



Hereford Cathedral

Sir G. Gilbert Scott R.A.

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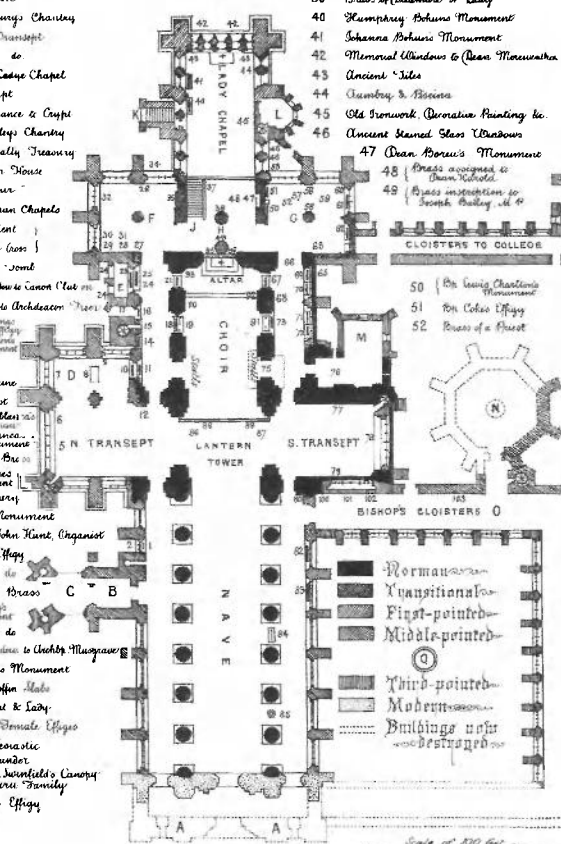
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GROUND PLAN OF HEREFORD CATHEDRAL

DEIGHTON & SON LITH. WORCESTER.

J. S. W. DEL.

The masses of early
Bishops marked thus +
were all erected in the
15th Century.

The Archaeological Journal.

DECEMBER, 1877.

HEREFORD CATHEDRAL.

BY SIR G. GILBERT SCOTT, R.A.

When our annual gatherings are at a cathedral city, it is but reasonable that the *cathedral* should be our primary object of study. The architectural history of our cathedrals form the first page in the history of the architecture of our country; and when a great Archæological Society, such as ours, summons its annual synod under the shadow of one of these great typical edifices, it is naturally expected to be the signal for the full investigation and elucidation of its architectural and antiquarian history; and such it was when we had a Willis for our leader. His monographs on Canterbury, York, Winchester, and others of our cathedrals, have given world-wide celebrity to our Institute. Would that his mantle, as well as—on this occasion—his duty, had fallen on me! Having, however, at an unwary moment, consented to undertake this duty as regards Hereford cathedral, I was not long in discovering that I had undertaken a most difficult task.

In some cases the difficulty in telling the architectural history of a great building arises from too great a plenitude of information, an *embarras de richesse* of historical fact. Such, I dare say, was felt by that prince among those who undertake such tasks, Professor Willis, when he compiled his unrivalled architectural history of Canterbury Cathedral; for there, thanks to Ernulph, Gervase, and others, the most important parts of its history were so fully and accurately chronicled, that he must have found difficulty in condensing his facts, rather than in searching them out.

Far different, however, is the case at Hereford. Here we have—I will not say a *paucity*, but almost a *nullity*

of historical information bearing upon the building, otherwise than indirectly and uncertainly; and one's task is to search in every conceivable direction for such mere waifs and strays of History as may suggest or furnish excuses for guesses and theories, which after all, in a majority of cases, it is impossible either to prove or to test.

Professor Willis, in writing on this cathedral in 1841, says,—“It is much to be regretted that the period of erection of *no one part* of this cathedral has been recorded, with the exception of its first foundation.” (Willis's *Report*, p. 9.) How then can I, who am no investigator of antiquarian documents, venture to give the history of a structure whose builders, and those who were eye-witnesses of its erection, have neglected to record what they did and what they saw? Having, however, rashly accepted the task, I must beg for kind consideration of the difficulty of its performance, for, strange as it may appear, the very paucity of sources of knowledge has increased tenfold the labour of searching for it; and, poor as is the result, I should be ashamed to relate the amount of time and labour I have devoted to the pursuit of faithless phantoms, which only held out hopes of knowledge to lure me to the doom of disappointment.

I must, however, beg a *further* indulgence. I know not whether we view our sister society—the Archæological Association—with feelings more of affection or of rivalry. Anyhow, they have been beforehand with us on this ground; and a paper has been published in their journal, written by my friend Mr. Gordon Hills, which is, to all appearance, so nearly exhaustive of the documentary information at present within reach, that any idea on my part of ignoring it, or doing its work over again, would be absurd. I shall, therefore, with his kind consent, make free use of Mr. Hills' collected information, adding, if possible, any I may have elsewhere picked up; and, if in any instance I may happen to differ at all from his conclusions, I trust that this may in no degree be considered as evincing any want of the highest appreciation for his very able and laborious researches. I should add that I am indebted to him for much information privately communicated.

The See, which now takes the name of Hereford, dates from very early times; and it is likely enough that there was a church of some importance here at least as early as the time of Offa, the great Mercian king, who in the year 793 treacherously murdered somewhere hereabouts his son-in-law (or intended son-in-law) Ethelbert, king of East Anglia, for the purpose of adding his kingdom to his own. Hereford was then known by another name—Fernleigh—and hither the body of King Ethelbert was brought for re-interment by a pious noble named Brithfrid.

In the year 830, or thereabouts, the church was rebuilt in stone by Milfrid, ruler of Mercia, in honour of the now sainted King Ethelbert.

This church was, after about two centuries, rebuilt in Edward the Confessor's day by Bishop Athelstan, whose cathedral, however, was but short-lived, being burnt in 1056 by Griffin the Welsh king or prince, who slew Leofgan the bishop and many of his clergy. To him succeeded in turn two natives of Lorraine—the first, Walter, nominated by the Confessor, and after him Robert appointed by the Conqueror.

Robert de Lorraine, commonly called Lozing (a corruption of Lotharingus), was consecrated in 1079, and held the See sixteen years. He undertook the reconstruction of the cathedral, which had lain waste since the invasion by Griffin, and he is said by William of Malmesbury to have built it of a *rounded form*, imitating the basilica of Aix-la-Chapelle: "Qui ibi ecclesia in tereti ædificavit scemate, aquensem basilicam pro modo imitatus suo." It has been suggested that some other basilica than Charles the Great's round church is here referred to; but the expression "*tereti scemate*"—on a roundish or rounded scheme—appears to shew what church was meant.¹

Now, we know something of the church he chose for his model. It was on a round or polygonal plan, imitated, as it is said, from the church of San Vitale at Ravenna, which had, about the year 550, been erected by Justinian, possibly in imitation of the Temple of Minerva Medica at

¹ The word may be susceptible of other meanings, but I fancy that the fact of the cathedral at Aix-la-Chapelle being of

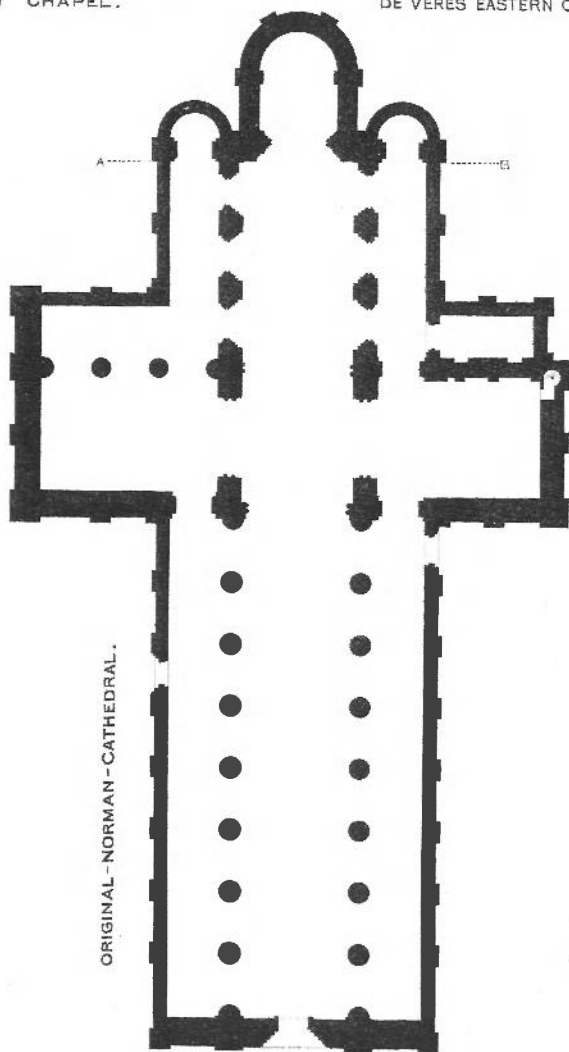
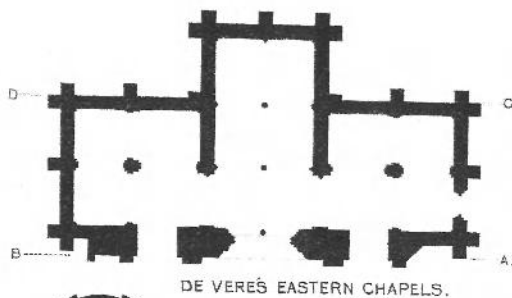
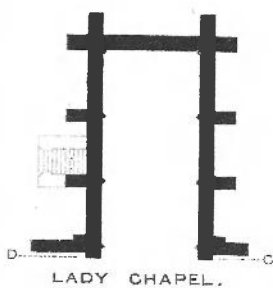
a roundish form, warrants this interpretation.

Rome, and more probably still of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem. These imitations were, however, all of them but *very rough* ones, and consisted mainly in the adoption of a round or polygonal plan.

Charlemagne's church at Aix-la-Chapelle in all probability still exists, and is in ideal very similar to those built afterwards by the Templars in rough imitation of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, which he probably had in his eye quite as much as that at Ravenna, though he had seen the latter only, and perhaps connected it in his mind with its more sacred type. Be all this, however, as it may, the unfortunate fact remains that we have not in the Norman cathedral here at Hereford a *trace* or a *suggestion* of any of these buildings; and, if Robert of Lorraine did really imitate Charles the Great's sepulchral basilica, his successors, and probably Bishop Reynelm, must have utterly obliterated his work.

Reynelm held the See from 1107 to 1115. His reputed effigy bears what may be a model of a church, and his obit styles him as "fundator *Ecclesiæ Sancti Ethelberti*," altered in a later hand (and, I think, erroneously) to "*Hospicii*." Writers on the cathedral seem disposed either to deprive him of all claim as a builder of the cathedral, or to attribute to him the completion of the work begun by Lorraine. Neither of these suppositions seems to me agreeable to common sense. If Robert of Lorraine completed his own design, or if Reynelm completed it, how is it that we have not a vestige of anything agreeing with William of Malmesbury's description? Instead of this we have a church on a very straightforward Norman type, apsidal truly, but less pronouncedly so than usual, and bearing no resemblance whatever to that at Aix-la-Chapelle. Again, the architecture is not of the *earlier* Norman type, but that of a more advanced period. Nor did Reynelm complete the cathedral, for we find that it was not finished till thirty years after his death. I therefore incline to the belief that Robert of Lorraine only began the church, and that being a German he was proud to do honour to the imperial basilica of his fatherland; while Reynelm, being probably a Norman, reverted to the manner of his own country. One cannot but regret that Robert's church does not

HEREFORD CATHEDRAL.



exist, as it would have been quite unique among English cathedrals. Robert was a man learned in all the wisdom of his age—a favourite, as Dr. Rawlinson says, of the Muses as well as of his king. He was a poet, a mathematician, and learned in the stars and their influence on human affairs; and though intimate with Remigius, the builder of Lincoln minster, with Wolstan, who built that at Worcester, and probably with the builders of Gloucester, Tewkesbury, and other vast churches then rising, he perhaps *scorned* to follow in their wake, and gloried in imitating the basilica which overshadowed the great hero of his own race—a church of which Mr. Fergusson says: “It is the oldest authentic example we have of its style; it was built by the greatest man of his age, and more emperors have been crowned and more important events happened beneath its venerable vaults than have been witnessed within the walls of any existing church in christendom.”

Unhappily, what I have said is all we know of the building of the Norman Cathedral, excepting that it was not finished by Reynelm, but by his third successor, Robert de Bethune or Betun, who held the see from 1131 to 1148, and who, having suffered, and his cathedral likewise, during the wars of King Stephen's days, lived to recover and repair the injuries incurred, and whose biographer says of him, “Sepultus est in Ecclesia sua matrice quam ipse multa impensa et sollicitudine consummavit ipse solomonis exemplo, solemnissime dedicavit.”

The cathedral, then, throwing Lorraine out of the calculation, took forty years in building in its Norman form. The scheme of its design was as follows:—

Its nave was of eight bays of not unusual Norman type, supported by massive round pillars, to which double shafts are attached, both to the north and south. The triforium was of moderate height and good design; the clerestory somewhat lofty. The choir, (or rather the presbytery, for the choir proper was beneath the central tower), was of three bays, supported by piers which are rather masses of wall than columns; and judging from the great projecting pilasters upon their inner faces, I agree with Mr. Gordon Hills that it must have been vaulted, which was very unusual at that time in churches of so great a span.

It terminated eastward in an apse, not formed, as was so frequent, by the swinging round of arcade, triforium, clerestory and aisles upon the altar as a centre, and uniting themselves together in semi-circular continuity; but a separate and narrower structure, opening into the presbytery by an arch of moderate dimensions, over which the eastern wall returned in a square form. Each aisle also terminated in a smaller apse, and each of the three apses had its own separate roof.

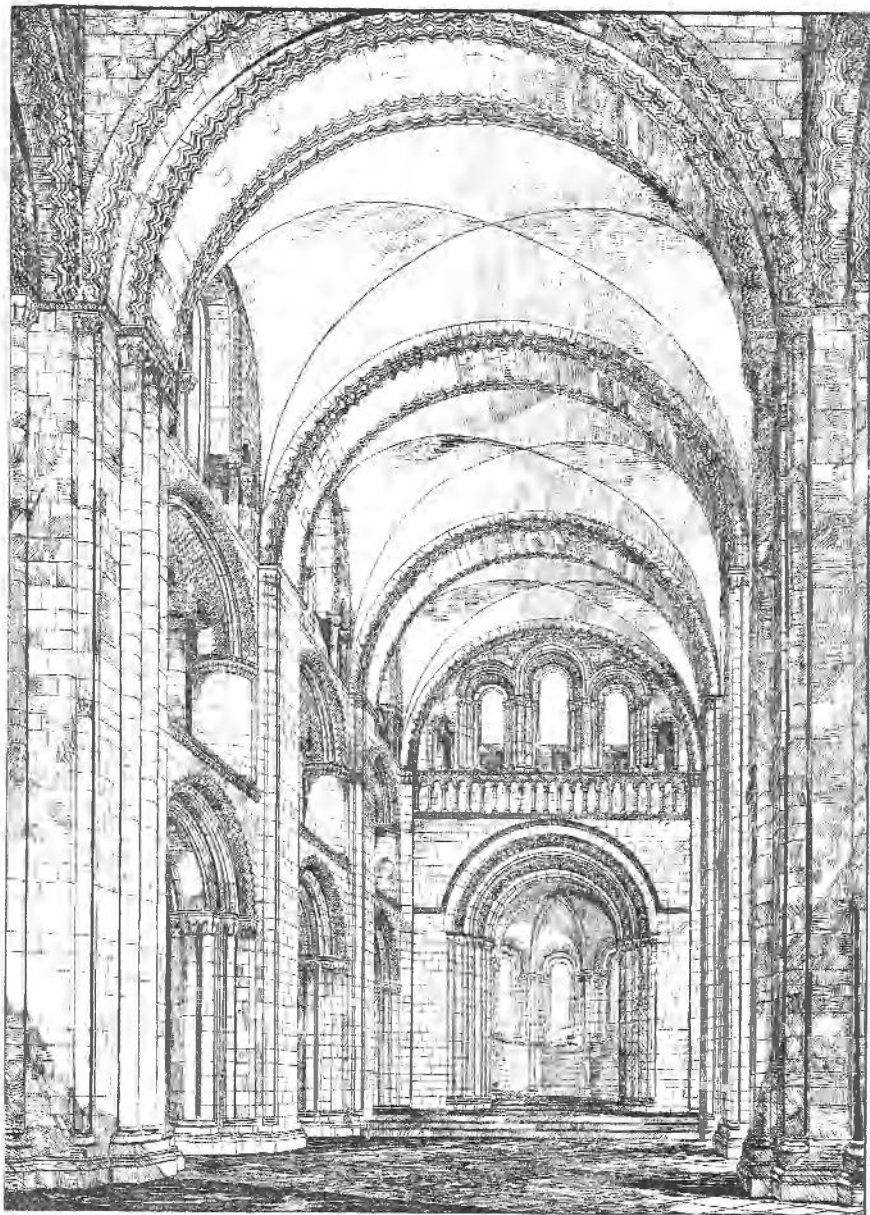
The transepts, of which one only remains, were of an ordinary type, without (at least the remaining one is) the apsidal chapels which are so usual.¹

I have elsewhere shown that the three not distant monastic Churches of Gloucester, Tewkesbury, and Pershore followed a scheme peculiar to themselves, and displaying great originality of invention. There is no trace of this scheme at Hereford. I am not sure, however, whether the nave here was not more beautiful than that of its more original neighbours. The less lofty columns, surmounted by a well proportioned triforium and lofty clerestory, formed a more elegant composition than the exaggeratedly lofty columns of Gloucester and Tewkesbury, unduly stunting the upper storeys of the nave; though it is possible that the two ranges of aisles in the choirs of those churches, running unbroken round the apse, and the continuous aisle with its apsidal chapels may have produced a more pleasing effect than the non-continuous arrangement at Hereford.

It matters little, however, which may have looked the best. They display two quite different systems, each good, and each nobly carried out. We see them now but in imagination, for all these churches have been so altered that the true effect is visible in none.

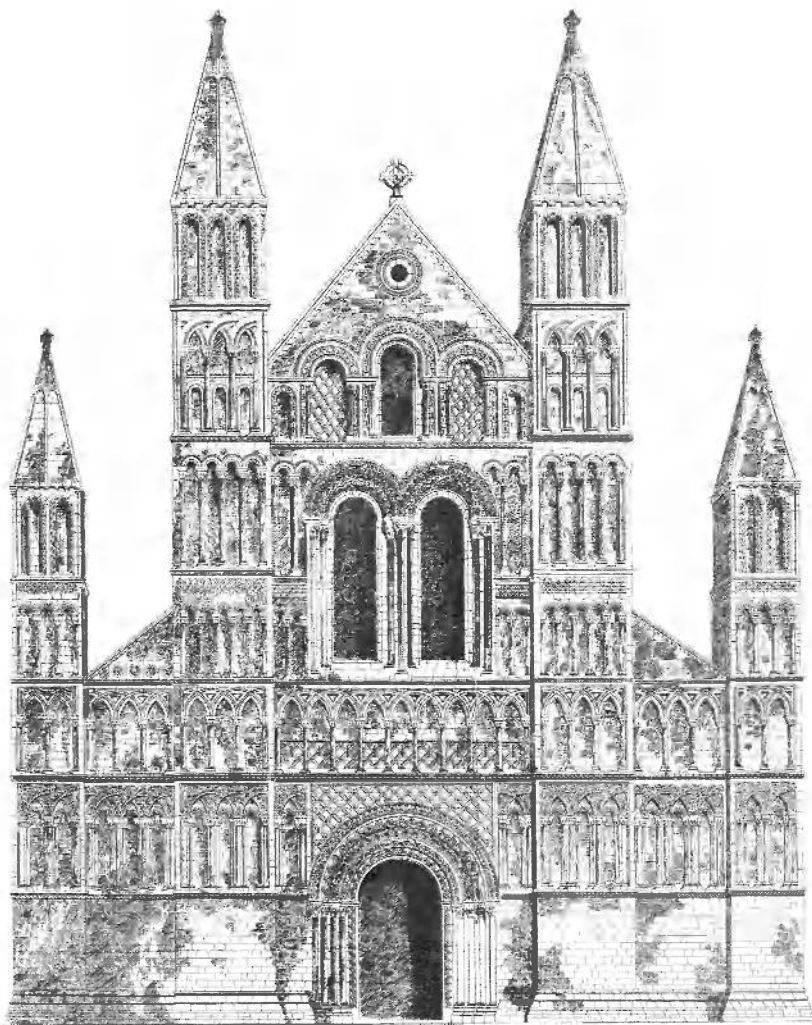
I have said that the architecture at this cathedral is not *early* but *advanced* Norman. Its details are, in all the principal parts, decidedly rich in ornamental character; very different indeed from those of Remigius' work at Lincoln, at the consecration of which Lorraine would have been present had the stars been propitious. No concurrence of stars, however, could render such details

(1.) The style of this transept is so simple as to lead to the impression that it is earlier than the choir, which, however, I think unlikely.



HEREFORD CATHEDRAL.
REPRODUCTION OF ORIGINAL PRESBYTERY.

HEREFORD CATHEDRAL.
IMAGINARY REPRODUCTION OF ANCIENT WEST FRONT.



as those at Hereford, *possibly* contemporaneous with those of Remigius' work. *Not a stone* do I believe remains in place of Robert of Lorraine's cathedral.

The great glory of the Norman cathedral at Hereford was its West front. We get a good idea of its design from Merricke's view, given by Browne Willis. I have attempted a restored elevation of it, which I exhibit. It was probably the work of Robert de Bethune, and was consequently very late in the style. I may mention that what Norman vaulting remains (which is right little) is without diagonal ribs. Possibly, Bethune's work may have been otherwise, as that feature had become frequent in his day. At some time during the Norman period was erected the great timber hall of the Bishop's palace, and the very curious double chapel of St. Margaret and St. Catherine, which adjoined it.

Bethune's successor was the famous Gilbert Foliot, who, after ruling here for fourteen years, was translated to London in 1163. We hear nothing of him respecting the Cathedral, but he was too great a man to be passed by unnoticed. He was a most strenuous opponent of Becket; so much so, that the Evil Spirit is said to have addressed him, while revolving as he lay on his bed the plans he had been devising with the King against the Primate, as follows:—

“ O Gilberte Foliot,
Dum revolvis tot et tot,
Deus tuus est Ashteroth.”

The Bishop intrepidly replied:—

“ Mentiris Dæmon, Deus Meus est Deus Sabaoth.”

Forgive my egotism in saying that a great ecclesiastic has done me the honour, while remarking on my wanderings about on church matters, to parody the words on me, in the more favourable version, saying:—

“ O Georgi Gilberte Scott,
Dum revolvis tot et tot,
Deus tuus est Sabaoth.”

Two more prelates succeeded, of whom nothing is told us relating to the church. During this period Norman architecture had been undergoing a gradual but radical change. I had the honour, two years back, at Canterbury, of reading a paper before this Institute on this

great transition in mediæval architecture, and I shewed that, while it had been going on for some time in England and in an English way, it was precipitated, and its manner changed in a French direction through the rebuilding by William of Sens of the choir at Canterbury. Unluckily, in this cathedral, we have no specimen of the earlier and more English phase of the transition. The cathedral was complete, and as yet unaltered, during its rise.

Bethune's two successors, Gilbert Foliot and Robert of Melun, had not seen French transitional art in an English building. The third, Robert Foliot (the friend of Becket), saw it, but as far as we know, was not architecturally disposed. The fourth, William de Vere, took more to my art. Godwin says of him, "Qui multa dicitur construxisse." Leland says: "As appears by his epitaph, he constructed many excellent buildings;" and his epitaph itself said: "Strenue rexit spatium xxx annis et multa edificia egregia per spatium construxit." Dean Merewether thus gives the epitaph, but he must have copied the number of years incorrectly, for De Vere ruled but fourteen years. As usual, we are not told what buildings these were: but, judging from style alone, we may fairly guess that the alteration of the east end of the cathedral was *his*. It *may* have been by his predecessor, who died just after the Canterbury work was done, but we do not hear of him as a builder; and De Vere reigning from 1186 (two years after the Canterbury choir was finished) to 1199—just the time of the two greatest transitional works in the west, Glastonbury and St. David's—is more likely to have been the promoter of this work, which displays some marked resemblances to both of those splendid structures. I may mention that the older abbey at Glastonbury had been burnt in 1186, the very year of De Vere's accession at Hereford. The few next years were devoted to the exquisite chapel of St. Mary, now known as that of St. Joseph of Arimathæa; while the last decade of the twelfth century saw the rise of the unequalled abbey church itself. The chapel is more Romanesque in its character than the church, though both alike display a refinement of detail and workmanship, and an artistic sentiment impossible to be excelled. They are the

right glorious cotemporaries of De Vere's work here at Hereford.

This work is in very fine transitional architecture, with a large supply of that rich semi-Norman decoration which characterises the two great works alluded to; yet with other features derived from France, and with evidences, such as the great projection of the foliage of the capitals, that it is not quite early in its style.

This great alteration consisted of the entire removal of the three apses, and the substitution of an eastern aisle, supplying the deficiency in the first scheme of a continuous aisle or ambulatory round the apse, and the adding to this aisle eastward a range of chapels.

I do not think that it was a part of De Vere's scheme to make what now take the form of eastern transepts. These, I think, resulted rather by accident from his plan. I rather imagine that an ambulatory and chapels were all he thought of. His scheme was some years later imitated on a less scale at Dore Abbey, where it takes the simpler form of an eastern aisle with five chapels, occupying only the width of the church. Here at Hereford either six chapels, or one wide central one and four narrower ones, two on either side, were aimed at; and as either the central *two* chapels or *one* occupied the width which at Dore Abbey is given to *three*, it followed that the scheme had to be extended in width to the north and south, which is clearly proved on the south side both by the base of the corner shaft, and by the remains of a transitional doorway at the extreme end of the ambulatory.

Whether this scheme embraced a *Lady Chapel* cannot now be ascertained; the division of the central space into two by columns is rather against it, while, on the other hand, the triple shaft on either side of the second bay, which by the ranging of its courses is shewn to belong to De Vere's work, shews that the central chapel or chapels were intended to go at least one bay eastward of the others. I think it probable that all the chapels gabled towards the east. It may be mentioned that, while the central bays were divided by single columns, the side chapels were separated by heavy piers.

The point most open to objection in De Vere's alterations was the blocking up of the fine eastern arch of the

presbytery, by which the interior was deprived of its culminating feature without the substitution of any thing in its place, and the beauty of the choir was most seriously damaged. The re-opening of this arch is a work of our own age, and has done much to remedy this radical defect.

We have now passed through what may be gathered of the cathedral's history through the Norman and semi-Norman period, and have arrived at the opening of the *great thirteenth century*; and here we must start afresh with, if possible, less direct information than we have hitherto found, though the church is rich in noble work of every part of the century, but every part left to tell its own tale, almost without the suggestion of a date.

I pass over, at present, the mere guess that the first bishop in this century, Egidius de Bruse, built the central tower (the predecessor of that which now exists), of this we have no other evidence, than that his reputed effigy holds the model of a tower in its hands. This certainly was not the *western* tower, as some have supposed, for no such structure existed before the 14th century; and, as to its being the central tower, I am content to say with Dr. Rawlinson, "which supposition I cannot altogether confide in, therefore must leave it dubious, till I am convinced by a more sufficient proof."

First of all, then, comes the noble Lady Chapel, wholly undated, and unappropriated to any founder. Mr. Gordon Hills seems to suppose it to have gone on continuously from Vere's time to its completion. The arguments in favour of this seem to be the transitional details of the porch leading down into its crypt, and also of the arcade of intersecting arches over the exterior of the windows. Against these evidences we have to balance, firstly, the circumstance that, though the porch leading to the crypt has unquestionably some transitional details, the crypt to which it leads has none. Secondly, there is a well defined break in the work inside after passing the triple vaulting shaft above named; for, while the courses of stone forming those shafts range with the courses of De Vere's work to the west, they are wholly disconnected from those of the Lady Chapel to the east. Thirdly, the mouldings and decoration of the ribs of the vaulting in

the Lady Chapel wholly differ from those of De Vere's work. Fourthly, the details generally of the Lady Chapel are not Transitional, but are developed Early English, and the same may be said of the crypt below it. I conclude, therefore, that, though the Lady Chapel is somewhat early in its style, a marked interval must have elapsed between the closing of De Vere's works and the beginning of the Lady Chapel. True it is that at Lincoln, Ely, St. Albans, and Winchester we find developed Early English work at the very beginning of the thirteenth century; but, nevertheless, where we have Transitional work of a very pronounced character up to the very end of the twelfth, we can hardly believe that the style at the same place suddenly changed without an interval. I will not, however, venture to assign it to any particular bishop. The bowing down of the vaulting upon the side wall, which necessitated the arcading over the windows, has an early look, yet, by no means, so early as to class it with Transitional work. I should call this work a fine design of the earlier period of Early English, though the details of the crypt seem too late even for this.

The next work I will call attention to is the clerestory of the presbytery. This is a specimen of very advanced Early English, the windows of which have what Professor Willis has named "plate tracery." It is not improbable that the original clerestory and vaulting had become damaged by the settlement of the tower; for one can hardly otherwise account for their having put themselves to the expense and inconvenience of reconstructing so important a part of the building. This raises the question, whether the central tower had been erected (or at least above the roof-line of the church) by Norman builders, or whether, as has been supposed, it was first built by Giles de Bruse, the first bishop in the thirteenth century; a question to which I shall have by-and-by to revert.

The style and details of this clerestory are peculiarly elegant. Curiously enough, its architect did not lose sight of the design of the Lady Chapel. His overhanging cornice is a beautiful translation of that of the Lady Chapel into a more advanced phase of the style, and the intersecting arcade of the upper part of the walls of the

older work—the result there of construction—is imitated by arcading of another design in the presbytery without any such necessity—merely, as it would appear, because they liked the look of it. On the whole, this work is a perfect specimen of the later form of Early English. Would that we had the smallest clue to its date or its promoter! It may have dated about 1240 to 1250.

We now arrive at a yet more marked era, in the architecture of our cathedral. The pointed style made its debut here in the transitional work of De Vere—transitional from the Romanesque or Norman. We now reach a second transition—that from Early English to Decorated, or from first to middle Pointed. The windows of the Lady Chapel are strictly lancet-shaped; those of the clerestory of the presbytery have plate tracery; but those of the part to which we now come,—the north transept,—have bar tracery, that is to say, tracery pierced in all its little spandrils and corners, so as not to look like a flat surface, perforated by ornamental openings, but rather like an ornamental pattern, produced by bending about the mullion or stone bar, so as to produce the pattern required. This invention was the Magna Charta of Gothic architecture, setting it free from all the trammels of its earlier years. This development had begun earlier in France than in England. We see it strongly suggesting itself in the later parts of Salisbury, about 1240; but it seems to have been first systematically adopted in this country—as the rule—in Westminster Abbey, begun in 1245, while we have in the Chapter-house at Westminster, which we know to have been finished in 1253, large four-light windows with perfected tracery.

The north transept here is throughout of this type. It does not look so early as the Westminster Abbey work in all respects; but that, having been a royal foundation, is *likely* to have taken the precedence of others in the march of development. Lincoln cathedral is perhaps the most parallel case, where the eastern limb was added in this style, between 1260 and 1280. The nave at Lichfield and that at Newstead are equally parallel to it, but I do not know their dates. The history of the see at about

this period is remarkable, and throws more perplexity perhaps than light upon the origin of this great work.

It was held from 1240 to 1268 by Peter de Aquablanc, a very turbulent foreigner, who came over in the train of William de Valence, half-brother of Henry III, of whose escapades we read so much in Mathew Paris, who, indeed, is equally uncomplimentary to our bishop. Aquablanc was a favourite of the king, but hated by the clergy. He was absent from England from 1250 to 1258 in the Holy Land and elsewhere. In 1264 the king, passing through Hereford, found there neither bishop nor clergy, and the church in a ruinous state; and was thereat so sorely enraged that, forgetting his former favouritism, he severely reprimanded the bishop by letter, threatening that, if he did not quickly return and mend his manners he would take the temporalities into his own hands. Aquablanc thereupon returned, but only to be taken prisoner and robbed of his wealth by the insurgent barons, who imprisoned him in the castle at Ordelay. He died in 1268 of a terrible complication of diseases, of which one was leprosy.

The great difficulty, if Aquablanc built this beautiful transept, is to imagine how he came to have either the will or the way; either inclination or time for such a work. The interval between his accession in 1240 and his absence in 1250 seems too early for its architecture. It would better suit the presbytery clerestory. He could not have built it, one would think, during his absence in the Holy Land, while only six years intervened between his return and the king's reprimand for leaving his cathedral in a ruinous condition, which seems inconsistent with the fact of so noble a work being in hand. Nor can we suppose he had time or money for it after being seized by the barons. Yet, that he *had* a hand in it is certain: His exquisite tomb—which we may be sure that no one would erect to such a man but himself—bears so close a resemblance to the architecture which overshadows it as to leave no doubt that they are by the same hand; indeed, I can point out details of the transept and the tomb which are *identical*, except in scale.

Need we, however, always suppose the bishops to be the originators of every work? Surely the deans and

chapters had a hand in many, and we know that in secular cathedrals the greater and lesser chapters were often severely taxed for the works in their cathedrals.

Now, we have clear proof that the central tower (whoever built it) had been giving way and crushing this transept; and it requires no stretch of fancy to think that the Chapter, though deserted by their Bishop, would set about the remedying of this serious danger. Perhaps the Bishop aided the funds, for we have no record, I think, that he was parsimonious, and he would naturally be stirred up by the royal reprimand; anyhow, he built his own monument in connection with the new work. Perhaps in 1264 it had fallen into neglect through the civil war, or perhaps was only then begun. The building itself shows evidence that it was not completed at one effort; for the lower stage of the buttress adjoining the nave was pushed severely out of the perpendicular by the continued subsidence of the tower, while its upper parts were built and remain vertical; and at the same level we find, in the north-eastern buttresses, a decided change of design; the lower stage having the bases of intended shafts, which were not carried out above. I shall shew also later on that the upper finish of these buttresses is twenty years later in date.

I conclude therefore that the lower part of the transept was carried out—probably by the Chapter—in Aquablanca's time, but that its continuation and completion were during the three succeeding episcopates, extending, probably, to about 1288.

The great faults of this design are the remarkable straight-sided form of the arches and the thinness of the details of the triforium, but, with these exceptions, it is an exquisite architectural design, deserving to be classed on equal terms with those I have enumerated. I mean Westminster, the "Angel Choir" at Lincoln, and the naves of Lichfield and Newstead; nor is Aquablanca's tomb surpassed by any of its period. He and his master William de Valence, however careless their lives, took care that their bodies should be sumptuously housed when dead. I may mention that we find work of precisely the same architecture in parts of Ledbury Church. We now arrive at another period in the history both of the see and the cathedral.

Aquablanca's successor, De Breton, was a man of character and ability, and though we hear nothing of him respecting the building, there can be no doubt that during the six years of his rule the north transept was proceeding towards completion. His successor, Thomas de Cantilupe, was a man of great family, great political position, and great piety. He was Chancellor of Oxford, and Lord Chancellor of England. We do not know of any architectural works in which, during the seven years of his episcopate, he was specially interested; but I think the transept was still in hand, as I find the marks of his successor's hand on its topmost stones. Cantilupe produced, however, greater impression on his cathedral after death than during his life; for dying in Italy in 1282, he was at once pronounced by his chaplain and secretary, Richard de Swinfield, who succeeded him, to be a saint, though the Popes hesitated another thirty years in formally assenting to it. Swinfield, after interring his flesh in Italy, brought his heart and his bones back to England; the former was deposited in the church of the college of Bonnes-hommes at Ashridge, in Buckinghamshire, and the latter in the Lady Chapel at Hereford. Some five years later the bones were enshrined and translated to the chapel of St. John the Baptist, in the aisle of the new north transept; partly, I dare say, built by himself, but not till then completed. The shrine, some sixty years later, was removed into the Lady Chapel. The document which records its translation also states that where it was, it interfered with the fabric of the church. I have not seen the *ipsissima verba*, and am not able to judge how it so interfered; but, in the absence of explanation, I fancy that the concourse of pilgrims in the centre of the church produced inconvenience, possibly through some repairs going on owing to the pressure of the tower. It remained there apparently till the sixteenth century, when it was brought back to its old place. Leland saw it in the Lady Chapel in Henry VIII's time, but Godwin saw it where it is in Queen Elizabeth's time.

It has ever since been undoubtedly acknowledged as the substructure of the shrine of Cantilupe, or St. Thomas of Hereford, till quite recently, when a doubt has by a

high authority, yet as I venture to think without sufficient grounds, been thrown upon it. The objections to it are, I think, the following:—First, it seems strange that, having first been erected in St. John's Chapel, and afterwards translated to the Lady Chapel, it should, when despoiled of its relics and its treasures, find its way back after two centuries to its old place. Secondly, its eastern end is plain, whereas in the Lady Chapel it would be exposed to view all round. Third, the paucity of ecclesiastical and the abundance of military emblems displayed in the work; for what, it is said, have the fourteen figures of knights which surround the lower stage of the monument to do with a bishop or a saint? It has consequently been suggested that it may be the substructure of St. Ethelbert's shrine.

I do not, however, think that these objections have much force as against the unbroken tradition of its belonging to the Cantilupe shrine. That tradition has—

First, the advantage of possession, which forms, to start with, "nine points in the law."

Secondly, there is the fact that on the marble slab round which the whole is constructed, and to which it is accurately fitted, is the matrix of the brass effigy, or at least the bust, of a bishop, and that slab is semée with the two cognizances of Cantilupe, the leopard's head, and the fleur-de-lis; the latter, it is true, not issuing from the mouth of the former, but separate, a liberty which, I dare say, an antiquarian herald would condone.

Thirdly, the plainness of the east end would naturally result from the monument having been first prepared for the place it occupies (or nearly so), not for its subsequent position in the Lady Chapel.

Fourthly, it is objected that we ought to find some work agreeing with the period (1350) of its translation to the Lady Chapel; but, curiously enough, such is the case, for the two arches of the upper range at the head differ in character from all the others in belonging to the later Decorated style. The original arches were probably broken by some accident during the removal, for we found in the floor near the monument a broken fragment of two original arches, which is now fixed for preservation against the foot.

Finally, the objection to the military figures vanishes instantly, before the explanation given by Mr. King in his history of the cathedral—that they represent knights templars, of whose order Cantilupe was provincial grand master.

We may, therefore, safely rest satisfied in the old tradition, that this is the *bonâ fide* substructure of the shrine of St. Thomas of Hereford, which was first set up by Bishop Swinfield in this place in 1288; afterwards translated by Bishop Trelick in 1350 to the Lady Chapel, and finally, removed to its old place, after having been deprived of the precious shrine it supported, and of the relics which that shrine contained.

But how, it may be asked, did they know its old place after its absence of two centuries? I would reply that Leland knew of this old position not long before its return to it, and that Dingley, in the seventeenth century, and Stukely, in the eighteenth, tell us of a painting in fresco of Cantilupe on the wall, at the foot of the monument, which would have remained all the time as a witness of the old position.

From its removal to this position, until Dean Merewether's time, was another interval of three centuries; yet, when he cleared away the library from the Lady Chapel, about 1842, he found in the floor the mark of Cantilupe's shrine. It consisted of a curb of stone level with the floor, fitted on its inner side to the shape of the shrine, and on its outer side, sunk or rebated to receive the encaustic tiles of the pavement. Many of these tiles remained cemented to the stone frame, and were deeply worn by the feet and knees of pilgrims. The dean had them removed and placed near the shrine in the north transept, from which position they were, in 1857, transferred for safe custody by Mr. Havergal to the present library, where these interesting relics may still be seen.

I will not attempt to describe the architecture of the shrine, as it may be itself inspected, but I will mention two or three circumstances about it:—First, it is quite in the style suited to its reputed date of 1287 or 1288. Secondly, it is *bonâ fide* the support of a precious shrine, to receive which, its upper surface is sunk about

one and a half inch, and in the corners of this sinking are still the irons by which that shrine was fixed. Thirdly, its details are so peculiar that a like piece of work by the same man may be readily recognized.

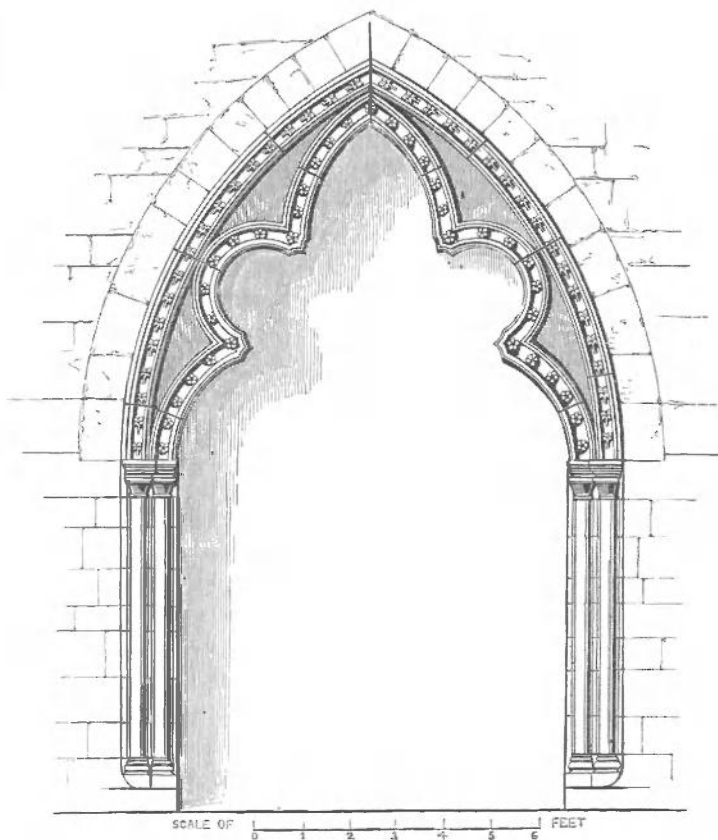
This brings us to the next architectural question : What other works did Bishop Swinfield carry out during the three and thirty years of his episcopate? I think I can detect some, at least, of his works. I have already stated that he finished the top of the buttresses of the great north transept. This is proved by their peculiar gabling, similar to that to the stair turret of the north porch, which I shall presently shew to be his.

There is, leading from the north porch into the nave, a doorway of remarkable design, especially as to the cusping of its arch. Of what age is that doorway? It (with the outer doorway of the same porch) contains both the conventional foliage of the Early English period and the crisp natural foliage of the Early Decorated, so admirably exemplified in Cantilupe's shrine. This affords a *prima facie* suggestion of its being by the same hand; but it does not exhibit the *studding* which characterises the mouldings of the shrine, suggesting their inlaying with gems.

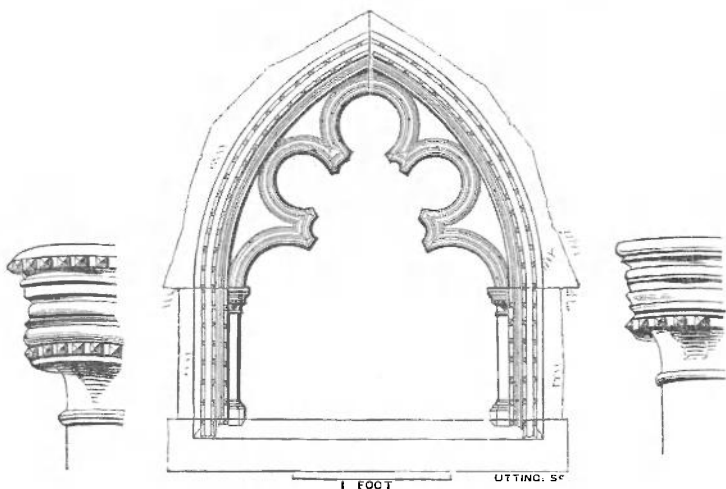
Now, at a church some fifteen or sixteen miles away, that at Grosmont, is a beautiful piscina, whose mouldings are *studded* or *gemmed* like those of the shrine, while its arch is decorated with cusping closely resembling that of the porch doorway. The one shews it, as I think, to be by the same hand with the shrine, the other to be by the same hand with the doorway; *ergo*, the doorway was by the same hand with the shrine.

Again, the coursing of the stone-work shows the porch and the entire aisle (so far as the original work remains) to be one and the same work; in confirmation of which we find the little capitals in the windows, both within and without, to have the same union of Early English and crisp Early Decorated foliage. It follows that the porch and the whole north aisle of the nave were built by Swinfield, and that in his earlier years, about 1288-90, when he constructed the shrine.

Again, the *south* aisle, though less ornate, is clearly of the same age or thereabouts; consequently Swin-



Doorway of North Porch.



Piscina at Gros-mont.

field rebuilt *both* the aisles of the nave. The north aisle does not course with the north transept, yet its base mould imitates it, though on another level. Probably the Norman aisles had given way, but Swinfield had another object in view. The old aisles were low, as we see by the weathering of the older roof against the side of the north transept. The new aisles were made so lofty as almost to include the triforium, as is shown in Hearne's view of the nave when in ruins after the fall of the west tower.

Did Swinfield, however, stop here? I think not; for, though later in the style, the aisles of the presbytery are in the main a carrying on of the design of those of the nave, and the same may be said of the north-east transept. I should therefore call the style of the nave aisles "Early Swinfield," and that of the presbytery aisles and the north-east transept "Late Swinfield," the latter term applying to the vaulting of the whole; for the foliage in the corbels of that to the nave aisles is not of the crisp kind of the earlier, but the softer type of the later variety of the style.

In the north-east transept is the monument which Swinfield, no doubt in his later days, erected to himself. In it we first find a profusion of the ball flower; and the foliage which ornaments the surface within the arch is of the softened form of his later style.

It is not improbable that we owe to him also that series of recessed monuments and effigies, by which so many of his predecessors are commemorated, in the walls of the presbytery aisles, though some of the effigies may be of later date, especially those which are not placed in these wall recesses.

This brings us down to the period of his death in 1316, with, however, the reservation of the question whether or not he had a hand in the rebuilding of the central tower, which Professor Willis seems to have thought.

Swinfield's successor was Adam de Orleton, who held the see from 1317 to 1327, when he was translated to Worcester and subsequently to Winchester. Two years after his accession, that is to say in 1319, one of the most remarkable circumstances in the whole architectural history of this church occurred. The Dean

and Chapter, backed by the sanction of the Bishop of Salisbury (the reason of which will immediately appear) petitioned the Pope to sanction the appropriation to the fabric of the church of the tithes of the parishes of Shinfield and Swallowfield in the County of Berks and Diocese of Salisbury, on the following grounds.—“That they (the Dean and Chapter) in past times, wishing to restore the fabric of the Church of Hereford, upon an ancient foundation, which, according to the judgment of masons or architects, who were reputed to be expert in their art, was thought firm and solid, had caused to be built many superstructures in sumptuous work, to the honour of the house of God, on the construction of which they had expended twenty thousand marks sterling, and more; and that owing to the weakness of the aforesaid foundation, that which had been built upon it now threatened ruin so severely that, according to similar judgment, there was no remedy to be had, unless the said fabric of the church were to be totally renewed. On account of which, and the expenses caused by the prosecution of the canonization of Thomas de Cantilupe of good memory, Bishop of Hereford, they were oppressed with various burdens of debt.” The Pope in a bull dated the following year, 1320, grants their request, accompanying it with the assurance of a special devotion to “the blessed Thomas the Confessor, whose venerable relics the church contained,” and whose canonization he had so tardily granted only in the same year, the thirty-eighth from his decease.

Now, this opens many and very complicated questions.

First, what were the buildings which had thus been erected on ancient foundations? Not the eastern chapels, for they were built on new foundations. Not the new aisles, for they had not given way. I can only conceive of its being the tower and the north transept, though, it is true, they may have casually thrown in other parts not exactly tallying with the premises, as a make-weight, just as they clearly exaggerated the circumstances in other respects, or we should now have no remains anterior to the bull of 1320.

Second, what was done with the funds thus obtained?

Third, was the existing tower built previously and

caused the failure, or was it rebuilt in consequence of that failure?

Fourth, had the Norman builders erected a tower? and, if not, had one been subsequently built, and by whom?

I will begin with the last questions.

There can be no doubt, from Professor Willis's description, that a tower had existed before the present one, for its weight had *bent down* the courses of stonework in the old parts below, which bending has been corrected in the later superstructure. This tower could hardly have been Norman, or it would not have been said to have been erected on ancient foundations; nor could it be the present tower, for that did not probably fail seriously till long subsequently. It was therefore of intermediate age. It was older than the north transept, for it had pressed hard upon that before it was raised to half its height. It may or may not have been older than the rebuilding of the clerestory of the presbytery. Its having bent that clerestory down by half a foot at least, looks at first sight as if the tower was of subsequent date; but, on the other hand, I can hardly think that the clerestory would have been rebuilt at all had the older one not have been ruined by the subsidence of the tower. I am, therefore, inclined to place it earlier, and this gives a colourable ground for the idea that it may have been built by De Bruse, whose later effigy holds in its hand what appears to be the model of a tower.

The architecture of the present tower is of a type common in the district. It seems intermediate between Early and Late Decorated, and is surcharged with ball-flowers. In this it agrees well enough with Swinfield's monument. It also agrees with the architecture of the south aisle at Leominster, to whose date I find no clue, and with a north chapel at Ledbury, built in honour of St. Catherine Audley, who lived there as an anchoress in the days of Edward II.

It further agrees in style with the south aisle at Gloucester cathedral, built by Abbot Thokey about 1318. It looks, however, just a shade later than this, so I conclude that it was set about as soon as they began to receive the funds granted them in the bull of 1320; and

this is confirmed by the circumstance that the piers were strengthened, and at least one adjoining arch of the nave altered for greater strength, in a style agreeing with that of the tower. There is no old material to be detected in the renewed superstructure, all having been built of new blockstone, to give strength to its studiously light construction. It was, I dare say, a work occupying some years, but I cannot quite agree with Mr. Hills in prolonging it to far beyond the middle of the century. Possibly the outlay he founded this conjecture upon may relate to the western tower, which was—likely enough—a subsequent imitation, probably for the reception of the bells.

The tower is of singularly beautiful design throughout. It has some features precisely like those in St. Catherine's Chapel at Ledbury, and some exactly like some in the south aisle at Leominster, and in the north aisle at Ludlow; so, if we knew their dates, we could get at a fair clue to that of our tower. It is also much like parts of some other churches in the district, especially at Weobley and at Badgworth in Gloucestershire.¹

Mr. Gordon Hills tells us that on the 14th of April, 1325, Bishop Orleton consecrated three altars in the church at Weobley, and that certain parts of this church have every appearance of having been rebuilt at that time; "and that the nave arcade is decorated with ball flowers placed in a hollow moulding on the arch precisely as in the tombs at the base of the work of Orleton's time in the cathedral." This is confirmatory of the supposition that the tower (which is full of ball flower) was begun at once after obtaining the bull in question, but rather against Mr. Hills' idea that it was still going on some forty years later.

Mr. Gordon Hills, however, produces a piece of evidence pointing the other way in the bequest of Bishop Charlton, who held the see from 1362 to 1369, to the fabric of the belfry of St. Mary's Church at Oxford, which in its upper parts is also replete with the ball flower. Now, Charlton's tomb is nearly Perpendicular in style; and I confess that it seems to me quite at variance with our evidences of the

¹ It also bears some resemblance to the upper stage of the south-western tower at Lichfield. The north-western tower

there has recently been proved to be a subsequent imitation.

progress of the Decorated style to carry a work of such early character on to the extreme verge of the duration of the style. There are at Westminster, York, and at Gloucester, as early as the time of this bishop, works in purely Perpendicular style, and when we come to think of the advanced Decorated of the Eleanor crosses in the last decade of the previous century; of the Lady Chapel at Chichester about 1308; of Prior Eastry's screens at Canterbury, 1304 (in which the lines of tracery are the same as in this tower); and of the Lady Chapel at St. Albans, in which we have flowing tracery filled with ball flowers before 1326, I cannot conceive that our tower work, which is so early in its appearance that Professor Willis places it quite early in the century, could have so lagged behind as to linger on till close upon its third quarter. Mr. Parker (whose absence, and yet more its cause, we all so deeply regret), thinks that the ball flower work in St. Mary's steeple was the work of Adam de Brom, the first provost of Oriel, who died in 1332; so that I feel convinced that it was not to that part of the campanile that Charlton's bequest of forty shillings (which he says he had promised) was devoted. The spire may have remained unfinished or been, as so often was the case, injured by lightning, and our Bishop may have promised a subscription.

The beautiful stall-work was of the late period of the Decorated style. It is of great delicacy and originality of design, and finely executed. The throne seems somewhat later, but is a very fine work.

We are now getting towards the end of the more interesting parts of the Cathedral history. The transformation of the south-eastern chapels into a transept was probably late in the fourteenth century, when the style had much deteriorated. Oddly enough, earlier windows were initiated; not those in the Cathedral, but perhaps those in St. Catherine's Chapel at Ledbury, though with a sad falling off in merit.

Not long after the same time the beautiful Chapter-house and its vestibule were erected, in which a great revival in artistic taste is evinced. It was built before 1375, because it contained in its vestibule, as Mr. Hills tells us, a monument of that date. The series of monu-

ments about this time is interesting, as shewing the gradual passing off from the Decorated to the Perpendicular style. I leave the elucidation of these, however, to my friend Mr. Havergal, to whom we owe so very much for the careful identification and replacing in their proper positions of such as had been removed about 1841, owing to the repairs of the tower and presbytery by Mr. Cottingham.

Bishop Travenant's monument may be mentioned as the earliest purely Perpendicular work in the cathedral, and because its erection was accompanied by the rebuilding of the south wall of the south transept. He died in 1404. Possibly he also vaulted this transept and the crossing. Sometime before 1438 William Lockard, the Precentor, introduced a large Perpendicular window in the west end. Bishop Spofford, 1421-48, is said to have expended 2800 marks on the buildings of his cathedral.

Towards 1474 Bishop Stanbury erected his beautiful chapel adjoining the north presbytery aisle. His monument is not in, but opposite it. The monument and its effigy are very fine works indeed. His chapel contains the effigy of Bishop Richard de Capella, whose monument, formerly in the aisle, had been displaced by the erection of this chapel. About 1500 Bishop Audley erected his chapel hard by the shrine of St. Thomas (Cantilupe) on the south side of the Lady Chapel. About 1520 Bishop Booth made a very beautiful addition to the north porch, with a chamber over it for the bishop's archives.

The later works to be recorded are rather works of deterioration than of improvement. Bishop Bisse early in the last century clothed the east end internally with work, of which, judging from the prints of it, even the Anti-Restoration Society can scarcely regret the loss; and, possibly about the same time, some futile attempts were made to remedy the failure of the central tower; works most successful in imparting hideousness to it, but utter failures as concerns strength.

Towards the close of the last century the western tower (an addition of the fourteenth century) shewed unmistakable symptoms of impending failure. More than one architect was consulted, and the worst advice accepted. On Easter Monday in 1786 it fell, bringing ruin upon

the adjoining parts of the nave. Its state after this catastrophe may be judged of by Hearne's view in his *Antiquities of Great Britain*, reproduced by Britton. James Wyatt was called in, and to him we owe the present western facade, probably the dullest piece of work to be found in any English cathedral, excepting perhaps the southern transept front at Chester. He shortened the nave by one bay; and, strange to say, took down the fine triforium and clerestory which remained to the bays which had escaped, and substituted for them a wretched design of his own, having no connection with any work in the cathedral.

In 1840 serious symptoms of failure were observed in and about the central tower, so that public meetings were held and definite steps taken. For a scientific description of these evidences of failure, I refer to Professor Willis' statement of 1841. Mr. Cottingham elaborately reconstructed the failing piers with (in great measure) the presbytery, and also the east end of the Lady Chapel externally, as well as repairing the work of De Vere behind the altar. At that time also the nave arcades were dealt with, and the very unsuccessful decoration applied to the vaulting of the nave and its aisles. Of the work since that time I will say nothing, but that I am myself responsible for it.

Having thus, hurriedly and with scanty materials, given an outline of the probable architectural history of the building, I will only add in recapitulation that few of our cathedrals contain a more perfect series of specimens of the different styles of English architecture. We have Norman—not in its earliest, but in its more perfected phase. We have the Transitional style in De Vere's work behind the altar, in the vestibule to the Lady Chapel. We have Early English in its earlier phase in the Lady Chapel, and its later phase in the clerestory to the presbytery. We have a noble specimen of that style in which perfected tracery is added to otherwise Early English work in the north transept and in Aquablanca's tomb; we have developed Early Decorated in the Cantilupe shrine, and the nave aisles; Decorated of one step later in the choir aisles, and another step later in the centre tower, and later yet in some minor features; we have

Early Perpendicular in the south wall of the south transept, later, in Stanbury's Chapel, later again, in the Audley Chapel, and later than all, yet still excellent, in Booth's porch.¹ So, were it not for the fall of the west tower and the consequent spoiling of the nave, few cathedrals would offer a wider field for study, as I hope will be found, when its work is examined on the spot.

Mr. Gordon Hills is of opinion that the high altar was not placed in the eastern bay of the presbytery, but that this bay was cut off by a screen, as at Westminster and St. Alban's, as a place for the shrine of St. Ethelbert. I am not able to form an opinion on this subject, but feel a difficulty in receiving it from the fact that, if such were the case, the approaches from the north and south to such chapel are shut off by the introduction of Stanbury's monument on the north and Bishop Matthews' on the south, leaving it to be approached only by the two doors in the altar screen, which seem suited only to the use of the clergy.

I will here mention that in the arrangement which existed till the repairs undertaken by Mr. Cottingham in 1841, the stalls were placed beneath the central tower, the eastern limb of the cross being the presbytery. I confess myself responsible for this change. No trace of the old arrangement remained when the work was entrusted to me, and for fifteen years the stalls had been stowed away in the crypt. At that time great stress was laid by ecclesiastical writers upon fitting the arrangements of our cathedrals to modern necessities, and at the same time to true church arrangement, making their choirs purely ecclesiastical, and opening out their naves to the uses of the congregation. I was strongly carried away with this theory, and on again fitting up the choir I limited it to the eastern limb, introducing an open instead of a close screen. I am not sure that I should do so were my time to come over again, but I do believe that the uses of the cathedral have gained by it.

[This paper was revised and corrected by its distinguished author a fortnight before his lamented death.]

¹ The date of the cloisters is uncertain. Some of their details resemble those of Stanbury's Chapel.