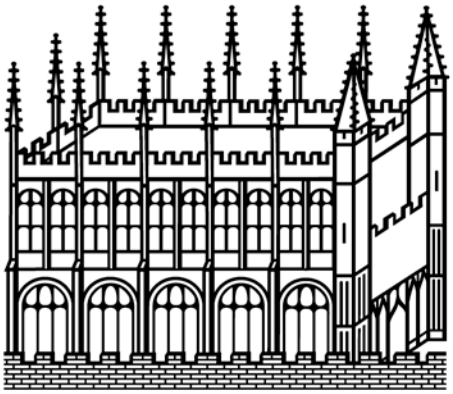

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MEMORIALS
OF
ST. JOHN AT HACKNEY

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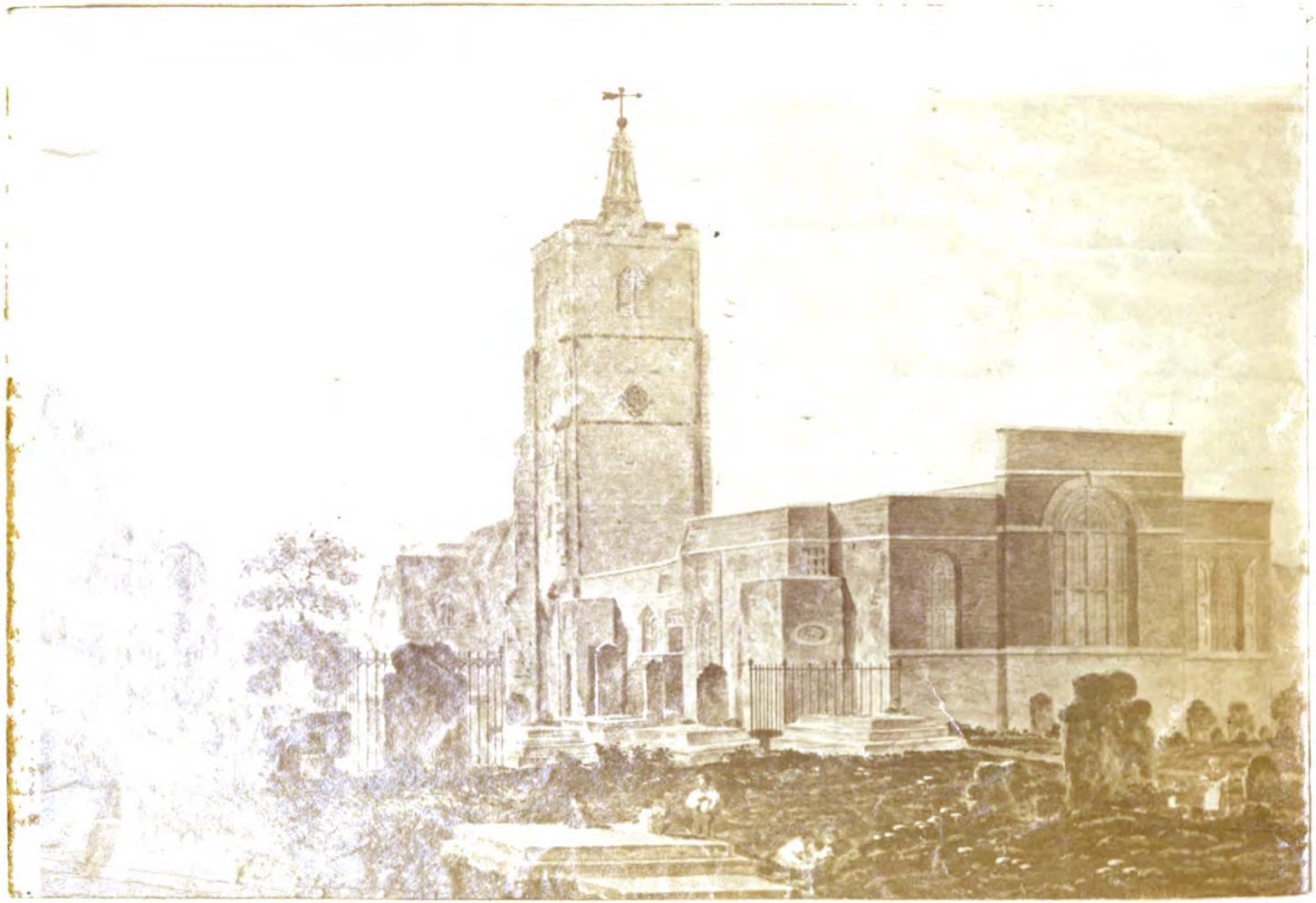

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SOME NOTICES OF THE LIFE

OF

HENRY, LORD PERCY,

SIXTH EARL OF NORTHUMBERLAND,

AND OF THE

Parish Church of St. Augustine,

AFTERWARDS

ST. JOHN AT HACKNEY.

COMPILED BY

R. SIMPSON.

"Espérance en Dieu."

PERCY MOTTO.

PRINTED FOR PRIVATE CIRCULATION

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TO

THE REV. ARTHUR BROOK, M.A.,

RECTOR OF HACKNEY.

PREFACE.

THESE notices of the life of Henry Lord Percy, 6th Earl of Northumberland, have been drawn from Cavendish's 'Life of Wolsey' and from an Essay by Surtees, the well-known northern antiquarian, in the 'Local Historian's Table-book.' Dr. Robinson's 'History of Hackney' has also been consulted. The period illustrated—the first half of the sixteenth century—is full of changes. 'The old order changeth and giveth place to new.'

Our modern history may be said to begin from the epoch when Henry VIII., Charles V. (born 1500), and Francis I. were reigning. The days of chivalry and of feudalism were passiug away. The architecture, which had slowly developed during a thousand years from the Romanesque to the perpendicular,* was suddenly, as if released by a spring, to go back to its origin for its models. The spiritual power of the Papacy, which had grown up during an even longer time, was to be set at naught by a great nation. New worlds were to be discovered, the Scriptures let out of prison, and with the classical arts the classical literature was to be disinterred. The Wars of the Roses had shattered the power of the great barons and left the king supreme to do as he listed.

The great figure of the period in England is the king, and the moral is the hurtful result of absolute power to the individual soul, and the mighty changes wrought by the blind mortal. Succeeding at the early age of eighteen to a settled government and a full exchequer, he made himself popular by repealing the most obnoxious of the imposts laid on the nation by his father, and by repaying the money to the parties who were sufferers. If he had died before his divorce from Katharine he would have left as high a reputation as any prince in Europe. But

* The year 1550 may be assigned as the limit of this style.

after his quarrel with Wolsey no one had the slightest chance of holding him back from any measure on which he had set his mind. As Wolsey said: 'If you put an idea into his head and he entertained it nothing could get it out again.' And Wolsey added that he had been on his knees on such occasions for hours, in vain attempting to persuade the king to give up what he had set his mind on.

Now Cromwell (Wolsey's secretary) had suggested to Henry, in the midst of the strife about the divorce, the expedient of becoming his own master in Church matters. There was abundant room for reform in everything connected with the Church. Among other things that strike us with surprise in these days is this: the king often presented an English bishopric to an Italian legate on his leaving England, who never came near it, but drew the revenue. Although Wolsey had been Archbishop of York for many years he never apparently paid his cathedral a single visit, but was contemplating installation within a few days of his death. He also held the Bishopric of Winchester.

In such reigns as this the violence of party hatred is apt to blacken the reputation of the chief actors, and perhaps this is very much the case with Anne Boleyn. She was exposed to 'that fierce light that beats upon a throne.' Singularly enough the force of circumstances makes her liable to attacks from two classes of critics. Those who wish to whitewash Henry naturally readily believe her guilty of the hideous crimes which, when he was tired of her, he tried to fasten upon her. On the other hand, those who attack the Reformation equally try to asperse the character of Mistress Anne. She would have been well content to marry Lord Percy, but the united endeavours of his father, the king, and the cardinal were too much for her: Lord Percy was peremptorily ordered to marry the Lady Mary Talbot, to get him out of the way of the king.

The Reformation has been charged with all the odium of Henry VIII.'s first divorce, and the cruel usage of that virtuous and noble-minded woman, Queen Katharine, whom Shakespeare has represented so affectingly, yet with so much historical truth that many of her most noble speeches in the tragedy are merely versified with little alteration from the Chronicle of Holinshed. The king probably thought that the

pope made a wondrous fuss about such a trifle. In fact, the pope was a mere puppet in the hands of powerful wire-pullers.

Henry's progress in tyranny is shown by the fact that Anne Boleyn was his *first* victim. If he had resisted the temptation to get rid of Katharine, how many future crimes might have been taken from his account!

As to Mistress Anne, the same writer (from whom we have already quoted)* says: 'But the attractions of this remarkable woman, her accomplishments, her patronage of learned men, her delight in letters and in the society of the rising poets of the day, Wyatt, Bryan, and her amiable and ill-fated brother Rochford: her boundless charities and her religious devotion; the total want of proof that she was guilty of infidelity; the cruelty of her tragical end; all these facts rest on evidence clear and unexceptionable. But the tender mercies of some are cruel, and the charity of others not much better. Her most innocent expressions are still distorted into proofs of her guilt; her interest for her attendants accused with her; even her pathetic exclamation: "Oh! my sweet brother, art thou, too, in trouble!" have been perverted into indications of conscious criminality. Even the feeling not unfitting a martyr that induced her to send and implore the forgiveness of the Princess Mary before her death is perverted into a proof of her having been guilty of some secret and more cruel injury inflicted on that princess than their own calumnies can afford any ground for believing. The few indiscreet speeches which she confessed, considering the manners of the time, and her education in the French court, where freedom with inferiors has always been habitual, are really trivial and unimportant.' And the reviewer adds: 'Before we quit this subject we would observe that Mr. Ellis has adduced some convincing arguments to prove the celebrated letter of Anne Boleyn to be genuine, a composition unquestionably of the most exquisite and pathetic beauty.'

As to the admission made by Anne Boleyn before Cranmer that she had been pre-contracted (which Lord Percy denied upon oath), it is said that it was made the condition of her being allowed the more

* *Quarterly Review*, No. 65 (pub. 1826).

merciful death of decapitation instead of burning. Such were the tender mercies of Henry!

The two points in the Reformation effected by Henry were the abolition of the pope's supremacy and the suppression of the monasteries. [The further progress of the Reformation took place under Edward VI. and was effected by the skilful management of Cranmer.] The first the difficulties about his divorce evidently suggested; the second had already been begun by Wolsey, and the spoil derived from the monasteries which, as far as Wolsey went, was devoted to the founding of colleges, under Henry was directed to courtiers and the king's use, and for the most part wasted.*

Wolsey, with the express sanction of the pope, suppressed many monasteries, and what is singular, Cromwell was his agent in this usurpation on the rights of the monastic bodies. Wolsey's object in this spoliation was the endowment of his splendid foundations at Oxford and Ipswich. There was no want of learning and of far-seeing views in Henry's time. Sir Thomas More, Wolsey himself, Cranmer we may mention, and others, but it was the absence of a well-founded liberty which exposed everything to be overturned at the caprice of a tyrant. Henry was learned, firm in mind, and his father left him a settled government; but absolute power, at so early an age, was his curse, and it may be said of him 'what an excellent monarch he would have been had he never reigned.'

* To show how heedlessly, carelessly, and without any reasonably fair consideration, King Henry VIII. granted away the immense properties of the religious houses, the following may be quoted: 'Sir Thomas Curwen, in Henry VIII.'s time, was an excellent archer at twelvescore marks. He went up with his men to shoot with that renowned king at the dissolution of abbeys. The king said to him: "Curwen, why dothe thee beg none of these abbeys? I wold gratify thee someway." Quoth the other: "Thank you;" and afterwards said he "wold desire of him the Abbie of Forneis (nygh unto him) for 20 one years." Sayes the king: "Take it for ever." Quoth the other: "It is long enough, for youle set them up again in that time;" but they not being likely to be set up again, this Sir Thomas Curwen sent Mr. Preston, who had married his daughter, to reniewe the lease for him, and he even reniewed it in his own name, which when his father-in-law questioned, quoth Mr. Preston: "You shall have it as long as you live, and I think I may as well have it with your daughter as another." ('Annals of Cartmel.')

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THE WALLS AND PILLARS OF THE OLD CHURCH AS SHOWN IN A PLAN IN THE POSSESSION OF J. R. DANIEL-TYSSEN, ESQ. *at the end*

'This cardinal,
Though from an humble stock, undoubtedly
Was fashioned to much honour. From his cradle
He was a scholar, and a ripe and good one:
Exceeding wise, fair spoken, and persuading:
Lofty and sour to them that loved him not;
But to those men that sought him, sweet as summer.
And though he were unsatisfy'd in getting,
(Which was a sin) yet in bestowing, madam,
He was most princely: Ever witness for him
Those twins of learning, that he rais'd in you,
Ipswich and Oxford; one of which fell with him,
Unwilling to outlive the good he did it;
The other, though unfinished, yet so famous,
So excellent in art, and still so rising,
That Christendom shall ever speak his virtue.
His overthrow heaped happiness upon him;
For then, and not till then, he felt himself,
And found the blessedness of being little:
And, to add greater honours to his age
Than man could give him, he dy'd, fearing God.'

Shakespeare.

I WAS looking on the fine canopy of the monument to Urswick* when I was aware of an ancient serving-man standing in the choir with the Percy crescent on his arm. He was evidently absorbed in grief, and was watching the workmen who were closing the grave of the Lord Percy.

'Have I not seen you in company with Master Cavendish?' said I. 'Yea, surely and forsooth you have,' quoth he,

* On the north side of the chancel, in the wall, is an obtuse arch, ornamented with foliage and Gothic tracery, and beneath is the inscription: 'Christopher Urswyk, Rectore, A. Dom. 1519,' which was two years before his death, and seems to fix the date of rebuilding the church. Urswick's tomb is within the communion rails.—(Extract respecting the old church of St. Augustin at Hackney.) This beautiful tomb and the brass beneath it have been removed to the new church, and are in wonderful preservation. Urswick was buried before the image of St. Augustin, no doubt under the brass. Urswick had, probably, a large share in rebuilding the church. He was almoner to Henry VII. His abilities as a statesman had been evinced in his successful endeavours to promote the union between Henry VII. and Elizabeth of York (the famous union between the Red and White Roses, January 18, 1485). The king employed him in various important negotiations and embassies. He was installed Dean of Windsor in the year 1495, at the same time made Archdeacon of Richmond, in Yorkshire. He refused a bishopric, being content to remain Rector of Hackney, and died October 24, 1521. The old town-hall, near the old tower, is on the site of the church-house which was occupied by him. The arms on his brass have been defaced probably by mischievous persons. It was a custom of the College of Heralds

'and I am only staying here to attend my lord's funeral, when I shall doff this coat and become his servant. Alas! for the glories of Percy,

---

to send round inspectors to deface arms to which the parties were not entitled, but this is not likely to have been the case with the Urswick arms.

KING RICHARD III.—ACT IV., SCENE 5.

Lord Stanley's House.

Enter LORD STANLEY *and* SIR CHRISTOPHER URSWICK.

STANLEY. Sir Christopher, tell Richmond this from me,
That, in the stye of this most bloody boar,
My son George Stanley is frank'd up in hold;
If I revolt, off goes young George's head;
The fear of that withholds my present aid.
But tell me where is princely Richmond now?
CHRIS. At Pembroke or at Har'fordwest, in Wales.
STAN. What men of name resort to him?
CHRIS. Sir Walter Herbert, a renowned soldier;
Oxford, redoubted Pembroke, Sir James Blunt,
And Rice ap Thomas, with a valiant crew;
And many other of great name and worth;
And towards London do they bend their course,
If by the way they be not fought withal.
STAN. Well, hie thee to thy lord; commend me to him;
Tell him, the queen hath heartily consented,
He shall espouse Elizabeth her daughter.
These letters will resolve him of my mind.
Farewell. (*Shakspeare.*)

The person who is called Sir Christopher here appears by the Chronicles to have been Christopher Urswick, a bachelor in divinity; and chaplain to the Countess of Richmond, who had intermarried with the Lord Stanley. This priest, the history tells us, frequently went backwards and forwards, unsuspected, on messages betwixt the Countess of Richmond and her husband, and the young Earl of Richmond, whilst he was preparing to make his descent on England. Dr. Johnson has observed that Sir was anciently a title assumed by graduates.

EPITAPH.

Christopherus Vrſwicus Regis Henrici septimi Eleemosinarius vir sua ætate clarus, summatibus, atque infimatibus juxta charus. Ad exteros Reges undecies pro patria legatus, Deconatum Eboracensem, Archidiaconatum Richmundie, Decanatum Windesorie habitro vinens reliquit. Episcopatum Norwicensem oblatum recusavit: Magnos honores tota vita speruit: frugali vita contentus, hic vivere, hic mori maluit, plenus annis, obiit ab omnibus desideratus, funeris pompam, etiam Testamento vetuit: hic sepultus carnis resurrectionem, in adventum Christi expectat, obiit

Anno Domini, 1521, 24 Octob.

that I should ever have lived to see this day! My old lord died in 1527, and now this thrice unfortunate son. As if it was not enough to be robbed of his love, and sit on the judgment-seat when she was condemned, he has now lost his brother* and seen, to all appearance, the House of Percy lose all their broad lands—the fair earldom of Northumberland, and all the castles in Yorkshire.'

'My friend,' said I, 'this is not the place for such talk; some of these friars or serving-men may overhear you say a word which they may think is against the king.' While I yet spake, the Bishop of St. Asaph, the Abbot of Stratford,† Sir Ralph Sadler,‡ the Lord Butler (chief mourner), the Lord Borough, Sir Anthony Wingfield, and Richard Cromwell swept out of the church, followed by a numerous company of the four orders of friars and serving-men. 'Hard by,' said I, 'is the Three Cranes, built for the workmen's use while the new church was building. Let us repair thither and continue our talk.' 'Three Cranes!' quoth he, 'I see plenty of herons about here on every pillar of the church, and there are twelve of them—Sir Heron§ hath been a mighty benefactor to this church; why was not the house called the Three Herons?'

'I know not,' I answered; 'probably some mistake of a workman, afterwards continued by those who should know better. Look on every pillar—Herons' arms, a chevron, ermin, between three herons. And here is the tomb of another benefactor to the church, Alis Ryder, see her image carrying a milk-pail, date 1517; and see here this inscription: "Here lyeth Ione Only, the onely most faithful wyf of John Only, of Warwickshire, Esquire, to whose soule the onely Trinity be mercifull,

* Sir Thomas Percy, who was executed for his share in the insurrection, termed Pilgrimage of Grace.

† See the notice of the Abbey of Stratford, near Bogh, in the Appendix.

‡ Sir Ralph Sadler, 'eques notæ virtutis,' Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, lived at Hackney. As chancellor he claimed the privilege of nominating the two burgesses in Parliament for the town of Leicester, and was allowed to name one of them. He died March 24, 1587, in his 80th year, after having been a privy councillor forty-one years, and possessed at the time of his death twenty-two manors with several advowsons and other large grants of lands. Sir Walter Scott published his life, with his letters and State papers.

§ The Herons were Lords of Shacklewell.

Amen. She died in 1525." And here is: "Robert Walsingham, Clarke of the Spicery to Henry VIII., who dyed 1522." And see here: "Here lyeth under a fair monument, the body of Xr Urswicke, the King's Almoner, his picture in brasse."'

We now passed out of the church and crossed the street by the church-house. The street was full of a mixed company of the earl's servants, the bishop's, and the abbot's. Presently my new friend was seized hold of by a minstrel who had also the crescent on his arm. 'Whither away, Master Hugh?' quoth the minstrel; 'thou must come up to the manor-house.' The ancient serving-man turned to me with many apologies. 'Nay,' said I; 'go with thy friends, but meet me at the church-tower to-morrow at noon if thou canst. See, I will be sitting on the seat within the porch of the church-house, and I shall be glad to see thee or any friend of Master Cavendish's to crack a bottle at my house after we have had our talk.' The serving-men formed in a body with such friends as were known to them and proceeded to the manor-house, about five furlongs off.

I remained admiring the tower and the splendid masonry which Urswick and Heron had put in the walls, for methinks Urswick must have had as much to do with the building of it as Heron. I turned into the church again, and walked up the nave, admiring the beauty of the windows and pillars. 'All fresh it looks now,' thought I; 'in a few years there will be many tombs of the nobility lining the walls and perhaps spoiling it. However, Urswick has begun well by putting up such a fine image of St. Augustin by the altar, and such a fine tomb to himself, though the brass was of course added after his death. This church looks intended to last for ever, though I have heard some say that the masonry of the nave is not so good as that in the tower. *Sic transit gloria mundi*,' quoth I. 'How the old earl would have stared to see the world without an Earl of Northumberland! However, they say the earl has left everything to the crown in case at any time the estate lost by Master Thomas may be rehabilitated.' Saying thus to myself, I strolled along the Hackney Brook after a slight refection at the Mermaid.

'Abbot of Stratford! Abbot of Stratford!' quoth I to myself, 'I

wonder how long the king will leave thee in possession.' I turned back by the Templars House, and, allured by the beauty of the day, strolled down the marshes to the Templars Mills. 'Oh! how lovely is this country, and how favoured by the nobility and gentry, whose houses dot the champaign at frequent intervals.' At this moment I heard loud cries of distress, and perceived a young girl holding out a fishing-rod to a man in the stream. 'Bless me, lass!' cried the man, 'it is not deep enough to drown me.' Now though he said this bravely enough, I could see he had stepped unawares, while wading, into a deep hole. I hastened to help the maiden, but the man himself soon struggled out.

'What, Malise!' quoth I, 'what a strange fish you would make.' 'I humbly hope your honour is well,' quoth Malise. 'I must hasten home to the manor-house with what fish I have got, as this is a maigre day. See what lovely trout, barbel, and roach the old Lea produces.' All this while the maiden stood by, her eyes filled with tears, and trembling with the shock her nerves had had. 'Who is the girl, Malise?' quoth I. 'She has come with one of the minstrels,' said he, 'and says she comes not from Northumberland, but from Yorkshire near Ripon, a place called, I think, Wells or Waters.'

The girl burst out laughing. 'Fountains,' said she. 'My Lord Percy had a good estate there. Yet though it be called Fountains there is a great abbey there, one of the largest in Yorkshire. Faith, my lord that is dead tried to get them a new abbot, but the cardinal was so busy that he could not manage it.' 'Why, what was the matter with the old one?' said Malise. The girl seemed confused, and was silent. 'Ha!' said Malise, 'I see, I see; striking a doe without the king's license.'

'I think I have heard something of that abbot,' said I, 'from my friend, Master Cavendish, and a new abbot might have been an improvement.' 'Talking of new things,' said the girl, 'they have built a new tower of late to the church at Fountains, but I suppose the new owner will pull it all down.' 'Change upon change,' quoth I; 'I wonder how long the new statue of Augustin will be allowed to remain i' Hackney church. But, Malise, you are wet; allow me to carry some of your load.' 'By no means,' quoth Malise; 'the girl will help me. They were glad

to send her out of the house, there were so many friars about who like to look at a pretty hussy.' 'Shame, Malise!' quoth she; 'they behave well to me; I play all their tunes.'

'And knoweth thou Master Hugh,' said I, 'my pretty damsel?' 'Yea, forsooth,' saith she. 'He is my father. And well knows he all the church music that used to be sung in the chapel at Wressel and at Alnwick.' 'And how came your father to trust you with the fisher here?' I said. 'Why,' quoth she, 'that is a long story, but a while ago the stew ponds at Fountains were all out of order, and Master Arundel, who often went fishing with Malise, persuaded him to accompany him into Yorkshire and put the ponds to rights.'

I here bade them farewell, for the stately manor-house was full in view. A large quadrangle facing the high road, it seemed, with a large ditch full of water behind. 'There may have been a moat all round some time,' quoth Malise; the ditch is of no use to keep fish in, they never empty it, and the fish die off.' 'Had the earl great delight in this place?' said I. 'Well,' said Malise, 'he delighted in nothing after his brother's death. Sure never was man so ill-treated.' I told them of my encounter with Master Hugh, and the talk I was going to have with him about the earl.

'Methinks,' said Malise, 'if you get him on that subject he will never stop.' 'Give ye good-day,' said I; 'and good-day, my pretty maid; get thee a husband soon to take care of thee.' With that we parted, and I wended my way home to my house nearly opposite the Templars in Church Street.

Next morning I made myself ready in good time, and sauntered down to the church, where I found Master Hugh at the gate. Much did he tell me of the late earl, and much I had heard from Master Cavendish, the proud cardinal's servant; and I have drawn up a series of memoranda thereof, which I here present to the reader in form more easy to digest than that in which I received them from Master Hugh and Master Cavendish. * * * The compiler has found it necessary once more to recast these memoranda in more modern English as herein follows.

Beginning with the Earl of Northumberland, of Henry VI.'s time:

he fell in the great rout of Lancastrians, at Towton,* where, with the gallantry of his race, he in vain led on the van. Henry Percy, his only son and heir, was confined for eight long years in the Tower, during which the Earldom of Northumberland, with its possessions, was enjoyed by one of the chiefs of the Yorkist party, John Nevill, brother of Warwick, the king-maker. The Percy was at length, however, restored to his freedom, his honours. and his possessions, in order to diminish the power of his predecessor, whose fidelity was no longer trusted, and Nevill received in compensation the empty title of Marquis of Montague, with still more empty promises.

Shortly after this the anticipated revolt of Warwick and Montague placed the sixth Henry again on the throne. But in the March of 1471 Edward returned from the brief exile into which he had been driven, and disembarked at Ravenspur, on the Yorkshire side of the Humber, where—an auspicious omen—Henry IV. had formerly landed. In Yorkshire the possessions and influence of the Percy were in those days overwhelming. The young earl, however, did not oppose the march of Edward and his little army through that county, and thus, by his example, discouraging the opposition of others, rendered at a most critical period a most important service to the House of York. He nevertheless did not venture to lead his friends and retainers actually to join that standard in fighting against which his own father and their kindred had fallen only ten years before. He was afterwards appointed by the king Warden of the East and Middle Marches towards Scotland. At the battle of Bosworth Field he was present, but remained inactive, whether wavering between his recent obligations to the House of York and his ancient family alliance with the Line of Lancaster, or influenced by prudence and lethargy of character—probable results of his early

* 'Courageous Clifford first here fell to ground,
Into the throat with a blunt arrow struck;
Here Sir John Nevill got his deadly wound:
Here died the stout Northumberland, that stuck
Still to his sovereign; Wells and Dacre found
That they had lighted on King Henry's luck;
Trowlup and Horne, two brave commanders dead,
Whilst Somerset and Exeter were fled.'

confinement. His conduct on this occasion satisfied the victor, and he was received into favour by the new dynasty of Tudor—a favour which in four years proved fatal to him, since he was employed by the king in enforcing the collection of an unpopular tax, and was slain near Thirsk, in Yorkshire, by a mob who erroneously supposed him to be the adviser of it.

His Countess Maud, the daughter of William, Earl of Pembroke, had borne him four sons and three daughters. Of his younger sons, Sir William Percy was one of the commanders at Flodden Field. Alan Percy was a priest. Josceline Percy, who was employed in the management of the family estates, married Margaret Frost, of Beverley, a Yorkshire heiress, and some of their descendants remained long in the neighbourhood of Beverley.

Henry Algernon Percy, the eldest son, was only eleven years old when he became fifth Earl of Northumberland. In 1497, the year before he became of age, he was one of the commanders of the royal forces that dispersed the Cornish rebels who had advanced to Blackheath. Six years later the honourable office was assigned to him of conducting the Princess Margaret Tudor, the affianced bride of James IV., from Northamptonshire to Scotland.* In the early part of the reign of Henry VIII. he took part in the battle of Spurs before the walls of Terouenne, in France. And he accompanied the king to 'The Field of the Cloth of Gold.' His expenditure exceeded the revenue of his vast estates, and entailed debt on his successor. Nevertheless, he called his son a spendthrift when he visited him at the cardinal's house.

It is the more singular that he should have thus wasted his revenues as the household book compiled by him, in which the whole management of the house was laid down, and still extant, shows most careful dealing with household matters, and regulates the minutest point of the

* This he performed with very great magnificence, but he seems to have had enough of attending princesses, as he writes when he was directed to escort the same lady, then Queen of Scots, in 1517, from York to Newbarrow :

'My lord,—Methinks I need not be put to this business if they would have pondered the charge they have put of late unto me, and the paymentis that I have made of late.' (Dated Lekingfield, 24 May.)

expenditure, which amounted to £1000 or £1200 a year—a large sum in those days. Probably he thus endeavoured to obviate the effects of his early extravagance at the Field of the Cloth of Gold, and what he was led into by the king's. He was fond of poetry, and had poetical mottoes placed on the walls of his halls and other rooms in his castles. At Leckynfield there was a play on the Percy motto as follows, inscribed round the hall or roof of the hall:

'Esperance en Dyeu?
Truste in hym, he is most trewe.

En Dieu esperaunce?
In hym put thine affiaunce.

Esperaunce in the world? nay;
The world varieth every day.

Esperaunce in riches? nay, not so;
Riches slideth and soon will go.

Esperaunce in exaltacion of honoure?
Nay; it widderithe lyke a floure.

Esperaunce in bloode and highe lynage?
At most neede, bot esy avauntage.

Esperaunce en Dieu? in hym is all;
Be thou content, and thou art above fortune's fall.

Also at Leckynfield:

'If ye be moved with anger or hastyness,
Pause in your mynde and your yre repress;
Defer vengeance until your anger asswagede be,
So shall ye mynyster justice and do dewe equity.'

In the library:

'To every tale geve thou no credence;
Prove the cause or thou give sentens;
Agayne the right make no deffens:
So hast thou a clene consciens.'

He had a large collection of poems made for him, and this magnificent volume is in the British Museum. It contains many of Lydgate's poems. His early extravagance probably led to his strict

system of expenditure as laid down in the Northumberland Household Book.

This earl expired May 19, 1527, and was the first Earl of Northumberland who had died in his bed, so heavy was the tax to be paid for the excitement and power of feudal lordship. By his wife, Catherine Spencer, he left three sons and two daughters. Of his daughters, the Lady Margaret Percy is presumed to be the heroine of the 'Nut-brown Maid,' who, when her constancy is tried by telling her of the outlawry of her lover, entreats to be allowed to share all his privations rather

> 'Than
> That he should to the grene wode go
> Alone, a banyshed man.'

Her husband, Henry Clifford, who succeeded as eleventh Baron Clifford and was afterwards created Earl of Cumberland, is recorded to have led, in his father's time, the life of an outlaw, at the head of a band of daring freebooters, levying contributions on the affrighted monks and villagers of Westmoreland and Yorkshire.

The eldest son and successor, Henry Percy, sixth earl, had during the life of his father been placed amongst the gentlemen of the retinue of Cardinal Wolsey, as an introduction to public life. Here he seems to have shared the bed of a young gentleman named Arundel, to whom he always alludes in his letters as his bedfellow. He appears to have been in France at some time, or his father intended him to go there, and he may have there met Anne Boleyn at the Court. Anne Boleyn is said to have returned from France in the year 1522, when war was declared, and her father, who was ambassador, recalled; but if he brought her home to England she did not stay long there, for Camden says that she served Queen Claudia of France till her death, which was in July, 1524, and that after that she was taken into service by King Francis's sister. It is probable that she returned out of France with her father from his embassy in the year 1527.

She had thus spent nearly all her life since she was fourteen years old in France, where she delighted the French nobility by her sprightly manners, by her poetry, which she composed, and by her dancing. She

is said to have invented several new dances—Cavendish in his 'Life of Wolsey,' says: 'And so far was this lady from any thought of marrying the king, that she had consented to marry the Lord Piercy, the Earl of Northumberland's eldest son, whom his father, by a strange compliance with the cardinal's vanity, had placed in his Court, and made him one of his servants.' In Cardinal Wolsey's establishment were a number of young lords, for whom a separate table was kept. These young men received education while giving their services as pages, etc. The custom was at least as old as the time of Henry III. It seems to have been the custom even for the sons of dukes to be bred as pages with bishops. The number of souls in Wolsey's household was probably five hundred.

When the Cardinal attended Court the Lord Percy would then resort for his pastime into the queen's chamber, and was more conversant with Anne Boleyn than with any other of the queen's maidens. So at last they came to some sort of an understanding, almost amounting to an engagement. Wherewith the king was much offended, and could no longer hide his secret affection.

The Lord Cardinal, being secretly instructed, did then attack Lord Percy on the matter, and before the servants of his chamber said to him: 'I marvel not a little of thy peevish folly, that thou wouldest tangle and ensnare thyself with a foolish girl yonder in the Court. I mean Anne Boleyn. Dost thou not consider the estate that God hath called thee unto in this world? For after the death of thy noble father thou art most like to inherit and possess one of the worthiest earldoms in this realm. Therefore it had been most meet and convenient for thee to have sued for the consent of thy father in that behalf, and also to have made the king's highness privy thereto. Now, behold what ye have done thro' your wilfulness. Neither the king nor your father will be agreeable. I will send for your father, and he shall either break this unadvised contract or disinherit thee for ever. The king's majesty himself will complain to thy father or thee. He intended to have preferred Anne Boleyn unto another person with whom the king hath travelled already, and being almost at a point with the same person, altho' she knoweth it not, yet hath the king conveyed the matter in such

sort that she, upon the king's motion, will be, I doubt not, right glad agreeable to the same.'*

'Sir,' quoth the Lord Percy (all weeping), 'I knew nothing of the king's pleasure therein, for whose displeasure I am very sorry. I considered that I was of good years, and thought myself sufficient to provide me of a convenient wife, where'er my fancy served me best, not doubting but that my lord my father would have been right well persuaded. And though she be a simple maid, and having but a knight to her father, yet is she descended of right noble parentage. As by her mother, she is high of the Norfolk blood, and of her father's side lineally descended of the Earls of Ormond. Why should I then, sir, be anything scrupulous to match with her? Therefore I now humbly require your grace of your especial favour herein, and also to entreat the King's most royal majesty most lowly on my behalf for his princely benevolence in this matter, the which I cannot deny or forsake.'

'Lo, sirs,' quoth the Cardinal, 'ye may see what conformity and wisdom is in this wilful boy's head. I thought you would have relented and submitted yourself to the king's will.' 'Sir, so I would,' quoth the Lord Percy, 'but in this matter I have gone so far before many so worthy witnesses that I know not how to avoid myself, nor to discharge my conscience.'

'Why, thinkest thou,' quoth the Cardinal, 'that the king and I know not what we have to do in as weighty a matter as this? I see in thee no submission.' 'Forsooth, my lord,' quoth the Lord Percy, if it please your grace, I will submit myself wholly unto the king's majesty and your grace in this matter, my conscience† being discharged of the

* Oh, Cardinal, how you lie!

† It is somewhat odd that the Lord William de Percy, distinguished by the addition of Alsgernons (the same as aux Moustaches), whence his posterity frequently assumed the name of Algernon, was also noted for attending to conscience, as appears by the following. The Lord William de Percy took to wife a young lady of Saxon descent, whom the Norman writers call Emma de Port. This Emma having been possessed of Semar, near Scarborough, and of other lands, which the Conqueror bestowed on William de Percy for his good service, 'he wedded hyr, that was very heire to them, in discharging of his conscience.' The author of the 'History of Whitby Abbey' thinks, upon good reason, that this lady was daughter of Gospatrick, the great Saxon Earl of Northumberland, and that almost all the estates in Yorkshire granted

weighty burden of my pre-contract.' 'Well then,' quoth the Cardinal, 'I will send for your father out of the north parts; and meantime I charge thee that thou resort not to her company, as thou intendest to avoid the king's high indignation.'

Then was the Earl of Northumberland sent for in all haste in the king's name. And when he came had a long conference with the Cardinal. And after their long talk my Lord Cardinal called for a cup of wine, and drinking together they brake up, and so departed the earl, upon whom we were commanded to wait to convey him to his servants. And in his going away, when he came to the gallery's end, he sat him down upon a form that stood there for the waiters. And being set, called his son, the Lord Percy, unto him and said: 'Son, thou hast always been a proud, presumptuous, disdainful, and a very unthrift waster, and even so hast thou now declared thyself. Therefore what joy, what comfort, what pleasure or solace should I conceive in thee, that thus, without discretion and advisement, hast misused thyself, having no manner of regard to me, thy natural father, ne, in especial, to thy sovereign lord, to whom all honest and loyal subjects bear faithful and humble obedience, ne yet to the wealth of thy own estate, but hast so unadvisedly ensured thyself to her for whom thou hast purchased thee the king's displeasure, intolerable for any subject to sustain. But that his grace of his mere wisdom doth consider the lightness of thy head and wilful qualities of thy person, his displeasure and indignation were sufficient to cast me and all my posterity into utter subversion and dissolution, but he being my especial and singular good lord, favourable prince, and my Lord Cardinal, my good lord hath and doth clearly excuse me in thy lewd fact, and doth rather lament thy lightness than malign the same, and hath devised an order to be taken for thee. I do

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by the Conqueror to William de Percy had been part of that earl's possessions whose daughter he married, and had interest and generosity enough to save her father's life when he, with other Saxon lords, made an effort to shake off the Norman yoke in 1069. Emma, who appears to have survived her husband, and certainly did not accompany him in his Crusade, was herself a benefactress to Whitby Abbey, and at her death was there interred in the Chapter House, before the Abbot's seat.—Collins' 'Peerage.'

assure thee, if thou dost not amend thy prodigality thou wilt be the last earl of our house. For of thy natural inclination thou art disposed to be wasteful, prodigal, and to consume all that thy progenitors have with great travail gathered together and kept with honour. I intend to dispose my succession that ye shall consume thereof but a little. For I do not purpose, I assure thee, to make thee mine heir, for praise be to God, I have more choice of boys who, I trust, will prove themselves much better, and use them more like unto nobility, among whom I will choose and take the best and most likeliest to succeed me.

'Now, masters and good gentlemen,' quoth he to us, 'it may be your chances hereafter, when I am dead, to see the proof of these things that I have spoken to my son prove as true as I have spoken them. Yet in the mean season I desire you all to be his friends, and to tell him his fault when he doth amiss, wherein ye shall show yourselves to be much his friends.' And said to his son thus: 'Go your ways, and attend upon my lord's grace, your master, and see that you do your duty.'* And so departed and went his way down through the hall into his barge.

Then after long debating and consultation upon the Lord Percy's assurance, it was devised that the same should be infringed and dissolved, and that the Lord Percy should marry with one of the Earl of Shrewsbury's daughters. As he did after, by means whereof the former contract was clearly undone. [This was the Lady Mary Talbot, daughter to George, Earl of Shrewsbury, by whom he had no issue. But little ceremony, and probably as little time, was used in patching up these nuptials. As might be expected, they were most unhappy. Collins says, in his 'Peerage': 'Henry, the unthrifty Earl of Northumberland, died at Hackney in the prime of life about ten or twelve years after he had consented to this marriage. Of this term but a very small portion was spent in company of his lady. His countess sequestered herself from the world at Wormhill or Wreshill, on the banks of the Derbyshire Wye, amidst some of the sublimest scenery of the Peak.'†] Wherewith Mistress Anne Boleyn was greatly offended, saying

* He says nothing of his son being engaged previously to Lady Mary Talbot, as some say he was.

† This is probably an error as to its situation.

that if it ever lay in her power, she would work the Cardinal as much displeasure as she did indeed after. But it was the king's device. And when the queen played at cards with Mistress Anne they had a certain game wherein dealing, the king and queen meeting, they stopped, and the young lady's hap was much to stop at a king. Which the queen noting, said to her playfully, 'My Lady Anne, you have good hap to stop at a king, but you are like others, you will have all or none.'

It is probably to the time when the earl rebuked his son that we should attribute a letter which appears to bear on the matters between Lord Percy and Anne Boleyn, but which letter has no signature, and is probably addressed to a Mr. Melton, as a disguised name for Arundel, or some other friend of the young lord.

'This shall be to advertise you that Mistress Anne is changed from that she was at when we three were last together. Wherefore pray you there be no devvil's sakke, but according to the truth ever justify, as ye shall make answer before God; and do not suffer her in my absence to be married to any other man. I must go to my master, wheresoever he be, for my lord privy seal desireth much to speak with me, whom, if I should speak with in my master's absence, it would cause me to lose my head; and yet I know myself as true a man to my prince as liveth, whom (as my friend informeth me) I have offended grievously in my words. No more to you, but to have me commended unto Mistress Anne, and bid her remember her promise, which none can loose, but God only, to whom I shall daily during my life commend her.'

After the Lord Percy's marriage to Lady Mary Talbot he would appear to have regained his father's favour, as he writes 'that my dearest son and heir shall lie and be abyding at my castell of Alnwycke, for defence of the borders adjoining upon the Scots.' To which duty he would appear to have been re-appointed after his father's death.

To return to Mistress Anne and her family. Her father, Sir Thomas Boleyn, was made Earl of Wiltshire and Ormond in right of his mother, and was sent by the king about his divorce from Katharine to Italy, where he signalised himself at Bologna by refusing to kiss the pope's

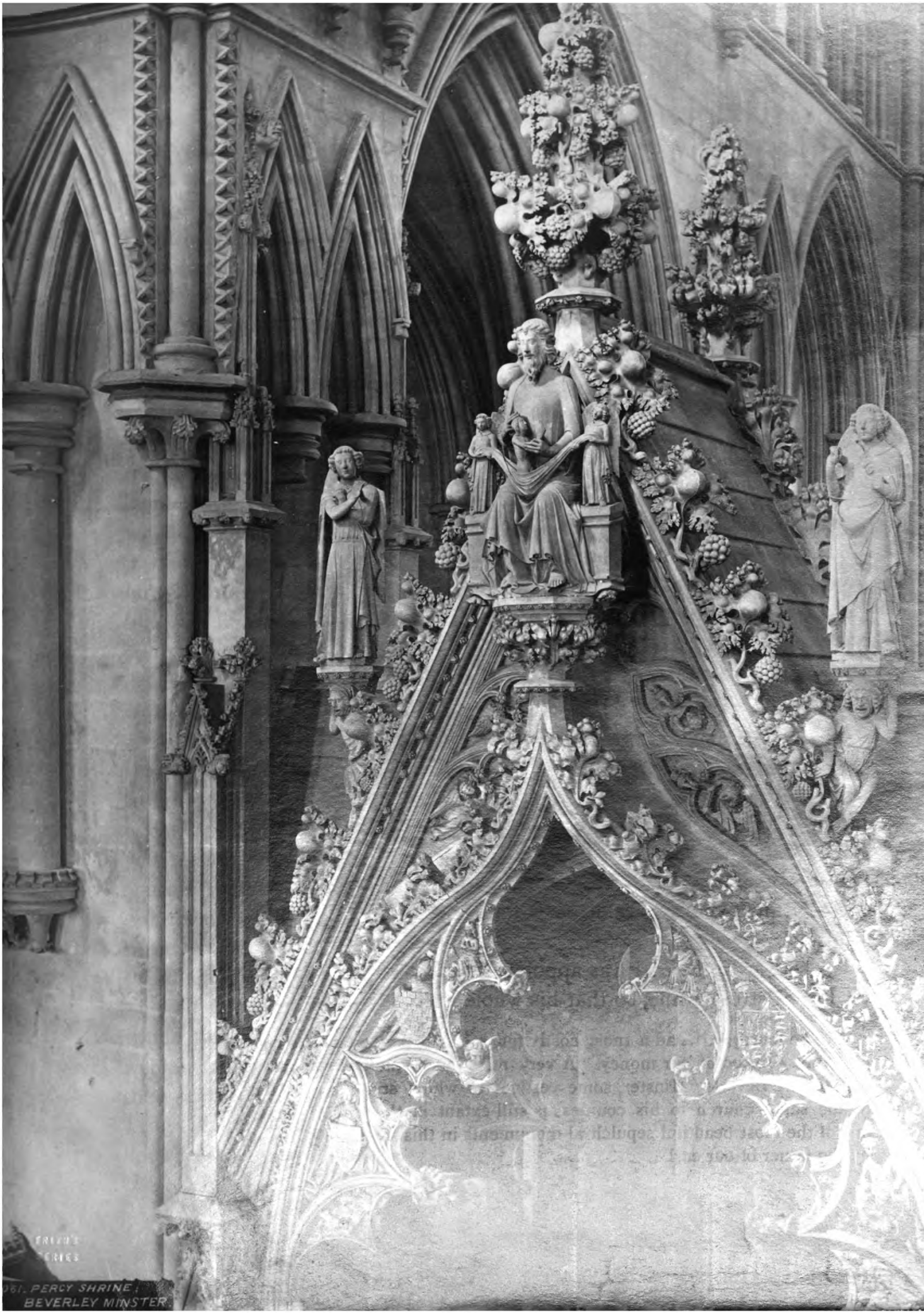
toe. He was also sent to the Emperor. The king, after being married twenty years to Queen Katharine, urged by his love for Anne, determined to have a divorce, and sent his agents all up and down Italy, endeavouring to purchase opinions in his favour from the different learned universities in that country. Nevertheless, he could not get the pope to consent. The pope, however, sent Cardinal Campeggio to preside with Wolsey at a court of justice held thereon. And on a set day the king attended, expecting to hear a decree in his favour. Much to his disappointment, Cardinal Campeggio referred the decision again to Rome, and this result occasioned the downfall of Wolsey.

King Henry's love letters to Anne were stolen from her lodgings and taken by the Cardinal to Rome, and are in the Vatican. It is a wonder that he succeeded in carrying them off, as the king had his baggage searched at Calais, the king alleging that Wolsey was sending treasure to Rome, intending to follow it himself, and thereby escape the king's wrath. In Shakespeare's Henry VIII. he narrates that Wolsey's letters were intercepted, wherein he urged the pope not to grant the divorce.

There was no love lost between the earl (now become so since his father's death in 1527) and the Cardinal, as, in addition to his interfering between him and Anne, he had used him harshly on several occasions, forbidding him to attend his own father's funeral at Beverley Minster, and treated him with many other indignities.* For instance, the Cardinal had required him to deliver up the Service Books in his father's chapel, as appears by the earl's letter (see notes). These various grudges and dislikes eventually led, we may suppose, by a species of poetical justice, to the employment of the earl's services in arresting the Cardinal, whereof we have a long account in Cavendish's 'Life of Wolsey.'

Afterwards the earl was appointed to sit as one of the judges at the trial of Mistress Anne, so that his whole life was a pitiable tragedy; and

* The fourth earl had a most costly funeral at Beverley Minster, costing £1,500, probably £12,000 of our money. A very magnificent monument was erected to his memory in Beverley Minster, some vestiges of which still remain; but that erected in the same church to his countess is still extant in the highest preservation, and is one of the most beautiful sepulchral monuments in this kingdom. These were erected by the father of our earl.


PERCY SHRINE
BEVERLEY MINSTER

this was the result of the king's sin. For after being married twenty years to, and having children by, Queen Katharine, he fell in love with Mistress Anne, and, as we have seen, employed the Cardinal to put an end to the Lord Percy's understanding (if not engagement) with Mistress Anne, and thereby poisoned and destroyed his whole life. This was the result of the tyrant's conduct, which may be compared to Ahab's or David's. We give now the account of the Earl of Northumberland's arrest of Wolsey.

'My lord's accustomed enemies in the Court about the king having now my lord in more doubt than they had before his fall, considering the continued favour that the king bare him, thought that at length the king might call him home again. And if he so did, they supposed that he would rather imagine against them than to remit or forget their cruelty which they most unjustly imagined against him. Wherefore they compassed in their heads that they would either by some means despatch him by some sinister accusation of treason, or to bring him into the king's indignation by some other ways. This was their imagination and study, having as many spials and as many eyes to attend upon his doings as the poets feigned Argus to have. So that he could neither work nor do anything but that his enemies had knowledge thereof shortly after.

'Now at the last they espied a time wherein they caught an occasion to bring their purpose to pass, thinking thereby to have of him a great advantage, for the matter being once disclosed unto the king in such a vehemency as they purposed, they thought the king would be moved against him with great displeasure. And that by them executed and done, the king upon their information thought it good that he should come up to stand to his trial, which they liked nothing at all, notwithstanding he was sent for after this sort.

'First they devised that he should come up upon arrest in ward, which they knew right well would so grieve him that he might be the weaker to come into the king's presence to make answer. Wherefore they sent Sir Walter Walshe, knight, one of the gentlemen of the king's Privy Chamber, down into the country with the Earl of Northumberland (who was brought up in my lord's house), and they twain being in

commission jointly to arrest my lord of hault treason. This conclusion fully resolved, they caused Master Walshe to prepare himself to this journey with this commission, and certain instructions annexed to the same, who made him ready to ride, and took his horse at the court-gate about one of the clock at noon upon Allhallown day, towards the north.

'Now am I come to the place where I will declare the thing that I promised you before of a certain token of my lord's trouble, which was this. My lord sitting at dinner upon Allhallown day in Cawood Castle, having at his board's end diverse of his most worthiest chaplains sitting at dinner to keep him company, for lack of strangers, ye shall understand, that my lord's great cross of silver accustomably stood in the corner at the table's end, leaning against the tappet or hanging of the chamber. And when the table's end was taken up, and a convenient time for them to arise, in arising from the table one Doctor Augustine, physician, being a Venetian born, having a boisterous gown of black velvet upon him, as he would have come out at the table's end, his gown overthrew the cross that stood there in the corner, and the cross trailing down along the tappet, it chanced to fall upon Doctor Bonner's head, who stood among others by the tappet making of curtsy to my lord, and with one of the points of the cross razed his head a little that the blood ran down.

'The company standing there were greatly astonied with the chance. My lord sitting in his chair looking upon them, perceiving the chance, demanded of me, being next him, what the matter meant of their sudden abashment. I showed him how the cross fell upon Doctor Bonner's head. "Hath it," quoth he, "drawn any blood?" "Yea, forsooth, my lord," quoth I, "as it seemeth me." With that he cast down his head, looking very soberly upon me a good while without any word speaking; at the last quoth he (shaking of his head): "*Malum omen*," and therewith said grace and rose from the table and went into his bedchamber, there lamenting, making his prayers.

'Now mark the signification, how my lord expounded this matter unto me afterward at Pomfret Abbey. First ye shall understand that the cross which belonged to the dignity of York he understood to be him-

self, and Augustine, who overthrew the cross, he understood to be he that should accuse him, by means whereof he should be overthrown. The falling upon Master Bonner's head, who was master of my lord's faculties and spiritual jurisdictions, who was damnified by the overthrowing of the cross by the physician; and the drawing of blood betokened death, which shortly after came to pass. About the very same time of the day of this mischance, Master Walshe took his horse at the court gate as nigh as it could be judged.

'The time drawing nigh of his stallation, sitting at dinner upon the Friday next before Monday on the which he intended to be stalled at York, the Earl of Northumberland and Master Walshe, with a great company of gentlemen, as well as of the earl's servants as of the country, which he had gathered together to accompany him in the king's name, not knowing to what purpose or what intent, came into the hall at Cawood, the officers sitting at dinner, and my lord not fully dined, but being at his fruits, nothing knowing of the earl's being in his hall.

'The first thing that the earl did after he came into the castle, he commanded the porter to deliver him the keys of the gates, who would in no wise deliver him the keys, although he were very roughly commanded, in the king's name, to deliver them unto one of the earl's servants. Saying unto the earl: "Sir, ye do intend to deliver them to one of your servants to keep them and the gates, and to plant another in my room: I know no cause why ye should so do, and this I assure you, that you have no one servant but what I am as well able to keep as he, to what purpose soever it be. And also the keys were delivered me by my lord my master, with a charge both by oath and by other precepts and commandments. Therefore I beseech your lordship to pardon me, though I refuse your commandment. For whatsoever ye shall command me to do that belongeth to my office, I shall do it with a right good will as justly as any other of your servants."

'With that quoth the gentlemen there present unto the earl, hearing him speak so stoutly like a man, and with such good reason: "Sir," quoth they, "he is a good fellow, and speaketh like a faithful servant to his master, and like an honest man; therefore give him your charge, and

let him keep still the gates, who, we doubt not, will be obedient to your lordship's commandments."

'"Well then," quoth the earl, "hold him a Book," and commanded him to lay his hand upon the Book, whereat the porter made some doubt, but being persuaded by the gentlemen there present was contented, and laid his hand upon the Book, to whom quoth the earl: "Thou shalt swear to keep well and truly these gates to the king, our sovereign lord's use, and to do all such things as we shall command thee in the king's name, being his highness' commissioners, and as it shall seem to us at all times good, as long as we shall be here in this castle, and that ye shall not let in nor out of these gates but such as ye shall be commanded by us from time to time;" and upon this oath he received the keys at the earl's and Master Walshe's hands.

'Of all these doings knew my lord nothing, for they stopped the stairs that went up to my lord's chamber where he sat, so that no man could pass up again that was come down. At the last one of my lord's servants chanced to look down into the hall at a loop that was upon the stairs, and returned to my lord and showed him that my Lord of Northumberland was in the hall, whereat my lord marvelled and would not believe him at the first, but commanded a gentleman, being his gentleman usher, to go down and bring him perfect word. Who going down the stairs, looking down at the loop, where he saw the earl, who then returned to my lord and showed him that it was very he. Then quoth my lord: "I am sorry that we have dined, for I fear that our officers be not stored of any plenty of good fish, to make him such honourable cheer as to his estate is convenient, notwithstanding he shall have such as we have with a right good will and loving heart. Let the table be standing still, and we will go down and meet him, and then he shall see how far forth we be at our dinner." With that he put the table from him, and rose up. Going down, he encountered the earl upon the midst of the stairs coming up with all his men about him.

'And as soon as my lord espied the earl he put off his cap and said to him: "My lord, ye be most heartily welcome" (and therewith they embraced each other). "Although, my lord, that I have often desired and wished in my heart to see you in my house, yet if ye had loved me

as I do you, ye would have sent me word before of your coming, to the intent that I might have received you according to your honour and mine. Notwithstanding, ye shall have such cheer as I am able to make you with a right good will; trusting that ye will accept the same of me as of your very old and loving friend, hoping hereafter to see you oftener, when I shall be more able and better provided to receive you with better fare." And then my lord took the Earl of Northumberland by the hand and led him up into the chamber, whom followed all the earl's servants; where the table stood in the state that my lord left it when he rose, saying unto the earl: "Sir, now ye may perceive how far forth we were at our dinner."

'Then my lord led the earl to the fire, saying: "My lord, ye shall go into my bedchamber, where is a good fire made for you, and there ye may shift your apparel until your chamber be made ready. Therefore let your male be brought up, and or ever I go I pray you give me leave to take these gentlemen, your servants, by the hands." And when he had taken them all by the hands he returned to the earl and said: "Ah, my lord, I perceive well that ye have observed my old precepts and instructions which I gave you when you were abiding with me in your youth, which was to cherish your father's old servants, whereof I see here present with you a great number. Surely, my lord, ye do therein very well and nobly and like a wise gentleman. For these be they that will not only serve and love you, but they will also live and die with you, and be true and faithful servants to you, and glad to see you prosper in honour, the which I beseech God to send you with long life." This said, he took the earl by the hand and led him into his bedchamber.

'And they being there all alone, save only I that kept the door, according to my duty, being gentleman usher, these two lords standing at a window by the chimney in my lord's bedchamber, the earl, trembling, said, with a very faint and soft voice, unto my lord (laying his hand upon his arm): "My lord, I arrest you of high treason!" With which words my lord was marvellously astonied, standing both still a long space without any further words. But at the last quoth my lord: "What moveth you, or by what authority do you this?"

'"Forsooth, my lord," quoth the earl, "I have a commission to war-

rant me and my doing." "Where is your commission?" quoth my lord; "let me see it." "Nay, sir; that you may not," quoth the earl. "Well then," quoth my lord, "I will not obey your arrest, for there hath been between some of your predecessors and mine great contentions and debate grown upon an ancient grudge, which may succeed in you with like inconvenience, as it hath done heretofore. Therefore, unless I see your authority and commission I will not obey you."

'Even as they were debating this matter between them in the chamber, so busy was Master Walshe in arresting of Doctor Augustine, the physician, at the door within the portal, whom I heard say unto him: "Go in there, traitor, or I shall make thee." And with that I opened the portal door, and the same being opened, Master Walshe thrust Doctor Augustine in before him with violence.

'These matters on both the sides astonished me very sore, musing what all this should mean, until at the last, Master Walshe being entered the chamber, began to pluck off his hood, the which he had made him with a coat of the same cloth of cotton, to the intent he would not be known. And after he had plucked it off he kneeled down to my lord, to whom my lord spake first, commanding him to stand up, saying thus: "Sir, here my Lord of Northumberland hath arrested me of treason, but by what authority or commission he showeth me not, but saith he hath one. If ye be privy thereto, or be joined with him therein, I pray you show me."

'"Indeed, my lord," quoth Master Walshe, "it is true that he hath one." "Well then," said my lord, "I pray you let me see it." "Sir, I beseech your grace hold us excused," quoth Master Walshe; "there is annexed unto our commission a schedule with certain instructions, which ye may in no wise be privy unto." "Why," quoth my lord, "be your instructions such that I may not see them? Peradventure, if I might be privy to them I could the better help you to perform them. It is not unknown to you both, I am assured, but I have been privy and of counsel in as weighty matters as this is, for I doubt not for my part but I shall prove and clear myself to be a true man, against the expectation of all my cruel enemies. I have an understanding whereupon all this matter groweth. Well, there is no more to do. I trow, gentleman, ye be one

of the king's privy chamber; your name, I suppose, is Walshe. I am content to yield unto you, but not to my Lord of Northumberland without I see his commission. And also you are a sufficient commissioner yourself in that behalf, inasmuch as ye be one of the king's privy chamber; for the worst person there is a sufficient warrant to arrest the greatest peer of this realm by the king's only commandment without any commission. Therefore I am ready to be ordered and disposed at your will: put, therefore, the king's commission and your authority in execution, in God's name, and spare not, and I will obey the king's will and pleasure. For I fear more the cruelty of my unnatural enemies than I do my truth and allegiance, wherein I take God to witness I never offended the king's majesty in word or deed, and therein I dare stand face to face with any man alive having indifferency without partiality."

'Then came my lord of Northumberland unto me standing at the portal door, and commanded me to avoid the chamber, and being loath to depart from my master, I stood still and would not remove, to whom he spake again: "There is no remedy; ye must needs depart." With that I looked upon my lord, as who sayeth: "Shall I go?" upon whom my lord looked very heavily, and shook at me his head. Perceiving by his countenance it booted me not to abide, and so I departed the chamber, and went into the next chamber, where abode many gentlemen of my fellows and other, to learn of me some news of the matter within, to whom I made report what I saw and heard, which was to them great heaviness to hear.

'Then the earl called divers gentlemen into the chamber, which were for the most part his own servants, and after the earl and Master Walshe had taken the keys of all my lord's coffers from him they gave the charge and custody of my lord's person unto these gentlemen. And then they departed and went about the house to set all things in order that night against the next morning, intending then to depart from thence, being Saturday, with my lord, the which they deferred until Sunday, because all things could not be brought to pass as they would have it. They went busily about to convey Doctor Augustine away to Londonward with as much speed as they could, sending with him divers

honest persons to conduct him, who was tied under the horse's belly. Then the earl sent for me into his own chamber, and being there he commanded me to go in to my lord, and there to give attendance upon him, and charged me upon an oath that I should observe certain articles.

'The next day being Sunday, my lord prepared himself to ride when he should be commanded, and after dinner, by that time that the earl had appointed all things in good order within the castle, it drew fast to night. There was assigned to attend upon him five of us, his own servants, and no more; that is to say, I, one chaplain, his barber, and two grooms of his chamber; and when he should go down the stairs out of the great chamber my lord demanded for the rest of his servants. The earl answered that they were not far, the which he had enclosed within the chapel because they should not disquiet his departure.

'"Sir, I pray you," quoth my lord, "let me see them or ever I depart, or else I will never go out of this house." "Alack, my lord," quoth the earl, "they should trouble you, therefore I beseech you to content yourself." "Well," quoth my lord, "then I will not depart out of this house but I will see them and take my leave of them in this chamber."

'And his servants being enclosed in the chapel having understanding of my lord's departing away, and that they should not see him before his departure, began to grudge and to make such a rueful noise that the commissioners doubted some tumult or inconvenience to arise by reason thereof, thought it good to let them pass out to my lord, and that done they came to him into the great chamber where he was, and there they kneeled down before him, among whom was not one dry eye, but pitifully lamented their master's fall and trouble. To whom my lord gave comfortable words and worthy praises for their diligent faithfulness and honest truth towards him, assuring them that what chance soever should happen unto him that he was a true man and a just to his sovereign lord. And thus, with a lamentable manner, shaking each of them by the hands, was fain to depart, the night drew so fast upon them.

'Then rode he with his conductors towards Pomfret, and by the way as he rode he asked me if I had any familiar acquaintance among the gentlemen that rode with him. "Yea, sir," said I; "what is your

pleasure?" "Marry," quoth he, "I have left a thing behind me which I would fain have." "Sir," said I, "if I knew what it were, I would send for it out of hand." "Then," said he, "let the messenger go to my Lord of Northumberland and desire him to send me the red buckram bag lying in my almonry, in my chamber, sealed with my seal."

'With that I departed from him and went straight unto one Sir Roger Lassels, knight, who was then steward to the Earl of Northumberland (being among the rout of horsemen as one of the chiefest rulers), whom I desired to send some of his servants back unto the earl, his master, for that purpose. Who granted most gently my request, and sent incontinent one of his servants unto my lord to Cawood for the said bag, who did so honestly his message that he brought the same to my lord immediately after he was in his chamber within the abbey of Pomfret, where he lay all night. In which bag was no other thing enclosed but three shirts of hair, which he delivered to the chaplain, his ghostly father, very secretly.

'And the earl remained still all that night in Cawood Castle to see the despatch of the household and to establish all the stuff in some surety within the same. And which research prompted this inquiry of the Cardinal: "My Lord of Northumberland hath found a book at Cawood that reporteth how ye had but late fifteen hundred pounds in ready money, and one penny thereof will not be found, who hath made the king privy by his letters thereof. Wherefore the king hath written unto me to demand of you if you know where it is become, for it were pity that it should be embezzled from you both."

'"For this money that ye demand of me," quoth the Cardinal, "I assure you it is none of mine, for I borrowed it of divers of my friends to bury me and to bestow among my servants, who have taken great pains about me, and like true and faithful men. Notwithstanding, if it be his pleasure to take this money from me, I must hold me therewith content. Yet I would most humbly beseech his majesty to see them satisfied of whom I borrowed the same, for the discharge of my conscience." "Who be they?" quoth Master Kingston.

'"That I shall show you," saith my lord. "I borrowed £200 thereof of Sir John Allen, of London, and £200 of Sir Richard Gresham, and

£200 of the Master of the Savoy, and £200 of Doctor Hickden, dean of my college in Oxford, and £200 of the treasurer of the Church of York, and £200 of the Dean of York, and £200 of parson Ellis, my chaplain, and a £100 of my steward, whose name I have forgotten, trusting that the king will restore them again their money, for it is none of mine."'

Amid all King Henry's pretended kindness to the Cardinal it is very pitiful to see how keenly he looked after this paltry £1500, as to which he cross-examined Cavendish until he had found out the monk to whom Wolsey intrusted it.

Wolsey was arrested in November, 1530, and died the 28th of the same month. On November 14, 1532, the king was married to Anne Boleyn secretly in the presence of the Duke of Norfolk and her father and mother and brother and Dr. Cranmer. The grounds on which the king did this were that his former marriage being of itself null, there was no need of a declarative sentence after so many universities and doctors had given their judgment against it. The Princess Elizabeth was born September 7, 1533. In 1534 the Great Hall of Lambeth Palace witnessed a special gathering of the clergy under Archbishop Cranmer to take the oath which assigned the royal succession to the heirs of the then exultant Anne Boleyn ; and on that occasion the wise and brave Sir Thomas More and his fellow prisoner, Bishop Fisher, were brought hither from their Tower dungeons to take the same oath ; but, though they knew full well the consequences, they fearlessly refused, and suffered for their consistency.

The shade of Wolsey was shortly to be revenged, for by a refinement of cruelty, the Earl of Northumberland was obliged to sit on the trial of Queen Anne. She was found guilty on the 15th May, 1536, and sentenced to be brought to the green within the Tower, and there burned or beheaded, as shall please the king. On the same day, when the Lord Rochford was brought to the bar, the Earl of Northumberland was absent on account of a sudden illness : no doubt arising from the part he had been compelled to take in the sentence of the queen.

State trials under the eighth Harry always bore a foregone conclusion. The accusation against the queen was that she had committed adultery

with four gentlemen of the Court, one of them Sir Henry Norris*. In those days torture was employed to extort confession, yet only one of the parties confessed anything. Is it likely, however light her conduct may have been, brought up as she had been in the Court of France, that she would have dared to commit herself so fearfully under the eye of the most feared and jealous tyrant and husband then living?† We cannot but think that a modern historian has been most innocent in his belief on this occasion of her guilt. The king was married the very next day‡ to her successor. Is it necessary to say anything more on this subject? Such a trial, of which the evidence of the witnesses taken was carefully destroyed, was nothing but a judicial murder.

* As to the family of Norris: Henry Lord Norris was the son of Sir Henry Norris, the gallant friend of Anne Boleyn, who maintained her innocence to the scaffold. Hence Elizabeth, daughter of the murdered queen, regarded him with peculiar favour, and in her eighth year knighted him in his own house at Rycote, where she was placed under his guardianship. She nicknamed Lady Norris 'my own crow,' from her swarthy complexion, and wrote to condole with her, on the death of one of her sons, by this designation. The tomb is Corinthian, with light columns supporting a canopy, beneath which lie the figures of Lord Norris and his wife. Around the base kneel their eight sons. William, the eldest, was Marshal of Berwick. Sir John had three horses shot under him while fighting against the Spaniards in the Netherlands. Sir Thomas, Lord Justice of Ireland, died of a slight wound 'not well looked after.' Sir Henry died of a wound about the same time. Maximilian was killed in the wars in Brittany, and Edward, Governor of Ostend, was the only survivor of his parents. Thus, while the others are represented as engaged in prayer, he is cheerfully looking upwards. Queen Elizabeth loved the Norrises for themselves and herself, being sensible that she needed such martial men for her service.—'Walks in London—Westminster Abbey.'

† In the Court of France Anne had been in the service, at one time, of Marguerite, Duchess of Alençon and Berry, who being favourable to the Reformed religion, had instructed (so it is said) Mistress Anne therein, and had given her a New Testament. This, the story goes, Anne lent to a young gentleman, who was absorbed in its perusal during service in the chapel. Whereupon the dean took it from him. But he informing the queen thereof, she was angry with the dean, reclaimed the book, and gave it to her husband, King Henry. Burnet says as to her, after mentioning the share that she had in inducing Henry to order a translation to be made of the Scriptures:

'But this was the last public good act of this unfortunate queen, who the nearer she drew to her end grew more full of good works. She had distributed in the last nine months of her life between £14 and £15,000 to the poor, and was designing great and public good things. And by all appearance, if she had lived, the money that was raised by the Suppression of Religious Houses had been better employed than it was.'

‡ After the execution.

Before her execution she was summoned to Lambeth Palace. On the east side of the post room is the entrance to the chapel, but before passing in it will be well to describe the crypt or under chapel. This crypt, with its boldly groined roof, was no doubt of a date anterior to the chapel itself, and was probably used for religious services before the chapel above had been completed.

This crypt is not without its sad memories. Here stood the unhappy Anne Boleyn on the 17th May, 1536, the day after sentence had been passed upon her in the Tower by the packed tribunal bound to condemn her to death, suddenly summoned ('on the salvation of her soul,' as in mockery the summons ran) to appear before the Archbishop Cranmer, himself no less suddenly summoned from his retirement at Oxford. That gloomy crypt, then capacious enough for the purpose, was a fitting scene for such a deed of darkness. Cranmer was required to extort from the now fallen friendless young queen a confession that she had been previously betrothed to Lord Percy, the object of her girlish affection, and that therefore her after marriage with the king was invalid.

Such a confession might, it was suggested, save her the terrible death of being burned as an adulteress. It might, perchance, even save her life, and possibly the lives of her beloved brother and the noble gentlemen doomed on her behalf. Under such persuasion, life or death hanging in the balance, the confession—a conscious falsehood—was uttered.

In vain did she thus abandon her own rights as a wife and her daughter's as a queen. In that crypt Cranmer pronounced the dread judgment that her marriage was invalid, and she, for whom he avowed to the king that he bore special love, passed from his presence up the stone steps into the post room, thence down the stairs of the water-tower, there entered her barge, and was stealthily and in silence borne down the stream to her prison, to hear, as she floated along, the death knell of the victims she had hoped to save, and three days after herself to follow them to the block.

A supposed pre-contract with the Earl of Northumberland was thus made the pretence for a divorce, though the earl, in a letter to Secretary

Cromwell, dated Newington Green, May 13th, 1537 (?),* denied the existence of any such contract in the most solemn manner.

'MR. SECRETARY,

'This shall be to signify unto you that I perceive by Sir Raynold Carnaby that there is supposed a pre-contract between the queen and me; wherupon I was not only heretofore examined upon my oath before the Archbishopps of Canterbury and York, but also received the Blessed Sacrament upon the same before the Duke of Norfolk and other the king's highnes' council learned in the spiritual law; assuring you, Mr. Secretary, by the said oath and blessed body, which affore I received, and hereafter intend to receive, that the same may be to my damnation, if ever there were any contracte or promise of marriage between her and me.

'At Newington Green, the xiijth day of May, in the 28th year of the reigne of our soveraigne lord, King Henry the VIIIth.

'Yours assured,

'NORTHUMBERLAND.'

The date to this letter shows it was written in 1536: if it was written in 1537 it must have been written on the earl's death-bed.

We will now give the last letter of Anne to the king:

'YOUR GRACE'S displeasure and my imprisonment are things so strange unto me, as what to write, or what to excuse, I am altogether ignorant. Whereas you send unto me (willing me to confess a Truth, and so obtain your favour) by such an one whom you know to be mine ancient professed enemy. I no sooner received this message by him than I rightly conceived your meaning; and as if, as you say, confessing a Truth indeed may procure my safety, I shall with all willingness and duty perform your command. But let not your Grace ever imagine that your poor wife will ever be brought to acknowledg a fault where not so much as a thought thereof preceded. And to speak a Truth, never

* Probably this date should be 1536.

Prince had Wife more loyal in all Duty and in all true affection, than you have ever found in Anne Boleyn, with which name and place I could willingly have contented myself, if God and your Grace's pleasure had been so pleased.

'Neither did I at any time so far forget myself in my Exaltation or received Queenship, but that I always looked for such an alteration as now I find; for the ground of my preferment being on no surer foundation than your Grace's fancy, the least alteration, I knew, was fit and sufficient to draw that fancy to some other Subject. You have chosen me, from a low Estate, to be your Queen and Companion, far beyond my Desert or desire. If then you found me worthy of such honour, Good your Grace, let not any light Fancy or bad counsel of mine enemies withdraw your princely Favour from me; neither let that Stain, that unworthy Stain of a disloyal heart towards your good Grace ever cast so foul a blot on your most dutiful wife and the Infant Princess, your daughter.

'Try me, good King, but let me have a lawful Trial, and let not my sworn Enemies sit as my Accusers and Judges; yea, let me receive an open Trial, for my Truth shall fear no open shame; then shall you see either mine innocency cleared, your suspicion and Conscience satisfied, the ignominy and slander of the world stopped, or my Guilt openly declared. So that whatsoever God or you may determine of me, your Grace may be freed from an open censure; and mine Offence being so lawfully proved, your Grace is at liberty, both before God and man, not only to execute worthy punishment on me as an unlawful wife, but to follow your affection already settled on that Party for whose sake I am now as I am, whose name I could some good while since have pointed unto: your Grace being not ignorant of my suspicion therein. But if you have already determined of me, and that not only my Death, but an infamous slander must bring you the enjoying of your desired happiness, then I desire of God that He will pardon your great sin therein, and likewise mine Enemies, the instruments thereof; and that he will not call you to a strict account for your unprincely and cruel usage of me at his General Judgment-Seat, where both you and myself must shortly appear, and in whose Judgment I doubt not (whatsoever the world may

think of me), mine Innocence shall be openly known and sufficiently cleared.

'My last and only request shall be, That myself may only bear the burthen of your Grace's displeasure, and that it may not touch the innocent souls of those poor Gentlemen who (as I understand) are likewise in strait imprisonment for my sake. If ever I have found favour in your sight, if ever the name of Anne Boleyn hath been pleasing in your ears, then let me obtain this request; and I will so leave to trouble your Grace any further, with mine earnest prayers to the Trinity to have your Grace in his good keeping, and to direct you in all your Actions.

'From my doleful Prison in the Tower, this 6th of May.

'Your most Loyal and ever Faithful wife,

'ANN BOLEYN.'

The earl appears before his death to have sold his lands in Hackney and in many counties to the king; according to some accounts he left them after his death to the king as the only chance of their being eventually restored to the Percy family, his brother Thomas being executed for high treason in the very month of June, 1537, in which the earl died. The policy of the Tudors (says Surtees) in depressing the power of the ancient nobility, by forwarding an Act of Parliament to allow the breaking of entails, and by encouraging a lavish expenditure among their barons, while they filled the places of highest civil trust and emolument with persons of inferior birth, eventually did its work in the case of this earl: and towards the close of a life, whose dawn had been brilliantly promising, the pecuniary as well as domestic circumstances of Northumberland must have been desperate.

His necessities, but not his will, it may be presumed, consented to sue Cromwell, the upstart minister, for his interest to obtain for him the captaincy of Berwick. In a letter, dated from Topcliff, 6 November, 1535, after stating that the death of Sir Thomas Clifford was expected, and that would make a vacancy, he thus proceeds:

'To whych rome, good Mr. Secretorye, I praye yow helpe me: wherby ye shall not only recover a pouer nobull man beyng in decaye,

but also get yourselff much wyrsheppe, that bye your means so pouer a man shall be recoweryd as I am; and bynd me my frendes, and them that shall come off me, ever (as never the lese I am most bondon affore) next the Kyng our Maister, to be tword you and all yours duryng our lyffes.'

And then he adds what his experience perhaps of the Secretary may have taught him would be a still more moving appeal to his feelings:

'And good Mr. Secretory, I shall not fayl to gyff you a 1000 marks for the same, bryngyng it to pas.'

Whether or not this vacancy actually did occur, and this humble suit was successful, the embarrassments of the earl cannot have been removed; for in the following spring he alienated to the king in fee, by a deed of bargain and sale, dated the 3d of February, 26 Henry VIII., his house of Petworth and other lands in Sussex, his lands in Hackney, in Middlesex, and large estates in Lincolnshire, Pembrokeshire, Carmarthenshire, and Somersetshire, &c. And this disposition of his property was in the following spring confirmed by Parliament. In the same session of Parliament another act was passed, in the performance of certain covenants between the king and the earl, settling all the other lands that belonged to the earl upon himself and issue (none), and then upon the king, his heirs, and successors for ever in augmentation and increase of the imperial crown. In this there are clauses saving to third parties their interests in such incumbrances as had previously been made; and a small provision is thus reserved for his brother and heir-presumptive, Sir Thomas Percy (who was not yet implicated in the Pilgrimage of Grace, as it took place half a year later), and for Henry and Thomas Percy, sons of this brother.

The difficulties in which the earl allowed himself to be involved, and the disposition he was in consequence led to make of the inheritance of his ancestors, have rightly acquired for him the appellation of 'Henry the Unthrifty.' The earl expired, together with all his accumulated titles, 30th June, 1537, about the period of the execution of his next brother and heir, Sir Thomas Percy, and not improbably of a heart broken at beholding the ruin of his house. The vial devoted to wrath,

too full to hold this last calamity, shivered. Sir Thomas Percy married Eleanor, daughter and co-heir of Sir Guiscard Harbotel, of Beamish, in the county of Durham, and had a family by which the male line of the Percys was continued.

In 1536 he was residing at Seamer, in Yorkshire, until the month of October, when those consecutive insurrections commenced called the 'Pilgrimage of Grace,' in consequence of their having been undertaken in behalf of the monastic establishments and ceremonials of Rome: but he then immediately repaired to his mother at Wresil Castle.* Here he heard that Robert Aske, 'the great captain,' had already been at the gates with a numerous host, who shouted, 'Thousands for a Percy!' However, as he did not like the rising, he attempted to leave the neighbourhood, but found himself waylaid in every direction by the insurgents, who at last, between force and entreaty, induced him to join them.

After the suppression of the last of the outbreaks of this 'armed pilgrimage,' which was effected in the following spring, he was arraigned for treason in consequence of his conduct on these occasions, and pleaded 'not guilty,' but towards the conclusion of the trial, knowing probably that in his day conviction was a sure consequence of a State prosecution, and that his only chance of appeasing his imperious monarch lay in entire submission, he withdrew his former plea and pleaded 'guilty.' Sentence was then given that he should be hanged, drawn, and quartered at Tyburn, and shortly afterwards, in the June of 1537, it was, as we have seen, executed.

Sir Thomas had two sons who grew to manhood, named Thomas and Henry. These had the mortification to see the title of Northumberland raised to a dukedom, and together with much of the lands of their ancestors conferred by Edward VI. on John Dudley, the father-in-law of the Lady Jane Grey, the ill-fated and favourite cousin, once removed, of the young monarch.

However, the waned crescent of the Percies was soon again to fill its horns. Mary succeeded to the throne, and the Dudleys, in their turn, were attainted for treason. The attachment of the house of Percy to

* Wresil Castle was built by the Earl of Worcester, who fought with Hotspur against Henry IV.

the connection with Rome would ensure it the favourable consideration of the new queen ; and soon (in 1557) the elder of the two brothers so confirmed her regard by putting down a rebellion at Scarborough, that she restored to him those of his family possessions which had lately been held by Dudley, and created anew the Earldom of Northumberland and the Barony of Percy, with other titles, with limitations in tail male to himself, and similar limitations in remainder to his brother Henry, after they had passed from their family for an interval of twenty years. This brother Henry afterwards married one of the daughters of Lady Latimer, whose tomb was in the old Hackney Church.

APPENDIX.

Lamente of Henry Percye.

(*A modern imitation of an old style of ballad writing.*)

WHAT joy can fayre earth offer nowe to me?
  Ah, none! I wepe that ever I was born,
No more delight I in swete minstrelsy,
  Or trumpet's clang, or sound of hunting horn.
What boots gyf happiness he cannot bryng,
  Phœbus his bryght rays sheds on Alnwick towers,
Where birds in wodes bedeckt with leafis syng,
  Chauntyng melodiousle in yon green bowers.
One birde there was, a faulcon,* fine to view;
  Why hyndered fate that I myght be her fere,
Whose harte to mine and mine to hers beat trew.
  But she is flowne—and I'm distraught wi' care.
What's lyfe to me, Northumberland's proud pere?
  Lyfe without love is erth without a sunn.
Why dyd the fates then evr place me here,
  Why was I domed life's cheerless course to run?
Pale is the crescent of my hope, and ffled
  Is all my thought of happiness e'er more,
Soon be my days as summer shaddows sped,
  And soon my breaste as cold as Laplande shore.
But thee, fond mayd, to starry hyght upborne,
  Whose name my lips to 'plaine of scarce may move;
Thee, lyke Philomela, wyll I ever mourn,
  Anna! my fyrste, my laste, and onlye love.

F. R. SURTEES.

* The family device of the Boleyns.

The Quire Books.

From the Earl of Northumberland, addressed to his 'beloved Cosyn Thomas Arundel, one of the gentlemen of my lord Legate's prevy chambre.' It was written soon after the death of the earl's father in 1527.

'BEDFELLOW, after my most harte recommendacion: Thys Monday, the iijd. of August, I resevyd by my servaunt Letters from yow berying datt the xxth. day off July, deliveryd unto hym the sayme day at the Kyng's town of Newcastell; wher in I do perseayff my lord Cardenall's pleasour ys to have such boks as was in the Chapell of my lat lord and ffayther (wos soll Ihu pardon). To the accomplyshment of which, at your desyer, I am confformable, notwithstanding I trust to be able ons to set up a chapel off myne owne. But I pray God he may look better upon me than he doth. But me thynk I have lost very moch, ponderyng yt ys no better regardyd; the occasion wher off he shall persayff.

'Fyrst the long lyeng* of my tressorer with hys very hasty and unkynd words unto hym, not on my parte deserved. Also the news off Mr. Manying, the which ys blon abroud over all Yorksher; that neyther by the Kyng, nor by my lord cardenall am I regardyd; and that he wyll tell me at my metyng with hym, when I come unto Yorksher; which shall be within thys month, God wylling: but I ffer my words to Mr. Manyng shall displeas my lord; for I will be no ward.

'Also, bedfellow, the payns I tayk and have taykyn sens my comyng hether, are not better regardyd; but by a fflattering Byshope of Carel and that fals worm shall be broth to the missery and carffulness that I am in; and in such slanders, that now and my lord cardenal wold, he cannot bryng me howth thereof. . . . .

'I shall with all sped send up your lettrs with the books unto my lord's grace, as to say iiij. Anteffonars (Antiphonars), such as I thynk were not seen a gret wyll: v. gralls; an Ordeorly, a Manuall; viith. Proffessioners (Professionaries), and for all the ressidew, they are not

* Continuance with the Cardinal.

worth the sending, nor ever was occupyd in my lord's chapel. And also I shall wryt at thys time as ye have wylled me.

'Yff my lord's grace wyll be so good Lord unto me as to gyf me lychens to put Wyll^{m}. Worme withyn a Castell of myn off Anwyk in assurty, unto the tyme he have accomptyd ffor more money rec^{d}. than ever I rec^{d}., I shall gyf hys grace 11 C^{ll}. and a benefiss off a C. worth unto hys college, with such other thyngs resserved as his (grace) shall desyre; but unto such tyme as myne Awdytors hayth takyn accompt off him: wher in, good bedfellow, do your best, ffor els he shall put us to send myselff, as at our metyng I shall show you.

'And also gyff secuer credens unto this berer, whom I assur you I have ffonddon a marvellous honest man, as ever I ffownd in my lyff.

'In hast at my monestary of Hulpark, the iii^{d}. day of August. In the owne hand off,

'Yours ever assured,

'H. NORTHUMBERLAND.'

'To my bedfellow Arundel.'

(There is a tradition at Alnwick that an auditor was formerly confined in the dungeon under one of the towers till he could make up his accounts to his lord's satisfaction.)

The house of Northumberland had anciently three minstrels attending on them in their castles in Yorkshire, and in the time of Percy (the essayist) retained three in their service in Northumberland, who wore the badge of the family (a silver crescent) on the right arm.

Choral or Antiphonal singing was introduced into the service of the Church about the middle of the fourth century (some say by Ignatius, Bishop of Antioch, in the second century). Ambrosius, Bishop of Milan, is said to have introduced it into the Western Church. Many of the Psalms of David show that Antiphonal singing was then in use. The choir is divided into two parties, each responding to the other.

Fountains Abbey.

As the Percy family were considered as hereditary benefactors and patrons of this foundation (several of the family were buried there), so the monks occasionally applied to the Earls of Northumberland for their protection and assistance under any emergency; as appears from a very curious letter on the subject of a complaint made by the monks against their abbot in the reign of Henry VIII. It was written by the sixth earl and addressed to Thomas Arundel, Esq., one of the gentlemen of the privy chamber to the Lord Legate Wolsey.

'MYNE entirely wel biloved and assured frend, in right harty maner I signifye unto you that ther is credable informacion maid unto me upon the sute and behalf of the covent and bretherne of the monestary of Fountaince, in the county of Yorke, that the Abbot there doith not indevoure hymselfe lyke a discrete father towards the said covent and the profet of the hous, but haith against the same as well solde and wastyd the great parte or all theyre store in Cataill, as alsoo theyre wooddis in dyverse contries, beying in lyke manner, as I am informed, in his owne conversation after such sorte as the quyet of the said hous, which should depende anenst theyme, is moch tedews and uncharitable (whereby the service of Godd should not be maynteyned like to the ancient custome there). And for that mine ancestors and I are benefactours to the said monestary, the informacion was more inforced to be maid unto me at this my beying here, to the intent upon the premises I might cause advertisement to be maid unto my singler good lord legate, that his grace wd. ponder the premisses by his power and auctorite of comission to some discrete fathers in that countreye of religious howses, thereby to authoryse theyme that if mater of depryvacion may be founde, to have the same in execution, with a free eleccion to be graunted by his grace to the said covent before the said religious persons commissioners.

'And the said covent havyng especiall respect to the great comoditie and profet that may insewe upon the same, and the better mayntein-

ment of Goddis service, and perceyvyng in the contrary theyre great impoveryshment, would for the increase agayn of the said hous gyf towards the advancement of hys gracious liege 500 marks, to have lyke comyssion to be addressyd into the contrey. Desyring you most hartely, for that I cannot, by reason of my diseases, attend my lord myself, according to my bounden dutie, that ye wolde be meane unto his grace upon the content, with effect which as I perceyve shal be a right charitable act to be executed accordingly.

'And thus hartely fare ye well, at beside Elsington, this 26 day of June.

'Yours assury'd,

'H. NORTHUMBERLAND.'

'To my bedfellowe, Arrondell.'

This letter was probably written between the years 1527, when this earl succeeded to the title, and 1537, when the religious houses in Yorkshire were visited, and at which time an Abbot of Fountains was hanged; whose character, as reported to the Lord Cromwell by R. Layton, one of the visitors, so exactly tallies with that given of him complained of in the letter, that one may venture without hesitation to pronounce they both point out one and the same person. (Grose.)

The abbot appears to have stolen a great ruby out of the cross, and to have sold the plate without weight or ounces. He also dilapidated his house and wasted the woods.

The Abbey of Stratford Langthorne, or at Bogh (Bow) in the parish of West-Ham.

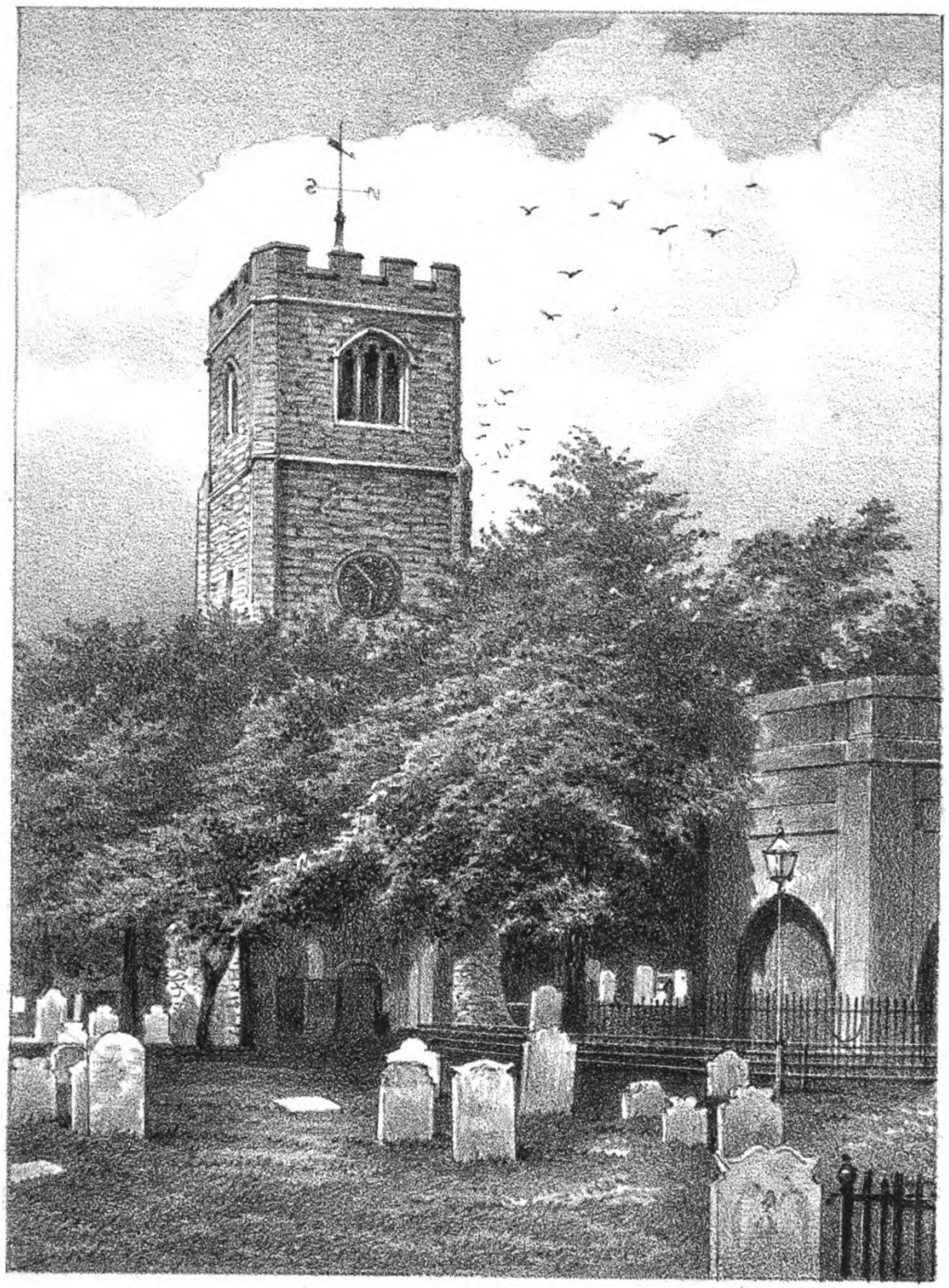
The abbot present at the earl's funeral was probably the abbot of the above Cistercian House, as it was not suppressed until 8 March, 1538, when the king gave away the estates, about nine months after the funeral—at the suppression valued at £573 15s. 6d.

The abbey possessed large estates at Ilford, Woodford, Chigwell, and many other places, and some houses in Clement's Lane. This abbey was bound to maintain the bridge at Bowe, said to be the first arched stone bridge in the county, and thence named.

The Church of St. Augustine.

Nothing, apparently, is known of any Norman church at Hackney. The church, repaired or rebuilt about 1520, was probably originally in the early decorated style. Neither is it likely that the suburbs of London reached so far as Hackney in the times when the Norman style prevailed. The first church was probably smaller than the one destroyed in 1798. Hackney appears to have been one of the first suburbs of any consequence, and three hundred years ago was the Court end of the town. Queen Elizabeth had a house at Canonbury and King James I. probably a house where Bohemia Place now stands, but this is not certain, as the prevailing tradition probably arose from Sir Thomas Vyner's loyalty in decorating his rooms with the arms of the Stuart family.

Margaret Douglas, Countess of Lennox, the Earl of Northumberland, the Earl of Oxford, Lord Zouch, Fane, Earl of Westmoreland, Lady Latimer, Lord Hunsdon, Lord Vaux, and others have lived at Hackney, and many of their tombs were in the old church. Dr. Robinson assigns the name of the church or patron saint to the Hospitallers, but as he calls it St. Augustin in 1292, and the Templars, whom the



Hospitallers succeeded in Hackney, were not suppressed until about 1308, it may have been the Templars who gave the name, as *they followed the same rule.*

Dr. Robinson says: 'The founder of the Order of the Hospital Brothers of St. John of Jerusalem dedicated this church to St. John the Baptist, under Raymond Dupuis, successor to Gerard, who was the first great Master of that Order, and they became a Military Order. Gerard and his associates followed the rules and assumed the habit of the Augustines, and thus the church at Hackney became dedicated to St. Augustine.'

This is somewhat obscure.

The following are the passages in Vertot's 'History of the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem' on which the above passage is probably founded.* The church is said to have been called St. John's after the Restoration. (It is so named in 1662, as appears by the inscription on a piece of plate.)

'On construit proche de leur couvent, deux Hospices pour recevoir les pelerins de l'un et de l'autre sexe, sain et malades: ce qui étoit le principal objet de cet établissement; et chaque Hospice eut dans la suite sa chapelle, l'une consacrée sous l'invocation de S. Jean l'Aumonier, et l'autre dédiée eu l'honneur de Sainte Magdelaine.'

'Cette sainte maison gouvernée par des Religieux de Saint Benoît, et qu'on doit regardes comme le berceau de l'ordre de Saint Jean, servit depuis d'azyle et de retraite aux pelerins.'

'Le gouverneur de la ville fit enfermer en même temps en differentes prisons, les Chrêtiens qui lui étoient suspects, et entre autres l'administrateur de l'Hôpital de Saint Jean de Jerusalem' (A.D. 1099).

'Cependant le Général du Calife d'Egypte, qui ignoroit la prise de Jerusalem, marchoit à la tête de son armée pour en faire lever le siège. Godefroi le prevint, s'avança audevant de lui, le rencontra à la sortie des deserts qui séparent la Palestine de l'Egypte, le battit et mit son armée

* Arthur Wood, in December, 1509, was instituted to St. Augustin, at Hackney. Gauselinus, a cardinal presbyter in the Church of Rome, was Rector of Hackney from 1328 to 1334, and during some of the years included held Northfleet and other benefices. He held nine altogether in England.

en fuite. En reconnoissance de cette nouvelle victoire, et pour en perpetuer la mémoire, il fonda dans l'Eglise du Saint Sépulchre un Chapitre de Chanoines latins : il eu fonda encore un autre quelque temps après dans l'Eglise du Temple, qui servoit auparavant de Mosquée aux Infidéles, et ces Chanoines dans l'un et l'autre Eglise suivoient la régle de Saint Augustin, ainsi que le rapporte le Cardinal Jacques de Vitri, l'Evêque d'Acre, auteur qu'on doit regarder à l'égard des affaires de l'Orient, comme Historien original.'

'Bientôt par les soins du pieux Gérard, on vit s'élever un temple magnifique sous l'invocation de Saint Jean-Baptiste, et dans un endroit qui selon une ancienne tradition avoit servi de retraite à Zacharie, père de ce grand saint. On construit proche de cette Eglise differens corps de logis, et de vastes batimens, les uns pour l'habitation des Hospitaliers, d'autres pour recevoir les pelerins, ou pour retirer les pauvres et les malades.'

Gerard died in 1118. Dupuy succeeded him as Grand Master. In 1128 the order of the Knights Templars was founded.

The rule of the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem was (according to Grose) nearly that of St. Augustine. The Knights Templars were also consecrated to the service of God after the manner of the regular canons of St. Augustine. As it is most likely that a church existed at Hackney before the Templars were suppressed, it is evident that they have a better title to the credit of naming the church than have those who succeeded them. But if named Augustine from their following the rules deduced from the writings of St. Augustine, constituted Bishop of Hippo in A.D. 395, then it is apparent that the name has no reference to the St. Augustine, the papal missionary into England. We mention this because Dr. Robinson, in his valuable 'History of Hackney,' gives a memoir of St. Augustine, the missionary, in reference to St. Augustine's Church in Hackney. Of course it may have been dedicated to this latter; but if so, the reason alleged, from the knights following the rule of his namesake, has no force. Pope Innocent II. ordained in the Lateran Council, A.D. 1139, that all regular canons should submit to the rule of St. Austin in his 109th epistle.*

* In the edition printed at Paris in 1689, it is the 211th epistle, column 781, wherein St. Austin 'præscribit illis vitæ regulam.'

Five hundred years ago Hackney was a distinct Rectory and Vicarage.*

In the 20th year of Edward I.:

'Ecclia de Hackney was valued at 50 marks.

Vicaragia de Hackney was valued at 12 marks.'

under an order of Pope Nicholas that all benefices should be valued.

John Strype, the celebrated antiquary, was lecturer at Hackney Church from 1689 to 1724. He held, it is said, the Vicarage of Leyton, and died at Hackney in 1737 in his 94th year. It is from his additions to Stowe's 'Survey of London' that most of the particulars about the monuments in the old church have been obtained.

We read that the

'Parish church consists of a nave, chancel, and two aisles. At the west end is a square stone tower of Gothic architecture.

'The church appears to have been in great measure rebuilt in the early part of the 16th century by Sir John Heron, Master of the Jewel House to Henry VIII., and Christopher Urswick,† the Rector.

'Between each arch of the nave are the arms of Heron carved in stone. The same arms occur on one side of the chancel window. On the other side are the arms of Urswick.

'Urswick's tomb is within the Communion rails, where is a marble slab with his effigies in brass (covered,' at the time this was written, 'by a plank').

In other accounts the arms of Heron are said to be on every pillar; this is probably what is meant by the above expression between each arch of the nave.‡

When reconstructed about 1520, some of the old windows were pro-

* The Church of Hackney belonged to the Bishop of London from the earliest times.

† In Burton's 'Anatomy of Melancholy,' 4th ed., p. 187, Urswick is mentioned: 'But most part they are very shamefast, and that makes them, with Peter Blesensis' Christopher Urswick, and many such, to refuse honours, offices, and preferments.' At St. George's Chapel, Windsor, Urswick's monument as Dean of Windsor, originally stood at the end of north aisle of nave, but was removed to make room for the monument to the Princess Charlotte.

‡ See what follows as to the old pillars being retained: the arms were above them.

bably used again, particularly on the south side of the chancel and in the south side aisle.

It is possible that the chancel was the original building. About one hundred years afterwards the church was completely altered in appearance by the addition of a new vestry on one side of the chancel, and the Rowe Chapel on the other. Galleries were probably then constructed.

It was also repaired in 1720, of which date the east end shows strong signs.

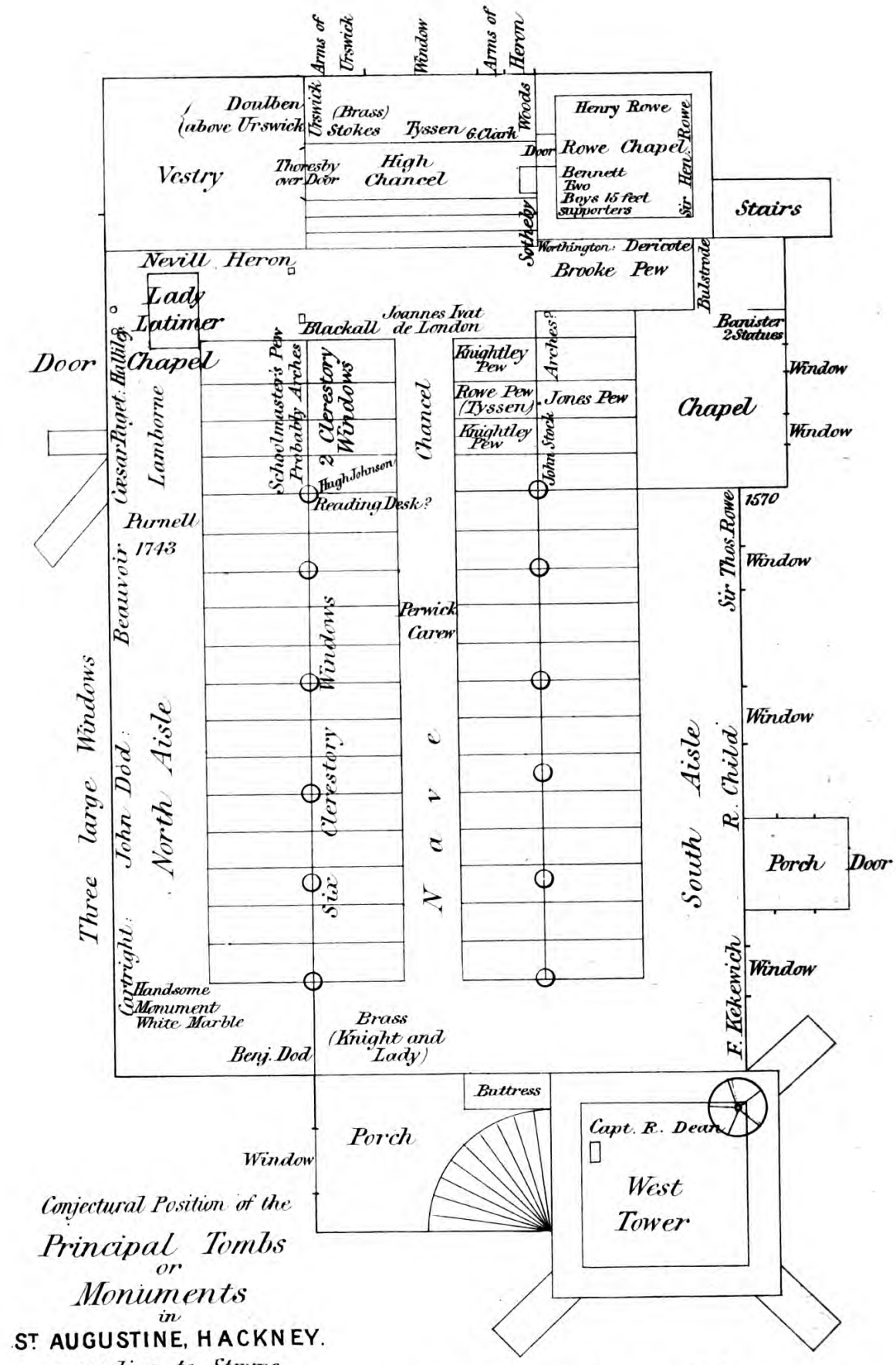
In the additions to Lysons' 'Environs of London' an opinion is expressed that Heron and Urswick only rebuilt the chancel, and that the nave and tower were built in the fourteenth century. [The pillars of the nave were decorated with Heron's arms, and the arms of both Heron and Urswick were put up in the chancel on each side of the east window.] We should rather concur in this opinion as to the tower, and possibly as to the piers or pillars in the nave.

There is a singular feature about the tower as it now stands. The tower has diagonal buttresses (more common, according to Rickman, in decorated than in perpendicular towers). But as regards the corner of the tower, which had joined the church, the buttress is diagonal in the uppermost stage and so continued beneath,* but then is changed into a lateral buttress in order not to interfere with the church. We think if the tower had been built at the same time as the nave was rebuilt it would have been built with buttresses of the then generally prevailing fashion, namely, all of them parallel with the sides of the tower. According to the picture of the church taken when it was partly pulled down, the piers of the nave are of the decorated style. We think that Heron made use of these piers in 1519, as the arches appear to be somewhat awkwardly set upon them.

The conjectural history of the church might be thus written: Originally in the Early English, or decorated style,† the tower was rebuilt about the year 1350, or a few years later, and when the perpendicular

* Some stones have apparently been picked out to diminish the weight when the alteration was made.

† About the year 1250 to 1300. We have heard the opinion expressed by one who knows much about the history of Hackney, that Heron only repaired the church and added the clere-story.



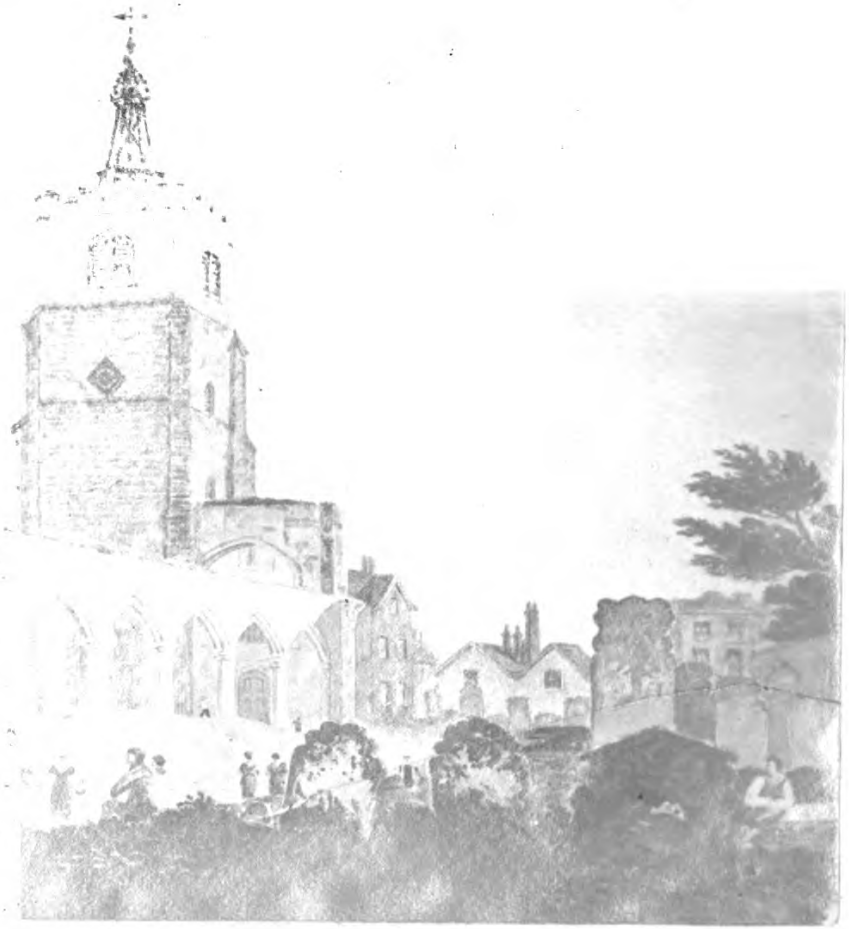
Conjectural Position of the

Principal Tombs or Moniments in

ST AUGUSTINE, HACKNEY.

according to Strype

Length of Chancel, about 44 feet
Breadth of Dº „ 24 „
Length of Nave (without Porch) „ 62 „



style was beginning to prevail. As the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem had succeeded the Templars (1308 to 1315), they probably were the builders of this massive tower, possibly with some idea of making it a stronghold in case of necessity. About 1519 the chancel and nave were rebuilt (perhaps making use of the old piers), and the new nave being perhaps longer than the original one, the buttress of the tower at the north-east corner was rebuilt square with the north side wall of the tower, instead of projecting at an angle which would have brought it far into the interior of the church. It is not likely that the west gable of the nave has been rebuilt since 1519. Some of the old windows may have been used. In 1614 the Rowe chapel was built, and either then or in 1720 the whole of the interior was very much altered in appearance by the addition of the galleries. The organ gallery was very handsome, and above the panels were three large pictures in black and white, probably similar to one now in Horsham Church. As the galleries did not extend to the pillars, the roof of the south side aisle was probably raised. The church was finally pulled down in 1799.

The reader will find a plan in which the writer has endeavoured to reconstruct the ground floor of the old church in order to show the conjectural position of the tombs or monuments mentioned by Strype and Dr. Robinson.

Entering by the west porch and turning to the right under the organ gallery, we perceive the entrance to the belfry, wherein is a fair table monument of black marble to Capt. Robert Dean (died 1699) and his children on north side of interior tower. Proceeding up the south aisle, on the right is a comely table monument of polished black marble, with a deeply graven inscription to Mrs. Fredeswede Kekewich (died 1693) and her husband. Near is a monument to W. Sedgwick. We now pass a side porch of some size, opposite the third bay of nave, and next come to an inscription in gilded letters against the wall to Richard Child, the father of Sir Josiah Child.* There are five windows in this south aisle. Some of them may have been decorated windows belonging

* There is or was a long inscription to Sir Josiah Child in Wanstead Church in which Hackney and Hackney Church are mentioned.

to an older building. The next monument is a handsome one of alabaster, but not of large size, to Sir Thos. Rowe and wife (1570) representing a man and wife kneeling before a desk with their hands together uplifted in a praying posture. The coat of arms—sable—a chevron charged with three bezants, between as many cinquefoils. [This monument was broken to pieces in pulling down the south wall, and the fragments probably placed in the Rowe Chapel.] Next to this, but on the opposite side, as we understand, is a small monument of white marble to John Stock, born at Royle in the County of Lancaster, who died in 1703.

Proceeding further, against the east wall is a monument with two statues, the one of a man in a gown kneeling, the other of his wife, also kneeling. The man is Henry Banister, goldsmith, who was born in Preston in Anderness, in Lancashire, and died in 1628. His widow married Sir William Bulstrode. Near is a tablet to Lady Bulstrode; she was buried at Lord Brooke's pew door, 14 January, 1633-4. [According to some authorities, on the south side of the nave* was the monument of Sir Francis Chester, Bart., of Chickley, Berks (1766). There is a tablet to him (now in St. John's), but not erected, it having been brought from the Rowe Chapel with other fragments. Some say the intention was to erect it near the Woods' monument in the chancel.] We have placed Lord Brooke's pew at the end of this south aisle, as the allusion to Bulstrode seems to justify us in doing.

Against the east wall is a monument to Dr. Worthington. [His black marble tablet is now lying in the north vestibule of St. John: the inscription is 'To the memory of John Worthington, D.D., some time Master of Jesus College, Cambridge, and Minister of this Parish, who was as remarkable for his Piety and Learning as any the last age has produced; and by his own pious and excellent works, as well as by publishing those of the most learned men of his time, has rendered his Memory precious to all succeeding generations. He was born at Manchester in February, 1617, and through the whole course of his life showed an uncommon zeal for the Glory of God, in promoting Piety and Virtue; and by a strict attendance on the Duties of his Sacred

* Between the fourth and fifth pillars.

Function, was highly acceptable in every place he had a relation to. He died November the 26th, 1671.' The famous Dr. Tillotson, in the character he gave of him at his interment, will supply the defects of this table : 'This monument was erected pursuant to the will of John Worthington, his son, born at Fen-Ditton, in Cambridgeshire, when his Father was Rector there ; was Fellow of St. Peter's College, Cambridge, and by his Piety, Humility, and Learning showed himself not unworthy of so great and good a Progenitor. He died the 19 January, 1737, aged 75, and by his own appointment lies buried in the adjoining Churchyard.' Dr. Worthington was Master of Jesus College, Cambridge, from 1650 to 1660. He was Vicar of Hackney. Arms, 3 tridents, 2 and 1, an annulet for difference ; crest, a goat trippant, holding in its mouth a branch. We fear the arms have disappeared, and all the rest of the monument, save and except the black marble slab above referred to.]

Near to Worthington's monument, against the same east wall of the south aisle, we come to a brass with inscription in black letter to Dericote. This is now lying in the north vestibule of St. John's, among the old monuments and fragments of tombs brought from the Downshire Mausoleum when it was repaired is the following inscription :

'Here under lyeth Arthur Dericote,
Who buried was of late :
Of London sometime citizen,
And of Esquire's state ;
Of Drapers whilome company,
But late of Hackney Town,
A Parishoner he was full good ;
All Vice he laid adown.
Wives four by marriage he had,
That lawful was and right,
Mary, Anne, and Margaret,
And Jone, the fourth she hight.
By whom two children here he had,
And ended then his life,
The Twelfth day of November month,
One child alive and wife,
A thousand and five hundred
And sixty years and two
Since Christ his incarnation
He gan to live anew.

God grant to Christians all
Of Life such race to run,
That at the length they may receive
Of Christ a joyful doom.'

The coat of arms has been torn out. It was a dragon passant, on a chief three escallop shells.

The Rowe Chapel.

On the south side of the chancel we come to a chapel (being a continuation of the south aisle), erected in 1614 by Sir Henry Rowe as a place of interment.

This chapel is beautifully lighted by a lantern in the centre of the roof. It was assigned to the Rowe family by a faculty, and has for many years been considered as the freehold of the Marquis of Downshire. It has lately been repaired under the direction of Lord Arthur Hill, the flooring having given way when the sextoness was endeavouring to find the Thoresby monument for two gentlemen from Leeds.*

The following epitaph is on a handsome monument on the interior south wall:

'Here (under fine of Adam's first defection)
Rests in the hope of happie resurrection,
Sir Henry Rowe (sonne of Sir Thomas Rowe
And of Dame Mary, his deer yoak fellow),
Knight and right worthy (as his father) late
Lord Maior of London, with his virtuous mate,
Dame Susanna (his twice fifteen years and seaven),
Their issue five (surviving of eleaven);
Fower named heer, in their fower names forepast,
The fifth is found, if Echo sound the last;
Sad orphans all, but most theire heire (most debtor),
Who built them this, but in his heart a better.
Quam pie obiit, Anno salutis 1612, die Novembris 12, aetatis 68.'

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* It is possible that the arch which gave way may have been weakened in 1830, when a burial took place in the vault of this chapel, an entrance having been made in an irregular manner without the key.

Sir Thomas Rowe married the eldest sister of the famous Sir Thomas Gresham. Owen Rowe was brought from the Tower of London and buried in the church December 27, 1661. Owen Rowe sat in judgment on Charles I., and signed the warrant for his execution. After the Restoration he was sentenced to perpetual imprisonment.

Trevor Hill, afterward Viscount Hillsborough, was born in 1693, and was made a peer of the kingdom of Ireland in 1717. He married Mary, eldest daughter and co-heir to Anthony Rowe, of Muswell Hill, in the County of Middlesex, and of North Aston, in the county of Oxford, and widow of Sir Edward Denton. Two sons, who died young, are buried at Hackney. A grandson, Marcus, Viscount Kilwarlin, is buried at Hackney. Lord Hillsborough was made Marquis of Downshire in 1789. His son was trustee of Charlotte Carpenter, Sir Walter Scott's wife. For an extremely kind letter to Scott, see Lockhart's 'Life.'

Dr. Robinson* mentions a beautiful monument to Sir Thomas Roe, date 1612, in the south wall of the chancel. This is the same date as the one in the Rowe Chapel, and there appears to be some confusion, as no such monument appears in the plan in the possession of J. R. Daniel-Tyssen, Esq. It may have been set up in the chancel, and removed to the chapel when the latter was finished in 1614.

Dr. Robinson says: 'Near the door of the chancel there was a monument to Thomas Wood, Esq., with the effigies of himself, wife, four sons, and four daughters, kneeling, 1649.' This was, we believe, over the door leading from the chancel into the Rowe Chapel.

Next to the Woods' monument, by some accounts, we come to Sir Francis Chester's tablet, but this is doubtful. We then come to Sotheby's monument,† which has been removed to the new church. There is a shield of arms at the foot, with the motto: 'Ou bien ou rien.'

Just without the rails (or within, by some accounts) on the south side of the communion table, on a flat stone, is an inscription as follows:

'Here lyeth interred the body of George Clark, deceased 14 Aug., an. dom. 1668.
If any desire to be me nigh,
Pray let my bones in quiet ly,

* In his 'History of Hackney.'

† On the north wall of the chapel (in the chancel).

Till Christ comes in the cloudy sky,
Who will us all both judge and try.'

This gentleman left twenty shillings yearly for an Anniversary Sermon to be preached on the 17th day of November, and other moneys to be distributed charitably in the parish on that day.

Francis Tyssen was buried within the communion rails 11 November, 1717, in the high chancel.*

We read that: 'Shacklewell House was for many generations the property of the Rowes, and about the year 1600 (some error in this date) Henry Rowe sold it to Francis Tyssen, Esq. (reserving, however, the Rowe Chapel), who also bought the manor of Kingshold from Mr. Sykes.'

Mr. Tyssen bought these manors in 1697 and in 1698; and all the manors, namely Lordshold, Kingshold, Grumbolds, or the Rectorial Manor, including the advowson, thus centred in the Tyssen family.

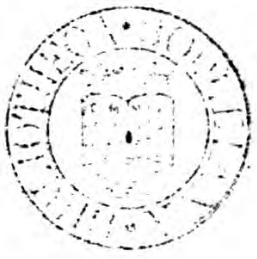
Lordshold included the whole parish of Hackney. Kingshold was comparatively subordinate, Lordshold being paramount. Lordshold belonged to the Bishops of London from the time of Richard de Gravesend (1290), 19th Edward I., until the 4th year of Edward VI. Kingshold was the property of the Hospitallers, and it was this manor which the 6th Earl of Northumberland either held for the king or sold to the king. The earl died at his manor of Hackney,† but the writer thereby understands Kingshold, and not Lordshold. He had not, therefore, all the parish.

We now come on the north side of the communion table to a vicar of Hackney's tomb, being a flat stone with a brass plate fastened on it, with the resemblance of a man in a gown, and this inscription:

'Robertus Stokes, vir Doctrina et morum Probitate insignis, Cantabrigiæ olim Sacræ
Theologiæ Baccalaureus fuit; necnon
Hujus Villæ Hackneæ per duos
et viginti annos Vicarius,

* There was nothing to mark the spot, indeed there hardly could be from the situation.

† He died at Brooke House: not then so called.



Qui anno dom. 1570, octavo calendas
Aprilii Natura concessit:
a Summis juxta atque ab
infimis magnopere desyderatus.'

Afterwards to Urswick's monument (which may now be seen in the north vestibule of St. John's), which we have already described (see page 1), and would here only add that the obtuse arch covering a recess is thought by some to have been intended as a convenient place wherein to erect the sepulchre at Easter. The letters MIA at the corners stand for Misericordia.

Coat of arms: Arg. on a bend sable, 3 lozenges of the field, each charged with a cross gules.

He is said to have been buried in the middle of the chancel. The monument is, however, built in the north wall of the chancel (we are speaking now of the old church), and opposite the north end of the communion table. His brass on the floor is spoken of as being covered by a plank or planking, no doubt for convenience in a place so much trod on. The date in the wall being 1519, probably when the church was rebuilt, and the date of his death 1521. A relation of Urswick's, Sir Thos. Urswyke,* knight, was Recorder of London and afterwards a Baron of the Exchequer, which offices are wrongly ascribed by Newcourt to our rector. Sir Thos. Urswyke and others were appointed in 1476, the 17th year of Edward IV., to view and order repairs of the banks of the Lea.

We now come to Bishop Doulben's monument, which requires no description, as it has been erected in the new church. It is on the north wall, immediately over Urswick's arch. There is a door in the north wall of the chancel leading into the vestry, and over the door is Thoresby's monument, which his descendant, the antiquary, was so proud of, the arms being correctly sculptured in a circle at the top. The figures of Thoresby and wife are praying at a desk, with their two daughters immediately below. The inscription on Thoresby is as fol-

* We understand that Sir Thos. was older than the rector. In 1419 a dispute at Furness Abbey was referred to the arbitration of Thos. Urswyke and others. Probably the family came from that neighbourhood.

lows (the monument may be seen in Thoresby's 'Ducatus Leodiensis,' the second vol.: of Whitaker's Leeds):

'Here under lyede the body of Henry Thoresby, of the County of York, esquire, late counsellor in the law, Justice of the Peace and of the quorum; one of the Masters of the most honourable court of Chancery, and one of the 16 governors of King James's Hospital, elected at the first foundation thereof by John Sutton, Esquire, the only founder; which Henry Thoresby passed his pilgrimage in this life in all godliness and Christian piety, and so constantly did continue unto his last breath, which he yielded unto the Almighty in this town of Hackney, on the 11 May, 1615.'

One also on his wife.

Ralph Thoresby inherited his antiquarian propensities from his father, who was a man of learning and fond of researches into the history of his country, though a merchant. The family, according to Mr. Noble, traced their origin to the reign of Canute. It seems, however, rather more certain that the later members of it had resided at Leeds above a century, where R. Thoresby was born in 1658; and when capable of feeling the pleasures arising from the contemplation of ancient and interesting objects, he divided his time between education and visits to places remarkable for their local circumstances; in this manner commencing a collection of Protestant benefactions and monumental inscriptions.

The elder Mr. Thoresby having procured his son competent instructors, he well understood the Latin, French, and Dutch languages; and desirous of teaching him the whole arcana of trade, he sent him to Rotterdam in 1678. Bad health soon compelled the young man to return, and in 1680 he succeeded his father in business, who died in that year.

The origin of Mr. Thoresby's valuable collection of medals and coins is to be attributed to General Lord Fairfax, of whom they were purchased by the father, and descended to the son. This circumstance naturally introduced the latter to many persons of a similar turn of mind, and the learned derived very valuable assistance from him in their literary labours; particularly Gibson, in his edition of Camden's 'Britannia,' relating to the West Riding of Yorkshire, and Walker, who wrote for that work on the Money of the Romans, Britons, and Saxons.

Hearne, Strype, Calamy, Walker, and Collins all acknowledge his liberal communications, and no doubt in return assisted him in making his collection more valuable, which he generously offered to the inspection of the curious without ostentation or reluctance. He became a fellow of the Royal Society in 1697.

Besides his superior knowledge as a medallist, he had great skill in genealogy and heraldry. These various qualifications were united in producing his 'Ducatus Leodiensis, or the Topography of Leeds and the parts adjacent,' with 'Museum Thoresbeianum,' or a catalogue of the articles in his collection, which was published in 1715. In 1724 he presented the public with 'Vicaria Leodiensis, or the History of the Church of Leeds,' and died in 1725, aged 68. (Abridged from Malcolm.)

From the diary of Ralph Thoresby:

'1709, Jan. 16, Die Dom. Walked with Mr. Wyat, the bookseller, to Hackney, where Mr. Newcome, their pious and learned vicar, prayed and preached excellently. I afterwards viewed the monuments in the church, and was particularly pleased to find that of Henry Thoresby, Esq., so well preserved, his and his wife's and daughter's statues (the Lady Hardress) all entire, with the arms. I dined with the worthy Mr. Newcome, who received me kindly, showed me his father's picture.' (Henry Newcome, whom Thoresby had known at Manchester.) 'Afternoon, Mr. Strype, the pious lecturer, preached excellently.'

'1712, June 8, Die Dom. Morning, read, &c., then walked to Hackney, where heard two excellent sermons; forenoon, Mr. M. Henry* read and explained Genesis iii., whence he showed the many evils, corporal and spiritual, relating to this world and that to come, which came in by the fall, and raised many useful and practical observations, and recited some of the Jewish notions, as that Adam's head ached as soon as ever he had eaten the forbidden fruit, whereas he had neither that nor any other distemper before he sinned. . . . . Mr. Newcome, the worthy vicar, invited me to his house, and showed me a register of the parish that he lately recovered, wherein are very many observables; as their having a select vestry about 100 years ago, by authority from the bishop,

* We believe that Matthew Henry preached in a chapel on the same site as that known by the name of Dr. Burder's in St. Thomas's Square.

of which Henry Thoresby, Esq., always subscribes first. I was pleased to see his autograph and spelling his name as we do now, though the clerks who wrote the instruments frequently write it Thursby; he showed me also a letter of Bishop David Dabbin (Doulben), a benefactor, who lieth buried next my said kinsman, that the Earl of Oxford, who died 1604, was buried there.'

From correspondence, 1710:

'All the six coats that I lay claim to are rightly placed (without the engrailing of the chevron) upon a monument in Hackney Church, for Henry Thoresby, Esq., who having only daughters, his brother Ralph succeeded as heir male, whose son George was my grandfather, John Thoresby's father, as in the pedigree I sent you.'

There was a small north door to the chancel leading into the churchyard; if Bailiff's tomb still exists it was near to it. On Bailiff's tomb were the words:

'Erat, Eris,
Cogita, Para.'

A person of the name of Bayliff was at one time (Charles I.) joint Lord of the Hackney Wyke Manor with another gentleman.

In the centre of the chancel* is buried Joannes Ivat de London, under a fair black marble: he appears to have been a merchant and died in 1693. On the north side of his tomb is a fair marble slab over the body of Thomas Blackall, 1683, and that of his son. Of this family was Offspring Blackall, Bishop of Exeter; they had a house in Dalston.

On the north side of the chancel is a brass plate fixed upon a pillar near the reading desk,† and cut on this plate is the effigy of a minister in his pulpit. This was Hugh Johnson, vicar of the church for forty years. (This seems a favourite term for incumbents of this parish.) He was a native of Macclesfield. While in the chancel, we may mention that a faculty pew was granted to Francis Tyssen, Esq., in 1690, on payment of twenty guineas to the use of the parish, said pew having formerly belonged to the Rowe family.

* A little to the south of the centre of the chancel.

† The sixth from the west end.

Heron's tomb (which is supposed to be the Heron, the founder of the church in 1519) is in the north aisle, and of white freestone, with no inscription, but there are arms on the sides: sable, a chevron ermine, between three herons, argent, beaked and numbered, or; which, besides being graven in stone upon the pillars, are also painted upon an escutcheon hanging up in the body of the church: thereon is T. H., dec. 1603 (probably a descendant).

We now turn to Lady Latimer's monument: immediately behind it, fastened* to the east wall of the north side aisle of the chancel, is her husband's tablet, now in the north vestibule of St. John's, and which should be erected near the Percy inscription. (This monument, *i.e.*, Lady Latimer's, is now destroyed with the exception of the alabaster figure of Lady Latimer, which has sustained the loss of hands and nose.)† The inscriptions to the four daughters are placed under their respective figures, two on the north and two on the south. Two of these are hid by the schoolmaster's pew, the two others (we think those on the north are meant) are to Dorothy, the second daughter, married to Sir Thos. Cecil, and Elizabeth, the youngest, married to Sir John Danvers.

The Monument to Lady Latimer.

Mr. Surtees writes: 'At Hackney, near London, the Percyes had anciently a suburban residence: and it is not improbable that there the Lady Latimer, widow of the fourth Lord Latimer, and the mother-in-law of the eighth Earl of Northumberland, died, for she was buried in the old parish church of Hackney. She died 23 February, 1582, aged 59, and over her was erected a magnificent monument, whereon lay a lady crowned with a coronet and dressed in a scarlet robe, praying. But

* It may have been so for a short time, but it was really part of Lady Latimer's tomb.

† And other exceptions noticed afterwards.

this monument, on rebuilding the church, was demolished ; and nothing remains of it but the mutilated trunk of the figure, which is preserved in the belfry. On it was an inscription, quaint, but not without beauty, which may be worth recording here, as it recites the marriages of her daughters and co-heirs, one of whom, carrying the blood of Nevill to that of Percy, united a representation of the Saxon and Norman earls of Northumberland—an alliance still commemorated by a cherished bearing in the Percy shield.

A Memoire of the Right Honourable the Ladye Lucye Latimer.

Such as she is, such surely shall yee bee ;
Such as shee was, such if yee bee, be glad :
Faire in her youth, though fatt in age she grew ;
Virtuous in bothe, whose glosse did never fade.
Though long alone she ledd a widowe's life,
Yet never Ladye liv'd a truer wife.
From Wales she sprang, a Branch of Worcester's race,
Grafte in a stock of Brownes, her mother's side :
In court she helde a maide of honor's place,
Whilst youth in her and she in Court did byde.
To John, Lord Latimer, then became she wife ;
Four daughters had they, breathing yet in life.
Earl of Northumberland tooke the first to wife ;
The nexte the heire of Baron Burleigh chose :
Cornwallis happ the third for terme of life :
And Sir John Danvers pluckt the youngest Rose :
Their Father's heirs, them mothers all she sawe :
Pray for, or praise her ; make your list the Lawe,
Made by Sir William Cornwallis, Knight, this Ladye's Sonne-in Lawe.

Her father was Henry Somerset, second Earl of Worcester, and ancestor of the Dukes of Beaufort. There is a tablet brought from the old church with an inscription to her husband, John Nevill, fourth Baron Latimer, although he was not buried there. Henry Percy, the eighth Earl of Northumberland, married Catherine Nevill, leaving issue, from which the present Duke of Northumberland is descended. The heir of Baron Burleigh was Thomas Cecil, afterwards Earl of Exeter. He married Dorothy Nevill. Cornwallis married Lucy Nevill.

Sir John Danvers and Elizabeth were the ancestors of the Dukes of Leeds. The first of the Dukes of Leeds, in consideration of his descent from the Nevills, Lords Latimer, was created Viscount Latimer of Danby.

The Earl of Northumberland referred to above, on his brother's rebellion (who had espoused the cause of the Queen of Scots and the connection with Rome), foreseeing probably that it must be unsuccessful, and trusting that his allegiance would save the estates and titles from being again confiscated entirely from the house of Percy, made a show of loyalty to his queen, took the joint command of a force with Sir John Forster, and is said to have come to a skirmish with the rebels. However, his connivance at former plots became known to the Court. But it is probable that he found a secret friend there in the person of Cecil, the marriage of whose son to Dorothy Nevill, the daughter and co-heir to Lord Latimer, and his own sister-in-law, he seems previously to have forwarded—an alliance which must have been highly advantageous to the aspiring family of the minister. He was fined five thousand marks, but this was never exacted.

He succeeded his brother in the estates under the late entail by Queen Mary. But he was afterwards suspected of participating in a plot to effect the liberation of the Queen of Scots, and was sent to the Tower. Here, on the 21st of June, 1585, he was found shot in bed; but whether by the hands of an assassin or his own has been by some supposed to be doubtful. However, the attendant circumstances make it more reasonable to conclude that, anticipating a conviction, and true to his ruling passion—zeal for the prosperity of his line, he rashly determined to take his own life in order that by dying unattainted he might be able to transmit to his family their interest in his estates; and as he himself is said to have expressed it: 'to balk Queen Elizabeth of their forfeiture.'

After his accession to the title this earl had lived much at Petworth, for the border had ceased to be the post of danger and of honour.

To return to the monument of Lady Latimer. The alabaster figure is still pretty perfect, with the exception of the nose and hands; and, considering the rank and character of her descendants, it seems a pity

that some care is not taken of it. She left 500 marks for the monument, a sum equal to over £2,000 of our present money.

In connection with this monument we must notice the small alabaster shield of the Percy and Nevill arms, now put up in the north vestibule of Hackney Church. When the Downshire Mausoleum was repaired (the floor having given way, by which accident Miss Goodwin, the sextoness, was killed, who was trying to find for some gentlemen from Leeds the tomb of Thoresby, the antiquarian, now apparently destroyed), a large quantity of sculptures and fragments of tombs were cleared out and put on the grass outside the mausoleum but inside the railings. These railings nearly, if not quite, mark the site of the chancel of old Hackney Church. Many of these stones had previously been stowed away in the basement or tool-house in the old tower, and removed, probably, when the mortuary chamber was constructed.

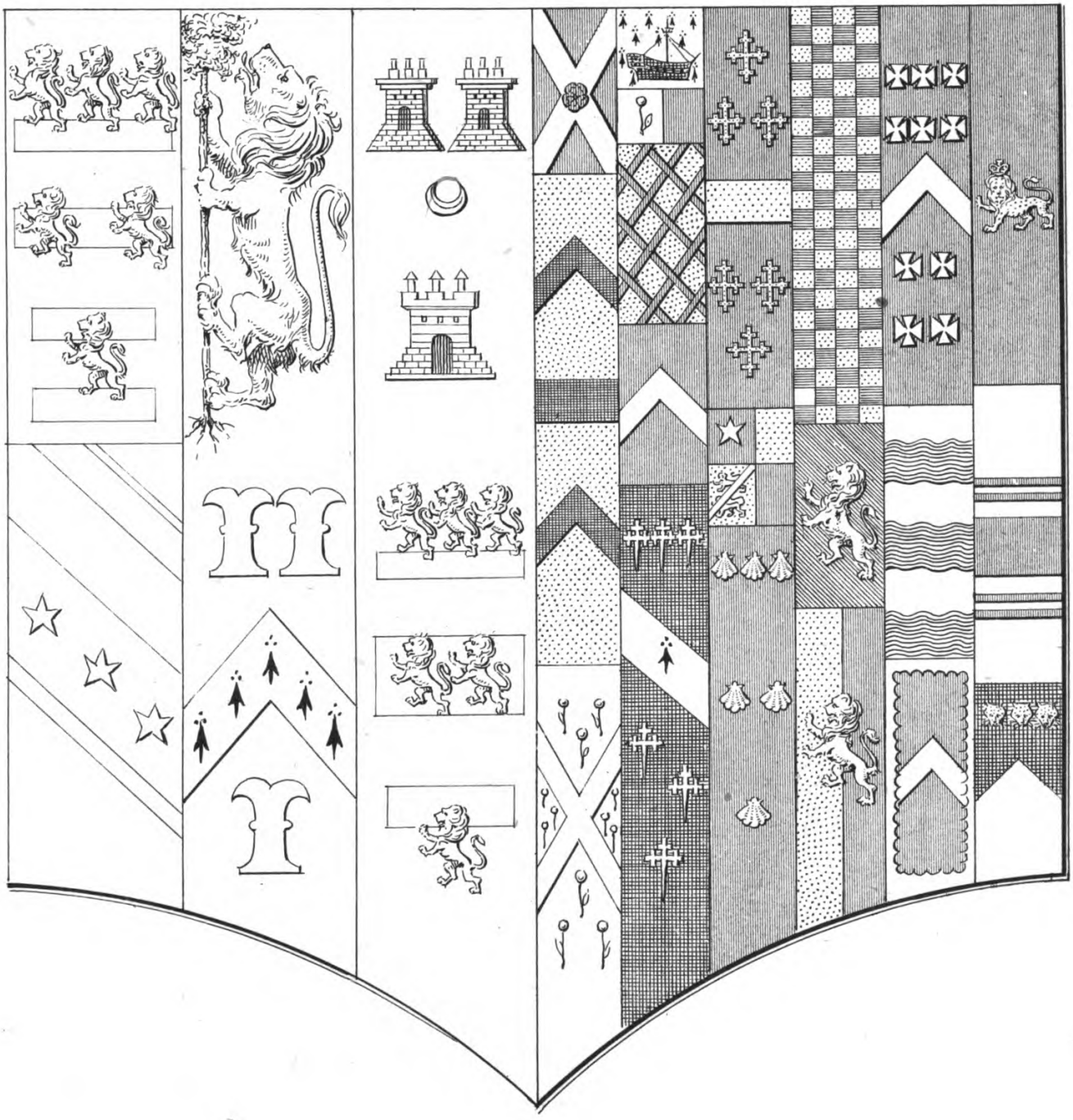
The Rev. J. W. Kenworthy, curate of Hackney, called the attention of the compiler to a very beautiful small alabaster shield lying on the grass. The compiler immediately recognised the Percy lion, and a large piece being broken off, to prevent further damage he took the shield home under his arm. This is now erected in the north vestibule of Hackney Church, with a helmet of the time of Henry VIII. above it, and a small tablet to some members of the Percy family brought from the mausoleum beneath.*

This small alabaster shield was part of Lady Latimer's monument. It was on the south side of the monument, with an inscription above to the eighth earl of Northumberland and his wife. It was coloured, and immediately beneath it was the tablet to their children, now placed underneath it in Hackney Church. Two other fragments, one recording Lord Latimer's death and the other his wife's, are not yet erected, but ought also to be placed near the shield. Lord Latimer died in 1577, and was buried at Well Church.

The dexter half of the shield apparently contains the ~~Percy~~ Cecil arms, and the sinister half the Nevill arms. Lysons, in his 'Environs of London,' describes the arms in a way which corresponds exactly to the shield, *i.e.*, to the left half. He takes no notice of the dexter half.

* Vide infra. They were the children of the 8th earl.

This is all wrong.



'1. Gules, on a saltier arg., a rose of the field—Nevill.

'2. Fretty or, and gules on a canton erm., a ship sable—ancient coat of Nevill.

'3. Gules, a fesse between 6 cross crosslets or—Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick.

'4. Checky or and azure—Beaumont.

'5. Gules, a chevron between 10 crosses patée, six in chief and 4 in base—Berkley.

'6. Gules, a lion passant crowned or, Waryn—Fitz-Gerard.

'7. Or, a fesse between 2 chevrons, sab.—Lisle.

'8. Argent, a chevron gules—Tyes.

'9. Quarterly, gules and or, in 1st quarter a mullet arg.—Vere.

'10. Vert., a lion rampant arg., vulned on the shoulder, proper—Bulbeck.

'11. Barry, wavy of six, arg. and az.—Samford.

'12. Arg., a fesse double cottised gules—Baddlesmere.

'13. Arg., a saltier between 12 cherries slipped proper—Serjeaux.

'14. Sab., a bend arg. (charged with an ermine spot), between 6 cross crosslets fitchée arg.—Furneaux.

'15. Gules, 6 escallop-shells, three, two, and one, arg.—Scales.

'16. Per pale or and gules, a lion passant, arg.—Place.

'17. Or, a chevron within a border, engrailed gules—Stafford.

'18. Per chevron, sub. and arg., in chief 3 leopards' faces, or—Litchfield.'

Lady Latimer's husband was son of John, third Lord Latimer, and of his wife, Dorothy de Vere, sister and co-heir of the fourteenth Earl of Oxford.

To return to the shield: we have given a representation of it from a drawing made by a person who possesses no knowledge of heraldry. As Lysons takes no notice of it as a whole, his description evidently refers to a shield with Lord Latimer's arms only.*

There is a puzzle for genealogists in the pedigree of the Duke of Leeds. In the epitaph it says: 'Sir John Danvers plucked the youngest

* Which may have been the shield fixed at the end of the north aisle.

rose.' But in Thoresby's 'Ducatus Leodiensis' (the second vol. of Whitaker's, Leeds) it is expressly stated that Danvers married the eldest. The pedigree states:

John, Lord Latimer, ob. 1577.=Lucy, d. of Henry, Earl of Worcester.

Elizabeth, eldest.=Sir John Danvers, &c.

Eleonora.=Thos. Walmsley.

Anne.=Sir Ed. Osborne.

Duke of Leeds, Marquis Carmarthen, Earl of Danby, and Viscount Latimer.

From his assuming the title of Latimer it might be supposed his ancestor had really married the eldest daughter, but surely Sir William Cornwallis knew best. In these old pedigrees the children's names appear in circles round those of their parents, sometimes without any indication which is the eldest or which the youngest. The compiler of the pedigree of the Duke of Leeds appears to have decided on assigning him the eldest daughter:

'Sir Allen (or Alan) Percye, Knt., was buried here 12 Novembre, 1611: he was 6th son of Henry, 8th earl of Northumberland, by Catherine, eldest daughter and co-heir of John, Lord Latimer.'

Sir Alan was buried in Lady Latimer's vault.

The following old inscription was also erected beneath the helmet and shield (as we have already noted):

'Henry, Lorde Percye : Thomas :
William : Charles : Richard : Allen :
Joscelyne : and George :
Ladye Anne Percye : Lvcye : and Elenor.'

We have no authority for referring the helmet to the Percy family. It is a handsome and nearly perfect helmet, with no arms, but the spike may have supported the Percy lion. It has been in Hackney Church for many years. The inscription at foot of the new erection of course

refers to the 6th earl, and has nothing to do with the Latimer monument. The following anecdote refers to some members of the Nevill family.

THE NEVILLES VISIT A WIZARD.

The wizard next pretended that he had seen a vision of a certain room in a tower, in which a spirit had appeared, with a coat of arms in his hand, and had delivered the same to Sir William Neville. The arms being described as those of the Warwick family. Sir William Neville, his brother, and Jones (the wizard) rode down from Oxford to Warwick, where they went over the castle.

The wizard professed to recognize a turret chamber as the room in which he had seen the spirit, and he prophecied that Sir William should recover the earldom, the long-coveted prize of all the Neville family.

Sir Edward Neville, afterwards executed; Lord Latimer, Sir George and Sir William Neville were all of them near connections of the Countess of Salisbury, daughter of the Duke of Clarence, brother of Edward IV. Her mother was a Neville, a child of Richard, the king-maker, the famous Earl of Warwick. They were thus all collateral heirs of Warwick, inheriting the pride of their birth and resentfully conscious of their fallen fortunes.

Margaret Plantagenet was made Countess of Salisbury in her own right, and was beheaded about 1539, on a new rising in the north.

Whether the schoolmaster's pew was that occupied by the parish school or by Newcome's scholars, we know not. In 1613, three years before the date of Margaret Audley's will (who founded the free school), a schoolmaster was appointed by the vestry, who was to take no more than fourpence a week from the children of parishioners, for teaching them grammar, writing, and accounts, and twopence for teaching them English grammar only.

To resume our walk round the old church. Against the east wall, on the upper end of the north aisle, we come to a monument to Richard Hallily, died 1605. On the right of it is Heron's tomb, with no inscription (sometimes supposed to be Elrington's, and that the birds on it were storks and not herons.) On the left of Hallily is Lady Latimer's large monument, placed east and west, with statues of her four daughters, two on each side. [The tablet recording her death was at one end, and her lord's tablet at the other. It was a noble monument. Lady Burdett Coutts, who we believe claims descent from Lady Latimer, had at one

time some idea of restoring it, but so much is destroyed that it would practically have been erecting a new monument, and besides, there was no proper place to erect it in.]

Against the north wall is a tomb to one of the Vyner family, we are not aware which of them. Next is a tablet in memory of James Cæsar Paget, of London, merchant, died 1714. (This is now in the north vestibule of St. John, but not erected.)

The handsome monument to Sir Richard de Beauvoir has been re-erected in one of the vestibules of St. John. At the lower end of the north aisle, joining to the wall, we find another table monument of black polished marble for John Dod, died 1681, citizen and mercer of London. Against this wall, at the west end of the church, a handsome monument of white marble to Benj. Dod, another citizen of London, killed by a fall from his horse, 1706.

Near this is the font.

If we now turn into the middle aisle we see under the organ gallery a brass representing a knight in armour and his wife, the arms and inscription gone. Advancing up the middle aisle, we may moralise over the burial place of Susannah Perwick, whose mother, it is said, kept school at the Black and White house, sometimes called Bohemia Palace, during the Protectorate. This young lady excelled as a performer on many different instruments, composed music herself, and was a very fine singer. About four years previous to her death she met with a great disappointment in the death of her lover. She died at the age of twenty-five in 1661. By her desire Dr. Spurstowe preached at her interment, in the middle alley of Hackney Church. The whole of the school were present. She was buried under the same stone where Mrs. Anne Carew, who was considered one of the greatest beauties in England in her time, and formerly a gentlewoman of the school, and intimately acquainted with her, was buried ; being the second of five gentlewomen only which have died out of her father's house, among those eight hundred that have been educated there within the compass of seventeen years. For further particulars as to this celebrated paragon of beauty and virtue, as well as of accomplishments, we must refer the reader to Dr. Robinson's ' History of Hackney.'

To conclude this walk in the old church: the view up to the east window must have been good, as the side galleries did not reach to the pillars, twelve in number. These pillars were remarkably strong and well-proportioned, and we have elsewhere expressed the opinion that they had belonged to an older church in the decorated style.

There were many brasses on the floor, or slabs from which the brasses had been stripped. The font was modern. There was a massive oak communion table. As to glass, in the windows we have, as far as we can investigate, not a single trace. But in a church where there were so many monuments there surely must have been a tolerable quantity of coloured glass. We have represented the chancel as divided into two by steps. We have no authority for this excepting that Mr. Tyssen was buried in the *high* chancel. From the natural rise in the ground it is very likely that there were some steps, which would add greatly to the beauty of the church.

It seems a pity that the new church of St. John was not built in a style that would have admitted of the old monuments being placed in the interior, as it would have been pleasanter to look on the gallant gentlemen and their ladies than on the funereal trophies in the modern chancel, and the female eye and mind might have been profitably employed on an Elizabethan ruff during a dull sermon. It would, we are assured, have only cost £100 to remove them all. The chancel of the new church was to contain the same number of square feet and the same number of pews as the chancel of the old church, and to remain the sole property of the rector and his successors for ever. We have, therefore, in the plan placed eight pews in the chancel, and as far as we can judge from the very different shape of the chancels in the two buildings, we think they probably contain nearly the same number of square feet, although that in the new church is so shallow when compared with the size of the building.

The old chancel was well lighted by at least one clerestory window high up on each side, as well as by a large east window. These were large, handsome windows; indeed, we think all the clerestory was large and handsome as to its windows. These windows appear from the slight remains of tracery visible in the drawings to have been of the

thirteenth century. The two especially referred to appear to have been placed without any other window near them, one on each side of the chancel. We have been favoured by the Rev. J W. Kenworthy with an interesting memoir on the present condition of the tombstones on the site of the old church, which the reader will find at the end of the volume.

The old churchyard was enlarged in 1671 and again in 1763 : from a print we should think the portion next Bohemia Place the oldest.* In 1790 six acres were purchased for the new church and an additional cemetery.

Spurstowe.

Spurstowe became Vicar of Hackney in 1643. He was descended from the family of Spurstow in Cheshire, and educated at Catharine College, Cambridge ;† Preacher before the Long Parliament; in 1662 ejected for non-conformity. Died January or February, 1665.

The Obelisk in Hackney Churchyard.

In a note to Lyson's 'Environs' is the following :

'Elizabeth, daughter of Thomas Foster, 1727. There is an obelisk to the memory of this family, but so much worn that this is the only date legible.'

So in Lyson's time, but now nothing whatever is to be read. Three sides of the handsome pedestal of the obelisk are occupied by sculpture, the fourth is perfectly blank where the inscription may be supposed to have been.

* There appear, however, to have been tombs in the part adjoining the rectory boundary, and we may have been misled in the opinion expressed above by the difficulty of understanding the perspective of the print.

† Of which John Strype, lecturer at Hackney, was a member 1737.

The family of Foster, or Forster, of Bamborough, bore a shield similar to the sculptures, *i.e.*, argent, a chevron vert, between three bugles sable, stringed gules. Crest, an arm in armour embowed, holding the head of a broken tilting spear. Motto, 'Si fractus fortis.'

It is probable, therefore, that this was the tomb of a collateral branch of the family of General Forster, who commanded the English rebels in conjunction with Lord Derwentwater in 1715.

Burials at Hackney.

Mary Stewart, Countess of Granard, was buried at Hackney, Oct. 11, 1758.

Richard Newcome, Bishop of St. Asaph, was buried June 10th, 1769. He was the son of Peter Newcombe, Vicar of Hackney.

Francis James Leslie, Lord Lindores, 4 July, 1775.

Edward de Vere, Earl of Oxford, statesman, poet, and dramatist, was buried 6 July, 1604.

He was the 17th earl and lived at Clapton.

There were only three more Earls of Oxford.* Aubrey de Vere, twentieth earl, with whom the title became extinct, died March 12 or 13, in 1702-3, without male issue, at his house in Downing Street. He was senior knight of the garter and first Earl of England.

SIR THOMAS SUTTON

Lived at Hackney on the site whereon now stands Sutton Place. He was founder of the Charterhouse, and intended to have been the first governor, had not death prevented him. He signed the deeds conveying large estates to the Charterhouse only six weeks before his death.†

'PENINNAH JUCKES, 1716.
A maid near eighteen
We have laid in this green,
To rest herself here a short space;
And after that time,
This rose in her prime
Shall rise up again by God's grace.'

* Of that family. † We know not whether he was buried at Hackney.

Marriages.

Thomas Fairfax, esquire, was married to Anne, 4th daughter of the Right Hon. Lord Veare (Vere), June 20th, 1637.

Fairfax was the celebrated Parliamentary general, afterwards Lord Fairfax of Cameron. Fairfax served as a volunteer in Holland under Lord Vere. He became general of the Parliamentary forces, but was obliged to play a secondary part to Cromwell. Superseded by Cromwell, he retired into private life, but assisted in the Restoration.

Mildmay Vaine (Fane), Earl of Westmorland, and Dame Mary Townsend, married 21 June, 1638.

Cecilia, daughter of Sir Thomas More, married Giles Heron of Shacklewell.

Robert South, the celebrated Preacher,

Was born 4 Sept., 1634, and christened 18 Sept., 1634, at Hackney. It is, however, stated in 'Classic Preachers' that he was born in 1633.

He was at Westminster School under Doctor Busby (equally celebrated in his way). He used to relate that he heard the king publicly prayed for (this was said to have been done by South himself) but an hour or two, at most, before his head was struck off.

On one occasion South was preaching before Charles II. and observed that the king was asleep. He immediately called out in a loud voice, 'Lord Lauderdale,' and when that amazed nobleman stood up, South politely requested him not to snore so heavily, as he might wake his majesty.

The following are the first and last lines of his epitaph in Westminster Abbey:

'Ab hoc haud procul Marmore,
Juxta Præceptoris BUSBEII cineres,
Suos conquiescere voluit,
ROBERTUS SOUTH, S.T.P.
Vir Eruditione, Pietate, Moribus antiquis.
Scholæ Westmonasteriensis, deinde Ædis Christi Alumnus—
Obiit Jul. 8, An. Dom. 1716, Æt. 82.'

Matthew Henry.

A new meeting-house was built in 1716 in consequence of the quarrel which happened upon Mr. Henry's death in 1714. Matthew Henry was a Presbyterian, and a very pious and learned man. He came from Chester, and was at Hackney only two years.

The old meeting-house stood nearly opposite to that now occupied by the Independents at the corner of St. Thomas's Square. The new house was called the Gravel-pit Meeting-house. According to other accounts, the old meeting-house was on the same side as Dr. Burder's. Mr. Aspland, author of a volume of sermons, chiefly practical, preached at the new house. There was another chapel, also called the Gravel-pit Chapel, and more properly, from its low level, wherein Dr. Pye Smith officiated. He was, we think, an early writer on geology, and distinguished in many branches of knowledge.

Margaret Douglas, Countess of Lennox,

Died 9 March, 1577-8, at her house of Hackney, in Middlesex, and was interred in Henry VII.'s chapel.

The site of Lady Margaret's house at Hackney is not known.* Miss Strickland says that it probably was situate on what was afterwards the site of Loddiges' nursery grounds. She was the daughter of Queen Margaret Tudor and the Earl of Angus. Cardinal Wolsey was her godfather. She was imprisoned several times. She says herself: 'Thrice have I been cast into prison, not for matters of treason, but for love matters. First, when Thomas Howard, son to Thomas, first Duke of Norfolk, was in love with myself; then for the love of Henry Darnley, my son, to Queen Mary of Scotland; and lastly, for the love of Charles, my younger son, to Elizabeth Cavendish.' On the last occasion the Countess of Shrewsbury (Bess of Hardwicke), the mother of the bride, had likewise been provided with penal lodgings in the Tower—an in-

* See page 69.

stance of impartiality—as the Lady Margaret was brought there for the crime of being mother to the bridegroom.

The most remarkable event on the release of the Lady Margaret from the Tower was the birth of her grandchild, the Lady Arabella, or Arbela Stuart, which took place in the autumn of 1575. Her joy and pride were, however, soon lowered by the grief of marking the first symptoms of consumption invade the frame of her only surviving son, Charles :

'At Hackney with me Lord Charles did abide,
And wedded he was to a lady full dear ;
By whom God, for my comfort, list to provide
A young tender infant, mine heart for to cheer.
Arbella was named that young lady fair,
But death from me reft her father, my son,
Whose loss to lament with tears I begun.'

After several months' decline or decay, death came suddenly on the Lady Margaret. She was not confined to her bed, and was able to attend to her usual avocations, when, March 7, 1577-8, the Earl of Leicester came to Hackney, and making great demonstrations of extraordinary kindness, entered into private discussion with her ; but what passed never transpired. Leicester stayed to partake dinner, and the same evening departed. She was seized with violent illness just after he left her house, and became worse and worse, until death was evidently at hand.

She died very peacefully March 9th, 1577-8. The death was laid by popular report on the Earl of Leicester, who was considered so able a poisoner that if he invited people to dine with him or invited himself to dine with them, and any one of them died within a month after, he bore the blame of putting a pinch of poison into their food.

The altar-tomb we now see in Westminster Abbey with a statue of Lady Margaret recumbent thereon was not erected until a quarter of a century after her decease, by her grandson, James I.

The inscription reads :

'This lady had to her great-grandfather, King Edward IV., to her grandfather, King Henry VII., to her uncle, King Henry VIII., to her cousin-germane, King

Edward VI., to her brother, King James V. of Scotland, to her grandchild, King James VI.' (See Miss Strickland's 'Queens of Scotland.')

We understand that there is evidence extant to show that the Countess of Lennox died at Brooke House. This house was the ancient dower house of the queens of England. As it probably then was in the possession of Queen Elizabeth, it was a small favour, considering the near connection between these two ladies, that Queen Elizabeth should permit the countess to lodge there. As Kingshold it had previously belonged to King Henry VIII.

Brooke House.

'On the south side of the road to Clapton formerly stood (?) a mansion called "Brooke House," and at one time the King's House, the Manor House of the Manor termed King's Hold.' It is said to have belonged originally to the Knights Templars, and after the dissolution of the order to have been granted to the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem. On the dissolution of the latter order the estate appears to have been granted to Henry, Earl of Northumberland, who possibly died here.* 'Henry, Earl of Northumberland, died,' says the account of the funeral in the Herald's College, 'at his Manor of Hackney, now the King's House, between 2 and 3 in the morning, on the 29 June, 1537—29 Henry VIII. The Earl was buried in the old church close by (?)" (Can there have been another Brook House at that time, or is this a mistake?—the Black and White House, on the site of which Bohemia Place now stands, was not built until 1578.) The estate afterwards reverted to the crown, and was granted by Edward VI., in 1547, to William Herbert, Earl of Pembroke.

The house occupied by Lord Pembroke is described in the particulars for the grant of the manor as a 'fayre house, all of brick, with a fair hall and parlour, a large gallery, a proper chapel, a proper gallery to lay books in, &c.' It is also stated to be near the London Road and to

* This account is probably erroneous in some of its statements.

be enclosed on back side with a great and broad ditch. A few years later it was purchased by Sir Henry Carey, Lord Hunsdon (this is the Lord Hunsdon mentioned in Scott's 'Kenilworth'*), who again conveyed it, in 1583, to Sir Rowland Hayward. It was subsequently possessed by Fulke Greville, afterwards Lord Brooke, and by Sir George Vyner (this last is probably a mistake, as we think Sir G. Vyner lived at the Black and White House). Lord Brooke was killed at the siege of Lichfield by a shot fired from the cathedral close.

Under date May 8, 1654, John Evelyn in his diary says: 'I went to Hackney to see my Lady Brooke's garden, which was one of the neatest and most celebrated in England; the house well furnished, but a despicable building.' At the end of the 17th century this manor became part of the Tyssen property. When Lord Brooke sold the manor of King's Hold he reserved the mansion, which continued in his family, and at the commencement of this century was the property of the Earl of Warwick.

'This house has experienced considerable alterations' (says the compiler of 'Beauties of England and Wales,' writing in 1816), 'but large portions of the ancient edifice have been preserved. These consist principally of a quadrangle with internal galleries, those on the north and south sides being 174 feet in length. The arms of Lord Hunsdon are likewise remaining on the ceiling of a room connected with this gallery. It is therefore probable that the greater part of the house was rebuilt by this nobleman during the short period for which he held the manor, a term of no longer duration than from 1578 to 1583. The other divisions of this extensive building are of various but more modern dates.' The house has been long occupied as a private lunatic asylum. It is best seen from one of the new houses in the Kenninghall Road or

* On the site of the altar in the chapel of St. John the Baptist, in Westminster Abbey, Henry Carey, Lord Hunsdon (is interred). He is said to have died of disappointment at the long delay in his elevation. The queen visited him on his deathbed and commanded the robes and patent of an earl to be placed before him. 'It is too late,' he said, and declined the offered dignity. The Corinthian tomb of alabaster and marble erected by his son is one of the loftiest in England (36 feet). He was the son of Mary Boleyn, Anne Boleyn's sister, who married William Carey, a penniless but nobly born squire, without her father's consent. (Hare.)

from the corner of the Lea Bridge Road. The front is modern. The freehold is said still to belong to the Earl of Warwick, but we know not if this is correct. We think it was the father of the Lord Brooke killed at the siege of Lichfield, to whom the following extract refers :

'But about eight years after, neglecting to reward one Haywood, who had spent the greatest part of his life in his personal service, and being espostulated with thereupon, he received a mortal stab on his back by that very person, then private with him in his bedchamber at Brook House in London, whereof he died anno 1628—the assassinate afterwards murdering himself with his own sword. Buried at Warwick with this epitaph : "Fulk Grevile, servant to Q. Elizabeth, Counsellor to King James, and friend to Sir Philip Sidney." '

This may have taken place in Brooke House, Clapton, as Lord Brooke, owning such an important house at Clapton, was hardly likely to give the same name to another house in London, but Dr. Robinson says it occurred at Brooke House, in Holborn, and this is confirmed by another authority.

Brooke House, we understand on good authority, was the ancient Dower House of the Queens of England from about the year 1410. It possessed at the back a very fine gallery, 158 feet long.* This was afterwards cut up into some ten apartments, each provided with a chimney. The row of chimneys all built up from the ground give a singular appearance to the back of Brooke House. The new front is placed somewhat awkwardly in the south quadrangle. It is possible that the north portion of the house may contain parts more ancient than Lord Hunsdon's time. This house has had many tenants and a long history. A child of William, Lord Cobham, was no doubt born there, which establishes some connection, which we have not had time to trace, between Brooke House and Cobham Hall. The extract is as follows :

'Margareta Broke nata apud Hackeney, juxta Londinm̄, in die Mercurii, 2 Junii, 1563, inter horas 7 and 8, ante meridiem, ejusdem diei.'

* We believe this is the result of measurement, and more likely to be correct than the dimension previously given.

The Black and White House

Stood near the site now occupied by Bohemia Place and by the houses on the south side of the old churchyard. It is said to have been built of lath and plaster in 1578 (reign of Queen Elizabeth). Additions were probably made to it in the time of Charles II. by Sir Thos. Vyner. In the window of the drawing-room were the arms of King James, Charles I., the Elector Palatine, Duke of Holstein, the arms of England, with the motto, 'beati pacifici,' the same with the letters 'C. P.'; in a third pane the arms of the Prince Palatine of the Rhine impaling those of his consort, Princess Elizabeth, daughter of King James I.; in another pane the arms of Sir Thos. Vyner. It stood within the Rectory Manor, otherwise called Grumbolds.

In 1619 the Elector was made King of Bohemia. The handsome obelisk or pyramidal tomb in the old churchyard is said to be the tomb of the Queen of Bohemia, but we know not how this is, as she was buried in Henry VII.'s chapel, Westminster Abbey (see notice of this obelisk, *ante*).

In Pepys' Diary we read: '20 April, 1667. To Hackney Church: a knight and his lady, very civil when they came, being Sir George Viner and his lady.' The attraction that drew Pepys to Hackney Church was the celebrated Hackney School for young ladies.

The King's Head Tavern in Hackney.

This old house has lately been pulled down (1878). During the Commonwealth the sign was altered to the 'Cromwell Head,' which brought the landlord into trouble at the Restoration.

Urswick's Preferments.

Urswick's refusal to accept a bishopric has received more notice, perhaps, than it deserves. The following is a list of his preferments:

1488. Dean of York.
1490. Canon of Windsor.
About 1490. Archdeacon of Wilts.
1493. Prebend of Botevant in the Church of York.
„ Archdeacon of Richmond.
1495. Dean of Windsor.
1502. Sinecure Rectory of Hackney.
1504. Archdeacon of Oxford.

The stone screen that formerly divided Urswick Chapel from the nave of St. George's Chapel, Windsor, has been removed and placed between two piers of the choir. The arms of Henry VII. are upon the screen, with a Latin inscription, thus translated:

'Pray for the souls of King Henry VII. and Christofyr Urswick, sometime Lord Almoner to the King and Dean of this Chapel. Hail Mary! and blessed be thy holy mother Anne, from whom thy most pure virgin flesh issued without stain, Amen. God have mercy on the souls of King Harry the Seventh, and Christofyr Urswick, and all Christian souls, Amen! O God, who by thy only begotten Son didst redeem mankind, being incarnate of the Virgin womb, and having suffered death, deliver, we beseech thee, the souls of Henry VII. and Christofyr, and all those whom Christofyr offended during life, from eternal death, and bring them to eternal life! Amen. God have mercy.'

The Tombs of the Ancient Church and the Grave-stones of the old Churchyard.*

It is said that any one making a study of an old subject may have something new to say upon it, or some new way of putting it, which must be my apology for writing the following remarks on the tombs and tombstones of old Hackney; and I do so at the request of Mr. Simpson, who takes great interest in every part of the history of the church and parish, a very wide subject indeed. I confine myself to the old tombs which is not the least interesting part.

The first point to which I would advert is one not brought into previous consideration, as far as I know. It is the position, plan, and direction of the church as indicated by the tombs. Beginning with the stones outside the walls as they previously stood, we find, on the east side, a long row of low gravestones in a straight line running from north to south. They are all of the eighteenth century: the oldest one legible is dated 1713. The inscription on each faces eastward, and the rough west side clearly shows that they were originally placed against or very close to the church wall east of the chancel.

At the north-east corner there is an uncommonly large red-brick table tomb, bearing the date of 1740 on the top slab. It marks precisely the east and north boundaries. The gravestones and vaults run along the north side for two or three yards from the footpath, and near the centre, from east to west, there is the top of the 'PARISH VAULT,' spoken of in the table of fees, 1690. This vault was made for the accommodation of such as were not able or not disposed to make one of their own, and the fees, though less than the cost of a freehold vault, were yet £4 3s. 4d. for burial, as against £1 2s. in the yard. Some of the parishioners now living remember burials in the 'Parish Vault.' Two table monuments on this side mark the position of the '*little chancel door*,' which opened just westward of the lower monument. Robinson gives it as a monument for John Bailiff, dated 1641. The other vaults on this

* By Rev. J. W. Kenworthy, Curate of St. John at Hackney.

side were legible in Robinson's time ; the dates given by him are 1699 and 1689. These carry us on to the extreme north-west corner of the old site, marked by two raised tombs. One against the inside of the north aisle wall, 1681, the other against the outside, 1702.

In turning round the west end we see two head and footstones, dated 1779 and 1730 : these stood exactly under the west window of the north aisle, and there is a table tomb of the eighteenth century, the south side of which originally touched the great entrance to the nave ; viz., the west porch. The extreme west is sufficiently marked by the existing ancient tower ; and as soon as we come round to the south side we find another row of tombs, mostly in existence before the destruction of the sacred edifice. There is a very low and early gravestone near the tower on the west, dated 1719, now fast becoming illegible. Numerous old prints of Hackney Church show us a south-west porch, and the position of this is indicated by two table tombs of the eighteenth century : the one right of the porchway, dated 1721, leaves a proper space for passing eastward of the other. We thus gather that the church had three doors : the chancel door N.E., the nave porch due west, and the porch on the south. So we read in the Vestry Minutes, in the year 1625 : 'Dr. Doulben, Rector, received by collection at the *three church doors*.'

The Marquis of Downshire possesses the east portion of the ancient church's south aisle. It may be regarded as a large vault, commonly, however, called the 'Rowe Chapel,' being built as a family burial-place in 1614 by Sir Henry Rowe. It contains one table and several wall monuments. The very handsome Elizabethan work of monumental art, with its effigies, now against the south wall, was removed from the south aisle of the choir when the chapel was built. The south wall of the chapel was entirely constructed in 1614, and is set about four feet back from the line of the old church. The slabs which are seen to lie in the turf within the bounds of the walls we have just traversed are of great interest. These are all, or nearly all, *in situ*. Those in the chancel are on the old level : those in the nave and aisles are raised up. There is a line of five slabs up the exact centre of the north aisle, and it is observable that all are much worn, and most of all in the middle, by feet which long ago trod the house of God !

In the centre of the nave leading up to the chancel are two slabs much worn by time and more still by footsteps. The eastward one seems to lie with its face downwards, judging from old mortar on the surface; and the west one has been broken in the raising of it. There have been but very few interments within the site since the destruction of the walls, part of the Act for removal, specifying that burials could only be at a certain distance from the chancel. One tall table-tomb is placed on the south line of the nave pillars (which once stood there). Two, respectively dated 1827 and 1823, are at the east end of the south aisle. Then one raised opposite the south porch, and two or three gravestones from 1810; these are all the new interments in the enclosure, except those of the Lord of the Manor in the centre of the chancel; and it is a matter of congratulation to the reverent that the site is so free from intrusions.

It may be observed that there are several slabs of blue slate, all, I think, of the end of the seventeenth century, which are portions of the chancel floor, and *in situ*. A well-preserved one is in front of the door leading to the Rowe Chapel, and much worn by the feet of those who came to communicate at the south side of the communion rail. This slab is Geo. Clarke's (see *ante* for inscription). He seems to have loved the memory of Queen Elizabeth, having left a pound for an anniversary sermon on November 17th. Perhaps this epitaph may be taken to indicate that the old church was already well filled with dead: there is a reasonable fear lest his bones should be disturbed by the next candidate for a grave inside the chancel.

The growth of intramural burials in the ancient church may be pretty well traced from the time when a body was first allowed within the sanctuary and a slab laid over the grave, until the day when there was no longer space beneath the floor for dead to lie, nor on the walls for monuments or tablets to record their fame. The burial register of the parish begins as late as 1593; baptisms and marriages several years earlier. We can show no Parochial MS. account of those buried before 1593. The exceptions are easily named, such as Rector Urswick and some of the nobler parishioners who were benefactors of the parish. It

is a mistake to suppose that burials frequently took place in the church in ancient times.

Dr. Robinson has collected all the earliest inscriptions and epitaphs he could from Weever, Lyson, Newcourt, and Strype. The earliest is dated 1399, beginning 'Here lies Joan Curtelys.' But the wording and the English are so modern as to allow a doubt whether she was buried in old Hackney Church, judging by the inscription given. It is more likely that the oldest interments in the church are the three following:

1. Robart Stork and Elizabeth his wife, date 1416. 'Robert tended and nourished the poor and infirm,' thus dying in repute.

2. The next date is 1438. Alexander was buried '*hic sub marmore.*' Dr. Robinson says: 'This lawyer was a very honest man for those times' (*sic*). It is more likely from his epitaph that he was a learned canonist, a devout worshipper, and a lover of the church: reasons which would make an exception in favour of burial in the church after his decease, and without his will that it should be so.

3. The next case of church burial brings us down to 1464. This is the very pious parish priest of Hackney, Thomas Hert, vicar for two years. He died in 1464. His slab had a brass effigy, and he is called in his epitaph 'Benedictus,' 'Magister in Arte,' and we easily see that he was not thought a common man in those days.

These seem to be all the burials known in the church down to the year 1521, when Urswick was buried in the choir, and he was probably the first whose body ever was laid in that sacred portion. There were two epitaphs on the walls, one in 1517, the other in 1521; the bodies were buried in the yard. The three burials named as within the church during the fifteenth century were each under slabs; and there is no reason to doubt that those three very ancient and worn marble slabs, still *in situ* at the north-west of the old church, are the three first-ascertained intramural graves to which we have referred. They all three had brasses, now torn away. We find during that century the church's north aisle was still regarded as the part of the church sacred to the Passion of Our Lord, and most likely to be chosen out of humility. The choir was then thought to typify the Triumphant Church. In later times only was it open for the burial of ordinary dead.

Rector Urswick, who seems to have been the first who was buried either in the chancel or the chancel aisles, was quickly followed by others. Jane Onely has an epitaph in the church in 1525, with 'here lyeth.' Then comes Henry Lord Percy, buried in the church, 1537. He was no ordinary nobleman; he had been a favourite of King Henry VIII., and had a bishop and an abbot to perform his funeral service. As soon as Elizabeth's reign had well begun, the fashion for burial inside old Hackney Church was greatly extended. There was Arthur Dericote, citizen of London, draper, Esquire, in 1562. Probably the first of his class admitted. Next we find Sir Thomas Rowe, Knight, in the south aisle, in 1570. There were also the Percies, the Latimers, and the Nevills.(?) Still, all this century there only were persons of rank buried in the church. The rest of the parishioners lay in the yard.

At length, about the year 1600, we meet in the Registers with a table of fees and duties 'for ground and for graves in the church, in the chancel, in the side-chancel.' The church was opened for burial of all who would and could pay the dues; from this period such interments became more and more frequent, until the dead filled the floors and epitaphs choked the walls, the ground, and the pillars, and at length compelled those who wished to be buried inside walls to make vaults in the yard and set up gravestones and monuments there.

It is a very common opinion that the vaults and gravestones in the old churchyard are of great antiquity. This is, however, a mistake. Down to the year 1660 or thereabouts, it was the custom to put stones, if any, inside the church, and not in the yard, and at that period only persons of wealth and position had a stone at all. The general date of the earliest gravestones in English churchyards is 1670. The oldest known at present is at Farnham, 1626. The next three oldest are at Dorchester, 1634, 1643, and 1657. The oldest in Hackney yard was Bailiff's, 1641, placed by Robinson on the north side close to the aisle; and I do not find one single gravestone in that century, though there are two or three vaults, the most ancient being 1688 and 1699. I have not found any gravestones in the yard earlier than 1710 and 1705 (a small low stone near the Rectory door). The next are 1713 and onwards; all the old stones are *very low*. It was never the custom to have them more

than three or four feet in height until nearly the year 1800. Then all the quaint old carved and chiselled heads disappeared for ever, and instead we find huge tall, flat, smooth-sawn, and unlovely surfaces hiding the grass and the sky. A few of these pieces of ugliness are seen in the old yard, and in the new they abound. Some of the low and more ancient gravestones in the old yard are nicely chiselled. We trace the love of the mason for his craft and the tools he used, and the love and pride wherewith he carved out a face or a flower, a skull and bones, or bending branch. And the lettering is equally quaint and artistic. I wish to instance the upright stone at the extreme north-east corner of the old yard, near to the rectory garden door, as worthy of notice by those who love the old English masons' work. No care, no pains, no affection has been spared by the mason (the stone is to a mason who died in 1777).

The custom of making vaults in churchyards so much increased during the last century, that the ground was nearly all appropriated, and the green turf excluded by bricks and mortar. It is curious to look back to the sixteenth century, when the burial-ground had no stone monument except the churchyard cross, which, rare though they be, are yet more numerous than gravestones of the sixteenth century.

ON THE TOMB OF THE RECTOR URSWICK.

Rector Urswick's slab is still *in situ* at the end of the choir and against the north wall. The brass which once was sunk into the grey marble slab has left its sharp outline: a priest clad in the vestments of the period, and worn occasionally in the times of Edward and Elizabeth. This splendid slab, now in the dust and moss, was placed in 1521 at the foot of the Easter sepulchre tomb, prepared in 1519. Rector Urswick's will states that he desires to be 'buried in the Church of Hackney before the image of St. Augustine.'

Although the image of the patron saint stood then frequently at the north of the image of the Crucifixion on the sacred Rood loft, at the entrance to the choir, we may naturally conclude that in Hackney

Church St. Augustine's image stood in a niche at the north of the high altar; and so the rector was laid where his dust still sleeps, we may naturally suppose, though the image was taken down in the early part of the reign of Edward VI., about twenty-seven years after he was buried. It may be mentioned that St. Augustine of Canterbury, being the patron saint, would indicate a great antiquity, probably Saxon, for he was the apostle of the English, and held in much greater repute before the Norman Conquest than since, when St. Thomas became of greater repute. The image of St. Augustine may be better understood from the following:

'The principal image in the chancel' (of the patron saint) 'shall be provided at the charge of the parish.' (Constitution, time of Edward I.)

'The high altar was the altar of St. Nicholas in the choir.' (Ware's 'History of England.')

'On the 17th November, 1547, was begun to be pulled down the Roode in Paule's Church, and all other images in the church, and the like was done in all the churches in London.' (Stowe's 'Chronicle.')

As Hackney possesses Urswick's well-preserved sepulchre tomb, a few words of illustration from some neighbouring churches at that time may be given.

Fuller gives an instance at Waltham Abbey, quoting from the churchwardens' accounts: '*Imprimis:* for watching the sepulchre, a groat.'

'Anno 1554, Mariæ primo: Item for watching the sepulchre, 8d.' Bishop Ridley, of London Visitation, 1550, asks, 'Whether there was any sepulchre on Good Friday?'

In 1551, Reading parish books say: Received for 'the sepulchre and for the Tombe of Bricke;' perhaps sold then.

At Stanwell, Middlesex, 1486, Thomas Windsor, Esq., directs in his will the setting up of a tomb 'of a competent height, to the intent that yt may ber the blessed body of Our Lord, and the sepulture at the time of Estre to stand upon the same.'

'An altar tomb on the north of the altar, *especially* in the Tudor age, served as an Eastre sepulchre.' (Cambridge Camden Society.)

'In general use was the tomb of some rector or especial benefactor,

especially so intended at its construction.' ('Ecclesiastical Top., London, 1811.)

'A tomb placed on the north side of the holy altar, whereon shall be placed the sepulchre of Our Lord, and that a priest shall sing there for the repose of my soul for the space of seven years.' (Lord Dacre's will, 1531.)

It was as an Easter sepulchre tomb that Urswick's was intended. The brass effigy and the inscription were not originally on the monument, but on the slab at its foot, above which stood the 'image of St. Augustine on the north side of the high altar.'

I find a similar position of the patron saint's image, among many in the church of St. Margaret at Stratton, Strawless, given in Bloomfield's 'Norfolk' as follows: 'The principal image, which was that of St. Margaret, stood in the east chancel wall, on the north side of the altar, so that the officiating priest stood directly under it.'

Very splendid the tomb of Urswick must have appeared in those times, when lighted according to custom with the lamps and candles of Easter-day. His appropriate inscription being: 'Expecting the resurrection of the flesh at the advent of Christ.' It was then a belief that Christ would come on Easter-day.

THE END.

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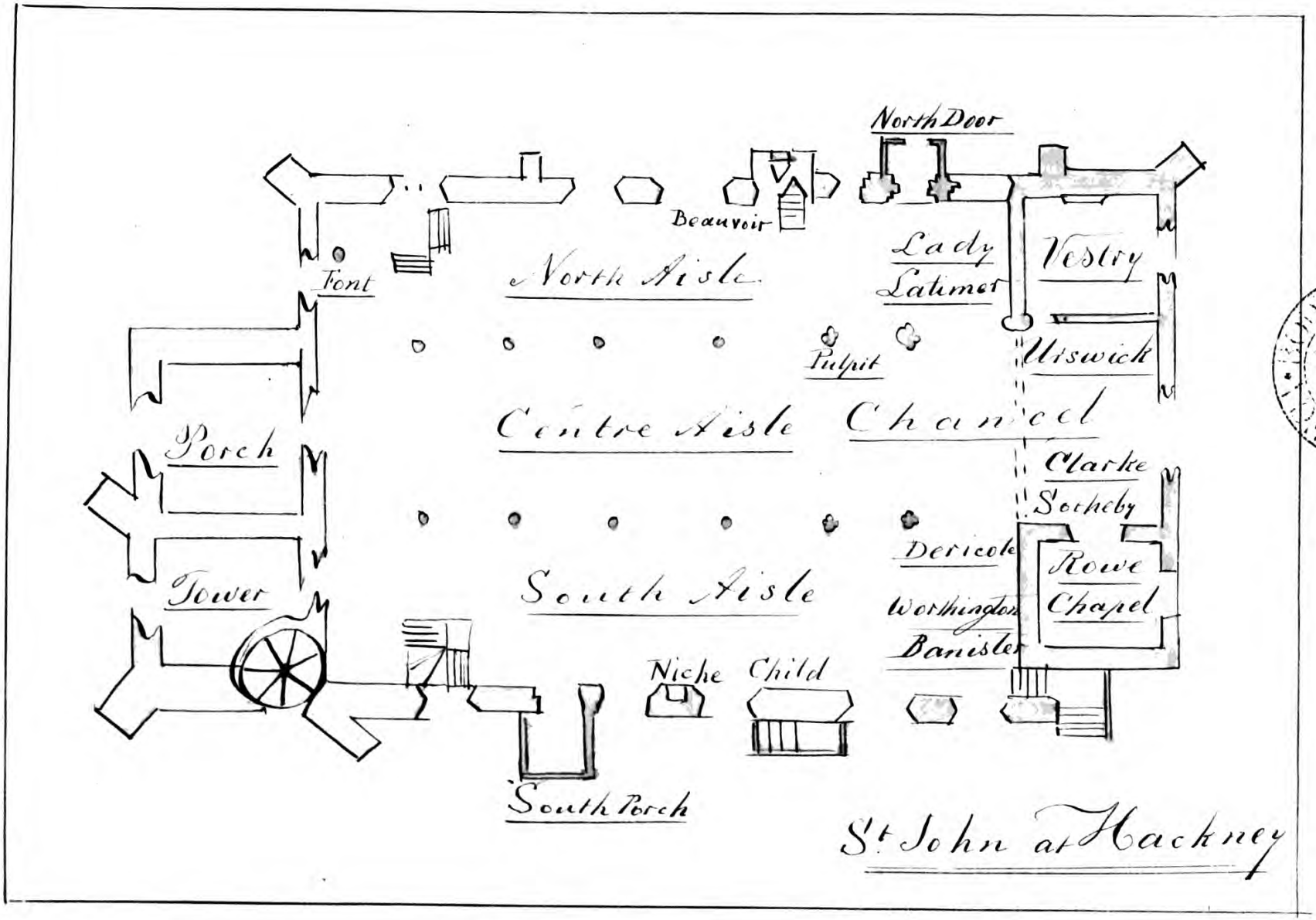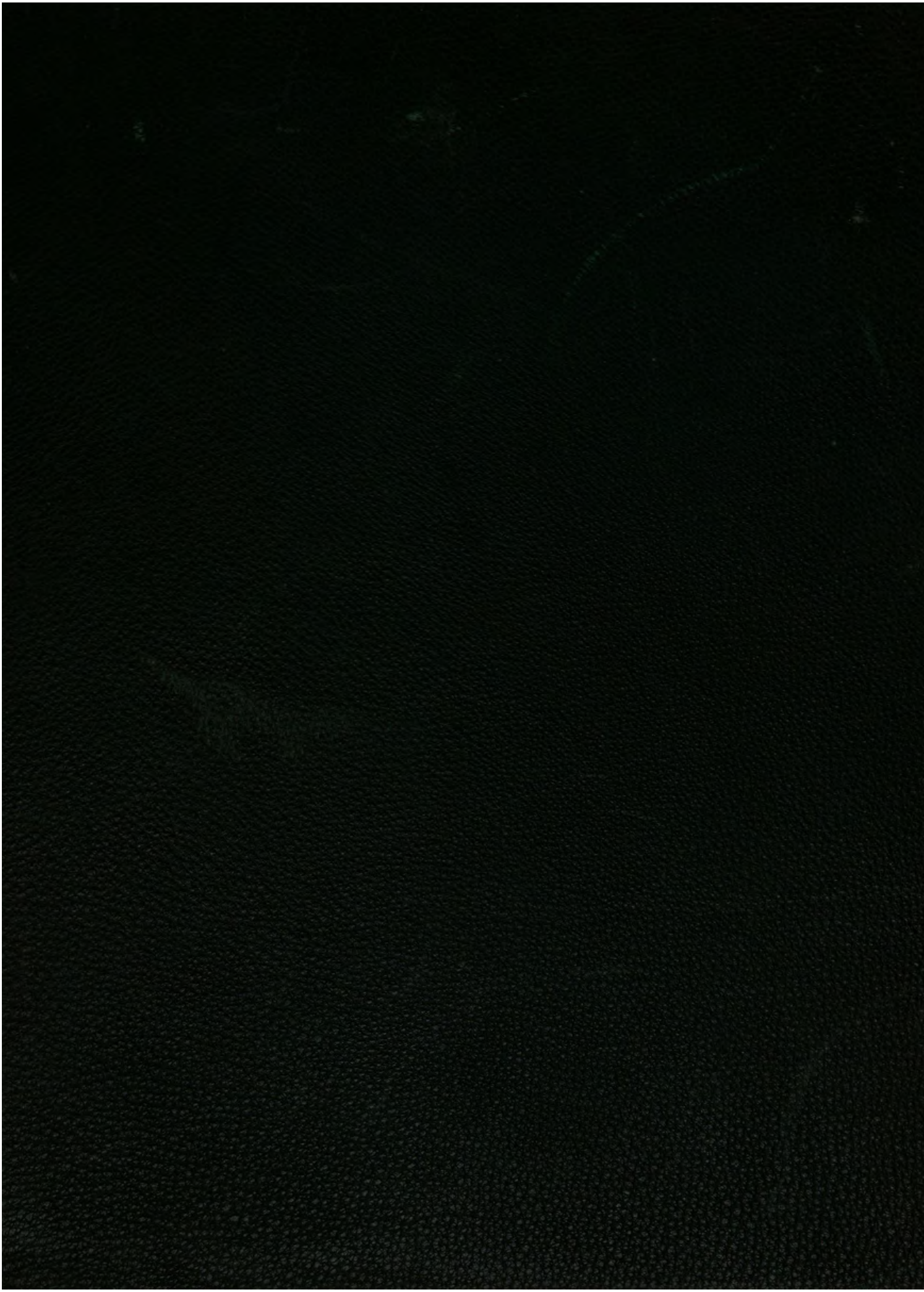
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