay in Tupholm, Bucknall, Holton, Burreth, Rasen, Alington, Stainton, Brocklesby, Ranby, Stratton, Holme, Haburgh, Keleby, Healing, Newton, Wadingworth, Nettleton, Owmby, Eastmore, Lissington, Metheringham, Dunston, Gautby, Warmwood, Southrey, Lincoln, Langton, Boston, and Ashby near Horncastle. An impression of the Common Seal, A. D. 1276, is in the Brit. Mus. Harl. MSS. 45 A. 14. It represents the blessed Virgin with the infant Jesus in her lap. The legend is—SIGILLUM. ABBATIS. ET. CONVENTUS. S. MARIE. DE. TOPEHOLM.

CHAPTER VI.

Stixwold Priory.

Passing down the Witham, we next come to Stixwold, which was formerly the site of a convent of Cistertian nuns,[1] dedicated to the Blessed Virgin. It was established by Lucy, the widow of a great Norman Baron named Ivo Tailbois,[2] who came over with the Conqueror, and was endowed with part of the confiscated estates of the Saxon princes Edwin and Morcar, whose sister she was. She founded this priory for the good of her own soul, together with those of her ancestors and all her posterity. And the earl of Chester was a great benefactor to it.

The convent of Stixwold was better endowed

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[1] Stukeley (Itin. Cur. vol. i. p. 88.) says they were Benedictines; but Leland's testimony agrees with the text. "Stikeswalde Prior. Monial. Cistert. (Collect. vol. i. p. 92.) Strictly speaking, however, the Cistertians were Benedictines professing to act up to the strict letter of the rule.

[2] D. Luci comitissa Cestriæ et Lincoln; et duo ejus fili, Ranulphus comes de Chestre, et Gul. Romara comes Lincolniæ fundatores. (Leland. Collect. vol. i. p. 92.)

than Tupholm Abbey. Exclusive of what it had in the city of Lincoln, its property extended over the deaneries of Lovedon, Aveland, Bolingbroke, Candleshoe, Yarburg, Walshcroft, Langoe and Boby, Calceworth, Holland, Gartree, Beltislaw, Framland, and the soke of Grantham.[3] It had also the advowson of the churches of Stixwold and Wainfleet, and a pension from that of Alford; altogether valued at the dissolution of the house, at £114 5s. 2½d. a year, according to Dugdale, and £163 1s. 2½d. according to Speed. In addition to which, in common with the monks and secular clergy, the prioress enjoyed many casual sources of income; such as mortuaries, obits, Easter offerings, shot for wax,[4] Lincoln farthings,[5]

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[3] The nuns had 900 acres of land in Honington; 120 acres in Bassingthorpe; 42 acres in Wyberton; 120 acres in Bucknal; 249 acres in Stixwold; a messuage with 4 acres of land in Westby; 30 acres in Wainfleet; lands, the quantity not named in Horkstowe, Wymondham, Nether Toynton, Tupholm, &c., with 2 tofts, and certain property in Horsington to provide lamps and tapers for the service of the altar.

[4] Formerly, Candlemas-day was one of the highest festivals in the whole year, and every cathedral, monastery, and parish church was superbly illuminated with wax candles; to provide which every family contributed its quota or *Shot;* and hence the money paid to the religious orders by each family was called "Shot for Wax."

[5] Lincoln farthings were the Pentecostals or customary oblations voluntarily offered by the inhabitants of a parish, or the customary tenants of a monastery; and came by degrees into a standing annual payment called

emendals of the assize of bread and beer, an exemption from services at the Wapentake and Hundred courts, fines on the commission of a murder, with all other fines, aids, and common amerciaments over all her estates. [6]

The ladies of this convent, of which not one stone remains upon another, [7] were habited in a white tunic with black scapulary and girdle. In

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by this name. In the year 1444, William Alnewike, bishop of Lincoln, issued a commission to collect throughout Archdeaconry of Leicester, the levy called "Lincoln Farthings," or in other words Smoke Farthings, due to the cathedral church in Lincoln, which he intended to apply towards the erection of a Bell Tower in the church of St. Margaret at Leicester. (Reg. W. Alnewike. Episc. Linc. MS.) Here we find a legitimate interpretation of that entry in the churchwardens accounts of St. Martin's parish in Leicester, inserted in the Beauties of England and Wales, (vol. ix. p. 355.) which has appeared difficult of solution, "Received in Lincoln Farthings, 11s. 11d."

[6] In the reign of Edw. I., the prioress was called on to show by what authority clam' h'ere visum franc' pleg' emend' assi'e c'vis' fracte in Stykeswald, Hundelby, Baswynthorp, Hundyngton, Stoke, Feriby, Horsington, Bokenhal, Hemingby, Aysterby, et Golceby, sine licenc' d'ni R. &c. Ead'm Priorissa sum' fuit ad respond' d'no Reg' de pl'ito quo war' clam' h'ere t'ras suas de Stykeswald, (and all the above places) quietas a secta com' wapp'et hundr' a p'stacione murdr' aux' v'ic co'is finis et am'ciament' sine licenc' d'ni Reg', &c. Et Priorissa ven', &c. (Plac. de quo War. p. 428.)

[7] The great and startling mutations which time has made in all our most cherished antiquities, the mitred abbey—the baronial castle—the moated hall and convent,

a progress or procession,[8] they wore a capacious hood called Culla. Their lives were devoted to prayer,[9] seclusion,[10] and works of charity. The

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of ages long departed, is matter of painful regret; and in the locality where these desultory notices have been penned, fancy may raise up before the eye of meditation, numerous grand and massive vestiges of the taste and splendour of our forefathers in their stately halls; surrounded by retainers, grim, fierce, and determined—ready to do their leader's behest. Imagination may show the banks of the river Witham sprinkled with towers, and spires, and battlements, at Bardney, Tupholm, Stixwold, Kirkstead, and Tatershall;—all now vanished from our view, and scarcely a vestige left to tell where the proud and stately edifices flourished.

[8] The nuns had their processions and other monastic amusements like the monks; and even patronized the feast of fools and other absurdities.

[9] Erasmus, (Ichth, inter Colloq. 428.) gives an anecdote of two nuns on a visit, at which he was present. The servant by forgetfulness had omitted to bring their book of prayers; which produced much disturbance, for the nuns did not dare to eat their supper without first saying their evening prayers; and what is very extraordinary, they could not repeat them out of any book but their own. They were at a loss what to do as the rest of the guests and the family wanted their supper. The servant was sent for the book, and did not return till the night was very far advanced. The prayers were then said, and the family sat down to supper.

[10] The convent of Stixwold was surrounded entirely by walls, in conformity with that rule which provided, "that it should be so enclosed, as scarcely to leave an entrance for birds." During divine service, it was also ordered that there should be a door to the choir so that they might be secure from the prying curiosity of strangers.

rule was strict.[11] They were not allowed to converse with each other without license from the prioress; and if strangers requested to see any of the sisters at the grate, it was only permitted in the presence of witnesses, and with a cloth or veil before it.[12]

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[11] They do not appear to have been particularly strict in the observance of their rule, if we may believe Barnaby Googe, who says—"the monks and nonnes abroad do roame;"—insinuating that they wandered abroad from their houses for idleness, gossip, and other doubtful purposes. There are instances, however, on record, where these solitary females, displayed a heroism and self-denial, which would shame the courage of the more robust and hardy sex. A convent of virtuous nuns, being hard pressed by the Danes, the year before Bardney abbey was destroyed; the abbess adopted a most effectual expedient to preserve herself and nuns from pollution. Assembling the whole convent, she took a sharp knife, and cut off her nose and lips, disfiguring her face with gashes in the most frightful manner. The young nuns, many of whom are represented as being very beautiful, lost no time in following the example. Thus, when the ravishers forced their way into the building, they found nothing but blood and deformity. Exasperated by disappointment the ruffians set fire to the convent and the heroic nuns perished in the flames.

[12] An old tract, noticed by Beloe, (Anec. lit. vol. i. p. 393,) called Cock Lorell's Vote, contains a smart satire on the vices of the nuns, notwithstanding the above salutary regulations, from which I extract a few lines.

Syr this pardon is newe founde
By syde London Brydge in a holy grounde
Late called the Stewes Banke,
Ye know well all that there was
Some relygyous women in that place,
To whom men offered many a franke,

Their letters or presents were first inspected by the prioress,[13] and she had the privilege of appropriating the latter to herself if she thought proper. They slept in separate beds;[14] and if contumacious, were placed on a diet of bread and water.[15] They were summoned to their multiplied offices of devotion by the sound of consecrated bells;[16] and

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And because they were so kynd and lyberall,
A Merveylous avanture there is befall, &c.

[13] The Capitularies Charlemagne say, "in some small monasteries, where the nuns are without rule, we order, that their cloisters be well locked, and that they do not write nor send love-letters." (Du Cange. v. Winileodes.)

[14] This rule was often violated. Fosbroke has collected many instances of it. He says, "a visitor at a convent of Gilbertine nuns near Lichfield, found two of the said nuns, one of them impregnant, another a young maid. Also at another called Harwolde, wherein was four or five nuns with the prioress, one of whom had two fair children, another one. Again, a certain monk, being young and handsome, fell in love with a nun, and had children by her, which children, even to a second and third parturition, she suffocated." (Monach. c. 27.)

[15] By Stat. 92, they were not allowed to go alone even "into the garden without a great necessity, except on festivals and sundays. No flowers except jessamine and violet were to be plucked without permission of the sacrist. And they were never permitted to go there in the night or in an undress."

[16] The following testimony is given in the Beehive of the Romish church, respecting the baptism of bells. "Nowe, over and above all this, the bells are not only conjured and hallowed, but are also baptized, and have apoynted for them godfathers, which hold the rope

confessed themselves at stated times to the incumbent of the parish, with a latticed window between them; and occasionally two discreet nuns were placed in sight, but out of hearing.[17] They were allowed however, on certain occasions, to absent themselves for a specified period;[18] and on the festival of the holy Innocents, young girls were admitted into the convent, where they performed the services of religion in the chapel, somewhat in the style of the boy bishop.[19] The nuns were also permitted at certain times to exercise the accom-

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wherewith they are tied, in their handes and doe answere and say amen to that which the suffragance or bishop doth speak or demand of the bell; and then they put a new coat or garment upon the belle, and so conjure it, to the driving away of all the power, craft, and subtilitie of the devill, and to the benefit and profit of the souls of them that bee dead, (especially if they bee rich, and can paye the sexton well,) and for many other like thynges."

[17] When the confession was made in the house, two discreet sisters sat apart from the window to see how the confessed nun behaved herself. The Confessor was also "to shun talking vain and unnecessary things; not to ask who she was, or whence she came, nor to talk to her about worldly matters." His behaviour was to be closely watched. (Fosbr. Monach. c. 26.)

[18] The constitutions allowed a nun to be absent only from disease; for recreation; to make or receive a cure; to console sick parents, or attend their funerals; for three days only when absent for the sake of relaxation, and in case of illness for six only after cure, unless by episcopal dispensation. (Lyndw. 212.)

[19] Warton's Eng. Poet. vol. iii. p. 235.)

plishments of music[20] and dancing;[21] but their leisure time was chiefly employed in reading and relating legends of the saints;[22] or in working

[20] I have seen in an old Morning Paper, that there was found in a Benedictine convent, a series of musical instruments which belong to the age of the lower empire. They were in a good state of preservation, and magnificent in the extreme. Amongst others was a Cythera formed of ivory, the cords of which are of gold, mounted by rosettes of diamonds. There is also an ancient galoubet, and many others. Such are the instruments, probably which the nuns of Stixwold used.

[21] Chauncey's Hertfordshire. p. 423, and perhaps on some occasions, the sports of the field; for they had charters of free warren over their lands. (Placit. de quo War. 22 Edw. I.)

[22] How that "Christ came and performed the funeral office for a holy nun at her death; and that he anointed with the sacred oil St. Lyduina when she was dying." (Maria deipar. p. 360.) How "the spirit of God threw Magdalen of Pazzi upon the ground in an ecstacy, when her countenance shone like that of a Seraphim. Christ gave her so large a share of his grace, that she would frequently throw herself down with her back on the ground, exclaiming, O Jesus, I can endure no longer! Often in these amorous transports she would join herself close to a crucifix, &c." (Life of M. de Pazzi. No. 26.) How when St. Gilbert was afflicted with a sore throat, "the Virgin took her feyre pappe, and milked on his throat and went her way, and anon therewith he was whole, and thanked our Lady ever after," (Lib. Fest. in die Annunc. p. 234.) How St. Anthony, being on a journey, and a heavy shower coming on, put the rosary on his head, and prayed for succour to the Virgin; and immediately the rosary became a complete cover, and he got to the city without being wet. (Baling. Jun. 13,) With numerous legends of a similar nature.

tapestry, or embroidering altars and pulpit cloths.[23]

These religious virgins, who are termed in the State Records, "the holy nuns of Stixwold,"[24] were accused in the reign of Edw. I., of making an encroachment on the river Witham, which operated to the serious injury of the country.[25] I think, however, we are bound to exonerate the ladies from all personal blame in this matter, when we consider that the priory contained a superior officer called the "Master of the Nuns,"[26]

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[23] One of the latter, highly enriched with an emblematical device on white satin, decorated the pulpit of Scopwick church within the last thirty years; and having become unfit for that use, it was converted by the late Vicar, Mr. Winship, into window curtains for his dwelling-house.

[24] Flor. Hist. p. 313. Their charters and grants were dated 9 Edw. II.; 15 Edw. II.; 13 Rich. II.; 7 Hen. IV.

[25] Priorissa de Stikeswald levavit perprestur' in q'inq' locis p'regalem aquam Wyme int' civitat' Linc' et s'em Bot' q' impediunt cursum aque et regiam viam et transitum' navum in max p'iculum navigantum de gorcis suis ibidem. (Rot. Hund. p. 317.) The nature of this encroachment is explained in another part of the same record, to have been effected by v'tunt cursum illius aque unde multum arcat' ita q'd ubi naves solebant transire cum turbis et fagotis ad comodum civitatis nullo modo possunt ibi nunc transire. (Ibid. p. 397.)

[26] Rot. Cur. Reg. 6 Rich. I. In the earlier period of its existence there were more men in the convent than the Master. For this we have the testimony of Leland, who says, "Hic olim erant, ut ego accepi, *fratres*;" (Collect, vol. i. p. 92.) but at the dissolution it consisted entirely of females. See Tanner. Linc. lxxiv.

and other male functionaries,[27] who would certainly be responsible for all the errors or frauds which might occur in the management of the convent property.

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[27] This was something in the manner of the Sempringham order, which is called in the Monasticon "a new and unheard of manner of religion for men and women to be thus joined together." But the same thing had been done before in the order of Fontevrald, where *the men were subject to the women.*

CHAPTER VII.

Kirkstead Abbey.

The Abbey of Kirkstead [1] was a Cistertian foundation, established A. D. 1139, by Hugh Brito, Lord of Tatershall,[2] and dedicated to the Virgin Mary.[3] The dress was a white cassock with a narrow scapulary, and a black cloak when the

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[1] Kirkstead, like Bardney, is a British name, "Cir, hirs, shires, churches, all took their appellation and form from the Celtic radical *hir* or *cir*, a circle. Church or Kirk comes from *kir-rock*, the circle of stones; by contraction it is *Kirk*, and by corruption Church. A Kirk, Church, or place of worship in druidical times, was literally no more than a circle of stones." (Hutch. Cumb. vol. i. p. 251.) The learned and ingenious Faber says, that "*circus* and *circulus* are both derived from Cir or Cur, the Sun." (Mys. Cab. vol i. p. 213.)

[2] Hugo filius Eudonis primus fundator Kirkstede. Cister. (Leland. Collect. vol. i. p. 92.)

[3] In these times there was very little distinction between the deity and the Blessed Virgin. The Archbishop of Canterbury commanded his clergy to supplicate "the Almighty God, and his mother, the glorious Virgin Mary, and all the saints both male and female, with pure hearts and devout minds." (Wilk. Conc. vol. iii. p. 121.) This was in the reign of Rich. II.

monks went abroad. The property was very extensive; and is particularized with great minuteness in a Rental of the Abbey deposited in the British Museum.[4] The lands were situated in the city of Lincoln, and most of the provincial deaneries.[5] In Horncastle the abbot had common of pasture, and a turbary; in Nocton, 1000 acres of pasture; in Blankney, 420 acres of arable, besides the fen; in Branston, 255 acres; in Metheringham, 600 acres; in Canwick, 285 acres; fish ponds, and a grange at Sheepwash; in Billinghay, 25 acres of meadow; in Thimbleby, 90 acres; in Langton, 30 acres; in Coningsby, 2 tofts, besides a quantity of arable and marsh land; in South Langton, 1 toft, 15 acres of arable, and common of pasture; in Scampton, a Knight's fee;[6] in Holton, 90 acres; in Thornton, 100 acres and a wood; in Stretton, 240 acres; in Wispington, 60 acres; in Strubby, 15 acres; in Martin, 8 acres

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[4] Harl. MSS. 144. The charters, patents, and grants were dated as follows:—13 Edw. I.; 25 Edw. I.; 27 Edw. I.; 31 Edw. I.; 35 Edw. I.; 10 Edw. II.; 17 Edw. II.; 5 Edw. III.; 14 Edw. III.; 43 Edw. III; 44 Edw. III.; 15 Rich. II.; 16 Rich. II.; 1 Hen. V.; 5 Hen. V.; 6 Hen. V.; 3 Hen. VI. The procuration of these documents was accompanied by heavy fines.

[5] "In Kirkstead a well planted demesne." (Lel. vol. vii. p. 52.)

[6] The Knight's fee appears to have been uncertain as to quantity. Camden says it was 680 acres; Holland 800; Doddridge 1600; Blackstone 12 plough lands; Spelman 4 hydes.

of meadow; besides land in Dunston, Suthorp, Roughton, Holtham, and Benniworth; the manor of Hedingly; two parts of the manor of Wood Hall; a wood and a park at Beltisholm, the demesne of Wildmore,[7] and 5 vaccaries in the fen;[8] others at Revesby and Mere Booth; pasture for 700 sheep at Riseholm; 90 acres of land and an aqueduct to supply the abbey with fresh water at Roughton; a quarry at Washingborough; half a mill at Woodhouse;[9] a mill-pond at Haltham upon Bain; 4 smith's forges, a mine, and common of pasture at Kimberworth; property

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[7] It appears from a MS. in the British Museum that Wildmore fen contained about 45,000 acres, and at the Conquest, was made an appendage to the baronies of Bolingbroke, Scrivelsby and Horncastle; the former being the property of William de Romara, the next to Robert Marmion, and the latter to Gerbeld Skalds. Each of these barons relinquished their respective portions of the fen to the abbey of Kirkstead. In 1222 the abbot was possessed of the whole of it, excepting two vaccaries, one of which belonged to the abbey of Revesby, and the other to Ranuph de Rhodes, and his tenants, in the soke of Horncastle. (Harl. MSS. No. 4127. p. 10.)

[8] These vaccaries were situate at Langwath, Honaldhouse, Newham, Hermeticorum, and Merebooth.

[9] A mill was a valuable property in these times. An anecdote is related by Beckman, that in the fourteenth century, "a certain abbot wished to erect a windmill, which was objected to by a neighbouring proprietor, who contended that the wind of the whole district belonged to him. The monks complained to the bishop, who gave them permission, affirming that the wind of the whole diocese was episcopal property."

at Rotherham, and in the parishes of St. Andrew, Holborn, St. Botolph, Aldersgate, and St. Nicholas, in the city of London; and the advowson of the churches of Covenham, Thimbleby, Wispington, and Wood Hall. All the above lands were exempt from the payment of tithes.[10] The possession of all this extensive property did not prevent some of the abbots from endeavouring to increase their income by an aggression upon the estates of others; and so early as the commencement of the reign of Edw. I., the abbot was accused before the royal commissions of divers encroachments,[11] by obstructing passengers on the king's highway;[12] by purpresture,[13] and making ditches and drains for his own convenience,[14] which flooded his neigh-

[10] Stat. 13 Edw. I. c. 13. For which this reason is assigned in the decretal Epistle of Pope Innocent III. anno. 1215, that "it appears reasonable and convenient that they who sow spiritual things should reap earthly things."

[11] Placit. de quo War. p. 404.

[12] Rot. Hund. p. 302.

[13] A purpresture is defined by Crompton (Jurisd. fol. 152.) to be "when a man taketh unto himself, or encroacheth any thing that he ought not, whether it be in any jurisdiction, land or franchise; and generally when anything is done to the nuisance of the king's tenants. See Kitchin. fol. 10; and Manwood's Forest Laws, c. 10.

[14] The laws for preserving the rights of the people on these highways from encroachment, were salutary, though it appears they were often evaded. Thus it was provided that "if any one should dig up the ground, or make a ditch within two perches of the king's road, he

bour's land, and inflicted considerable injury on the country; and it was urged that the people were unable, from the abbot's power, to procure redress. He prevented the navigation of the Witham by any vessels except his own.[15] It was further complained that he exercised the privilege of hunting, fowling, fishery, as well as taking waif and stray[16] over the whole of Wildmore fen, Branston, Linwood, Sheepwash, and other places;[17]—that he had erected a gallows at Thimbleby, on which various criminals had been executed; and appropriated to himself without license, the assize of bread and beer there, and at Horncastle;[18]—that he held large estates at Langton, Coningsby, Thimbleby, and other places, for which

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must pay a fine of eight pounds of silver." (Domesd. fo. 280.)

[15] Rot. Hund. p. 317. Probably by means of a chain drawn across the river, for I know not how the above effect could have been otherwise produced.

[16] Waifs are goods which have been stolen and thrown away by the thief for fear of detection. These were the property of the king, as a punishment on the owner for not pursuing and taking the felon; and were granted by charter to individuals. (Blackst. Com. vol. i. p. 296.) Stray signifies any domestic animal found within a lordship which has not an owner; and being cried according to law, in the church, and the two nearest markets, if it were not claimed within a year and a day, it became the property of the lord of the soil.

[17] Rot. Hund. p. 365.

[1] Ibid. p. 299.

he ought to pay the impost called Sheriff's aid,[19] but had for many years omitted to do so.[20] He refused to do suit and service for his lands either in the King's court or that of the Bishop of Carlisle, at Horncastle.[21]

I am unable to find that the abbot returned a satisfactory answer to some of these allegations. He gave, however, a clear account of his lands and privileges on Wildmore fen,[22] as well as at Blankney, Metheringham, Dunston, and many other places; all of which, with their rights, immunities, and privileges, he proved by charter,[23] and they

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[19] The payment called Sheriff's aid, was a charge upon land held of the king in capite, and fines, &c., for misdemeanours. Thus we find that the sheriff of Lincolnshire accounted to the king for £33 16s. 4d. the chattels of several fugitives and persons that died by the judgment of water. (Mag. Rot. 12 Hen. II.) Again, the barons of the Exchequer were commanded to allow to Robert de Cladworth, sheriff of Lincoln, 56s. 7d. for the maintenance and food of 7 greyhounds, 3 falcons, and a laner hawk, and for the wages of a huntsman; to wit, for the maintenance of each dog and hawk 1½d. a day, and for the wages of the huntsman 2d. a day. (Com. 16 Edw. I. pasch. Rot. 10 in dorso.)

[20] Placit. de quo War. p. 404.

[21] Rot. Hund. p. 365.

[22] See Rot. Pat. 43 Edw. III. a tergo, where his right of pasturage in Wildmore fen is admitted and confirmed.

[23] He had an abundance of charters of liberties, and patents of confirmation; and also charters of free warren over the manors of Kirkstead, Stretton, Gayton, Benniworth, Scampton, Branston, Linwood, Langworth, Braken, Snelland, Dunholm, Ulceby, Langton, Wildmore, and many other places in Lincolnshire and Yorkshire.

were allowed by the king's attorney general.[24] It appears clear that the monks of Kirkstead possessed nearly the whole of Wildmore fen, with its vaccaries, and rights of turbary, by the gift of Robert Marmion of Scrivelsby, confirmed by the charter of Hen. II. Hence the abbots were styled "Lords of Wildmore."[25]

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[24] Placit de quo War. p. 430.
[25] Ibid. p. 419.

CHAPTER VIII.

Contest between the Abbot of Kirkstead and the Mayor of Lincoln.

I have now to record the particulars of a sharp dispute between the Monks of Kirkstead, and the Mayor and citizens of Lincoln; by which the latter sustained a very serious injury.[1] To make

[1] The public records referring to the city of Lincoln, speak of great disturbances there during the reign of Hen. III., whether with the concurrence of the magistracy or not is rather doubtful; not only because in these times persons in authority were proverbially corrupt, but because a few instances are given, in which the power of the civic officers was used to sanction occurrences which were not strictly in accordance with justice and equity. Thus, William de Holgate, one of the city coroners, was accused before the jurors, of having concealed a bag of wool worth six marks, which had been stolen by Samuel the Little and Ursellus his partner, jews of Lincoln; and compelled his brother coroners to make a false entry in their Compotus Roll, that he might appropriate it to himself. The same worthy, when seated in the civic chair, as chief magistrate, followed similar courses. It is recorded in the Inquisition Roll; that in consideration of a fee of 40s., paid on signing and sealing the deed of

it perfectly clear, a few preliminary observations will be necessary. In the reign of Hen. III. when this dispute originated, wool was the staple commodity of the country; and, as it is said, constituted half its wealth.[2] The woollen manufactures were declining, and the material was carried over to Flanders in great quantities to be converted into cloth.

As the export duties were heavy, wool became an article of contraband traffic on the river Witham,[3] as well as many other places throughout

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conveyance, and in opposition to the unanimous voice of the citizens, he assigned over to John Anesas of Lincoln, a piece of land adjoining the river, which had been used by the citizens as a wharf and yard to load and unload their carts, pack their wool, and land their wines, &c.; and that he had built a house upon the premises; to the great prejudice of the merchants and others who had hitherto used them as a landing place for their goods. (Rot. Hund. 3 Edw. I.)

[2] Thus, Spelman says, (Relig. fo. 162.) "Ut intelligas, proceres Angliæ apud Edw. I. ded vectigalio lanis imposito conquerentes, consulto affirmasse opum regni dimidium in lanis consistere."

[3] It appears that many surreptitious shipments of wool took place at this period. Thus, the Hundred Rolls give an account of a boat containing sixty sheets and one bag of wool, belonging to a merchant named Robert de la Laund, proceeding along the Witham from Lincoln to Boston in the reign of Hen. III., for exportation to Flanders; — of 100 sheets belonging to Mariota the widow of Bandes de Wasiers; and 40 sheets belonging to Ralph Fitz John, sent along the Witham for exportation at the same port. Many other instances of the same kind might be quoted.

England. This river, at the period referred to, was broad, deep, and rapid;[4] and admitted ships of large burden to navigate it freely from Boston to Lincoln.[5] It is even asserted that the tide ran quite up to the city, and raised the water at the Swan pool, two or three feet. And in the reign of Edw. III., it was cleansed and widened by royal patent.[6] The city ranked as the fourth sea port in England; being only surpassed by

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[4] "There is reason for believing that formerly, perhaps when the Romans had a station at Lincoln, the Witham admitted ships of considerable size to sail thither. Such an opinion receives support from the discovery of a large anchor, which was found there, at a considerable depth, and also from the following circumstance. On digging for a foundation to build a house, (late Mr. Moris',) at the upper end of the main street in Lincoln, a boat was discovered, which by a chain and lock was fastened to a post. This spot being many yards higher than the middle of that valley through which the Witham runs, such a discovery in such a situation was little to be expected. If it be admitted that this boat had been moored at the side of the river, and sunk and silted there, the channel must have been both broad and deep." (Chapman's Facts, cited by Thompson, Boston, p. 114.)

[5] "Lincoln is one of those cities of far off antiquity —a British, a Roman, a Saxon city. At Lincoln, still stands Newport gate—the Roman gate—formed by a plain square pier and a semicircular arch. The Roman walls and the Roman arches of Lincoln are monuments of the same great people that we find at Rome itself. At Lincoln too are the remains of such baths as Agricola taught the Britons to build." (Knight's Old England. p. 46.)

[6] Rot. Pat.

London, Boston, and Southampton; as is evidenced by the amount of Quinzeme duties paid by the different ports in England during the reign of John.[7] Lincoln paid to the crown the annual sum of £656 12s. 2d.; a sum that would purchase, at the period, 13,000 acres of land.[8]

At this time, Lincoln was an emporium for the merchants of Europe;[9] who brought with them a stream of riches and prosperity which elevated the city to the first rank in commercial importance.

> Labour was busy in her looms;
> The merchants of the east, and from the west,
> Met in her booths. Through all her open gates
> Stream'd splendour.

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7 The facilities enjoyed by Lincoln as a sea-port were increased by two navigable canals introduced by the Romans. The Cardyke which united the Welland with the Witham; and the Fosdyke which connected both with the Trent and Humber. William of Malmsbury says, "Lindocolniam civitatem unam ex populosioribus angliæ, emporium hominum terra marique venientem." And in the 6th John, William de Wrotheham accounted to the crown for the quinzeme of merchants arising out the several sea-ports in England, Lincoln and Boston make a very considerable figure, and stand almost without a rival; the four principal sea-ports, estimated from this return, being London, which paid £830 12s. 10d.; Boston, £780 15s. 3d.; Southampton, £712 3s. 7½d.; and Lincoln, which rendered £656 12s. 2d.

8 Madox. Excheq. p. 347.

9 "After the Norman Conquest, "says Stukeley (Itin. Cur. vol. i. p. 90.) "when a great part of the first city of Lincoln was turned into a castle, I apprehend they added the last in-take southward in the angle of the

The houses in the suburb called Wykenford,[10] were massive stone edifices, richly ornamented with carvings; many of them of surpassing beauty and elegance. Here most of the traffic of Lincoln was carried on in booths and warehouses containing a display of costly merchandize —broad cloths, wool,[11] lead, skins, armour, and other wares for military or domestic use and luxury. The street, during the hours of business, was crowded with citizens, jews, monks, and merchants, who jostled each other without ceremony as they passed from place to place. All partaking of the wealth and splendour with which the city abounded at this fortunate period.[12]

Witham, and made a new cut called Sincildyke, on the south and east side for its security. The city then being of this huge compass, gave occasion for that prophecy, as they call it, and fancy to have been fulfilled in the year 1666;

Lincoln *was*, London *is*, and York *shall be*,
The fairest city of the three."

[10] The following names of ancient streets in Lincoln may be interesting. Wintergate, Ordepitwell, Haliwell gate, Wyngarth, Arnaldgate, Le Gare, Le Belle Cotti, Rufaldes, Sepwas, Calcraft, St. Cross Wykenford, Battle-place, Wainwell, Hudekin, Wingard, Brancegate, Clake-side, Watergauster, Thornbriggate.

[11] The preamble to the Charter granted to the city, 4 Ch. I., expresses that it hath been "of a long time a city very ancient and popular, defended with walls and towers, and one of the chiefest seats of our own kingdom of England for the staple and public market of *wool sellers and merchant strangers, &c.*"

[12] The jews of Lincoln were at this time remarkable

It was a staple town for the sale of wool and other commodities;[13] and possessed a government Steelyard for weighing the goods according to law; and a mayor of the staple for deciding disputes, and adjusting differences between the buyer and the seller.[14] It carried on an extensive commerce

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for their wealth. Aaron, who is called by our historians, a jew of York, had vast possessions in this city; and is distinguished in the state records by the appellation of "Aaron the rich Jew of Lincoln." He resided above hill, in a house and premises extending from Bailgate to the gate of the Castle, and westward to the Castle ditch. His riches excited the cupidity of the rulers. At one time he was commanded to pay a fine of 4000 marks; and at another the incredible sum of 30,000 marks; and it appears from the Hundred Rolls that his property was at length confiscated; probably on the charge of being accessory to the alleged crucifixion of the boy Hugh; for a commission was issued by Hen. III., to Simon Passelier and William de Leighton, to seize and enter upon, as escheats to the crown, the houses and property belonging to the jews at Lincoln, on the pretext of having crucified a child.

[13] A statute of staple was passed 27 Edw. III., appointing York, Lincoln, Norwich, Westminster, Canterbury, Chichester, Winchester, &c., to be towns where the staple of wools, leather, woolfels and lead should be perpetually held. But in 1369, a new statute was made in which Lincoln was omitted, and Hull, Boston, and Yarmouth inserted. A few years afterwards the counties of Lincoln, Nottingham, Leicester, and Derby, petitioned that the staple might continue to be held at Lincoln, pursuant to the ordinance of 27 Edw. III., and not at Boston. But it was answered that it should continue at Boston during the king's pleasure.

[14] Stat. 27 Edw. III.

with Flanders, in the exportation of wool and sheepskins, which were bartered for manufactured goods. These foreign manufactures, however, would have a tendency to injure the trade of Lincoln in a very vital point; for there was, in the city, an incorporated guild of Cloth weavers, who possessed a chartered monopoly; and no loom was allowed to be erected within thirty-six miles of the city, but what belonged to their own body.[15]

During the dissentions between this country and Flanders, the Florentine merchants got possession of this lucrative commerce;[16] for there was a strict injunction that the Flemings should not export wool nor import cloth until the dispute should be settled. Many opulent Florentines took up their residence in Lincoln at this period, under a charter of Edw. I. They were, however, inveterate smugglers.[17] Officers of the customs

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[15] Rot. Pat.

[16] The Compotus of Buonricini Gicidon and others, 9 Edw. I., for the Nova Custuma of wool, &c., contains the following entry respecting the receipts in one year in the port of Boston. Et de MMM. D. $\frac{xx}{iiij.}$ xix. li. xviiij. d, de cons' custuma p' M p' decem mill' D C lxxv sacc' et di', viginti et octo mill' ccxv pellibus lanat' xiij lastis xiiij dacr' et di', in portu s'ci Botuphi p' idem te' pus sic c't'in R° de p't'. (Mag. Rot. 9 Edw. I. Ro. i.)

[17] One company alone of these merchants compounded with the king for the unlawful exportation of several cargoes of wool, at the sum of £534; which was paid to Luke of Lucca for the king's use. They had been previously fined £1000 sterling by Hen. III., for using

were stationed in Lincoln to collect the duties upon wool and skins; and it was enacted, that if any merchant exported such goods without accounting for the duties, they should be forfeited to the crown. In the face of this order, many instances of contraband shipments of wool on the river Witham, are recorded in the Hundred Rolls.[18]

These observations will serve to elucidate the severe struggle between the abbot of Kirkstead and the citizens of Lincoln, to which I have just alluded. It will be borne in mind that the Cistertian monks took more interest in their farms than their religious services;[19] and above all, were

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false weights. After payment of the fine, these merchants obtained leave to remain in England, and to trade and export wools, and other merchandize at their pleasure, subject only to such regulations as might be imposed by the king in council. (Rym. Fœd. vol. ii. p. 50.)

[18] The merchants of Lucca, of the society of Friscobaldi, established an agency at Lincoln for the purchase of wool; and by the alleged authority of the king's writ, transmitted great quantities of it to foreign countries duty free. This potent fraternity was accused by Edw. I., of robbing his Exchequer to the amount of 100,000 pounds sterling. The Hundred Rolls, (p. 398. et passim) give an account of great quantities of wool shipped off to Flanders on the river Witham.

[19] About the time when the transactions to which I am going to refer took place, the Cistertians were charged with being guilty of "illicit and fraudulent practices; of exercising prohibited and unjust trades, although traffic of every kind was forbidden by their rule; of dealing

great dealers in wool. Now it appears that the mayor and citizens had constructed a capacious dock, with warehouses and yards, containing two acres of land, on the banks of the Witham, at a place called Calscroft, near Sheepwash Grange; where the ships belonging to the Lincoln merchants loaded and discharged their cargoes; and where the city and king's officers [20] attended to collect

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very largely in wool; and being more like farmers than monks." (Fosbr. Monach. p. 70.) They ploughed, sowed, and reaped their own lands; sheared their own sheep; and turned their labours to the best account, as we shall soon see, without respect to the rights of others; and hence the Cistertians are said to have been universally disliked. Their style of living appears to have been highly luxurious. The abbot's lodgings were furnished with great elegance and taste. The walls were hung with tapestry, woven, as Spenser says,

——————with gold and silke so close and nere,
That the rich metall lurked privily,
As fayning to be hidd, from envious eye.
Yet here and there and every where, unawares
It showed itself, and shone unwillingly;
Like to a discoloured snake, whose hidden snares,
Through the grene gras his long bright burnish'd back
declares.

[20] Rot. Hund. 3. Edw. I. It will be observed that the exactions of the king's officers had been so oppressive to the people, that in 1304, king Edw. I., keeping his Christmas at Lincoln, with his queen and court, such complaints reached his ears, that he ordained Justices of Trailbaston, with full powers to detect and punish all peace officers who had been guilty of oppression or exaction in the performance of their official duties. (Stow. p. 209.) Many disorders were brought to light, and

the tolls due to both.[21] At a court of enquiry, holden in the city of Lincoln, before two of the king's justices, in 5 Edw. I., the mayor complained that the abbot of Kirkstead had forcibly seized, and retained possession of this dock and its ap-

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the offenders were obliged to buy off the king's displeasure by heavy fines.

[21] It should appear that correct accounts were not always rendered of the receipt and expenditure of the city income. Thomas de Bellofogo, the mayor, in the reign of Hen. III., was accused of embezzleing 30 marks, being the amount of tolls collected under a royal charter for repairing the walls. His successor, Walter Broad pocketed £10 from the same fund. William, the son of Giles, in imitation of such profitable examples, withheld 100 shillings; and William de Newark, the collector of the murage, was allowed to appropriate to himself the sum of 10 marks as his share of the spoil. This system of peculation was carried on to a much greater extent during the mayoralty of Walter de Brant, who was charged with embezzleing 100 marks from the above fund; and William Holgate contrived to realize double that sum. Mention is made of another collector, Matthew Dogneck by name, who was appointed surveyor and custodier of the stone quarries belonging both to the king and to the city. He refused to account for his receipts; and not only built a house for himself of the stone which had been taken up and squared for repairing the city walls, and allowed the above William Holgate, during his mayoralty, to do the same; but connived at the roguery of one Simon Swine, a stonemason, who transferred to his own use, and sold to his customers, considerable quantities of same material. Numerous fraudulent acts of this nature are recorded in the Hundred Rolls; but the above will be amply sufficient to show the general character of the municipality of those unhappy times.

pendages, under a pretended claim, in right of his proprietorship of Sheepwash Grange,[22] which he said extended to the waters of Witham; and that he refused to allow the citizens to exercise their privileges on the spot, unless they paid to him an annual toll of half a mark. This impost was intended as an acknowledgment of the abbot's rights; and enabled him to collect all the tolls and dues arising from every species of goods which were landed or shipped at this haven. The citizens complained that they were obliged to submit to the imposition, although their charters exempted them from all tolls,[23] rather than incur the inconvenience of abandoning the station.

In the above illicit transactions, which were continued from year to year, we are struck with the immense and overwhelming power of the religious orders of these times;[24] who could thus

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[22] Rot. Hund. p. 398.

[23] Breve essendi quieti de thelonio. This was a writ for the use of any parties that have a charter or prescription of freedom from tolls, against the officers of any town or market who presumed to charge any tolls upon their merchandize contrary to the said immunity. (Cowel.)

[24] Guiot de Provens, who wrote in the 13th century, says of the Cistertians, "the abbots and cellerars have ready money, eat large fish, drink good wine, and send to the refectory for those who do the work, the very worst. I have seen these monks," he continues, "build pigsties in churchyards, and make stables for asses in their chapels. They seize the cottages of the poor and reduce them to beggary."

perpetrate acts of gross injustice with impunity, and in defiance of the constituted authorities of the realm.[25] There can be no doubt but these misdemeanours were maintained *vi et armis*;[26]

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[25] Such aggressions were not uncommon. The same thing was carried on by the nobility. The following anecdote, related in the Hundred Rolls, is too characteristic to be admitted. Ralph Morewood, the bailiff to William de Kyme, a rich and powerful individual who resided in Thornbriggate in Lincoln, forcibly took a quantity of goods out of a boat on the Witham, belonging to Alfred of Howel, which the owner was compelled to repurchase by the payment of a large fine. And Stephen de Hastings, his seneschal, acting under the authority of his master, took possession of Dockdyke haven, and imposed an illegal toll on all ships and vessels belonging to the merchants of Lincoln passing and repassing to the port of Boston. The citizens of Lincoln sent down agents for the protection of their rights; but Ralph Morewood, with a posse of followers, drove them off by violence, and sent them home to report the ill success of their mission to their brethren. And though the citizens subsequently called in the aid of the king's bailiffs, it was all to no purpose; for the Kyme party proved the most powerful, and retained possession of the disputed point.

[26] This will be illustrated by the following extract from the Hundred Rolls. Walter Beke, constable of the castle took away from the citizens a piece of land containing upwards of two acres, called Battle Place. This aggression was perpetrated under the authority of Henry de Lacy, in whom the castle and bail were vested by charter of Edw. I. It proved an irreparable loss to the inhabitants; for not only did they use this open space as a public way for traffic, and for pasturage of their cattle, but it was a place of general resort, where the citizens

and probably the monks of Kirkstead, like those of Glastonbury, kept in their pay a champion,[27] and brought their retainers and hired freebooters into requisition,[28] to enforce obedience to the

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congregated in an evening, and on holidays, to recreate themselves with various games and pastimes, and to witness pugilistic contests. It does not appear, however, that these savage encounters, were patronized by any but the lowest dregs of society; for the original expression is—*the place were thieves fight*;—and the Bail of Lincoln, was a kind of sanctuary for these vagabonds. Possession of this arena for *ludi circenses* was vigourously retained by the constable, in defiance of the repeated complaints of the citizens, and if any cattle strayed within its boundaries, they were immediately impounded, und a penalty imposed for their liberation.

[27] The trial by combat, however, had begun to be superseded by the introduction of the assize in the reign of Hen. II. From the time of the Conquest the English had greatly disliked the Norman customs, and sought, on every occasion, a confirmation of the Saxon laws. The citizens of Lincoln were exempted by charter from trial by combat. This was of the greatest importance to them, as victory would generally declare itself in favour of the trained champion of the barons or the monks.

[28] The abbey was strongly fortified, and provided with an abundance of armour both offensive and defensive; which was kept ready for immediate use, whenever the defence of the building, or an expedition against an hostile baron, or against the outlaws and thieves which overran the country, should bring them into requisition. Crossbows and longbows, swords, glaives and bills, helmets and coats of mail, were suspended from nails upon the walls of the great hall, in formidable array.

abbot's mandates were they never so lawless.[29] The neighbouring gentry also, many of whose ancestors had been benefactors to the monastery, shared probably in the profits of their contraband traffic, and would be ready to render their assistance whenever it might be necessary.[30] Added to which, the abbot possessed a formidable engine of power in the rite of excommunication. And at this particular period, the citizens of Lincoln were

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[29] In a curious deed which is copied in Upton de Studio Militaris, one Henry de Fernebureg stood engaged, for the annual sum of 30 marks, to be always ready to fight, as the abbot of Glastonbury's champion, in defence of his rights and privileges, against the champions of other bodies, whether civil or ecclesiastical. And there is sufficient evidence to induce the belief that the nuns of Stixwold maintained a champion; for in the Rolls of the king's court, during the reign of Rich. I., we find a case recorded, where the nuns were challenged to decide a controverted case by wager of battle. (Rot. Cur. Reg. i. 31.)

[30] The Saxon chronicle gives an appalling picture of the unbridled licentiousness of the barons and their retainers. "They grievously oppressed the poor people; filled their castles with wicked men, or rather devils, who seized both men and women, whom they imagined had money, threw them into prison, and put them to more cruel tortures than the martyrs ever endured. They suffocated some in mud, and suspended others by the feet, or head, or thumbs, kindling fires below them. They squeezed the heads of some with knotted cords, till they pierced their brains, while they threw others into dungeons swarming with serpents, snakes, and toads." (Hen. Engl. vol. vii. p. 346.)

scarcely in a capacity to contest the matter; being in such disgrace with the crown, that a serious intention was entertained of rescinding their civic privileges; and they were obliged to purchase their peace by a fine of 1000 marks.[31]

But a more criminal invasion on their vested rights remains to be told.

At the above mentioned court, the mayor and citizens complained that the monks of Kirkstead had not only converted the docks and warehouses at Sheepwash, which had been constructed at the expense of the city, into a convenient station for smuggling;[32] but that they were in the habit of employing agents for the purchase of wool in the county of Lincoln and elsewhere; which in addition to their own growth, was secreted at Sheepwash Grange, and the adjacent warehouses;[33] and

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[31] Vide Rot. Hund. et Rot. Pat.

[32] The abbot lost no opportunity of benefitting the foundation, and notwithstanding these encroachments, he procured a Writ of ad quod damnum to be executed before the mayor of Lincoln, 31 Edw. I., to transfer the alien Priory of Covenham, with its lands at Grimsby, Skidbrooke, and elsewhere, and the advowson of Covenham church, to the abbey of Kirkstead; by which it was held till the dissolution, when its possessions were granted to William Skipwith.

[33] Higden, in his Polychronicon gives an anecdote of Richard I., which accords with the character of the Cistertians. The king having been told by a monk that he had three daughters called Pride, Covetousness, and Lechery, who would subject him to the wrath of God if

selling it in the markets and fairs by sample to the Flemish and Florentine merchants, it was shipped off to their orders in armed vessels, which returned laden with manufactured goods, which were privately disposed of; and thus the mayor of the staple was defrauded of the tronage due to the crown, and the citizens of their accustomed tolls.[34] The practice was carried to such an extent that the latter estimated their annual loss alone, if the account in the Hundred Rolls be correct, at the enormous sum of 100 marks, equal to £2000 a year of our money.[35]

I am ignorant how the matter ended; for the record whence I have extracted these facts is silent on the subject. But I suppose, as in all similar cases, the encroachments on the rights of the crown would be punished by a heavy fine.[36] It

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he did not divest himself of them; immediately replied that he would bestow them in marriage; Pride, he would give to the Knights Templars; *Covetousness to the Cistertians;* and Lechery to the Prelates of the Church. And so, Sir Priest, you have my daughters divided amongst you.

[34] While this dispute was in progress, two of the brothers, named Hugh de Kirkstead, whom Fuller styles a Benedictine—Cistertian—Bernardine monk, and Serlo, employed themselves in the scriptorium of the abbey, in the peaceable occupation of writing a history of their order from its first appearance in England till their own time, including an account of all the houses under that rule in the kingdom.

[35] Rot. Hund. 3 Edw. I.

[36] It is notorious that in these times justice was openly

will be observed, however, that these were times of great license, when might was superior to right; and the administration of public affairs was so feeble that the weak had no chance of protection against the aggressions of their potent neighbours. The above incidents show the lawless character of the religious orders, who set the civil power at defiance in the exercise of a traffic which was forbidden by their rule.

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bought and sold. Thus, Robert de Essart gave a sum of money for an inquest to discover whether Roger the butcher, and others, had accused him of theft out of envy and ill-will or not. (Mad. Exch. vol. i. p. 296.) Solomon, the jew, agreed to pay the judge one-seventh part of all that he should recover in his action against Hugh de la Rose. (Ibid. p. 79.) Robert de Vaux, gave five of his best palfries to the king as a bribe to induce him to be silent about Henry Pinel's wife. (Ibid. p. 352.)

CHAPTER IX.

Causes which led to the suppression of Monachism in England.

It will be unnecessary to enter upon any lengthened disquisition on the origin of that great reform which gave religious liberty to the inhabitants of this realm. It is well known that Pope Leo X., who, I believe, was not only a wise and learned prelate, but also a good and pious man, in order to recruit his exhausted treasury, published a sale of indulgences.[1] These documents professed, on

[1] Local and temporary indulgences had been common in the Romish church. Thus we are told that "in the Yere of our Lorde M. CCLXX. Edmond the nobyll Erle of Cornuale brought a porcyon of precyous blode of Cryste Jhesu that he shedde for mankynde upon the crosse un to the Abbey of Haylys, apon holyrode day in herviste, where god daylie shewithe miracles throwe the virtue of that precyous blode." Several successive Popes gave their sanction to the deceit; and Pope Eugene "grauntede vii. yere and iii. lentes to all thoo that gevyth eny thynge to the worship of god and that precyous blode, and other relykis that bethe in that place." (Lel. Collect. vol. vi. p. 284.)

payment of 10s., to convey a remission of the punishment due to sin; (plenam omnium suorum peccatorum absolutionem concedimus;)[2] and were believed to be capable of redeeming the soul from purgatory.[3]

Such absurd and untenable pretences[4] paved

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[2] Are these pretensions abandoned? I fear not; for a bull of Pope Leo XII., issued in 1825, assumes the authority of remitting sins, "by virtue of the power vested in him by the Almighty, to unlock the sacred treasures, composed of the merits, sufferings, and virtues of Christ our Lord, and of his virgin mother, and of all the Saints, which the author of human salvation has entrusted to his dispensation."

[3] It was not the first time that such an extraordinary means of raising money had been resorted to; for the sale of soul masses was practised in every church and monastery, and was even recorded in the churchwarden's accounts. Thus, at St. Mary Hill, London, 17 Edw. IV., the accounts contain the following entry:—"Item, paid to the par. priest to remember in the pulpit the soul of R. Bliet, who gave vis. viiid., to the church works, ijd." But there were peculiar reasons why the practice produced such unexpected effects at this particular period. The invention of printing had enlightened the public mind; and men began to question the efficacy of a plenary indulgence; while the monks, who were deputed to superintend the sale, were dissolute and vicious—spending in taverns and disreputable places, the money which had been paid by pious persons for the remission of their sins.

[4] The doctrine is thus stated in the Romish canon law. "The Son of God, though a moderate drop of his blood would have sufficed for the redemption of all mankind, yet shed the whole. That therefore the remainder of

the way for a general protest. The movement was commenced by Luther, and a few master spirits of the age.[5] It soon extended over Germany, where the monks appear to have been extremely vicious,[6]

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his blood—all above that one drop—might not be unprofitable, vain, and superfluous, it was left as a treasure to the church. Which treasure Christ did not hide in a napkin, or in a field, but committed it to St. Peter, the key keeper of heaven, and to his successors, Christ's vicars on earth, to be disposed of, at their pleasure for the remission of sins." (Extrav. Com. l. v. c. 2. Unigenitus.)

[5] Many prodigies were publicly spoken of, as portending the downfall of Romanism. How in the time of Pope Alexander VI., the angel which stood on the top of the Pope's church and castle of St. Angelo, was thrown down into the river Tibris, by a thunderbolt; and how in 1616, when Pope Leo X. created thirty-one Cardinals, on that very year and day there fell a tempest of thunder and lightning which struck the church where the new Cardinals were assembled, and removed the little child, Jesus, out of the lap of his mother, and the keys out of St. Peter's hand. Many such prodigies may be found in Fox. Martyrs. vol. ii. p. 59. black letter Ed.

[6] Thus it was complained at the council of Nuremberg, that from the wickedness of the monks and friars, "many virgins and matrons, which otherwise would be honest, have been overcome and moved to sin and wickedness. And they do detain and keep away the wives and daughters from their husbands and fathers, threatening them with fire and sword that do require them again. Thus, through their raging lust they heap and gather together innumerable mischiefs and offences. It is to be marvelled at, how licentiously without punishment they daily offend in robberies, murder, accusing of innocence,

and several of the northern nations of Europe;[7] but in England the subject was not entertained for some years. Not that a reform in the church was unacceptable to the British nation, because a great laxity of discipline prevailed,[8] and the religious orders did not attempt to conceal their excesses from public observation. Besides, the great increase of Romish sectarists[9] had impaired the

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burning, rapine, theft, and counterfeiting of false coin; besides a thousand other kinds of mischief against all laws both of God and man." (Ibid. p. 83.)

[7] When the infamous Tetzel, the Pope's agent, was retailing indulgences at Leipsic, a gentleman applied to him for an indulgence to commit a certain crime, without specifying what it was. Tetzel readily consented, and granted the indulgence. Soon afterwards the gentleman waylaid Tetzel in a by-road near the city, and after soundly cudgelling him, robbed him of all his money; telling him that this was the crime for which he had purchased absolution. (Jortin. vit. Erasm. vol. i. p. 117.)

[8] The different orders were violently opposed to each other; each in its turn becoming popular, and each having had its day, falling into neglect. And the followers of every saint made great boastings of the power of their founder. Thus it was asserted that St. Francis had appeared to his disciples in a fiery chariot bright as the sun, whirling to and fro; and that his preaching was so powerful that prodigious multitudes of men and women —and even the very harlots were converted. (Conform. fo. 141. Bonav. Leg. Fr. c. iv.) St. Dominic so strangely astonished and set on fire the minds of his auditors by his ravishing discourses, that he converted 100,000 souls, which, but for him, would have been lost for ever. (Ribad. p. 519.)

[9] Amongst these we find the Abstinents, Augustines,

ancient discipline, and corrupted the sources of truth;[10] until at length it was the general opinion that some remedy ought to be applied to purify religion from its acknowledged errors.[11]

In 1524, the Pope was induced to issue a bull

Benedictines, Minors, Carthusians, Cistertians, Grey Friars, Carmelites, Crossed Friars, Ursulines, Franciscans, Dominicans, Bethlehemites, Anchorites, Celestines, Bartholomites, White Monks, Minimes, Capuchins, Jesuits, &c., &c.

[10] In the introduction, for instance, of such legends as that the Virgin Mary was conceived by a salute which Joachim her father gave to her mother Anna; and that therefore she did not inherit any taint of original sin.

[11] This opinion, however, was not publicly expressed; for at this period, the country was the scene of a bloody persecution of all those who were suspected of entertaining these sentiments; and the Registers of the diocese of Lincoln, under Bishop Longland, in 1521, teem with the record of accusation and punishment. Great numbers, both male and female were arraigned on the suspicion of entertaining free notions on the subject of religion; and the bishop was encouraged in his persecuting spirit by letters of protection from the king. Some were burned at the stake, and the executions were marked by the most refined cruelty; for children were compelled to set fire to the funeral pile of their parents. But the greater number were put under penance; i. e. they were to proceed with a fagot of wood upon their shoulders three times round the market place, in market time, and then to stand for a quarter of an hour upon the highest step of the market cross; and on the following Sunday, during the time of high mass, they were to kneel upon the steps of the altar bearing the same fagot of wood. (Ex Reg. fo. 90.)

empowering Wolsey to visit religious places, and punish all violations of discipline.[12] In the same year the king tried the experiment which was to regulate his future conduct. He issued a writ for the suppression of forty monasteries, which had been accused of various offences.[13] Doubtful,

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[12] In this visitation, Wolsey found many violations of discipline and decorum. Religious professors were in the habit of absenting themselves from the choir for weeks together. They neglected the regular observances, and resorted to prohibited places of amusement. These disorders had become too habitual to be restrained by an edict; and they still continued to be practised, though perhaps with a little more caution. It is also worthy of notice, that at this period, churches, monasteries, and even churchyards, were places of sanctuary, which afforded protection to criminals of every kind. Stow says, (Chron. p. 433.) "unthrifts riot and run in debt, upon the boldness of these places; yea, and rich men run thither with poor men's goods;—there they build—there they spend—and bid their creditors go and whistle them. Men's wives run thither with their husband's plate, and say that they dare not abide with their husbands for beating. Thieves bring thither their stolen goods, and live thereon; there they devise fresh robberies;—nightly they steal out—they rob—they reave, and kill, and come in again; as though those places gave them not only a safeguard for the harm they have done, but a license to do more." These disorders were ultimately made a pretext for that line of policy by which Hen. VIII. recruited his exhausted coffers.

[13] The corruption of the monastic orders had been a gradual work. So early as the reign of Edw. III., we have a record in which some friars minors of the city of Lincoln, are accused of "going to the Convent of Broad-

however, whether the people were prepared to bear the alienation of their revenues to secular purposes, he transferred them to Christ Church College, Oxford, and Ipswich Grammar School.[14]

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holm in Nottinghamshire, and violently carrying away a nun named Margaret Everingham, and stripping her of her religious habit, clothed her in a secular dress, &c." An Act of Parliament was passed in the third year of Hen. VII. reign, empowering the ecclesiastical authorities "to punish priests and religious men, who were found guilty of adultery, fornication, incest, or any other abominable crime." The necessity for this act proves that such offences existed amongst them. It will be unnecessary to adduce further evidence to the same effect, out of the numerous stores contained in the public Records, because their own writers do not attempt to conceal the fact. Cardinal Bellarmine confesses that "for some years before the dissolution of the monasteries, there did not exist amongst the religious orders, any discipline with regard to morals; any knowledge of sacred literature or any reverence for divine things. There was indeed scarcely any religion remaining." These authorities will be sufficient to show that there were some grounds for the charges against the religious orders, although they were doubtless greatly exaggerated.

[14] It is asserted by bishop Goodwin, that "this business was fatal to all who had a hand in it. Of the five whom the king made use of in the alienation of the gifts of so many religious men, it happened that two of them, challenging the field of each other, one was slain and the other hanged for it. A third throwing himself headlong into a well, perished wilfully. The fourth, before that a wealthy man, sunk to such a low ebb, that he was obliged to beg his bread; and at length died from starvation. And Dr. Allan, the fifth, being archbishop of Dublin, was murdered by the populace."

CHAPTER X.

Visitation of the Monasteries.

Thus the work of spoliation commenced. And to ascertain whether any further steps might be safely taken, the king issued a proclamation, by which he successfully ascertained the important fact that all the heads of religious houses were prepared to acknowledge his supremacy in ecclesiastical affairs.[1] This experiment proving satisfactory, he threw off the mask; and after issuing another proclamation[2] against pardoners,[3] com-

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[1] The question was first proposed to the bishops and clergy assembled in the provincial synods of Canterbury and York in 1534; whether the bishop of Rome has, in the word of God, any greater jurisdiction in the realm of England than any other foreign bishop? It was determined in the negative, The universities, chapters, monks, friars, and clergy throughout the kingdom, with very few exceptions, declared their assent; and thus the ordinary jurisdiction of the pope over England, was regularly and lawfully suppressed.

[2] This proclamation stated that "ecclesiastical persons called Pardoners, go daily abroad, publishing to the people, as well in parish churches as elsewhere, divers

missioners were appointed to visit the monasteries, and to report to the crown whether any irregularities in doctrine and discipline existed amongst them. The commissioners prepared to prosecute the enquiry with activity and zeal. Eighty-six articles were drawn up, which embraced every case that was likely to occur;[4] and they

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indulgences and pardons; and by colour thereof, exact great sums of money; and that the said Pardoners, being confederate with errant thieves of this realm, by going about, espy where the richest and most substantial men inhabit and dwell; to whose houses they many times guide and bring the said thieves their confederates, to rob and spoil."

[3] Chaucer thus describes them:—

With him there rode a gentill Pardonere,
That streit was comen from the court of Rome;
Full loude he sang, *Come hither, love, to me.*
His wallet lay before him in his lappe,
Bretful of pardons come from Rome al hote.
He had a crois of laton full of stones;
And in a glass he had pigges bones.
And with these relikes, whanne that he fond
A poure person dwelling upon londe
Upon a day he gat him more monie,
Than that the parsone gat in monethes thre.
And thus, with fained flattering and jaipes,
He made the parson and the peple, his apes.

[4] I select a few specimens of these articles, to show the manner in which the enquiry was conducted. It should appear that the visitors were anxious to procure evidence of guilt. For this purpose they proposed insidious and searching questions. Thus it was enquired "whether the abbot used his brethren charitably and kindly, without envy, malice, or partiality? Whether

received private instructions to procure the voluntary surrender of as many houses as possible. In pursuance of these instructions, the visitors not only enforced, with the utmost rigour, a direct and specific answer to all their enquiries; but intimidated the monks and nuns by threats of royal vengeance if they refused compliance with any of their requisitions. They were not blind to the consequences; and many priors, to avoid punishment, confessed their misdeeds, and resigned their authority.

The truth is, that great irregularities were discovered to exisit.[5] Bishop Burnet says, that the

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he used his discipline—his censures and punishments upon offending brethren, without rigour or unnecessary cruelty; and without showing any favour more to one than another?" What an opening was here offered for the gratification of envy or hatred amongst the brethren against their superior; particularly when we consider that there were actually two hostile factions in the abbey of Bardney; to one of which the abbot himself was attached, as we shall hereafter see.

[5] On the reputed vices of the monastic orders, much might be said on both sides. Dr. Farmer remarks—"whether the canons were really, or only reputedly vicious, God knows; seeing all those must be guilty whom authority and power are pleased to pronounce so." There is much truth in this observation, yet we have positive evidence that irregularities and vices did exist amongst them to an alarming extent. Indeed it was scarcely possible for so unwieldy an establishment to be entirely free from examples of intemperate living, because there was a Judas even amongst the selected Apostles of Jesus Christ. The acknowledgment of many of the

commissioners found the houses full of vice ;[6] and lying and backbiting, fornication and adultery were practised in many of them.[7] They found alarming

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abbots themselves is still extant. Thus, Whitgift, abbot of Grimsby, brother to the archbishop of that name, was frequently heard to say that "they, and their system of religion could not last long; because, said he, I have read the whole scriptures over and over, but could never find therein, that our religion was founded by God." The abbot of Furness, with his own hand—and the document is still in the British Museum,—thus writes: "I, Roger, Abbot of Furness, knowing the misorder and evil lives, both under God and our Prince, of the brethren of our monastery, in discharging of my conscience do freely surrender, give, and grant, &c." Weever says, "their wealth made them proud, idle, luxurious, careless of God's house; and in their actions exceedingly vicious."

[6] And no wonder, when celibacy was enjoined upon them; for, as one of their own writers confessed, "the Pope, himself, cannot dispense with a pricst to marry, no more than he can privilege him to take a purse." (See Sparks' Discovy. p. 13; et Constitut. Othen. de concubit. Cleric. removend.)

[7] The punishment for a priest for adultery was so severe that one might suppose it would have proved an effectual preventative of the crime. "He was on three market-days conveyed through the high-street and market with a paper on his head, whereon was written his trespass. The first day he rode in a cart; the second on a horse, with his face to the horse's tail; the third he walked, led between twain; and every day rung with basins, and proclamations made of his fact at every turning of the streets. He then lost his chantry and was banished the city for ever." (Stow. Survey of London. p. 208.)

factions[8] amongst the monks, and barbarous cruelties[9] exercised by one faction against another.[10]

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[8] "Crimes were common, as quarrels and their most dreadful consequences. Detraction and reproach for faults,—*you lie,* swearing by the body of Christ, and striking one another with their fists or knives. Giraldus says, one thing is very common; whilst the monks indulge themselves in immoderate drinking, contentions ensue, and they begin fighting with the very cups full of liquor. In a quarrel between an Augustinian canon and a Carmelite, the former cut off the hand of his opponent with a sword. Two Trinitarians in London, having frequently quarrelled about some goat's wool, one murdered the other." (Fosbr. Monach. c. 27, with authorities.)

[9] "A work of Giraldus Cambrensis that has never been printed, and of which a MS. partly burned is in the Cott. Library, Tib. B. 13, contains an historical and critical account of the incunabulæ moresque of some of the monastic establishments, in which he takes some pains to state how the monastic order had been hurt by the factis enormibus et inordinatis of which some were accused. He narrates several revolting stories. We may cite a short one. A discreet knight visited his uncle, an opulent abbot; and having carefully observed the modos et mores of the monks, he took his uncle aside, and advised him to restrain their gluttony and drunkenness. Dear nephew, exclaimed his uncle, do not be anxious about these things. If I were to subtract or diminish any of their enjoyments, I should incur their implacable hatred and hostility, and soon have a deadly cup given to me by my monks." (Turn. Hist. Engl. vol. v. p. 154.)

[10] They published to the world exaggerated accounts of the idolatry and superstition which prevailed; the lewdness and debauchery; and even in some monasteries, absolute infidelity. They found instruments and tools

On the other hand the visitors were accused of partiality, extortion, and robbery. [11]

Whichever of the above accounts may be correct—and it is probable there was much truth in both—the result was the same. "Some few monasteries, terrified by this rigorous inquisition, surrendered their houses unto the king's hands, and in return were allowed small pensions for their future maintenance. Orders were given to liberate such nuns and friars as were under the age of four and twenty years, because it was supposed that the vows could not be binding on such very young

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for counterfeiting the current coin of the realm; with a great variety of other abominations, including pious frauds, trading in images and relics, and various secular employments.

[11] It was said that they were guilty of procuring long leases of abbey lands for themselves or their friends, at nominal rents—the advowsons of churches, with gifts of church plate to a large amount; although, in their commission they were strictly enjoined to forward to the Augmentation office, or to the Tower, all the ready money, plate, jewels, and ornaments, which might fall into their hands. They were further charged with procuring, by secret negotiations, corrodies and annuities for their servants and acquaintances. Then they made false reports of their visitation—favouring those who paid them liberally, and accusing innocent persons of crimes, who were too high-minded to purchase their immunity by a bribe. Even Layton, one of the commissioners, confesses that they "some sold jewells and plate for halfe the valew." These facts are well authenticated; and in an impartial account of the dissolution of monasteries, the evidence is too important to be suppressed.

persons. The doors of the convents were opened, even to such as were above that age; and every one recovered his liberty who desired it. But all these expedients did not fully answer the king's purpose." He was determined to abolish the entire monastic system in England, and he succeeded to the utmost extent of his wishes.

CHAPTER XI.

The Abbey of Tupholm and the Convent of Stixwold dissolved.

This first visitation produced a sensation amongst the people which gave the King every advantage he could desire; and he succeeded in procuring an Act of Parliament[1] which empowered him to seize on the possessions of all such monasteries as were under the annual value of two hundred pounds. The Abbey of Tupholm came under this description; and the commissioners found no difficulty in procuring sufficient evidence for its condemnation; for in this house were unfortunately discovered materials for coining and forgery; the existence of which, notwithstanding it was alleged

[1] It must be observed, however, that this act was not passed without great difficulty. Dugdale asserts that the houses of parliament were packed for the purpose; and Spelman adds, that the bill stuck long in the House of Commons and would not pass; till the king sent for some of the influential members, and told them that if the bill was not immediately passed, he would have some of their heads.

that they had been introduced by a former abbot, and had not been used for many years, constituted a heavy charge against the establishment;[2] coupled with the fact that secular trading was permitted and practised by the abbot for his own private emolument. And when the enquiry was made, "whether all and singular the revenues and profits of this house be employed to the use and behoof thereof, and to no other purpose"—the question could not be satisfactorily answered.[3] And the abbot was glad to surrender the monastery to the crown, to avoid the consequences of a premunire. The house and offices were partly dismantled; the valuables sold or conveyed away; and the site granted to Sir Thomas Heneage.[4]

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[2] One of the visitation questions was—*vel faciunt numismata regni?*

[3] Other enquiries were also evaded. Such as, "whether the maistre make his accompts, as he ought to do, oonys every yere befor his brethren, and chiefly the senyers and officers, to the entent they may be made prevye to the state and condition of the house, and knowe perfectly the due administracion thereof? Item, whether the prior, tesprior, sellarar, kychener, torrure, sacristen or eny such like officer, having administracion of eny maner revenues of this house, doo make his true and hole accompte, according as he ys bound to doo, not applyeing eny thyng by hyme receyved to his owne proper use or comoditie? Item, whether eny religiouse persone of this house doo bere, occupye, or exercise moo offices then oone, for and to his owne singler comoditie, advantage or profyte, by the parciall dealying of the maistre?" (Cott. MSS. Cleop. E. iv.—6. p. 13.)

[4] It should appear, however, that the buildings were

This monastery still remains an interesting ruin; consisting of an ancient wall of the abbey, which appears to have formed one side of the refectory. It is distinguished by narrow lancet windows; and contains a small gallery, open by an arcade of clustered pillars and trefoil arches, which was appropriated to the reader; for in every monastery, at the end of the high table where the monks sat at meat in silence after the Grace had been solemnly chanted,[5] was a gallery furnished with an iron desk, on which lay the bible; and it was read aloud, to prevent the monks from engaging in discourse of a light or improper tendency.[6] There are arches remaining beneath the refectory, which

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subsequently restored; for we find the son and heir of Sir Christopher Willoughby, residing there some time after the dissolution.

[5] In the Inquirenda we find the following questions: "Item, whether ye doo kepe silence in the churche, cloistre, ffraitre, and dormitorie, at the houres and tyme specified in your rule? Item, whether ye doo kepe fastyng and abstinence, according to your rules, statutes, ordinances, and laudable customes of this house?"

[6] "As the monks complained of the hardship of continual silence at dinner, it was resolved, that after the reading was over, which the presiding officer finished at discretion, they might talk in a low voice." (Reyn. Append. 102.) But it seems, on account of this liberty they had at certain times of talking English, they became so loquacious, that it was one reason why the statute was made, that on all public occasions they should speak only Latin or French. (C. G. Northamp. an. 1444. C. vii.)

probably led to the vaults under the abbey.[7]

Stixwold was also one of the lesser monasteries, for its annual income did not exceed £200; and therefore, it fell under condemnation; although the presumption is, that its inmates were, in a great measure, exempt from any vicious practices;[8] if we except the custom, which is very common in those times, of professing young girls at a very early age;[9] although it frequently happened that

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[7] The gatehouse was standing when Dr. Stukely visited the place in 1716. It appears to have consisted of a tower containing a broad archway with a room on each side, and chambers over the entrance. There is an engraving of it in the Itinerarium Curiosum.

[8] At Stixwold some very curious queries were proposed to the nuns; amongst which we find the following:—"Whether strangers, either men or women, have communication with the sisters of this house, without license of the prioress; especially in secret places, and in the absence of their sisters? Whether any of them were in the habit of speaking with persons of the other sex by night or by day—by grates or back windows, or other privy places, without license of their head? Whether they were in the habit of going anywhere without the gates, or using familarity with religious or secular priests, not near kinsmen? Whether any of them used to write love-letters to any person, or receive any such, and have any privy messengers coming and resorting to them with token or gifts from secular persons?"

[9] It was an argument for the preservation of trade, and the general property of the kingdom, that the religious houses should be suppressed. For it was said it reduced the value of lands and rents. "The more popery grows, the more will idleness increase, the more abbey lubbers, i. e., persons exempted from contributing

when they arrived at years of discretion, they bitterly repented of their vows.[10] The prioress and her friends made an appeal to the crown; complaining "that the visitors came upon her, with a great party of people, unexpectedly, and

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in any kind to the uses of a state either in war or peace, and yet maintained as drones on others sweat and labors. The more it increases, the more will celibate or single life prevail; the more daughters will be sent to nunneries, the more men will turn priests and friars, and so less people in the nation which already has too few. And that the numbers in those societies may be sure to be full, it is a known and customary practice to entice and spirit away children from their parents into their convents, from whence they cannot be withdrawn without sacrilege. Again, popery will wring out of private persons a vast expence in masses, dirges, mortuaries, penances, commutations, pilgrimages, indulgences, tenths, first fruits, appeals, investitures, palls, Peter pence, provisions, exemptions, collations, devolutions, revocations, unions, commendams, tolerations, pardons, jubilees, &c., paid to priests, the pope, and his officers; which, upon computation, amounted to three times the king's revenue, a great part thereof carried out of the kingdom in a time when the Indies had not filled it with gold and silver." (The Bishop of Oxford's Advice to Protestants, anno 1688, p. 26.)

[10] In a letter from John Loudon, respecting the dissolution of Kyme Priory, he says, that many young girls at the age of ten or twelve years, were professed; and when they arrived at maturity, lived unchastely. Many of the monks, he adds, were young and lusty men, and he found them "all ways fatt fedde, lyvying in ydalnes, and sore pplxed that being priests, they may not retorne and marye."

without notice; and assailed the nuns with an unbecoming freedom of language.[11] She stated that the chief commissioner threatened her, by saying that he had the king's command to break up her establishment in spite of her teeth. And further, she represented that when she replied that she would never surrender her house until the king's writ for that purpose was shown to her, he began to entreat and persuade her to do so. And she stated that he used a secret influence to inveigle the nuns, one by one, into accusations against herself. And when he could not prevail, he still continued in the priory with all his company, to the great cost and charges of the establishment; and there he declared he would remain until he had tired her out.[12] And she protested that the

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[11] They put the following questions to them "whether any sister of this house hath been found in secret with any religious man, and could not show any cause why she did so? Whether any sister doth use any other dress besides her own habit out of her cell? Whether any sister of this house was professed by the persuasion of the prioress, or by compulsion of her friends and kinsfolk? (MSS. B. Mus. ut supra.)

[12] And this might legally be done, for their written instructions furnished them with full powers to annoy and perplex the poor nuns. Thus they were directed:— "necessarium erit visitatori circuire monasterium, ac videre et rimare disposicionem edificiorum, et an sint aliqua loca pervia per que secrete intrari possit; et una secum habeat abbattissam, cum duabus aut tribus senioribus monialibus, a quibus tum interroget an ostia monasterii singulis quibusque noctibus sub clavibus clausa

visitors had untruly described her as a spoiler and waster; for that the contrary was true, as she could make it appear. And she solemnly declared that she had not wasted *one halporthe* of the goods of the priory, moveable or immoveable."

On this representation, backed by the influence of powerful friends, the king was induced to refound the priory of Stixwold; and endowed it with the whole of its estates.[13] But this act of favour was clogged with a condition which the poverty of the house disabled the prioress to fulfil. She was mulct in a fine of 100 marks, besides the payment of first fruits which amounted to more than a year's income, and an annual payment of £24. The convent at this time contained eighteen nuns besides officers and servants to the number of fifty persons.[14] The prioress petitioned the Lord Privy

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teneantur, et que earum monialium senio confectarum, vel an abbas ipsa clavium custodiam tempore nocturno habeat et teneat; nam non est tutum clavium custodiam junioribus comittere."

[13] Rot. Pat. 29 Hen. VIII.

[14] And yet, notwithstanding the evidence which these establishments afforded of female influence, (and in some of the double monasteries—Whitby for instance—the abbess was superior to the abbot,) a great argument used by the Roman Catholic party after the dissolution was, that "the Church of England gives leave to women to examine the truth of what they teach; but certainly this is a compliment, *because they are incapable of examination.*" (See Sherlock. Judge of Controversies. p. 21.) A very poor compliment to the intellect and intelligence of the sex.

Seal to intercede with the King for the remission of these fines and payments.[15] But it was in vain.[16] The money was not forthcoming; and after a lapse of two years, the convent again fell along with the greater monasteries, and its ruin was sealed for ever.[17] The estates were sold to Robert Deighton, at the price of twenty years purchase; while the nuns were pensioned off with salaries of £4 a year.[18]

Thus, three hundred and eighty houses were suppressed; the buildings defaced or destroyed; and thousands of impoverished monks scattered

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[15] Cott. MSS. Cleop. E iv. fo. 255 b.

[16] The original petition is very touching.

[17] The foundations were removed in the year 1845, to be used in the construction of a church at Langton in the neighbourhood, under the direction of the Rev. R. C. Hotchkin, rector of Thimbleby; and many decorated stones were found amongst the ruins; together with two coffin stones, one of which marked the grave of a prioress, as is evident from the ornamented cross flory which extends all its length; and the other has the bust of a lady in the attitude of prayer, placed upon the superior limb of a cross botony, with a nimbus round her head. This was probably intended as a memorial of some pious donor to the convent, and perhaps of Lady Lucia the foundress.

[18] Of the buildings, part of the porter's lodge is only remaining. The manor was once the property of Sir William Kyte, a baronet of a respectable family in Warwickshire. He sold it to Lord Anson; and it now forms part of the possessions of the Turnors of Panton.

[19] It will be unnecessary to add that these proceedings not only distressed the monks, but caused great excite-

houseless over the country to beg their bread. The King appears to have been so doubtful of the safety of these proceedings, that he submitted patiently to many personal insults.[20] Great discontent manifested itself throughout the country; for the religious houses were not only dissolved, but the churches had been profaned, and in some instances pulled down, and the materials sold for the King's use. It is even asserted that the holy vessels of silver and gold which had been taken from the altars, and transferred to the crown, were worth a million of money,[21] even in those days;

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ment amongst the people. "It was a pitiful thing," says Weever, "to hear the lamentation that the people of this country made for them; for there was great hospitality kept amongst them, and much sympathy was displayed in their behalf." It is true, every religious person that was turned out of his cell, had 45s. given to him in money, and every governor had a small pension. But this did not pacify either the monks or their numerous friends; and the people attributed every calamity that happened for many years, to this outrageous insult offered to religion.

[20] Thus, Peyto, a friar, preaching before the king, had the assurance to tell him that "many lying prophets had deceived him; but he, as a true prophet, would warn him that the dogs would lick his blood as they had done Ahab's." The king took no notice of the insult, but allowed the preacher to depart in peace.

[21] It is said that the commissioners took out of the cathedral of Lincoln, 2621 ounces of gold, and 4285 ounces of silver, besides pearls and precious stones of the most costly kind; and also two shrines, that of St. Hugh being of pure gold, and that of St. John of solid silver.

although the commissioners took especial care that no such amount found its way into the royal treasury.[22]

The monasteries were the only places where paupers were maintained; and these being now thrown upon their own resources,[23] took to plunder

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[22] These real and imaginary grievances caused great dissatisfaction in Lincolnshire, which was soon found in a state of open insurrection; and the people, with arms in their hands, demanded redress. At the head of this mass stood Dr. Mackerel, the prior of Barlings, disguised in the habit of a cobbler. He succeeded in assembling together more than 20,000 men, but notwithstanding their number, they confined themselves to complaints; including the suppression of the monasteries—evil councillors—the danger to which the jewels and plate of their parish churches were exposed, &c., &c., and they prayed the king that their grievances might be redressed. The duke of Suffolk was sent against the rebels, bearing a very sharp answer from the king. This not having produced the expected effect, it was suggested that a milder course would be more successful. The king therefore issued a proclamation, offering a free pardon to the insurgents if they returned to their allegiance. This expedient dispersed the populace, whilst Mackerel and some of his adherents being taken, were immediately executed.

[23] This consequence was soon discovered, as appears by the preamble to a Bill which was prepared for parliament but never passed, to provide for "the support of hospitality, and relief of the poor" on the suppression of the lesser monasteries. It was then stated that "a great hurt and decay is therby comen, and herafter shall come to thys yor realme, and gret empoverishing of many of yor poor obedient subjects for lak of hospitalite,

for the supply of their daily wants ;[24] and became a terror to the country; while the destitute monks worked on the superstitious fears of the weak and unwary, by asserting that the souls of their ancestors would be tormented for ever in purgatory, in consequence of the abolition of masses.[25] The

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and good householding, that was wont in them to be kept, to the gret releffe the poor people of all the countres adjoynyng to the said monasteryes, besed the maintenance of many such hosbondmen and laborurs that daylye wer kept on the sayd religious houses."

[24] And their thefts were conducted so openly, that detection was easy; and it has been asserted on competent authority, that nearly 80,000 persons were executed for robbery during this one reign. The expelled monks, wandering amongst the people, excited their compassion, and stimulated their resentment. The priests maintained the authority of the Pope from the pulpit, and prayed for him publicly. Nay, a letter from the king to the earl of Sussex, now in the British Museum, declares, that they made him a god, enhancing his power and jurisdiction, above the holy laws and precepts of the Almighty.

[25] They told the people that "they must not hear protestant preachers, even though they should preach the truth." (Rhem. on Tit. iii. 10.) And as for the word of God, "if it be not expounded by the church of Rome, it is the word of the devil." (Hosius de expresso verbo Dei.) And the people were further told that the protestants attributed their salvation to faith in Christ alone, whereas "Christ is the saviour of men only, but of no women." (Dial. of Dives and Pauper. c. 6. Postellus in Jesuits Catech. l. i. c. 10.) "For women are saved by St. Clare, and mother Jane. (Som. in Morn. de Eccles. c. 9. Postellus ut supra. l. viii. c. 10.) And the

nobility and gentry were dissatisfied at the transfer of property to the crown which had been appropriated by their ancestors to the service of religion.[26] These united causes produced many insurrections, which were not quelled without a considerable sacrifice of blood and treasure.

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monks added that "St. Francis had redeemed all that had been saved since his days." (Conform. de S. Fran.) And to become a monk or a nun is as beneficial as the sacrament of Baptism. (Aquin. de Ingres. Relig. l. ii. c. 21.)

[26] Even though it should have been surreptitiously obtained. Strutt (Chron. vol. ii. p. 258.) has preserved a curious view of the tricks which were sometimes resorted to by the monks for the purpose of enriching their establishments. They would grant "to some rich man an estate, which he was to enjoy during his life, upon condition, that at his death, the same estate with another of equal value belonging to the rich man should revert to the monastery. By these and such artifices, the clergy obtained some share of the wealth or estates of almost every opulent man at his decease, which continually increasing, must have made them very rich. But their covetousness augmented with their riches; and to such lengths did they run in pursuit of wealth, that they were not ashamed to make use of the most infamous arts and impositions to obtain it from the deluded laity; esteeming even the grossest frauds as highly meritorious."

CHAPTER XII.

Dissolution of the Abbeys of Bardney and Kirkstead.

Repeated insurrections in different parts of the kingdom exasperated the king to such a degree, that he determined on the immediate extinction of Monachism throughout his dominions.[1] A new commission was appointed, with full powers to unveil every imposture, and expose every vice; although in the preamble to the Act for the suppression of the lesser houses, it was acknowledged that "in the greater monasteries religion was right well observed and kept up."

"The industry of the commissioners," says

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[1] Bishop Fisher had foreseen this result, when on a former occasion, a proposition had been made in convocation to consent to the suppression of the lesser monasteries; and he observed that it would be only showing the king how he might get all the revenues of the church into his possession. See his famous apologue on this subject in Dr. Bailie's Life of Bishop Fisher, p. 108.

Lingard,[2] "was unabated. For four years they proceeded from house to house; soliciting, requiring, compelling the inmates to submit to the royal pleasure; and each week—frequently each day of the week, was marked by the surrender of one or more of these establishments. To accomplish their purpose, they first tried the milder expedient of persuasion. Large and tempting offers were held out to the abbots, and the leading members of the Brotherhood,[3] and the lot of those who had already complied—the scanty pittances assigned to the refractory, and the ample pensions granted to the more obsequious, operated on their minds as a warning and an inducement." And in most of the houses it was deemed prudent to obey the royal pleasure.[4]

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[2] Lingard is rather a partial authority; but, on this point, his assertion is not very wide of the truth.

[3] A great number of injunctions were given; and they were so stringent as to induce the monks to submit at discretion, rather than endure their severity; for they operated so as to produce a perpetual imprisonment to their houses, where they lived under the strictest surveillance.

[4] Lingard goes on to say that "when persuasion failed, recourse was had to severity and intimidation. The superior and his monks, the tenants, servants, and neighbours, were subjected to minute and rigourous examination; each was exhorted, was commanded to accuse the other; and every groundless tale, every malicious insinuation, was carefully collected and recorded. The commissioners called for the accounts of the house, compared the expenditure with the receipts, scrutinized

At this period Bardney and Kirkstead were suppressed. It appears that the abbot of Bardney, a Peer by virtue of his barony, and commonly called Lord Lindsey, was much elated by his rank, and conducted himself towards the brethren with great haughtiness and reserve. [5] He lived in

every article with an eye of suspicion and hostility, and required the production of all the monies, plate, and jewels. They proceeded to search the library and private rooms for books and papers; and the discovery of any opinion or treatise in favour of the papal supremacy, or validity of Henry's first marriage, was taken as a sufficient proof of adhesion to the king's enemies, and of disobedience to the statutes of the realm. The general result was a real or fictitious charge of immorality or peculation, or high treason. But many superiors, before the termination of the enquiry, deemed it prudent to obey the royal pleasure; some urged on the one hand by fear, on the other by scruples, resigned their situations, and the obstinacy of the refractory monks and abbots, was punished with imprisonment during the king's pleasure. But the lot of these was calculated to terrify their brethren. Some like the Carthusians confined in Newgate, were left to perish through hunger, disease, and neglect; others, like the abbots of Colchester, Reading, and Glastonbury, were executed as felons and traitors." (Hist. Eng. vol. iv. p. 257.)

[5] The enquiry was made, "whether the maistre and hed of this house doo use his brethern charitably, without partiality, malice, invye, grudge, or displeasure, more showed to oone then to another? Item, whether he doo use his disciplynes, corrections, and punishments upon his brethern, with mercie, pitie, and charitie, without crueltie, rigourousness, and enormyouse hurte, no more favorynge oon then an other?" It will be readily believed that these questions were difficult to answer.

state;[6] and, as is usual in such cases, had his favourites amongst the canons, who were treated with peculiar distinction.[7] This partiality created much dissention in the Abbey; to neutralize the effects of which, he established a system of espionage; and while he punished trifling faults in one party with great severity, others would escape with impunity even under the most serious transgressions.

And further, although the establishment was wealthy, the abbot was frequently involved in pecuniary difficulties, from the expensive nature of his housekeeping;[8] for he had about him all the

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[6] This was considered so necessary that an instance is on record of one of these abbeys being reduced to a priory, because the income was insufficient to support the expence of an abbot's dignity.

[7] Richard Bardney, who was born at this place, became a monk of the order of St. Benedict, and received his learning in the supreme faculty, amongst those of his own society at Oxford; after retiring to Bardney Abbey, he wrote the life of Bishop Grostete. He was highly esteemed for his learning. (Wood. Athena. Oxon. p. 8.)

[8] The old rhyme gives the characteristics of several English monasteries.

Ramsay, the rich of gold and fee;
Thorney, the flower of many a fair tree;
Croyland, the courteous of their meat and drink;
Spalding, the gluttons, as all men do think;
Peterborough, the proud;
Sautrey by the way,
That old Abbey
Gave more alms in one day, than all they.

officers which distinguished the establishment of one of England's chief nobility.[9] To support his extravagant style of living, this dignitary was in the habit of raising money by renewing his leases out of the proper course; and he also diverted the funds which ought to have been appropriated to the repairs of the fabric, to his own private purposes. In addition to which, he authorized his favourite monks to raise money by the sale of charms, amulets, and other unlawful means.[10] Yet notwithstanding all these devices, he appears to have been too avaricious, or too

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[9] These were termed, the Master of the Fabric; the Almoner; the Pitancier; the Sacrist; the Chamberlain; the Cellarer; the Treasurer; the Precentor; the Abbot's Chaplain; an Hospitaller; a Physician; a Butler; Cooks, Gardeners, Porters, &c., &c., &c.

[10] "Ady, in his Candle in the Dark, 4to. Lond. 1655, p. 58, says; it appeareth still among common silly country people, how they had learned charms by tradition from popish times, for curing cattle, men, women, and children; for churning of butter, and many other occasions. Thus, an old woman in Essex, who was living in my time—she had lived also in Queen Mary's time—had learned thence many popish charms, one whereof was this; every night when she lay down to sleep she charmed her bed, saying

Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John,
Bless the bed that I lyè on.

This she would repeat three times, reposing great confidence therein, because, she said, she had been taught it when she was a young maid, *by the churchmen of those times.*" A great number of these superstitions may be found in Brand's Popular Antiquities, art, Rural Charms.

poor, to keep the buildings in proper repair; and even the services of the altar were imperfectly administered. The golden crucifix [11] was removed from the high altar; the painting and gilding with which it was decorated were in a state of decay; such of the holy vessels as were not in immediate use were laid out to pledge, although many of them were of gold and silver; and the church and abbey, with their appendages, were in a deplorable state of dilapidation. [12] Besides this, there was a laxity of discipline amongst those favoured individuals who were in the abbot's good graces, which afforded them a license for every kind of indulgence and irregularity. [13]

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[11] A miraculous crucifix had been kept at Boxley in Kent, which was called the Rood of Grace. The lips, the eyes, and head of the image moved on the approach of its votaries. Hilsey, Bishop of Rochester, while preaching at St. Paul's cross, broke the crucifix in pieces, and exposed to the people the wheels, and springs, and machinery by which it had been worked.

[12] The wars of the roses had made sad havoc with the conventual buildings throughout the country, and many of them had never been thoroughly repaired to the present time.

[13] Lord Herbert of Cherbury, mentions some of the reliques which were found in many of the monasteries; as the parings of St. Edmund's toes; some of the coals that roasted St. Laurence; the Virgin Mary's girdle was shown in eleven different places; the head of St. Ursula was multiplied in the same manner; St. Thomas' felt was an infallible cure for the headache; the shirt of St. Thomas a Beckett, was highly venerated by ladies in

These defects were soon detected by the scrutinizing eyes of the commissioners; assisted by the prevalence of faction amongst the brethren; and from one or another they gathered sufficient evidence to convict both the abbot and canons of practices which were inconsistent with their rule.[14] And after solemn deliberation it was thought prudent to surrender the monastery before any expression of royal indignation should be manifested against them.[15] The commissioners then

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a certain situation; some reliques were used to produce fine weather; others to bring on rain; others to eradicate weeds from the corn, &c., &c.

[14] A letter was therefore directed to the abbot, which may be found amongst the Cotton. MSS. in the British Museum, commanding the abbot to resign into the hands of the commissioners "all the goods, cattalls, plate, juells, implements and stuff, beyng within, or appertynyng thereunto;" as well as the building itself with all its possessions.

[15] The following catalogue of the abbots, as collected by Brown Willis, may be interesting:—St. Ethelred, A. D. 712; Deda occurs 730; Aldwynus —; Kinewinus occurs 833; Ralf, 1116; Ivo —; John of Gaunt, 1140; Walter, 1155; John, 1168; Ralf de Staynefeld, 1175; Robert, 1187; Ralf de Rand, 1192, (deposed); Peter, Prior of Lenton, 1214; Matthew —; Adam de Aswardby, 1225, (resigned); William de Repton, 1237; Walter de Beningward, 1242, (resigned); William de Hatton, 1244; William de Torksey, 1258; Peter de Barton, 1266, (resigned); Robert de Waynfleet, 1280, (deposed); Richard Gainsburgh, 1318; Roger de Barowe 1342; Thomas de Stapulton, 1355; Hugh de Braunston, 1379, (resigned); John de Haynton, 1385; John Wox-

proceeded to break the seal—took possession of the muniments, and set the monks at liberty with a small annual pension assigned to each.[16] They then proceeded to sell the furniture and goods; and the money, together with the plate and jewels,[17] were deposited in the Augmentation Office for the king's use.[18] A grant was made of the site to Sir Thomas Tyrwhitt, who stripped the abbey of

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brigg, 1404; Geoffrey Hemingby, 1413; John Waynfleet, 1436; Gilbert Molton, 1465; Richard Horncastle, 1473, (resigned); William Marton, 1507, who surrendered the abbey.

[16] The following pensions remained in charge A. D. 1534. William Marton the abbot, £50; Robert Bennett the prior —; Christopher Kirketon, Thomas Mawereys, and Roger Skipwith, £5 6s. 8d. each; Robert Cambridge, Oliver Battel, William Barrow, and John Morpitts, £5 each; Christopher Kirketon, £4 13s. 4d.; John Foster, £4; John Humberstone, £2; and John Brumpton, and John Langetowne, £1 6s. 8d. each.

[17] It was enquired, "whether there be eny inventary of all and syngler the moveable goodes, whiche frome tyme to tyme have beyn, and yet bee, in this house, as to juells, reliquies, ornaments, vestyments, redy money, plate, beddyng, with other utensils; also of corne, catall and other comodities?" (Cott. MSS. Cleop. E. iv. p. 13.)

[18] The quantity of specie taken from Bardney is not recorded; but we may suppose it to have been very considerable, as the abbot was avaricious and had used extraordinary means of raising money. In the monastery of St. Edmondsbury were found 5000 marks of gold and silver, besides an incredible quantity of jewels, trinkets, and precious stones.

the lead, the bells,[19] and every valuable article, and left it to the silent operation of time; reserving the abbot's lodgings and offices, for the residence of his tenant.[20]

The buildings of Bardney Abbey have vanished from our sight;[21] and scarcely a vestige remains

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[19] Most of the ancient baptized Bells throughout the kingdom were destroyed at this period. In the parish church of Scopwick, one of these old relics still remains. It is adorned with two shields, the one containing the monogram ihc; and the other a lily as a symbol of the Virgin. Between the shields is the following verse:—

Missus de celis
Habeo nomen Gabrielis.

And at Rowston are two bells which have been baptized, and still bear the names Clemens and Nicolaus in Lombardic capitals. There is also one at Ruskington. The paucity of ancient bells may be accounted for the injunction which was given to the commissioners by the council of Edw. VI.; "that all ringing with holy bells (or such as had been baptized and consecrated) to drive away devils, and all ringing and knowling of bells should be utterly forborne." This prompted the avarice of churchwardens to sell all their bells as being useless or superstitious.

[20] It may be here observed, that after the dissolution of monasteries, all the tenures by knight's service, in capite, &c., were turned into free and common soccage. All the tenures incident to knight's service—homage, escuage, voyage royal, wardships, aides pour fille mariee, &c., were annulled by the statute of 12 C. 11. c. 24.

[21] The noble edifice reared its majestic head, rich in Norman embellishment, blended with the lancet arch of the early English period. The towers and battlements of the abbey church, profusely ornamented, surmounted the massive pile, and excited the admiration of all who

which will bear description. The ditch or moat being still visible, enables us to ascertain the extent of the edifice. This enclosure contains twenty-five acres. Ethelred's burial place is a simple mound of earth, such as we find in many other parts of the county; and in the immediate vicinity of the abbey is a place called Priest's field, which contains numerous remains of the foundations of buildings.

The fall of the Cistertian Abbey of Kirkstead was signal,[22] and not, as it should appear unmerited.

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passed up and down the river which foamed in a rapid current at its feet, with thousands of swans floating gracefully on its glassy surface. As it is said to have contained 300 monks, the novices, officers, and servants would more than double the number, and therefore it must have been a very extensive range of buildings. Accordingly, we find that the area within the moat, which is easily traced at the present day, contains 25 acres. Within this space were included all the appendages of a great abbey of the period—church, chapter house, quadrangles, and cloisters; gatehouses, kitchens, and stables; kennels for the lord abbot's staghounds and beagles, an eyry for his hawks; stewponds for breeding and feeding his carp and tench: and a noble mansion detached from the abbey, but communicating with it by a range of cloisters, for his residence; with a garden and orchard containing within its enclosure, a summer-house for his private meditations, when it suited him to retire from all intercourse with the community.

[22] This famous order was at one time so powerful that it was said to govern all Europe. Cardinal de Vitri describing its observances says, "They neither wore leather nor linen; they never eat flesh except in sick-

The abbot confessed, in the deed of surrender, that the monks had, "under shadow of their rule, vainly, detestably, and ungodlily devoured their yearly revenues,[23] in continual ingurgitations of their carrion bodies;[24] and in the support of their

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ness; they abstained from fish, eggs, milk, and cheese; they lay on straw beds in their tunics and cowls; they rose at midnight to prayers; they spent the day in labour, reading, and devotion; and in all their exercises observed a perpetual silence." Such were their professions; but alas, what a falling off was there in practice. They were accused, and I am afraid justly, of being "deceitful, avaricious, guilty of fraudulent practices, of removing their neighbour's landmarks, of being intemperate in their habits, of exercising unjust trades, although traffic of every kind was forbidden by their rule;" and of various other misdemeanours, which subjected them to the severest censure.

[23] The buildings were in a wretched state of dilapidation; and the abbot was puzzled to answer the following enquiry:—"Whether he kept the monastery, the church, and all other buildings in proper repair? Whether the lands, granges, farms, and tenements belonging to the same, had suffered by dilapidation, decay, or ruin, in any part thereof? Whether the plate and jewels, or other moveable property belonging to the abbey, had been sold or alienated, for a time or for ever; and for what cause, and to whom; or otherwise embezzled or consumed?" (Cott. MSS. ut supra.)

[24] There appears very little doubt but the monks were fond of the pleasures of the table. In the World of Wonders, we find the following translation of an old epigram:—

Once fed'st thou, Anthony, an heard of swine
And now an heard of Monkes thou feedest still;

over voluptuous and carnal appetites;[25] with other vain and unholy expences, enormities, and abuses; and that they had defiled their habit with feigned devotion, and devilish persuasions."[26] The estate was transferred to the duke of Suffolk.[27]

The buildings of Kirkstead Abbey were very extensive, and enriched with beautiful details. They were constructed, like the rest of the monasteries on this line, of stone from the quarries at Lincoln.[28] When I visited the spot in 1842,

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For wit and gut, alike both charges bin;
Both loven filth alike; both like to fill
Their greedy paunch alike. Nor was that kind
More beastly, sottish, swinish, than this last.
All else agrees; one fault I onely find,
Thou feedest not thy monkes with oken mast.

[25] This was probably in answer to the enquiry, "whether ye do kepe chastitie, not using the company of eny suspecte woman within this monastrie or withoute; and whether the maistre or eny brother of this house be suspected upon incontinencye, or diffamed for that he his myche conversaunte with women?" (Cott. MSS. ut supra.)

[26] The following are named among the abbots:—Richard Waynfleet, 1461; Richard Herbotyl, 1467; Thomas, 1504; John Rawlinson, 1510.

[27] At his death this abbey reverted to the king as one of the heirs general of the family, who gave it to Lord Clinton and Saye, afterwards Earl of Lincoln. His grand-daughter Catherine, the youngest daughter of Henry Fynes Clinton, Esq., who married Daniel Disney, Esq., inherited these estates; which are now the property of Richard Ellison, Esq., of Sudbrooke Holme near Lincoln.

[28] We are informed from that unerring source, the

numerous detached stones were scattered about which had been marked by the workmen,[29] and served to show the architectural character of the building. It was evidently an Early English structure, with Norman columns and enrichments. A very small portion of the abbey now exists, consisting of a piece of the outer wall as high as the piers and the groining of the first stage extended.[30] The beautiful chapel of the abbey[31]

Hundred Rolls; that in the reign of Hen. III., great quantities of stone were dug out of the king's quarries at Lincoln; and after being squared by the masons there, were conveyed away for the building of churches and monasteries.

[29] In a Paper read before the Society of Antiquaries in 1843, these marks were noticed. The author (Geo. Goodwin, Esq., F. R. S.) said that "about three years before, his attention was first drawn to the fact, that the stones both inside and outside various ancient buildings in England, bore, in many cases, a peculiar symbol or mark, which was evidently the work of the original builders. It immediately occurred to him that these marks, if collected and compared, might assist in connecting the various bands of operatives who, under protection of the church, mystically united, spread themselves over Europe during the middle ages, and are known as the Freemasons." He then goes on to explain these marks or devices; and they are precisely the same as those at Kirkstead; consisting of crosses, squares, angles, and perpendiculars variously combined.

[30] From a plan published in the early part of the last century by Stukely, it appears that the abbey was strongly fortified; being surrounded with a broad and deep moat protected by an inner wall, which made it always inaccessible; and in case of a seige, it was supplied

still remains in comparative perfection.[32] The west front is distinguished by a pointed arch door with the toothed ornament; over which is a specimen of the *vescica piscis* so much used by Templars, in the form of an ox-eye window. There are also two lateral windows pointed, with slender shafts and foliated capitals. The north and south sides are supported by plain buttresses, between each of which is a pair of narrow lancet windows, six in

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with water by a subterranean canal, which extended from the moat to the south side of the buildings, and communicated with one of the quadrangles. There appears to have been within the moat every covenience both for devotion and amusement. An abbey church, cloisters, an infirmary, court-yard, garden, a separate building for the residence of the abbot; fish-ponds, summer-house, stables, butchery, bakehouse, kitchens, &c., &c.

[31] This does not appear to have been the abbey church, because on reference to the plan we find this sacred edifice forming a part of the buildings within the moat. It was probably a chantry attached to the foundation; and as such institutions were not dissolved till seven years after the destruction of the abbey, the building might have a much better chance to escape.

[32] I find in Weir's Lincolnshire, the following particulars. "This chapel is a donative of exempt jurisdiction, but appears to have had no stipend for the officiating minister until it came into the hands of Mr. Daniel Disney, who being a presbyterian, appointed a minister of that persuasion to perform service there, with a salary of £30 per annum. In order that the tenets which he professed might not want support in his parish, in 1720, he settled certain lands upon five trustees, the profits of which were to be applied to the maintenance

number on each face. In the east are three lancet windows; that in the centre being, as usual, taller than the two lateral ones.

The interior is striking from its beautiful groined roof—the dim light proceeding from its narrow windows—and its peculiar ornaments, which show that the Templars had some connection with it, although history is silent on the subject. Indeed, it is probable that the chapel was built in commutation of a vow to go to the holy wars.[33] At

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of a presbyterian minister at this place. This gift he afterwards confirmed by his will in 1732, and in addition, bequeathed to the trustees the use of the chapel and chapel-ground for the same purpose. On the death or alienation of the minister, the trustees were to present the names of two to the lord of the manor, who was to appoint one of them, and on his neglect or refusal, the trustees themselves were to make the appointment. Ministers continued to be nominated by the prescribed form until the death of a Mr. Dunkley, who had for many years received the bequeathed stipend, and whose demise took place in 1794. On that occasion the owner of the manor took possession of the estates which had been conveyed to the trustees, and appointed to the chapel a minister of the church of England, paying him £30 per annum. The trustees recovered possession of the estates, by an action of ejectment, tried at Lincoln summer assizes, 1812; but not of the chapel."

[33] Dr. Inet, in his Church History, says, "some men who had made rash vows of going to the Holy Land, and had a mind to break them, were taught to commute with the building of churches and monasteries. Others who were going thither, being uncertain of their return to their estates, profusely gave them away to build and enrich such houses. Others in memory of the deliver-

the points of the groined ceiling, are placed an agnus dei and a Templars cross.[34] At the west end is the stone statue of a Templar—probably the founder of the chapel—completely armed, with the cylindrical helmet, and kite-shaped shield by which the order was distinguished.[35]

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ances from the hazards that war had exposed them to; or in commemoration of their relatives and friends who had perished therein, followed their example."

[34] It is well known that the Agnus Dei occupied the nombril point of the Beanseant banner. Dr. Kellett (Tricœn. Christi. p. 621.) says, "the agnus dei was sometimes printed on the sacred Eucharist, as I have seen it graven on some chalices remaining to this day. Or rather, as Baronius, ad an. 216. num. 15; the image of a shepherd carrying a sheep at his back, was wont to be effigiated in the chalice, and on the episcopal cloak or pall."

[35] I conclude that this was a memorial of an unperformed vow; because the knight appears to be in the act of sheathing his sword, and the style of his arms, as well as the architecture of the chapel, unite to show that it was erected subsequently to the foundation of the abbey; and probably between the reigns of Hen. I. and Edw. I. The chapel-de-fer on the warrior's head, would indicate the former date. The upper part of the shield is gone, and there are no vestiges of armourial bearings about the monument; so that it is only by the decorations of the chapel that we can pronounce it to be the figure of a Templar.

CHAPTER XIII.

Conclusion.

These magnificent establishments had existed upwards of four centuries, increasing in splendour, and offering advantages which their bitterst enemies could neither gainsay nor resist. They were places of education for youth; and the only depositories of literature and learning.[1] This was no small advantage in an age when even the nobility were profoundly ignorant of letters, and

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[1] "The monasteries were schools of learning and education, for every convent had one person or more appointed for this purpose; and all the neighbours that desired it, might have their children taught grammar and church music there without any expence. In the nunneries also, young women were taught to work and read, and not only the lower rank of people, but most of the noblemen's and gentlemen's daughters were taught in these places. All the monasteries were, in effect, great hospitals, and were most of them obliged to relieve many poor people every day. They were likewise houses of entertainment for all travellers." (Burn. Eccl. Law. vol. ii. p. 545.)

could neither read nor write.[2] They were also the seats of hospitality to all within the sphere of their influence.[3] These advantages, however, were neutralized, in a great measure, by innovations and abuses,[4] augmenting from age to age, which

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[2] Theodoric, king of Italy, and Justin in Constantinople, could not write their own names; neither could the great Charlemagne, although he used great diligence to acquire this accomplishment. The emperor Barbarossa; John, king of Bohemia; nor Philip, king of France, could any of them read. See for other instances, Hallam's Middle Ages. c. ix. In some instances the clergy were equally ignorant. Bishop Heriman of Babenberg was degraded for his profound ignorance; and in the 9th century, two German abbots were expelled as "inutiles ac damnosi; utpote nimis dediti studiis literarum, et nimis intenti scripturis." For more of this consult the notes to Archdeacon Bayley's Visitation Charge, 1826.

[3] Strype tells us that "they relieved the poor, raised no rents, took no excessive fines on the renewal of leases; and he speaks in the highest terms of their noble structures, the education they gave to the rich, and their libraries."

[4] Burnet says, (Disc. on the Roman Church. p. 18.) "how much of sorcery and enchantments was used in heathenism, every one that gives account of their forms do mention; but indeed all they used was nothing, if compared with the enchantments of the Roman Church." And then exclaims with indignation; "shall I here tell of the charming of water, of salt, of wax candles, for driving away of devils? Shall I next tell of the christening of bells, the hallowing of oil, the touching of beads, the touching of little pebbles, which shall have a virtue against sickness of all kinds, thunders and lightnings, and temptations of the devil? Shall I next tell of the

were incident to the system, because they could be practised with impunity.[5] It is true, the commissioner's Reports were mostly destroyed in the reign of Mary; but sufficient evidence remains to show that the monks were so dissolute in their manners, as to make their reformation a doubtful work;[6] and therefore they could scarcely hope

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consecrating roses, agnes-deis, medals and the like? Or shall I tell of their exorcisms and charms for driving out devils, with all the strange actions used in them?"

[5] It appears from a Proclamation dated July 22, 1542, that although the monasteries had been suppressed, many of the superstitious observances were still practised; for it observes that "dyvers and many superstitious and chyldysh observancis have been used, and yet to this day are observed and kept, in many and sundry partes of this realm; as upon St. Nicholas, the Holie Innocents, and such like, children be straingelie decked and apparayled to couterfeit priests, bishops, and women, and to be ledde with songes and dances from house to house, blessing the people, and gathering of money; and boyes do sing masse and preache in the pulpitt, with such other unfittinge and inconvenient usages, rather to the derysyon than anie true glorie of God, or honor of his sayntes." As an instance of these superstitions, I subjoin from an old book, dated 1537, a curious monkish charm for the tooth-ache. "The charmer taketh a pece of whyt brede, and sayth over that breade the Pater Noster, and maketh a crosse upon the brede; then doth he ley that pece of brede unto the toth that aketh, or unto any sore; tournynge the crosse unto the sore or dysease, and so is the persone healed."

[6] The testimonies of this fact abound in every reign up to the time of the Reformation; and in the Homily "Of Good Works," it is is asserted that they kept in

that the system would be permanent. And it is not unworthy of remark, that the dissolution was the act of Roman Catholic King in a Roman Catholic Parliament;[7] and occurred before Protestantism was established in England. But the question is—did the above causes justify the alienation of property which had been set apart by pious men for religious purposes; to pamper the rapacity of courtiers, or the extravagance of a spendthrift monarch?[8] The ancient benefactors

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divers places, marts or markets of merits, being full of their holy relics, images, shrines, and works of overflowing abundance ready to be sold: and all things which they had were called holy;—holy cowls, holy girdles, holy pardons, beads, shoes, rules, all full of holiness. And again, they used superstitious fastings, masses satisfactory, feigned relics, pardons, with such like merchandize, which were so esteemed and abused, to the great prejudice of God's glory and commandments, that they were made most high, and most holy things, whereby to attain to everlasting life, and the remission of all sin."

[7] For the members were ashamed of the assumptions of their own writers; who boldly affirmed that "the gospel is but a fable of Christ;" (Apol. of Stephen. p. 358. Smeeton Cont. Hamilton. p. 104.) that "the Pope can dispense against the New Testament;" (Panormit. extra de divor.) that "he may check, when he pleases, the Epistles of St. Paul; (Car. Ruin. Concil. 109.) and control anything avouched by the Apostles." (Rota in decis. i. n. 3. Auton. Maria in addit. ad decis. n. 10.)

[8] This wholesale transfer of property to secular purposes which had been devoted to the services of religion, appears to have had an unfavourable influence on public

to these foundations did not surely appropriate their possessions for any such purposes.[9] They were designed for nobler ends. And it does not alter this view of the case, to plead that the donors were actuated by mistaken notions of piety.[10]

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morals. The writings of Strype, Latimer, Gilpin, Knox, and others, are full of lamentations respecting the vices of the times immediately following the dissolution of the monasteries. A great latitude of opinion is said to have prevailed respecting the institution of marriage--robbers and murderers frequently escaped punishment through the venality of judges and the partiality of jurors;—the most barefaced frauds were avowed and justified for the attainment of wealth; and the sufferings of the poor were viewed with heartless indifference by the rich and prosperous.

[9] There was probably some degree of superstition in many of these appropriations; for "some monasteries and churches had their settled tables of necessary offices and pecuniary payments, each of which was potent enough to resist a certain portion of the purgatorial pains. To every mass for the aged, a power of abolishing a determinate number of days or years of this probationary fire was allotted, and these masses were to be purchased by proportionate liberalities. The rich and great had, therefore, always the power of making the first eras of the next world, as pleasant to them as the present. The poor were less secure; and their absolute obedience and servile ductility were the only means by which they could procure safety. This was one of the causes of the rich donations to monasteries and churches, which made the Catholic foundations so affluent and powerful." (Turner. Hist. Engl. vol. v. p. 57.)

[10] These mistaken notions were fatal, however, to the purity of religion. La Tour, who flourished during the 15th century, thus egregiously exposes these false

Their piety was sincere; and practised in accordance with principles which were universally admitted [11] throughout the whole christian world. [12]

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notions, in a book written expressly *for the edification of his daughters*. "A certain knight who had had three wives, asked a hermit what had become of them? After solemn prayer, the hermit pretended to have had it revealed to him that two were in purgatory and the third in paradise. When asked what had been their sins, he answered that the first painted her face and the second was very fond of dress. But, says the knight, my last wife lived for several years in open adultery, how then can she be in paradise? Because, said the hermit, she had not done so with a married man, a priest, or a monk, and therefore by the efficacy of confession upon her death-bed, and alms to the church, she was let off for a few years of purgatory."

[11] Thus it was firmly believed that the wearing of a friar's girdle conveyed personal holiness. Camden tells us (Remains. p. 276.) that Sir Thomas More said to his lady that in the time of Lent she should restrain herself from scolding her servants. "Tush, Tush, my Lord," said she, "looke, here is one step to heavenward," showing him a friar's girdle. "I fear me," said he, "this one step will not bring you up a step higher."

[12] "Our ancestors believed what they were told, because they had neither books enough, nor sufficient accumulated knowledge, nor proper instructors, to enable them to judge accurately of the pretensions of their clergy, or the foundations of their doctrines. But when the means of judgment occurred, no nation more eagerly studied or more resolutely or temperately applied them. They broke the bandages of their superstitions, the first moment that they were qualified to do so; and they devoted themselves with benevolent zeal, to communicate to others the illumination which they had attained.

A portion of their temporal possessions[13] was devoted to the honour of God,[14] the salvation of souls,[15] the solemnity of public worship, and the decoration of the temples of Deity.[16]

And suppose the pious intentions of the donor were not strictly carried into effect. Admit that a reformation was become necessary. Admit that the goodly tree wanted pruning.[17] What was the

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[13] And it was a large portion; for Hearne in the Appendix to his Avesbury, asserts that the clergy possessed more than half the knight's fees, or in other words, the landed property in the kingdom.

[14] Bishop Rennet, in his Glossary, says, "before the statute of mortmain, the nation was so sensible of the extravagant donations to the monasteries, that in the conveyance of estates it was frequently covenanted that no sale, gift, or assignation of the premises should be made to the religious houses."

[15] Thus, Lady Clare, A. D. 1360, left £140, to sing masses for her soul, the souls of her three husbands, and her servants. This was a usual custom, and numerous instances of it may be found in Nicholl's Royal and Noble Wills.

[16] Liberal minded men are actuated by a similar spirit at the present day, in their munificent donations towards the erection of additional places for divine worship. If our ancestors were in error, it was an error sanctioned by the unfeigned faith of the age in which they lived; and their donations and bequests ought not to have been desecrated by an unhallowed sequestration to worldly purposes.

[17] There can be no doubt of this when we consider that some monasteries condescended to beg even the smallest sums of money under the promise of relief from the pains of purgatory. Hearne has published the par-

proper course? Not to tear it up by the roots.[18] Not to dry up the sources of piety, but to purify them; and when the abuses were corrected,[19] to restore the charitable donations of the wealthy to their original and intended use.[20] But was this

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ticulars, (Fordun. p. 1399.) from a "pardon" MS. found in the monastery of Shene. "Hosumever cometh to the saide monastery devotly gevynge sumwhat to the reparacions of the saide monastery, and say 5 pater nosters, and 5 aves, and a crede, shall have 500 daies of pardon. Hoosumever saith devotly our lady's Sauter in the saide monastery, shall have 500 daies of pardonne."

[18] Lord Herbert of Cherbury, says, "the christian world was astonished at these doings; for besides the houses and lands taken away, there was much money made of the present stock of cattle and corn, of the timber, lead, bells, &c.; and chiefly of the plate and church ornaments; all which, by some being openly called rapine and sacrilege, I will in no ways excuse."

[19] "'Twere endless," says the Bishop of Oxford, "by retail to reckon up the errors and the guilts to which we are invited; the fond ridiculous rites, the superstitions, burdensome, and heathenish ceremonies, the exorcisms and conjurations, the blasphemies and forged miracles, cheats, and pious frauds, the lies and stories stupid and impossible as those of Amadis de Gaul, the Knight of the Sun, or the Seven Champions; witness the Golden Legend, the Lives of the Saints; or if we have a mind to a romance of our own, the long tale of a tub which Father Cressy has lately put out borrowed from Father Alford; the improbable, i.e. the greater miracles, as he tells us, being omitted because of the unbelief of the heretics; and yet enow are left to weary the credulity of the most sanguine catholic." (Seasonable Advice. p. 7. 1688.)

[20] A curious instance of the way in which these dona-

done ?[21] Certainly not ;[22] as the present impoverished state of many of our parishes will fully testify.[23] It is not my intention, however,

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tions were sometimes procured is given by Strutt. (Chron. vol. ii. p. 258.) "Ethelric, Bishop of Dorchester, in the reign of Canute, made a Danish nobleman drunk, and whilst he was in that state, bought a fine estate of him for a mere trifle; and for this impious fraud the holy bishop received great commendations, because he gave the estate to the abbey of Ramsay."

[21] Weever says, the incomes of the dissolved houses ought to have been disposed of in exhibitions and alms for God's ministers—relief of the poor—and repairing of churches. The property, however, by act of parliament, 31 Hen. VIII. c. 13, was appropriated to the king, his heirs and assigns for ever. Incalculable mischief was effected by this unhallowed invasion; and the only individuals who profited by the pillage, were men who had been raised by the king's blind partiality to rank and power—whose importunities never ceased, and whose rapacity was never satisfied.

[22] The present Bishop of Lincoln justly observes, in his primary Charge, (A. D. 1827,) that at the Reformation, "the possessions of the church bore too large a proportion to the whole property of the country, and that a formidable obstacle was thereby thrown in the way of its growing prosperity. Yet, if it was desirable to withdraw a part, the alienation of the *landed estates* of the religious houses might surely have been sufficient; the tithes might have reverted to their original destination,—the maintenance of the parochial clergy. Of the property then vested in the crown, only a small portion was applied either directly or indirectly, to the religious instruction of the people, the greater part was distributed among the favourites of the reigning monarch."

[23] "Judge Blackstone observes, that at the dissolution

to enter upon an abstract question of this nature. But I must be allowed to lament, in common with all who have a taste for antiquarian pursuits, that so many buildings of great beauty and excellence should have been thus recklessly destroyed; for they embellished the districts where they were placed, and were a grace and ornament, as well as an honour to the country. And I must also be allowed to lament that the destroyers of these venerable edifices [24] were not contented with the annihilation of every vestige which bore a reference to the superstitious observances of the Romish

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of the monasteries "the appropriations of several parsonages which belonged to the respective religious houses, amounting to more than one-third of all the parishes in England, would have been by the rule of common law disappropriated, had not a clause in those statutes intervened to give them to the king, in as ample a manner as the abbots, &c., formerly held them. This though perhaps scarcely defensible, was not without example; for the same was done in former reigns, when the alien priories were dissolved, and given to the crown." (Right. p. 386.)

[24] The people were excited to madness by the preaching of the Puritans during the reign of Elizabeth, and the work of dissolution was speedy and certain. Harrison, himself a puritan, in his Description of Britain, speaks out. His words are, "as for our churches, they remain as in times past, save that all images, shrines, tabernacles, rood lofts, and monuments of idolatry are removed. Only the storyes in glass windows excepted; which for want of sufficient store of new stuff, and *by reason of extreme charge that should grow through the alteration of the same into whyte panes through the realm*, are not

Church;[25] but all the learning of the English nation, collected through many centuries, and deposited in the libraries of these institutions, was sacrificed and destroyed.[26] Manuscripts which

altogether abolished in most places; but by little and little suffered to decay, that whyte glass may be provided in their room." Or in other words, to saddle the parishes with the expence of desecrating and dilapidating their respective places of worship. Property which the zealots could convert into money, such as plate, vestments, &c., their consciences tempted them to remove as idolatrous appendages to divine worship; but that which was likely to burden them with expence, as the replacing of painted windows with plain glass, they suffered to remain, even though replete with vestiges of that idolatry against which they carried on their war of extermination.

[25] They even quarrelled with the games and amusements of the people. "Maid Marian was termed the whore of Babylon; Friar Tuck was deemed a remnant of popery; and the hobbyhorse as an impious and pagan superstition; and they were at length most completely put to the rout, as the bitterest enemies of religion. King James' Book of Sports restored the Lady and the Hobbyhorse; but during the Commonwealth, they were again attacked by a new set of fanatics; and together with the whole of the May festivities, the Whitsun ales, &c., in many parts of England, degraded." (Illustr. of Shak. and Anc. Manners. vol. ii. p. 463.)

[26] These books were many of them invaluable. When any person made a present of a book to a church or monastery, it was considered a donation of such value as to be offered upon the altar *pro remedia animæ suæ*. We are told in the Relics of Literature, that when Louis XI., borrowed the works of Rasis, the Arabian physician, from a public body in Paris, he was not only

can never be renewed, were consigned to profane uses; whole ship loads were transported to the continent;—history, topography, biography, records, were alike bartered for a base equivalent; and petty tradesmen were furnished with paper for the common purposes of their trade, which was worth its weight in gold.[27] The loss may excite our regret, but it can never be retrieved.

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obliged to deposit in pledge a considerable quantity of plate, but also procure a surety to a public deed, binding himself to restore the work under a large penalty.

[27] Bale asserts that he knew a merchant who received as many manuscripts from monastic libraries for forty shillings as would serve him for all the purposes of his business for twenty years.

APPENDIX.

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A few remarks on the ancient inhabitants of the country bordering on the river Witham, and their monumental remains.

OUR IDOLATROUS PREDECESSORS IN THIS LOCALITY. —At the irruption of the Romans into this island, it was well peopled, and the inhabitants had made some indifferent approaches towards civilization; although they were still extremely rude in their diet and mode of life. Some went entirely naked; others were clothed in the skins of beasts; and the state in which they were found induced the Romans to style them barbarians. [1] They had divided the country into thirty independent kingdoms, [2] which were again subdivided into petty

[1] Strabo. l. 4, Diod. Sic. l. 4, Xiphil. l. 21, Cesar l. v. c. 21, Herodian. l. 3. Pomp. Mela. l. iii. c. 6.

[2] It is probable, however, that this division comprehended only that part of England which lay south of the river Humber, and was denominated Lloeger, for we find that at the division of Britain between Belinus and Brennus, A. M. 3574, it was proposed that Belinus should have Lloeger and Cambria, and Brennus from the Humber to Caithness in Scotland. (Pont. Virun. p. 10. Harding. p. 26.)

provinces, each governed by its subordinate chief. And there are reasons for believing that two of these small provinces were seated on the banks of the Witham. The men were tall, and strong of limb, but irascible in temper, impatient of control, and deadly in their resentment. The limits of each kingdom were not defined with such exact geographical precision as to prevent mutual infringements of property; and hence the tribes were involved in constant hostility. This accounts for the state of preparation in which Cesar found them, as well as the want of success that attended his expedition.

The bards mention three principal invaders who vanquished the Britons, and took possession of their country, and it is rather singular that the Romans are not included in the number, viz., the Corani, who came in the time of Lud, the son of Belin the Great; secondly, the Gwyddyl Ficti, or the Picts; and thirdly, the Saxons. [3] The first of these are the people called the Coritani, [4] who inhabited the part which is the subject of our present research.

Some of the principal towns in Lincolnshire were built at a very early period, and long before the Romans changed the civil polity of the island. Grantham is said to have been founded by Gorbomannus A. A. C.

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[3] Owen's Dict. v. Gormez.

[4] In an old MS. this colony is mentioned the first in order amongst seven districts, viz., Corainiaid; Draig Prydain; Y Zraig estrawn; Y gwyr lledrithiawg; Gwyzyl Ficti; Y Cesariaid ar Saeson. (Ibid. v. Corainiad.)

303. Lincoln is mentioned by the early Bards; [5] and Castor was evidently a British town, for on one of its hills, a stone idol was placed, which I inspected a few years ago, and heard the popular traditions concerning it, which were certainly of a Druidical origin. Grimsby was founded by this people, and two or three of its eminences still retains their primitive Celtic appellations; [6] and Barrow and Barton, with many other places, bear unequivocal traces of aboriginal occupancy.

The division of Kesteven in the county of Lincoln was so called from *maen* a stone, and *kest*, an enclosure. Thus, Kestvaen was an inclosure of stone; for in all the Celtic dialects the *m* changes in composition to *v*; and the definition corresponds with the natural features of the country, which is for the most part, a bed of stone covered in many places with a very thin stratum of soil; and I am persuaded that the Britons, who had a profound veneration for rocks, and were fond of depositing the bodies of their dead in natural cemetaries of stone, where such could be found gave this name to the division; which for the same reason, would be continued by the Saxons, who called it Kesteven.

The country on both sides of the Witham was well wooded, [7] which would recommend it to the Britons, as a convenient place of habitation. They venerated the deep and solemn shade of a consecrated grove of oaks,

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5 Mergant. Ow. Dict. v. Biiyn.

6 See my Mon. Ant. Grim. c. vi.

7 Richard of Ciren. de situ Brit. l. iii. c. 10.

the misletoe of which was held sacred, and acorns were offered in sacrifice to their deities. They placed their stone idols, their cromlech, and circular adyta in its darkest recessess;[8] they practised their sacred rites on the lakes and sheets of water which the marshy situations afforded; and celebrated their horrible mysteries in places the most inaccessible and remote.

At what period this locality was first dignified with the existence of a town, or series of habitations for the enjoyment of social life, cannot be conjectured. The inhabitants, in the more early period of their colonization, passed their time in the solitary recesses of the woods, or in dens or caves excavated in the hills. Necessity and mutual protection at length dictated the system of living in society, and the members of each tribe formed themselves into a community; constructed their wattled huts[9] in contiguous situations, and fenced the little colony with a bank and ditch to defend it equally from savage beasts, and from any sudden incursion which might be attempted by a neighbouring clan. To each community a cheiftain was elected; who was generally the patriarch of the family, or one who by his wisdom or courage appeared capable of affording them counsel in difficulty, and protection in time of danger or distress.

Each tribe had its camp for the defence of the females, children, and cattle, in case of a hostile attack. This was usually formed on the summit of a mountain, when

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8 Cesar. l. v. c. 17. Strabo. l. 4.

9 Strabo. l. 4. Diod. Sic. l. 5.

such a disposition was practicable; but when other facilities presented themselves in the open plain, artificial mounds were thrown up for the same purpose, fortified by hugh ditches and banks of earth.[10] And it is a well attested fact, that some of their fastnesses were so impregnable, that the Romans, with all their superiority of discipline, were unable to reduce them.

Two camps of this kind formerly existed on Scopwick Heath, but they are now almost obliterated by agricultural operations. The first of these remains is still known by the name of Castle Banks; and is situate on the highest part of that extensive heath which reaches from Lincoln to Ancaster; commanding a most extensive prospect as far as Lincoln to the north, Sleaford to the south, and over the fens eastward the whole extent of the county was visible almost as far as Boston and the sea; while on the north-east the view was only bounded by the Wold hills about Horncastle and Louth. A better situation could scarcely have been selected for a camp; and from the irregularity of its construction there can be no danger of appropriating it to the Britons; although it might be and probably was subsequently occupied by the Romans and the Danes. It was eighty yards in diameter, surrounded by a double vallum, eight feet high, with a broad and deep ditch, and situated near a natural ravine towards the north, leading to another earthwork of a similar description about half a mile

[10] Tacit. Annal. l. xii. s. 33.

distant, which is now the site of some recent plantations belonging to C. Chaplin, Esq., of Blankney.

The eastern bank of the Witham, on which our monasteries were placed, was peopled with a numerous and warlike tribe, whose chief station was either at Bardney,[11] or else at Tattershall,[12] and the chief Druidical station might be at Revesby. Accordingly we find that two ancient British encampments have been discovered on a flat moor bordering on the fens in Tattershall Park;[13] and at Revesby there still remain stupendous monuments of the same people. The possessions of this tribe might probably extend to the borders of the great eastern fen which ran to the sea.

If this conjecture be true, it would be a formidable tribe both from its extent of population and locality; and it appears that this was the opinion of the adjacent clans on the west of the Witham; for they established beacons in various directions for the purpose of immediate communication with their friends on any sudden emergency. These signals from existing remains, appear to have been constructed in three lines. One extended over the high ridges of the heath; another along the trackway that intersected their kingdom from north to south; and a third covered the low grounds which bordered on the Witham. By this means, with telegraphic despatch, they communicated tidings to temple, town,

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11 Vide supra. p. 31.

12 Tatshall, so called from Tat or Taut the British Mercury.

13 Gough. Camd. vol. 2.

and camp, of an enemy's approach, by a fire in the night and a smoke in the day; and were thus always prepared for a sudden surprise.

To connect the civil and military stations throughout the kingdom, four great roads were planned by Molmutius or Dunwallo Moluncius,[14] who flourished A. M. 3529, viz., the Foss, and the Hermen; the Watling and Ikeneld streets, which were completed by Belin his son; and these roads, when they approached within a certain distance of cities or temples, possessed the privilege of sanctuary,[15] the limits being marked by upright stones. With the main roads were connected a series of subsidiary trackways which formed a chain of communication with every part of the island. Two of these great roads are connected with the river Witham, and form a junction at Lincoln; and the Hermen street, commonly called the High Dyke, has several collateral roads of great antiquity leading to different points of the same river, where ancient ferries still exist. Some of these roads date their origin from Lud,[16] who began to reign

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[14] He was the father of Belinus and Brennus who accomplished the sack of Rome.

[15] Seld. Janus Angl.

[16] There are strong reasons for believing that Lud had a residence in this county, and probably at Lincoln, which was called by the Britons Caer Lwyd-wed; and many places still retain his name, as Luda, (Louth) standing on the river Lud; Lud-denham, Londonthorpe, Lund, Luddington, Ludford, Ludborough, at which place there still remain stupendous vestiges of a camp of considerable strength. And these are not the only indications which mark the operations of this potent

about A. M. 3895, and held his kingdom according to some authorities, eleven years, whilst others extend his reign to forty. He was the brother of Cassibelan, during whose reign Julius Cesar made his first descent upon Britain.

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monarch, and convey his name to posterity. An ancient British road called the Saltway, in its progress from the west, entered the county of Lincoln at a place called Saltby, crossed the Witham at Saltersford, near to a station subsequently chosen for a Roman camp at Ponton, and proceeded through Caer Lwydwed to Ludford, crossed the Wolds, and passed between the parishes of Ormsby and Wyham to the coast at Saltfleet or Salthaven. Along the whole line of this road are tumuli; and there are ramparts on Saltby heath which are still called King Lud's entrenchments. It is said further, that about the point where the Saltway crosses the head of the river Bain, many British coins of this monarch have been turned up by the plough. I cannot, however, attest this fact by personal observation, for though I have made diligent enquiry on the spot, it was without success. The inhabitants have a tradition of a great battle fought here by Lud, which may receive some confirmation from the number of gigantic tumuli which abound in the neighbourhood. At Ludborough is a mound placed in an elevated situation, from which an extensive and commanding prospect of the Lincolnshire marshes down to the sea coast may be enjoyed in one direction; and in another the high hills which overhang the town of Louth on the river Lud; on one of which the Romans formed a Julian Bower, or martial labyrinth for the exercise of their youth in gymnastic games. Two other trackways which were subseqently converted into Roman roads, were connected with the same prince, and it is probable that he might contribute to improve them. The Barton street, which passes by Stallingborough, where Lud had a camp, called to this day Little London, (Lud's town) through Ludborough to Louth; and another from the same place to Horncastle on the Bain, crosses the Saltway at Ludford.

It is quite clear that the country adjoining the Witham on both sides was thickly inhabited by the aborigines; for they have left behind them such palpable evidences of their occupancy as cannot be mistaken, in the form of tumuli, some of which have been found to contain jet and amber beads and trinkets; specimens of the auguinum ovum or glain neidhr; urns and calcined bones; coins, celts, flint hatchets, and arrow heads; vestiges which unequivocally mark a British era.

On the western side of the Witham, two lines of their towns were situated between the heath and the fen, running from north to south; the one on the brow of the hill which overlooks the fen, and the other on the borders of the heath; each being plentifully supplied with water from a crystal stream passing through it. There can be no doubt that these were British towns from etymological deduction, because most of them retain their primitive Celtic appellations [17] to which the Saxons afterwards affixed characteristic terminations referring to the localities of each particular place. Thus a series of British hamlets or towns existed at Canwick, [18] Branston, [19] Hanworth, [20] Nocton, [21] Dunston, [22] Methering-

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17 Vide ut supra. p. 33. n. 11.

18 *Ychen* were the consecrated oxen used in the sublimest mysteries of druidism, as will be explained below.

19 *Bran* was the name of a British deity.

20 Annwn or *Hannwn*, the deep waters; a true attribute of this locality, which was called by the Saxons Hanewrde.

21 Called by the Saxons Nochetune, and sometimes Nongtone. Here are some remains of a British occupancy.

22 Din was a British title of the sun; and Don, or Deon, or

ham,[23] Blankney,[24] Scopwick,[25] Digby, Dorrington,[26]

Dun, was a name of Hee, under which denomination the diluvian patriarch was worshipped.

[23] This place was called by the Saxons Meder-ingham, from the great quantity of meadow land (*mæde.* Sax.) which it contained; amounting at the time when the Domesday survey was made, to 470 acres, while the adjoining parishes had only the following proportions:—Blankney, 60 acres; Dunston, 12 acres; Nocton, 95 acres; Branston, 60 acres; Scopwick and Kirkby Green, 47 acres; Ashby, 55 acres; and others at a similar average.

[24] From *Belin-Kyd*, the male and female deities of Britain. "Among some corpses," says Gough, (Camd. vol. ii. p. 376.) "dug up on Blankney Heath, were found several cast brass rings, flattish, which some suppose to be the old British money mentioned by Cesar." And at Linwood in the same parish, a golden torques, the distinguishing ornament of a British prince or chieftain, was found, a few years ago, which was sold to a jew for half its intrinsic value; an irreparable loss to the antiquary.

[25] From *Scaup*, a head, and *wick*, a stream embosomed in a valley. There was a conical hill in this village, at the intersection of the ancient road from Lincoln to Sleaford, and a cross road called Bradley lane. It bears the familiar name of Wilmore hill, a corruption doubtless of *Elmur*, a British deity; and is remembered by old people now living, as being of great diameter, and more than twenty feet high. It was levelled at the enclosure, and found to be composed of clay and cineritious remains, with abundant marks of cremation; a sufficient evidence that it was originally cast up as a place of interment, and as the materials were brought from a distance, we may fairly conjecture that it was designed for an occasion of some importance.

[26] *Daron* was the British god of thunder, whose acknowledged symbol was an oak with expanded arms; and the existence here of a very ancient oak of this description, is remembered by aged people, to have been situated in a place which is called to this day the Play Garth.

Ruskington,[27] and Sleaford,[28] on the one line, and at Heighington,[29] Linwood,[30] Martin,[31] Walcot, Billinghay,[32] Anwick,[33] and Kyme,[34] on the other. A British chief resided at Lincoln, but I am inclined to think that his authority extended over the Wold Hills which lay to the north of his metropolis; and that the Witham formed the southern boundary of his dominions.

The western district of this river was exceedingly favourable to the habits and propensities of the native Britons, and well adapted to the practice of their peculiar system of religion, and the mode of warfare to which they were accustomed, consisting of alternate heath and

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27 From *Rhewys-Cun-Ton*; the royal residence dedicated to Rhewys or Ceridwen.

28 *Fordd* is a pure British word, signifying generally "a road or way." The ford of Old Sleaford crossed a little to the east of Coggle-ford mill in the course of the ancient road, before the river was made navigable. This ford was connected with the line of road along Eau lane, from the Boston to the Horncastle turnpikes.

29 From *Hee*, the chief deity of the Britons.

30 From *Llyn*, a lake—meaning the lake in the wood. Here was a British tumulus.

31 The residence of *Merrddin*, a teacher of Druidism.

32 It may be observed here that wherever the name of Walcot occurs, it indicates the existence of an ancient road, and Walcot is generally attendant on Belin. We have this name equally near Billinghay and Billingborough; as also the towns of Kirkby or Kirton; and in fact the two former are places of Druidical celebration and the last of worship.

33 From *Annwn*, the deep. Or, perhaps, from On-wy, lord of the water—the diluvian patriarch typified by Draig, or Drake.

34 Kun or *Kym*—Dominus.

forest, interspersed with fine springs of water, irrigating a convenient extent of pasture land. Its limits were defined by the natural features in the geography of the country, viz. The cliff on the west; the Witham on the north and east; and on the south, the Sleaford branch of the same river; which was hence named, as Stukeley rightly conjectured, Ganthavon, or Grantavon,[35] the separating stream; because it formed a permanent boundary between several petty states.

It contained a perfect settlement, ecclesiastical and civil, governed by a chief who resided at Kyme, as far distant as possible from the abode of the Prince of Lwydwed or Lincoln, to prevent unnecessary collision; assisted by the presence of a Druidical Pontiff, residing at Billinghay; and it is not improbable but the tribe itself may have been denominated *Cymbeline* or Kym-Belin, in common with others in various parts of Britain, from its founder, who transferred his most comprehensive name, which included a distinct reference to civil and religious authority to his princely residence, and to the sacred temple of the Deity, *which names they still retain.* Thus, *Kym* or Kyme, which signifies Prince or Lord, is represented by two adjacent villages, occupying an extensive tract of land on the western bank of the Witham; where, in the year 1820, some warlike weapons were found in a large tumulus, of undoubted British manufacture. The latter part of the name, Belin, referred

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[35] See also Baxter in loc.

to the great solar Deity [36] whose rites were celebrated in two convenient situations adjoining, one at Billinghay, and the other on the neighbouring hill of KET, Ked, or Ceridwen, the British Ceres, [37] who was worshipped in conjunction with Belin, which still bears the name of Ket-ley, or Catley.

If this reasoning possess any force, it follows that Catley, with its subsidiary temples at Billinghay and Dorrington on the south, and Heighington on the north, were the Dan and Bethel of the tribe, and distinguished by circular temples composed of detached stones set on end; as were also some other places on the line, particularly Kirkby Green, which derives its name [38] from

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[36] "Hee and Beli constitute but one character. The latter is certainly the Celtic god Belinus, mentioned by Ansonius and expressly identified with Apollo, the solar divinity, (Dav. Dru. p. 116.)

[37] See the Gododin of Aneurin, Songs 24 and 25, which are thus commented on by Mr. Davis, (Ibid. p. 402.) "I have had frequent occasion to remark that Ceridwen, the arkite goddess, is distinguished by the name of Ked. Aneurin repeatedly calls her by this name, and speaks of Cibno Ked as synonimous with Pair Ceridwen, the cauldron of Ceridwen, or sacred vase of Ceres. Now those who are at all conversant in Cambro British writing, must be aware that Ked and Ket are precisely the same word, it being usual in our old orthography, to write the final *t*, where at present we use the *d*. Thus we have bot, bod; cat, cad; tat, tad; and a hundred more; for the rule is general, and almost without exception."

[38] On a minute survey of the Green or hill on which Kirkby chapel stands, I am inclined to pronounce it, large as it is, artificial, for the following reasons. It is insulated, and stands visibly more elevated than any part of the ground by which it

such a sacred enclosure. The inauguration of their chiefs, and the periodical Gorseddau, were holden at Brawdlle on the summit of Elmur, now called Scopwick, in the very centre of the province. They had camps, as we have seen, on the heath; and a detachment was probably placed at the junction of the two streams near Tattershall; for Tat or Taut signifies a place for observation;[39] and indeed the contiguous residences of the rival chiefs at Coningsby and Kyme, required outposts on both sides of the river at this point, to prevent surprise, in the midst of such a pugnacious population. And accordingly it is highly probable they had several fastnesses in the swampy parts of the great forest which formed the boundary of their territories, terminated by the Witham.

On the eastern side of the river, the towns and villages were placed dispersedly, and with no design but eligibility of situation, and from the etymology of their names it may be safely pronounced that many of the present villages were originally occupied by the ancient Britons. Kirkstead, Kirkby, and Stainfield, were undoubtedly religious stations; the former being so called from Cir

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is immediately surrounded. It is in view equally of the double range of beacons on the east and west. The names of Kirkby and Chapel Hill were assigned to it by the Anglo Saxon christians, who generally accommodated themselves to prevailing superstitions. To the temple on this hill was attached a cemetery; and vast quantities of human bones have been recently thrown up, whilst digging to form a sawpit in the adjoining farm yard.

[39] Mon. Ant. Grimsby. p. 66. King. Mun. Ant. vol. i. p. 293.

or Kir a circle of stones,[40] and the latter from Stan, a stone Deity, or perhaps a Cromlech; while the residence of the chief would be at Coningsby,[41] near the junction of the two rivers Witham and Bane. At Bardney and Barlings were colleges or establishments of bards, as the name implies.[42] British towns existed at Bulington,[43] Apley,[44] Horsington,[45] Edlington,[46] Thornton,[47] Mar-

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40 Whenever the word Kir, or any of its derivations is found, it indicates a Druid temple.

41 The British word *Cún*, from which the above is derived, signified a sovereign or a petty chief.

42 These colleges appear to have survived the destruction of the Druidical religion. "From the language of the Triads, and some ancient poems, there is reason to infer that during the Roman government, there was a seminary of Druids somewhere in the north of Britain, or in an adjacent island; and probably beyond the limits of the empire where the doctrine and discipline of heathenism were cultivated without control;—that those Druids persisted in sacrificing, even human victims;—that certain devotees from the southern provinces repaired to their solemn festivals;—that upon the departure of the Romans, some abominable rites were brought back from the north into Mona, and into other parts of Wales;—and that the northern seminary was not finally suppressed till the close of the sixth century." (Dav. Dru. p. 462.)

43 *Belin* was the British name of their chief Deity, the Sun.

44 *Ap*, was a Celtic primitive.

45 This was a Saxon translation of the British word *March*, which means a horse. This animal bore a conspicuous character in the Druidical mythology, and is marked on many of the British coins. The mystical horse forms the subject of an ancient British poem called "the Talisman of Kym-Belin."

46 *Eiddileg*, a mystical character in the Bardic mythology.

47 *Taion-wy*, the Deity of trees.

tin,[48] Langton,[49] Roughton,[50] Campney, &c., &c. The country was favourable to their pursuits, being composed of woodland, moor, and pasture, intersected by streams of water; for the people were fond of hunting and fishing, and lived a pastoral life, like that of the ancient Jewish Patriarchs. They were not partial to tillage; and although they drank milk, yet they made no cheese,[51] and often lived solely upon the productions of the earth. They navigated the rivers in small boats or coracles made of skins,[52] and these, with a few head of cattle, constituted their principal wealth.

The most ancient system of religion practised on the banks of the Witham, was originally pure and patriarchal; but in process of time it became so deformed by corruptions, and embraced such a multiplicity of abominable observances,[53] that even the idolatrous Romans, gener-

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[48] *Merddin* was the name of a teacher of Druidism.

[49] *Lan*—a place of sacred celebration.

[50] *Rheiddin*, a name of the Solar Deity; or perhaps the town was so called from *Rhewy*, a name of the great female Divinity, Ceridwen.

[51] Strabo. Geogr. l. iv.

[52] Lucan. l. i.

[53] Diod. Sic. l. v. Strabo. l. iv. Cesar. l. iv. P. Mela. l. iii. "It would be endless," says Sammes, (Brit. p. 113.) "to speak of the divers and barbarous customs of the wild Britons, which they took up after the Romans had reduced them to a savage and a brutish life, insomuch that the Altacotti, a British nation, according to St. Hierom, fed upon men's flesh; nay, so much were they given to it that when they lit upon any flocks of sheep or herds of cattle, they preferred the buttock of the herdsman before the other prey, and accounted the dugs of women the most delicious diet."

ally so indifferent to modes of faith as to tolerate, and frequently adopt the Deities of every conquered nation, were overwhelmed with horror at the revolting rites which they found in this island,[54] and named the Druidical religion, in contradistinction to all others, *dira immanitatis*. Into such an abyss of superstition and idolatry were this wretched people sunk, that, according to Gildas, they had a greater number of Deities than the Greeks or Romans; and like the practice of the Egyptians, there was hardly a river, lake, fountain, or tree which was not supposed to have some resident divinity attached to it.[55] Such were the unworthy objects to which the degenerate Britons offered the rites of religious worship.

A singular feature in the superstitions of our remote ancestors, was the veneration which they entertained for water, which was extended to the favourite rivers of each tribe, as the Egyptians adored the Nile, and the Hindoos the Ganges. Water was considered the mystical emblem of that cleansing, but secret power which purifies the soul from sin; and rites of ablution were as ancient as

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54 "The most acceptable sacrifice to their gods, were murderers, thieves, and robbers, but for want of these, innocents often suffered. In some places this custom was observed, which I suppose, was common to the Druids of Britain and Gaul. They made an image of a man in vast proportion, whose limbs consisted of twigs weaved together in the nature of basket-work, these they filled with live men, and set it on fire, destroying the poor creatures in smoke and flames." (Ibid. p. 104.)

55 Hist. Gild. c. 2. Pellout. Hist. Celt. vol. 2. p. 36.

the universal deluge.[56] It was believed by the Druids that the earth is the principle of contamination, and that every thing was polluted, in a greater or less degree, which had communication with it. Hence, rain was esteemed purer than river water, if its descent to the earth was intercepted, otherwise it was unfit for the purposes of ablution and ritual purification.

An instance of river worship in this island is recorded by Mr. Davis,[57] and the reasons on which he grounds his belief of the fact will be found equally applicable to the river Witham. "The honours of the Witham may be inferred, not only from the consecrated spots and temples which adorn its banks, but from its very names. It was called Grant-avon, the divine stream; and Cwaith-Ket,[58] the work or river of Ceridwen; and was worshipped as the image of the deified patriarch and his supposed consort." The sacred places on its banks were more numerous, perhaps, than those of any other river in Britain within the same compass.

Another remarkable object of their worship was a rough stone set on end, which was probably derived from some remote tradition of the deity being termed a rock;[59] for they believed that these inanimate substances contained some portion of the divine essence.[60] And

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[56] Spencer de L. Heb. p. 1099.
[57] Dru. p. 152.
[58] Romanized by Stukeley into Cava-Cet.
[59] Ps. xviii. 2, lxxi. 3, xciv. 22. Isai. xvii. 10. 1 Cor. x. 4.
[60] Keysler. p. 22. Borl. Ant. Corn. p. 163. This was the

when an aperture, either natural or artificial was exhibited at its base of sufficient magnitude to admit the human body, the passage was esteemed a medium of regeneration. Dr. Borlase says, "the common people will not be persuaded, even at this day, but that there is something more than ordinary in these rude idols, which by the council of Nantz were to be pulled down and thrown into some place where they might never be found by those who were such fools as to worship them."[61] It appears, however, that the authority of this council was, in many instances, disregarded. The attempt was probably made, but the indignation of the people at such an act of sacrilege was unbounded and unappeasable; and it was ultimately abandoned. Many monuments were suffered to remain, and others were converted into places of christian worship; and it is a curious fact that in every part of the kingdom we find christian churches erected on sites which had been consecrated to the polluted services of paganism.[62]

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abomination forbidden in the mosaic law; (Lev. xxvi. 1.) "Ye shall not set a stone pillar; neither shall ye place in your land a stone to be looked on in adoration." This is the true translation of the passage.

[61] Borl. Ant. Corn. p. 118.

[62] There are numerous well known instances of this custom. At Stanton Drew in Somersetshire, are the ruins of a Druid Temple, to which the devotional feelings of the people were so strongly wedded, that it became necessary to consecrate it to the services of christianity by the erection of a church and nunnery on its site. Abury Church was not only built on the foundations of the ancient temple, but was constructed of the

On this principle we may fairly conclude that the religious houses on the Witham, were constructed in places of Druidical worship, which possessed their stone deities, and conveniences for spiritual regeneration. It is true, no vestige of their existence remains on the eastern side; but at Anwick, on the west of the river, one of these rude idols was in perfect preservation in the year 1836, and is, I suppose still in being. It is called the Drake Stone, [63] and is of sufficient importance to merit a brief description. It is a large irregular oval stone, standing in a field about half a mile north by west of the church. When I first heard of it, its upper surface was sunk four feet beneath the surface of the earth; and it was consequently invisible; but by the kindness of the Rector on whose land it stands, it was disinterred and placed in its primitive situation. It occupies a very conspicuous position; commanding not

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very stones which composed the sanctuary. The Druidical monument of Long Meg and her daughters, in Cumberland, was consecrated by the erection of Addingham Church; as was also the Giant's Cave on the river Eden; and even the stupendous temple of Stonehenge had christian honours attached to it by the construction of a church near to its external boundary; and the village was dignified with the original appellation of that sacred monument. And this custom was not peculiar to the Druids of our own country, for Stukeley says, that at Chartres in France, where the Gaulish Druids held their chief assembly, there is now a magnificent church built upon the very spot where stood that most celebrated open temple. (Itin. Cur. vol. 2. p. 14.)

[63] From Draig, Drake, or Dragon, which was typical of the Patriarch Noah, called in Britain, Belin or Hee.

only a line of beacons which run along the borders of the fen towards the east, but also *the high place* at Dorrington, and the station at Kyme; and from its vicinity to Tattershall might be dedicated to Teut or Mercury.[64] The dimensions are six feet eight and a half inches long, by four feet two and a half inches broad, and seven feet two inches high, measuring from the extreme points; and it was selected by the Druids, for its egg-like shape, because an egg was considered as the fountain of life, and an expressive emblem of the Creator. It was supported on a smaller stone so contrived as to form an aperture of sufficient capacity to admit a man on all fours. The upper part has been flattened by the chisel, and contains an irregularly shaped basin with lips or channels which extend to the edge of the stone. Though of vast weight it has evidently been

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64 Among the Greeks there were many mounds and other religious places consecrated to Mercury; (Phurnut. de nat. deor. c. 16.) and among the latins there were numberless rude pillars consecrated to the same divinity under different names. In Gaul and Britain nothing was more frequent than tumuli and these stone idols; and the Roman soldier left to his own conjecture, for the first maxim of their religion forbade the natives to instruct him on this head, would immediately conclude that they were, as in his own country, symbols of Mercury. Hence we are told that mercury was the principal object of Druidical worship. (Cesar. l. vi.) The Romans would likewise see ceremonies not unlike those performed by their countrymen to Apollo, (Vid. Sil. Ital. l. V. v. 177,) from which they would infer that they were used in honour in the same Deity; (Smith. Gaelic Ant. p. 15,) and he was Teut, a word which signified "God the Father of all beings." (Macph. Antiq. Dissert. 19.)

brought from a distant part of the country as it is of a different quality from the material which the neighbouring quarries produce; and the lordship of Anwick is a strong clay soil without any substratum of stone whatever.

As the native Britons had an overweening attachment to these stone idols, it was the advice of Pope Gregory to Augustine, for the purpose of reconciling the Pagan converts to the new faith, to celebrate its rites in places which were invested with a sacred character; for the missionaries, finding it wholly impracticable to wean them from their accustomed veneration for these holy places, in their proselyting zeal not only transformed the bards and Druids into christian priests, but inscribed the stone idols of superior sanctity with the emblem of their faith, thus transferring the adoration to the Saviour of mankind.[65] And there is no doubt in my mind but Bardney, Tupholme, Stixwold, and Kirkstead, were each the seat of a Druidical place of worship.

In many cases the name of *Chapel*, as at Chapel Hill on the Witham, at Dorrington, and Kirkby Green, each of which had its Chapel Hill, will indicate a site of

[65] A curious instance of this kind of compromise is exhibited in the parish of Luan Hammwleh in Brecknockshire, in the shape of a beautiful specimen of a Druidical adytum or kistvaen, near which the early converts not only erected a church, but converted the adytum itself into the hermitage of a christian saint; and no greater proof can be wanting of the attachment which was borne by the natives to the idolatrous temple once existing on this spot, than the fact that it required the aid of such an artifice to accommodate the true religion, to the superstitious spirit of the times.

Druidical origin.[66] Some think that the hierarchy of the Christian church was modelled on the Druidical plan of government. Although this suggestion is erroneous, yet it is an unquestionable fact that the early christians did openly temporize[67] with the heathen unbelievers, to insure the success of the true religion, as existing monuments fully and unequivocally testify.

At Bardney this system was evidently resorted to by the founder of the Abbey; and as the kingdom of Mercia had been but recently converted to christianity, there is no doubt but he would build his monastery in that part of the country which had been anciently invested with the most sacred character. And although the Gothic superstition had, to a certain extent, superseded that of the Druids, yet many establishments were connived at, out of respect to the native Britons, whose good will it was frequently found expedient to conciliate; and amongst the rest, these on the sacred stream of the Witham, which retain their Celtic names to this day; for the greater part of the population, which was purely British, continued to be inordinately attached to the old superstitions, in preference either to Christianity, or the

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66 Thus, on Temple Downs in Wiltshire, a Kistaven formerly existed which bore the name of Old Chapel; and many examples of the same kind are stated in a letter from Dr. Gordon, to Mr. Aubrey, which has been inserted by Hutchinson in his History of Cumberland.

67 This conduct, how successful soever it might be in furthering the purposes for which it was intended, was doubtless the polluted source of many corruptions which deformed christianity in succeeding ages.

innovations of the Odin worship. The successive missions of Archbishop Wilfred, Paulinus, Bishop Jeruman, and others were insufficient to wean them entirely from the indulgence of long established errors, although numerous conversions were made by each of these eminent men; and it was only by slow and gradual steps that the good work was ultimately crowned with success. The strong holds of idolatry were reduced one by one, till the triumph of christianity was accomplished in the utter annihilation of both the Gothic and Celtic systems.

The place where the Bardic college on the Witham had been established, was the first to confess the influence of a pure religion; and it is highly probably that Ethelred, during the excitement that dictated humiliation and atonement for a long career of military slaughter and desecration, would be inclined to shew the purity and zeal of his intentions by overthrowing the strongest and most polluted seat of ancient superstition, and consecrating the precinct by the erection of an establishment where the true and only God should be worshipped day and night by a regulated succession of priests; and by translating and enshrining the bones of St. Oswald the martyr before its holy altars.

This was the commencement of Monachism within the limits of the county of Lincoln. The example, however, was followed by Ethelbald, king of Mercia, who erected a sumptuous monastery at Croyland in 716, which had already been hallowed by the residence of a pious anchorite called St. Guthlac; who by divine guid-

ance, as it was said, came in a boat to one of those solitary desert islands called Crulande, on St. Bartholomew's day, and in a hollow on the side of a heap of turf, built himself a hut in the days of Cenred, king of Mercia. The choice does not appear to have been fortunate; for the floods and wastes were said to be haunted with sprites and demons of most monstrous size and shape, which kept all human beings at an unapproachable distance; and even the sanctity of Guthlac was scarcely proof against their infernal attacks. Felix, who wrote the life of Guthlac, describes these impudent devils as being of monstrous size, with blubber lips, fiery mouths, scaly faces, beetle heads, sharp teeth, long chins, hoarse throats, black skins, hump shoulders, big bellies, burning loins, bandy legs, tailed buttocks, &c. Guthlac, however, maintained his position, and dying there, was buried at a place called Anchorchurch.

These examples would doubtless have been followed up with avidity, as the rising population became, by education and example, more attached to the christian religion; but however the impulse might have prevailed, it was completely paralyzed by the unholy devastations of the Danish pirates, who appear to have been exceedingly embittered against the christian religion and all its professors; and wreaked their vengeance upon them by the utter destruction of Bardney, Croyland, Peterborough, and many other holy places, which they exterminated with fire and sword, and allowed few of

the inmates to escape. Christianity continued in a very feeble state till the time of Dunstan, about a century before the Northern Conquest; but the monastery of Bardney was not re-edified till after that event.

Page 36, *Note* 20.

THE ABBEY ARMS.—In a roll containing the procession of the lords spiritual and temporal to parliament, in the third year of King Henry the eighth, A. D. 1512, copied from Cole's MSS., now preserved in the British Museum, vol. xviii. p. 6, the arms of the abbot of Bardney are thus emblazoned: Sa. a Crozier in pall between two Crowns towards the chief being run through an amulet towards the top Or. and a Snake enwrapped at the bottom, Argent. Willis, in his Mitred Abbies, vol. i. App. p. 54, gives another coat to this Abbey. He says, "The Conventual seal of this monastery being the only one of the Mitred Parliamentary Abbeys not ingraven in Dr. Tanner's 'Notitia Monastica,' I shall here give the blazoning of it, and inform the reader, that it is a Cross Patee inter four Lions, being the Arms of Oswald king of Northumberland, to whose honour this abbey was dedicated. The same Arms are also used by the see of Durham." Bardney, in fact, bore both the Coats here ascribed to it.

Among the ancient Charters formerly belonging to Lord Oxford, now preserved in the British Museum, are three different Seals of Bardney abbey.

The oldest, appendant to the Deed 44, A. 7, is small and of a round form. On one side is the figure of a king seated on a throne, on a minuter scale, but not unsimilar in design to the seals of the Norman Sovereigns. The legend round is "SIGILLUM SANCTI OSWALDI REGIS ET ....." The reverse, or counter seal, is of the lozenge shape, the matrix evidently of a later date. It represents the façade of a church, in three arched compartments. In the centre compartment, the figure of the Virgin and Child. In the compartments on the right and left, two other figures, probably representing St. Peter and St. Paul. In the exergue or space below, the figure of a monk. Round the whole is this inscription, "SECRETUM PETRI ABBATIS DE BARDENIA," Peter De Barton was Abbot from 1566 to 1280.

Attached to an instrument of the twenty-first year of Edward the Third, marked 44, A. 8, is another, and one of the most beautiful of all our monastic Seals. On the reverse, King Oswald is represented, seated on a throne, within a rich canopy of Gothic tracery: his right hand holding a sceptre. Beneath, on a plain shield, a Cross patee between four lions rampant: the second of the Coats already mentioned as having being borne by this abbey, though perhaps the first in point of time. The legend: "S. SANCTI OSWALDI GLORIOSI REGIS ET MART .... DE BARDENEYA." On the reverse, beneath a double canopy of the same rich work, the figures of St. Paul and St. Peter, with their respective emblems; and below, the half figure of an abbat with his crozier.

Round the circumference: "S. Comvde Abbatis Et Conventos Mon. Ah' lorom Petri Et Pavli." The area on each side of the seal is diapered.

The third Seal is appendant to an Instrument dated in 1492, marked 44, A. 10: having the impress on one side only. In the area, King Oswald, crowned and sceptred, is represented standing beneath a Gothic canopy. St. Peter's Key on one side of the canopy, and St. Paul's Sword on the other. The inscription: "S. Abbat. Et. Covet ..... Denrya Ad Cavsas." Leland, who visited Bardney but a short time previous to the Dissolution, found the following among other books in the Library: "Beda, super Actus Apostolorus: Vita Oswaldi, caminu; Isidorus super Vetus Testamentum; Anselmus super Epistolas Pauli; Pompeius super Donatum." (Dugd. Monast. vol. i. p. 627, 628.)

Page 40, *Note* 38.

The following particulars are from Dugdale:—Stevens, has copied from Rymer's Feodera, King Edward the Third's receipt, with promise of restitution, for two basins, a chalice, and paten, taken from this abbey by way of loan, to be pawned towards the charge of his expedition into France in the year 1338, when he extorted similar loans from all the monasteries in England.

The possessions of the monastery appear to have received their last Charter of royal confirmation in the 20th year of King Henry the Seventh. The following

items of expence attending the procuring it are entered upon a spare leaf in the abbey Register: "Imprimis pro confirmatione carta, xx^{s} iiij^{d}. Pro fine ejusdem, xxli. Pro irrotulamento, xx^{s}. Pro Scriptura ejusdem, xiij^{s}. iiij^{d}. The Cartulary of Bardney is in the British Museum, Vesp. E. xx., and contains 236 Charters, papal Bulls, and other Instruments, which shew that the abbey of Bardney possessed property in more than 100 parishes.

Page 52.

FREE WARREN.—It appears that the abbot possessed 452 acres of Woodland in the vicinity of the Abbey, according to the following extract from a Survey in the Augmentation Office, taken 30 Hen. VIII. Item, there was presented by the xij. men in woodes of diverse acres the some of cccclij. acres. And I ffynde in a boke of presidents that longes to the same late monastery as hereafter is mentioned:—

Ffirst a wod called Horslaye cont' v^{xx} acres. A wode caled Suchewode cont' xij^{xx} acres. A wode called Harewod cont' viij^{xx} acres. A wode called Halewood cont' xij acr'. A wode called Howstaks cont' iiijxv^{xx} acres. A wode called Hallidgate cont' iij^{c} lx. acr'. A wode called Ellenwode cont' v^{xx} acr'. A wode called Dane Graceparke cont' lxv. acr'. xj^{l} lxxj acr'. at v^{xx} le. c. thies Groves remayns at this day wth wods in theym.

Page 75.

In Scampton a Knight's fee.—In an antient roll of the clergy of the county of Lincoln, in the reign of Henry the 2nd, wherein each carucate of land is taxed at three shillings, the abbot of Kirksted stands rated for twelve carucates of his demesne lands in Scampton, and of his tenants at five carucates: "Lauris wap." In Scampton de dnico abbis de Krykested xij car' & de hoib 3 suis v car'. "Estimating the carucate as synonymous with hyde, at 6 score acres, the monastery of Kirksted and its tenants had then 2040 acres of land in Scampton, nearly the present extent of the lordship, which consists of 2,100 acres." At the dissolution the manor of Scampton, and all the possessions there of the Abbey of Kirksted, came into the hands of the crown, by the attainder of Richard Harrison, abbot thereof; being of the yearly value of £22 4s. 4d.; exclusive of the rectory and tithes. (Illingworth's Scampton. p. 38.)

Page 76.

Four Smith's Forges.—The monks of Begar yielded up to those of Kirkstead a grange at Gaiton, given to them by Alan earl of Bretagne; for which Earl Conan gave to the latter other lands at Gaiton, as appears by his deed. Ralph Fitz Gilbert conferred on this monastery all his land of Scamtun, confirmed by Gilbert, earl of Lincoln. Richard de Builli gave land at Kymberwith, for

the reception of two houses and an orchard; and for four forges, two for founding and *two for the working of iron*, with liberty to dig coal throughout the territory of that village for two fires, and wood in the forest there for four fires. Guarin, the son of Gerold, allowed the monks to dig stone in his quarries for their own use throughout his lordship of Wassenbrock. (Dugd. Monast. vol. v. p. 416.)

Page 119, *Note* 15.

I subjoin a copy of this curious document. "Right Worshipful Sir, as your poor and daily Bede woman, we humbly commend us unto you; adverteising you that by the goodnese of my Lord Privy Seal, and by his only means, and suit to the King's majesty, our house doth stand, paying to his Highness nine hundred marks for a fine, besides our first fruits, which is 150£., and also a pension of 34£., by the year for ever. Good Mr. Heneage, we most humbly pray and desire you in the way of charity, and for God's sake, to bemean to my Lord Privy Seal, that he will of his goodness be suitor to the King's Majesty for to remit and forgive the said pension of 34£., a year; or else we shall never be able to live and pay the King the aforesaid money.

"We be eighteen nuns, and a sister, in our House; besides officers and servants, to the nnmber of fifty servants in all; and our stock and cattel being delivered

up this year past; which was our chief hope and living. And if, by my Lord Privy Seal's goodness and yours, we may obtain redemption of the said yearly pension, we shall take pains and live poorly, and serve God, and pray daily for the King's Majesty, my Lord Privy Seal, and you, during our lives. And if at your contemplation we cannot obtain grace of the said pension, we shall upon necessity, for that we shall not be able to pay and perform all such payments as we be bound, give up the House in the King's Highness hand: which were great pity, if it pleased God and the King otherwise. And thus we pray God send you much worship. From Stixwold the viij. day of January.

"By your poor bedes-women,

The whole Convent of Stixwold." (Dugd. Monast. vol. v. p. 724.)

Page 119, *Note* 18.

From a Pension Book in the Augmentation Office.

Stixwold Priory.

Here follow the yerely pencyons by the Kynge hyghenes to the late pryores and noons of Stixwold in Lyncolnshere beyng dyssolued at the feast of Seynt Mychell tharchangell, anno xxxj. R. Henrici viij. and them, they and every of them to receyue ther halfe yere's annuite at thannucyacon of o lady than next ffollowynge, and so ffrom halfe yere to halfe yere durynge ther lyves.

To Mary Myssendyne late pryores by the yere, ... xvli.
To Margaret Smythe, by yere ..... lxvj^{s} viij^{d}
Page Ovton, by yere..... liij^{s} iiij^{d}
Margaret Westlye, by yere ..... liij^{s} iiij^{d}
Elizabeth Grantham, by yere ..... xl^{s}
Margaret Loude, by yere ..... xl^{s}
Margaret Barnbye, by yere ..... xlvj^{s} viij^{d}
Matyldye Myssenden, by yere ..... xlvj^{s} viij^{d}
Elizabeth Houghe, by yere ..... xl^{s}
Alles Teunte, by yere ..... xlvj^{s} viij^{d}
Ellen Myssenden, by yere..... xl^{s}
Johan Geffere, by yere ..... xl^{s}
Margaret Adlare, by yere..... xxvj^{s} viij^{d}
Elizabeth Maye, by yere ..... liij^{s} iiij^{d}
Annes Bounes, by yere..... xl^{s}

P. me John Streman.
P. me Johe'm Wyseman.

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Twenty-five Acres. — The site of the buildings, however, appears to have been six acres only, from a Survey taken by John Freeman, about 30 Hen. VIII., and now in the Augmentation Office. It is too long, and not of sufficient interest to be inserted entire; but it is authenticated by a Jury of 12 men, and contains an account of all the abbey and lands lying within the

demesne of Bardney; the rental of which amounted to £67 13s. 4d., besides 452 acres of wood. The following abstract, however, may be acceptable. The site of the house, as we have said, was estimated at 6 acres; a pasture called Horsley Launde, 8 acres; Thos. Harle's close, 12 acres; John Bone's close, 7 acres; Rob. Kendal's close, 4 acres; Wm. Wright's close, 13 acres; Hosborn close, 7 acres; the Conygarth, 24 acres; the Longdales, 16 acres; Drowen pastures, 260 acres; Stokewray, 40 acres; Richard White's close, 6 acres; Bugget House pastures, 20 acres; Bugget Becks, 50 acres; the East field, 40 acres; Dunsell pasture, 30 acres; the Tille House, 20 acres; Holm woodlands, 23 acres; Mere close, 40 acres; Rushill's, 60 acres; Osgarby Beck close, 40 acres; Osgarby moor, 80 acres; Horwood hill, 80 acres; Fat pasture, 22 acres; Horwood pasture, 30 acres; Burtowe pasture, 80 acres; Thickthorns, 60 acres; Off close, 12 acres; Stockwrayched close, 6 acres; Bishoplay close, 30 acres; Arable land, 240 acres; and the fishery valued at 20 shillings a year.

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ABBOTS OF KIRKSTEAD.—Robert de Sutholm. Geoffery, 1154; Walter, 1161; Richard, 1198; Thomas, 1203; William, 1209; Henry, 1221; Henry, 1228; Hugh, 1240; Henry, 1249; Simon, 1250; William,

1253; John, 1266; Simon, 1278; Robert de Withcal, 1303; John de Ludd, 1331; John de Lincoln, 1339; Thomas, 1367; Thomas de Nafferton, 1372; Richard Waynfleet, 1434; Richard Herbotyl, 1467; Thomas, 1504; John Rawlinson, 1510; Richard Haryson, 1535; These are from Dugdale.

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