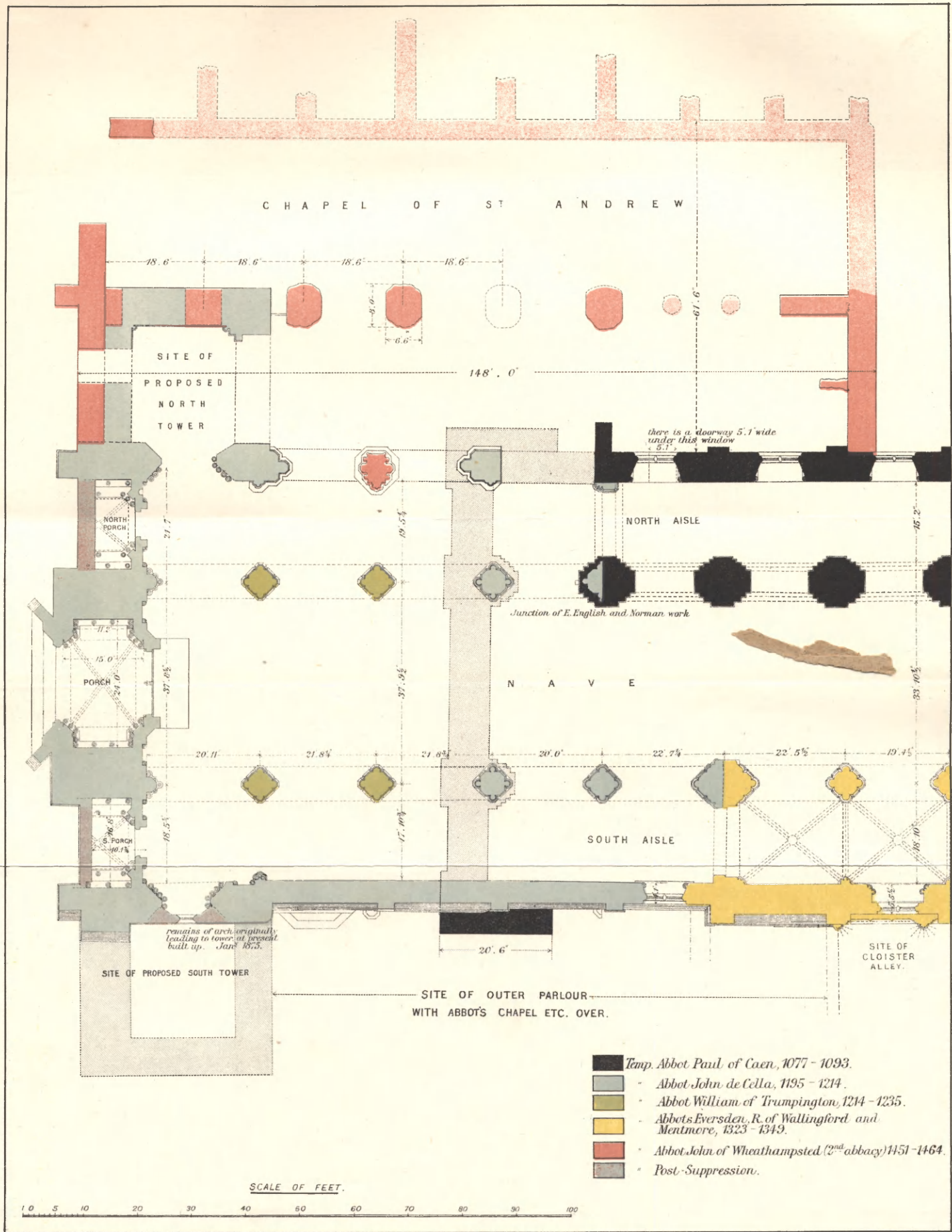


The Parochial Chapel of St. Andrew, formerly attached to
St. Alban's Abbey.

BY W. PAGE, F.S.A.

By those who have known St. Alban's Abbey since the recent alterations by Lord Grimthorpe, it will be remembered how untidy the north side of the churchyard, where the contractor's stone yard lay, remained for some time. The work of clearing up and turfing was at the beginning of last year, taken in hand by the Rev. G. H. P. Glossop, M.A., senior curate of the Abbey, who generously guaranteed the cost. During the progress of the work, the eastern wall of the chancel of St. Andrew's Chapel was discovered, and by the kindness of the rector and churchwardens, the Rev. Henry Fowler and I were permitted to make such excavations as we thought desirable. To keep on record what was discovered during these excavations I have brought together the few facts contained in this paper. The portion of the excavations with which I propose to deal to-night is that which revealed the ground-plan of the parochial chapel or parish church of St. Andrew, but prior to laying before you the information which I have gathered together regarding this church I want to say a few words about the hitherto unnoticed question of the origin and history of these parochial chapels which were attached to or adjoined very many of the larger Benedictine houses in this country. Among the examples of these churches may be mentioned St. Margaret's, Westminster, the Chapel of St. Faith, in Old St. Paul's, St. Nicholas, at Rochester, All Hallows, at Sherborne, St. Michael's Bedwardine, at Worcester, and St. Leonard's, at Romsey. Previous, however, to doing this, let me express any great indebtedness to my friend,



GROUND PLAN OF THE WEST END OF ST ALBANS ABBEY CHURCH.

Mr. St. John Hope, M.A., Assistant Secretary of the Society of Antiquaries, for much information and many suggestions upon this subject, and to Rev. Henry Fowler for kind assistance.

To understand clearly the origin of these parochial chapels we must go back to the early history of English Monasticism. As the word implies, the Monks or *Monachi* at first lived alone in outlying districts, like missionaries or hermits, and around them other fellow Christians afterwards settled, forming communities which were the principal factors in the conversion of Western Europe. It is probable that some of the English abbeys and priories had their origin in this way but most of the early Saxon Monasteries were founded at some existing church, in which the inmates served for the benefit of the laymen of the surrounding district, who were afterwards known as the parishioners, and in these churches, as a rule, the chancel became the monks' church and the nave that of the laymen. It is probably well known that the word parish at the date of which we are now speaking was used to denote a diocese. I mention this as the origin of the parish is an important question in investigating the history of these monastic parochial chapels.

Kemble in his "Saxons in England" (vol. ii. p. 430, etc.) intimates that the bishops governed their dioceses like large parishes receiving all the offerings of the laity, the priests, besides their glebes, having from the Bishop an allowance barely sufficient for their wants, but as more churches were built by the landowners, it became customary to allot the tithe or tenth of the produce of a certain district, usually corresponding in area with the manor, for the support of the priest. This district became the parish and the inhabitants of it acquired certain rights within the church.

It is a matter of some doubt and controversy whether the inmates of the early monasteries in this country lived according to any acknowledged rule. Shortly after the death of St. Benedict in about 542, the rule which he founded became for some three or four centuries the only recognized rule of the Western Church. As it originally stood, though strict, it was simple and fully answered the objects of its pious founder. The prin-

principles it enunciated were labour, prayer, and obedience, practically summed up in the motto of the order *Laborare est orare*. It is maintained by some that the English monasteries subsequent to the time of St. Augustine and prior to the Cluniac revival were of the Benedictine order, while on the other hand Dr. Stubbs, the Bishop of Oxford, tells us that the monachism in this country before St. Dunstan's time was not after the rule of St. Benedict.* The fact is that the history of the præ-Norman monasticism has yet to be written, the material is mostly now available and an exceedingly interesting history it would be. I am inclined myself to think that although the Benedictine rule may, to a limited extent, have existed in this country before the Danish invasion, after that event till the time of St. Dunstan it existed in little more than in name. From the description we have of Winchester, Abingdon, Glastonbury, and other monasteries in the tenth century, it appears that the monastic communities in this country, if one may term them so, were composed of secular priests and clerks who were in some cases married, and, as the Bishop of Oxford tells us, held their marriage vows in but light respect.†

When the endeavours of St. Dunstan, Oswald, and others to reform the monasteries by the introduction of regular monks, was being felt, difficulties arose with the laymen dwelling around such monasteries, who claimed certain rights in the churches. The case would not probably apply to any order, other than the Benedictine, as the Cluniac and Cistercian, which, according to date, were the next orders whose rules affected this country, were not established till after the parochial districts had been more or less defined, and care would be taken to exclude laymen from their churches. As time went on and the constitutions or the additional rules which were from time to time added at the meetings of the General Councils of the Benedictine order, made the monasteries more exclusive, their services more ornate, and what perhaps most concerns our present investigations, their processions more elaborate, these disputes became more frequent and acute, resulting eventually, in most cases

* Memorials of St. Dunstan (Rolls Series) Preface, p. lxxxiv.

† *Ibid.* p. cxviii.

during the fourteenth century, in the matter being referred to the Bishop and a composition or agreement being made between the monks and the laymen, when these parochial chapels were brought into existence.

We are fortunate in having full particulars of two of these disputes. In the case of the first, which occurred at Rochester, it appears that a quarrel had for a long time been going on between the Prior and Convent and the parishioners of the priory parish as to the use of the altar of St. Nicholas in the nave of the Cathedral Church, for the performance of Divine service by the parish chaplain. The prior and convent took the strong measure of removing the altar, which led, on the 6th April, 1312, to a composition between the disputants, whereby the Prior and Chapter undertook to build a church for the parishioners outside the Cathedral, to which the parishioners, on their parts, consented to transfer themselves. This composition, however, appears to have remained a dead letter for over a hundred years, as we find that in May, 1418, Richard Young, Bishop of Rochester, granted a licence to the parishioners to continue the services at the altar of St. Nicholas until a church had been built for them in the churchyard on the north side of the Cathedral, which church, when so built, was to be called the parish church of St. Nicholas, and was to be repaired and maintained by the parishioners in the usual way. The Prior and Chapter later protested against building the church, and in the proceedings it is stated that the parishioners were anciently accustomed from all time of memory to have a vicar who undertook the cure of the parishioners at the altar of St. Nicholas. The matter culminated in an ordinance by the Archbishop of Canterbury, in which he declared that the parishioners should have power to build at their own cost a church or chapel in the churchyard of the Prior and Chapter on the north side of the same, upon the lines of a church which had apparently been commenced. The church so built was to be called the church or chapel of St. Nicholas. It was to have a *vestibulum* for the vestments, books and ornaments of the church, a belfry at the north-west corner, the bells within which were only to be rung at certain restricted times. The parishioners were to

have the right of burial within the church, and the space called le Grenechurch Haw, between the north wall of the Cathedral and the south wall of the church and in the churchyard adjoining the church. The Vicar and parishioners might have their processions in their parish church, and beginning in the chancel of the same, going out of the west door they might turn to the right, round the north and east walls of the church, then down the ground between the two churches, called le Grenechurch Haw, and so round again to the west door, but the parishioners were not to process till the prior and convent had finished their procession. The parishioners were to keep their church in repair and pay to the prior and chapter 40s. a year. The question of tithes was left till the Archbishop had more leisure to consider it. The parishioners renounced all claims to any rights in the Cathedral church in 1423, and in December of that year, licence for the consecration of the new church was granted.*

The second example we have of a like dispute occurred at Sherborne, in Dorsetshire. It appears that a baptismal font had existed in the priory church from its foundation, at which every infant of the town of Sherborne had received baptism. The parishioners, however, had a chapel, dedicated to All Hallows, attached to the west end of the nave, in which they held their services, but the chapel was without the parochial rights of baptism and burial. The parishioners, early in the fifteenth century, set up a font in their chapel, whereupon a quarrel arose between them and the monks. To settle this and other points in dispute, Robert Nevill, Bishop of Salisbury, visited Sherborne in 1437, and decided that the new font should be removed, that the ringing of bells by the parishioners, another cause of grievance, should be restricted to certain hours, and a screen set up, cutting off the monastic church from the remainder of the nave. This, however, did not end the quarrel, and in the violence of the dispute the parochial chapel was burnt. The monks eventually, in order to get rid of the parishioners, gave in, and All Hallows became fully

* Registrum Roffense, p. 563, &c.

a parish church. Like St. Andrew's it was destroyed at the dissolution and the monastic church was made parochial.†

As one would naturally expect, the parochial chapels were usually on the north side of the monastic church, the buildings of the monastery generally occupying the south side. Nearly all of them, too, were of the Decorated or Perpendicular periods of Architecture, being either founded or rebuilt at those times. It must also be borne in mind that at some of the monastic churches the parishioners continued to hold their services in the naves which remain the parish churches to the present day, the chancel or monastic part of the church having been pulled down at the Dissolution, as we see at Dunstable and elsewhere.

Let us now turn to the case of St. Andrew's Chapel. St. Alban's Abbey, as is well known, was founded by Offa, King of Mercia, in 793, whether at an existing church or not is a matter of some speculation, and whether that possibly existing church was dedicated to St. Andrew, the patron Saint of many churches built upon hills, I must leave to further speculation of others.‡ Of the præ-Norman Church we know comparatively little. That it was divided into two parts we gather from an entry in the *Gesta Abbatum*, where it is stated that Abbot Wulnoth, the 4th Abbot, instituted semi-secular nuns (*sanctimoniales semiseculares*), who, we are told, were to hear daily mass *in majori ecclesia*. This greater church, I imagine, was the nave, where would be the altar (probably dedicated to St. Andrew) for the use of the lay congregation. From the same source we learn that about the middle of the 10th century, Abbot Ulsinus encouraged persons to settle at St. Albans, and founded the churches of St. Peter, St. Stephen, and St. Michael. As the question of tithes would arise at this time, the formation of parochial districts would be made, and that of St. Andrew, or what we now know

† Sherborne Minster, by Rev. R. Willis, M.A., F.R.S., *Archæological Journal*, xxii., 179.

‡ It is, perhaps, worthy of consideration whether the arms of the Abbey, *azure, a saltire or*, or St. Andrew's Cross may have been adopted at a time when the knowledge of an early church, dedicated to St. Andrew, existed.

as the Abbey parish, being surrounded by the three other parishes, must then have been defined, and the inhabitants of it would have had their own vicar or warden as he was called, serving in the Abbey Church.

I have found nothing further bearing upon our present subject till the time of St. Dunstan, who by authority of the Pope held a Council on 29th February, 992, for the reformation of clerks. Several ordinances were then made for the better living of the clergy, and under these, many monasteries were reformed, amongst them being the Abbey of St. Alban, where, we are told by Mabillon in the *Acta Sanctorum*, Dunstan procured Ælfric to be appointed Abbot. It is curious that there is no reference to such a reformation in the *Gesta Abbatum* in which the only information we have about Abbot Ælfric is that he purchased the Fishpool from the King. Considering, however, that Ælfric was the intimate friend of Dunstan, was probably with him at Abingdon and became a successor to him on the Archiepiscopal Chair of Canterbury, and that the life of St. Dunstan is dedicated to him, the statement by Mabillon seems likely to be correct. Besides which, Ælfric was a man to carry out reforms, being a strict regular and the compiler of the canons bearing his name which are printed in Spelman's Councils.

It is probable that the inconveniences of the presence of the parishioners in the Abbey Church first made themselves apparent at St. Albans at this time and when Abbot Paul de Caen, some eighty or ninety years later, introduced the Constitutions of Lanfranc and other reforms, these inconveniences probably became more pronounced.

It is after the time of the rebuilding of St. Alban's Abbey, by Abbot Paul de Caen, that we first hear of St. Andrew's Chapel, when from an entry in the *Gesta* we find it was dedicated by Herbert de Losinga, Bishop of Norwich, who held that see from 1094 to 1119. We can only speculate as to the size and position of this Norman Chapel, for we found, so far as we could ascertain, no definite remains of it during our excavations. The westernmost of the Norman doors in the wall of the north aisle of the Abbey probably led into it, and possibly the fourth buttress from the west end may be the remains of its western wall.

It is pretty clear, however, that the Norman Chapel of St. Andrew had but a very short existence, and that to rebuild it formed a part of Abbot John de Cella's elaborate scheme for altering the western end of the Abbey Church. This is shown by the easternmost of the two bases of the arches which formed the arcade between the Abbey Church and St. Andrew's, and which were brought to light some years ago, in the north west wall of the north aisle of the Abbey, but now are unfortunately hidden. By the drawing of this base shown in Mr. Neale's plan of the Abbey, and which will be seen on the plan accompanying this paper, there can be little doubt that it corresponded with the Early English bases of the western nave arches, and was probably built at the same date.

We know very little more of the Early English Church of St. Andrew than we do of the Norman. That it extended past the westernmost Norman door in the north aisle, seems clear from the description of the burial-place of William Wyghtman, who died in 1432, before the re-building of the Chapel in Abbot Wheathampstede's time, and it is stated, was buried near the middle door leading towards the chapel of St. Andrew, before the image of St. Richard.* The west end was probably in a line with the west front of the Abbey Church, being divided therefrom by an arcade of three bays and the tower arch to the west. How far north it extended it is difficult to say; the remains of the wall on this side, so far as they have been brought to light, having revealed little as to their date.

There were three stone altars in the Early English chapel, according to the survey of 1428, printed and annotated by our late fellow, Mr. Lloyd. The middle one, we are told, was dedicated to St. Andrew, another to the Blessed Mary, and the third to St. Nicholas.† Beyond this we have no more exact description of their position. It has been suggested by Mr. Hope that possibly the portion of the north aisle of the Abbey Church from the Norman arch crossing it, westward,

* See Wills at Somerset House, Archdeaconry of St. Alban, Stoneham, fol. 18, and Lloyd Altars, etc., in St. Alban's Abbey, p. 15.

† *Johannis Amundesham Annales* (Rolls Series), I. App., 448.

formed the south aisle of St. Andrew's Church. In favour of this suggestion we have a bequest by Alice atte Welle, about 1454, to St. Andrew's Chapel, in which the chapel is described as situate within the nave of the Abbey Church* (*infra navem ecclesie situate*), and in the will of Thomas Gryme of 1450, it is described as in the monastic church of St. Alban.†

The subsequent history of St. Andrew's Chapel is principally drawn from the wills of parishioners amongst the wills of the Archdeaconry of St. Alban, now preserved at Somerset House. From them we learn that there were in the Church two lights, one dedicated to St. Mary, and the other to the Holy Cross, and to these there are numerous bequests. In 1454 there is mention of the light of the Holy Trinity in the will of Thomas Taylor.

The Chapel of St. Andrew was rebuilt during the second Abbacy of John Wheathampstead. The earliest reference I have come across to the rebuilding is in the will of Joan West, dated 1441, in which she leaves 6s. 8d. to the fabric of the Chapel of St. Andrew, if it should happen to be built anew.‡ Again, James Eyres, a baker of St. Albans, left in 1447, a legacy in exactly the same terms. Coming later we find that Thomas Makyn, in 1454, left 13s. 4d. as a contribution to the new building of his Parish Church of St. Andrew the Apostle in the town of St. Alban. In the same year Alice atte Welle left seven marks towards making a pillar in St. Andrew's Chapel. It is evident, therefore, that the work of re-building the chapel was commenced in 1454, and from this date down to 1462 there are frequent

* Liber Benefactorum, Nero D. vii., fol. 157. This note was kindly given by the Rev. H. Fowler, M.A.

† Wills, Archdeaconry of St. Alban, Stoneham, fol. 60a. In further corroboration of this, Mr. John Harris, C.E., of Hemel Hempstead, kindly writes to me that about 1861, Dr. Nicholson opened up the west end of the north aisle of the Abbey Church, which showed that the Early English level at the west end of the Abbey Church which was also the level apparently of St. Andrew's Chapel, before the re-building in the 15th century, was maintained up the north aisle to the arch which crosses this aisle at the fourth pier; the level of the nave being approached by five steps under this arch, and on the north side of the nave arcade.

‡ Wills, Archdeaconry of St. Alban, Stoneham, fol. 87.

bequests, generally to the fabric of the new Parish Church, or the new building of the nave of St. Andrew. In and after 1462, the bequests are to the repair of the Parish Church or Chapel, rebuilt or lately rebuilt. The fabric of the Church seems to have been completed in this year, when from the will of Nicholas Warner, we find the high altar, dedicated to St. Andrew, was being rebuilt. There can be little doubt that the chapel of St. Andrew was practically rebuilt in the Perpendicular Style at this date, and it is the foundations of this church which we excavated in the summer of last year. The entry in the register of Abbot John Wheathampstead referring to this event runs as follows:—
 “He* caused to be destroyed and pulled down the mean, old, and ancient chapel of St. Andrew, situated towards the north at the west end of the Church and caused to be erected anew another large enough and more pleasing to God and all people,” and towards the erecting and building of this chapel beyond the timber for the roof, and stone from the quarry, he gave and contributed every year in which it was being done, 10 marks of gold, and above this he procured very many other things to enlarge the same building.

In further evidence that the chapel was almost entirely rebuilt, I may state that we found stones with Decorated mouldings used as rubble in the east wall of the Chancel, and in the foundations of two of the nave piers we found used in like manner both Early English and Decorated mouldings. With regard to the size of the church as it will bring it more forcibly before us, I may say that it approximately corresponded in length and breadth with St. Peter's Church as St. Peter's now exists. The actual dimensions will be found on the accompanying plan.

Let us attempt to describe the interior of St. Andrew's Chapel. Entering the church by the principal door at the west end of the nave, we should walk into what is called in the will of Alice atte Welle, the *vestibulum*, or entry which was on the site of the north-west Early English Tower of the Abbey Church, begun by Abbot John de Cella, but never completed. Here we should be about

* Registrum Abbatie Johannis, Whethamstede secundæ, I., 427.

2ft. 6in. below the level of the nave and north aisle, and on the same level as the lower part of the west end in the Abbey Church; immediately on the south side would be the Early English tower arch corresponding to that now in existence on the south side of the Abbey. On the north side would be the Early English Ashlar seating, the top of which is still visible in the churchyard. We should at the east end of the tower foundations go up about five steps into the nave,* on the south side of which would be the arcading of four bays, including the tower arch, into the north aisle of the Abbey, the easternmost arch being probably Early English, and the two middle arches Perpendicular, judging from the bases shown by Mr. Neale in his plan of the Abbey. The nave of the chapel would be divided from its north aisle by an arcade of five bays about 18ft. 6in. from centre to centre, probably very like the nave arcading in St. Peter's Church, but the arches of a slightly greater span. The foundations of the first pier of this arcading from the chancel arch, appear to have been grubbed up as we could not find any traces of them, but the foundations of the second and third piers were laid bare. The fourth pier and the western respond, were built upon the tower foundations. The north aisle was only about a foot less in width than the nave, and was probably lighted by five Perpendicular windows. By the foundations of the pavement we found there was a gradual rise in the church from west to east. The chancel arch would have been about eighteen or twenty feet in span, a little more than that of St. Peter's. From the nave into the chancel there would have been two or three steps at which was evidently one of those beautifully carved perpendicular screens and rood lofts, for I find numerous legacies towards the cost of the rood loft in wills dated from 1466 to 1472. On the south of the chancel was the old Norman door leading into the north aisle of the Abbey Church, the window above, and the next one eastward to it being included within St. Andrew's Church. At the east end was the high altar dedicated to St. Andrew,

* The level of the nave appears to have been heightened when the church was re-built.

the floor level of which we found was raised about a foot above the rest of the chancel, and over the altar there would probably have been a large Perpendicular window. On the north of the chancel was a chapel, probably dedicated to St. Mary Magdalene, as that is the name of the only chapel in St. Andrew's Church, of which I have found definite mention, and the bequests to it in the St. Albans wills are very numerous.† The chapel was divided from the chancel at the east-end by a wall about 13ft. long, westward of which was an arcade of three bays. As the ground between the chancel arch and the wall of the north aisle was full of burials, we were unable to ascertain what foundations were there.

From the wills before mentioned I find, besides the high altar, that there were altars dedicated to St. Katherine and the Virgin. I have been unable to assign a position to the former, but I find the latter, which was also called the charnel altar, is described as near the pulpit which formerly implied the rood loft, where I find mention of Our Lady Light. I have also noticed this altar described as Our Lady Altar next the High Altar. From the same source, I find reference to the image‡ of St. Anne and the lights of St. John the Baptist, of the Holy Trinity, of St. Mary, also called the Tanners' light, and the light before the image of the Blessed Mary placed at the west end of the south wall of St. Andrew's Chapel, the light and image of St. Katherine, the Bachelor's light, and the light of the Holy Rood. Towards the perpetual maintenance of the last-mentioned light, Nicholas Jeffry, in 1504, left a tenement called the Harp, in St. Andrew's parish, upon condition that no manner of person should ask, pay, or receive any manner of sum of money or other thing, being little or much, of any person of what degree or condition he be, within the parish or without, for any part of the same Rood light, but that it may be evermore

† I have found a single reference to a light in the chapel of St. John, but it is not quite clear whether this chapel was in the Abbey or St. Andrew's Church.

‡ The word image is constantly used by mediæval writers for a pictorial representation of a figure.

maintained with the profits coming and growing from the said tenement.* I also find mention of the Processional Alley or space in front of the Rood screen.

The Church was paved and some stalls or pews were erected in 1475 and 1476. Richard Hyndmarsh had previously in 1464, devised a legacy towards a seat for the poor. In 1478 I find legacies for the purchase of a new silver cross, described also as the great cross, which was probably the Rood. And, again, from 1505 to 1508, there are several legacies towards re-roofing the church with lead, while in 1515 we have a bequest towards a pair of new organs.

We can form a very fair idea as to the external appearance of the Perpendicular church. At the west end there were probably two gables, one at the end of the chancel and the other at the end of the north aisle. At the north-west corner I think there may very probably have been a turret or belfry, the foundations of the west and north walls appear to have come to an abrupt end near here but owing to the pathway and burials we were unable to continue our excavations. There seems to have been some building on the north of the aisle, judging from the extension of the buttresses on that side, but in consequence of the burials here we could not ascertain what this was.

I might perhaps mention that about in a line with the north wall of St. Andrews eastward I came upon the remains of what might have been the foundations of a mud wall. They were about 8ft. in width and about 1ft. in depth, and consisted of a sort of loose concrete composed of broken tiles, flints, and lime. They extended from close to the north-east corner of St. Andrew's to within about 10ft. of the line of the west wall of the north transept, where they turned northward for about 49ft.

The ecclesiastical staff consisted of a vicar, usually called the warden or *custos* of St. Andrew's parish, who took the lesser tithes, while the abbot as rector received the greater tithes. To assist the Vicar, there were Priests or Chaplains varying in number from two at the beginning of the fifteenth century to four at the end

* Wills, Archdeaconry of St. Alban, Wallingford, fol. 125.

of that century, one of whom was probably the Sub-Warden. There were also a parish clerk and four *parvi clerici* or singing boys. I find also mention of two guilds or fraternities in the Church, that of St. John the Baptist first appears in 1485 and that of St. Clement and St. Katherine in 1491, each of which guilds had its own priest.

Between the parishes of St. Andrew and St. Peter there seems to have been a very close connection. The Vicar or Warden of St. Andrew's had certain rights in the Charnel Chapel in St. Peter's Churchyard, and from the beginning of the fifteenth century till its destruction, there was no churchyard available for burial attached to St. Andrew's. Occasionally the more important parishioners were buried either in the Abbey Church or in St. Andrew's, but ordinarily the parishioners were buried in St. Peter's Churchyard, in what is frequently referred to in the wills as the common burial belonging to the parishioners of St. Andrew's within St. Peter's Churchyard. In the earliest parochial register of St. Alban's Abbey there is a reference to a composition or agreement made between the parishioners of both parishes with regard to this matter.

In 1478 licence was granted by the Abbot of St. Alban's to N—— H——, Chaplain of the King's Chapel and Warden of St. Andrew's to absent himself from his cure at St. Andrew's while he was the King's Chaplain, and to receive the fruits and profits of the same upon condition that the parishioners should not be defrauded of divine services nor the cure of souls neglected. There seems to have been some conflict of opinion between the monks and the parishioners as to the rights of the former with regard to their processions, for it was especially stipulated in the licence that the services in St. Andrew's should be so modestly conducted that the monastic choir while making processions in the Abbey Church should not be disturbed by the services in the Chapel. Processions, both in the Conventual and Parochial Churches, seem to have been at this time an especial feature in the ecclesiastical services. It was also provided that the 20 marks yearly paid by the Warden should be continued.†

† Wallingford's Register (Rolls Series) II., 179.

There is little further that I have come across about the history of St. Andrew's church, till we come to the time of the religious changes in the reign of Henry VIII. About 1535 a certain Mr. Wakefield who had been chaplain to Cranmer, was appointed Vicar of St. Peter's church. It appears that he was an earnest preacher of God's word, according to the king's interpretation for the time being, and set forth plainly, we are told, how the people had been deceived by the Bishop of Rome, "so that everyone might perceive and smell the same," where it not, however, for the crafty juggling of Sir Thomas King, the Warden or Vicar of St. Andrew's, and his priests. Two worthy citizens of St. Albans, Thomas Skypwirth and Gregory Waren, took the matter in hand and laid an information against King with Archbishop Cranmer, who examined him upon certain articles. These articles were under three heads, firstly for saying the King's marriage with Anne Boleyn was null and void, and Katherine of Aragon was the true Queen; secondly, for taking a book out of the hands of a priest called Walter, in defence of the marriage, and saying it was heresy; and thirdly for persuading the people that they were bound under pain of damnation to obey the Pope. After the examination, King expressed an opinion that Cranmer was a man of small learning, and could not answer him on such points of Scripture as he brought forth in his defence. A difficulty, however, arose as to the Archbishop's jurisdiction, St. Albans being exempt from episcopal visitation, and an appeal was made to Cromwell, as Vicar-General, to punish King and his priests as an example to others; for, wrote Skypwirth and Waren—"we hope you will appoint true preachers amongst us, certifying you that with the exception of the Archdeacon, a monk of St. Albans, and Mr. Wakefield, there is never one to our knowledge, within this liberty, that manifests the full truth in their preaching, but rather smelleth of their old mumpsimus. So the people are in doubt whom to believe."* What happened to Thomas King, the warden and his priests, I have not discovered.†

* Letters and Papers, Henry VIII., Vol. VIII., No. 406, 407, 589.

† Mr. John Harris states, that Thomas King was in 1543 Vicar of St. Michael's, St. Albans.

The affairs of the St. Andrew's Church were now getting into a bad state. St. Alban's Monastery was dissolved in 1539, and in the same year it was proposed to make the Abbey the seat of a new diocese in Henry's great scheme for founding new bishoprics. With the dissolution of the monastery the income of St. Andrew's Chapel appears to have dwindled away, and we learn by the Chantry Certificate* that in 1548, the houseling people belonging to the said Chapel were estimated at the number of 1,000 and above, to attend upon whom the number of priests had been reduced to one. The origin of the decay of the Chapel is to be traced to the practice adopted by the Abbots of St. Alban's, to let out on farm or for a yearly rent, the Wardenship or Vicarage of St. Andrew's, the Warden making what he could by the tithes, and offerings of the parishoners. Thomas King, the Warden above referred to as of papistical proclivities, was a farmer or *mercenarius* of the Chapel, and again in 1541, we find William Bolton, clerk, was the farmer of the Chapel, and paid a rent of 13*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* a year, out of which he deducted 12*s.* for wine and bread for the sacrament, and 3*l.* 14*s.* 2*d.* for repairs to the Chapel.† So long as the Abbot let out the Chapel, his tenant was usually a cleric, but after the dissolution of the monastery we find in 1548 that the officers of the Court of Augmentations had let to farm the Chapel to Thomas Chadesley, who was the innkeeper of the Fleur de Luce Inn, at the annual rent of 13*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* Thomas Chadesley found he had not made a profitable bargain, for finding himself incapable of performing the duties of both innkeeper and Vicar, he had to procure assistance in the latter office, and we are told by the Commissioners for surveying the Chantries and like foundations, that "forasmuch as the whole profit belonging to the said benefice consisteth only in privy tithes, which by the poverty of the people, or else by the coldness of their devotions, as it is alleged, amounteth to so small a portion that it will scanty pay the wages of the priest, being but the sum of 20 nobles by the year ;" therefore this matter was to be referred to

* Chantry Certificate, Herts, 27, No. 16.

† Mins. Acct. 32-33 Henry VIII., No. 71.

the officers of the Court of Augmentations.* Chadesley who found the management of the Church less profitable than that of his inn, at the termination of his lease represented to the officials of the Court of Augmentations the losses he had incurred by his speculation, and on 24th November, 1550, he obtained a decree to the following effect:—that whereas Thomas Chadsley, late farmer of the Chapel of St. Andrew, within the town of St. Albans, is indebted for 93*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* for arrears of rent, being behind 7 years, the said farmer represents he is unable to pay the same arrears because by means of the dissolution of the Monastery of St. Albans, the profits of the said Chapel were decayed. Upon examination whereof it appeared that the commodities, emoluments and profits whereupon the rent of the said Chapel should arise and be levied, did yearly come and grow by means of the family and household of the said late monastery, which said family and household during the time the said monastery did continue, did not only come to the said Chapel, and there were bounden to receive their sacraments and sacramentals, and pay their usual offerings, as in parish Churches was used and accustomed, but also the said farmer before the suppression had yearly for the finding of the priest serving the cure in the said Chapel, certain allowances amounting to the value 13*l.* 11*s.* 4*d.* a year, and forasmuch as the profits coming from the said Chapel since the dissolution, had not amounted, nor now the lease being determined, would amount to the charges of the priest there, it was ordered that the said farmer be discharged from such arrears.†

The days of St. Andrew's Chapel were now numbered. After Chadsley's lease had expired, a chaplain appears to have been put in and we find by the returns of the Crown ministers that from 1550 to 1552 there were no profits from the said chapel because the Chaplain

* Chantry Certificate, 27, No. 16.

† Aug. Off, Decrees, XV., 142. In Thomas Chadsley's petition (Aug. Off, Proc. 31, No. 68.), it is stated that the profits of the Chapel had decreased because a great part had been drawn from the ministers and inhabitants of the monastery, and the priest had been accustomed to have meat and drink, bread, wax, and wine from the Abbey, and the Abbots were accustomed to repair the Chancel of the Chapel. All which had determined by reason of the dissolution of the said Monastery.

received all the issues, which were insufficient to maintain him.‡ Subsequent to this latter date all mention of St. Andrew's Chapel in these accounts ceases. On 13th May, 1553, St. Alban's Abbey Church, which must have remained unused for about fourteen years, was purchased from the Crown by the Corporation of St. Albans, according to the enrolment of the Letters Patent for the sum of 40*l.*, but according to other documents for 400*l.*, and was to be made the parish church for the inhabitants of the late parish or chapel of St. Andrew. The new parish, which was to be called that of St. Alban, was to be co-extensive with the old parish of St. Andrew, the site of the old chapel and the churchyard being granted with the Abbey Church, which was at the same time made into a rectory.§

As St. Andrew's in this charter is spoken of as the late church, it may be inferred that it was pulled down between Michaelmas, 1551, when there is a return for it on the Ministers' Accounts, and May, 1553, the date of the charter. When St. Andrew's was destroyed, it of course became necessary to take away the arcade between the Abbey Church and the Chapel. A blank wall was therefore erected and in order to bring it out to the north-west corner of the Abbey Church it was built at a slight angle to the remainder of the north wall. This wall was re-built by Lord Grimthorpe and the windows inserted.

Appended to this paper I have given a list of the Vicars or Wardens of St. Andrew's.

‡ Mins. Accounts, 3-4 Edward VI., No. 25; and 4-5 Edward VI., No. 22.

§ Charter of Incorporation of the Mayor and Burgesses of St. Albans. Pat. 7 Edw. VI. p. 3 m (1).

VICARS OR WARDENS OF ST. ANDREWS.*

John Willy, described as late Vicar of the Church of St. Andrew, St. Albans, in 1386-7 (Feet of Fines, Herts, 10 Rich. II., No. 82).

Geoffrey Filldene is given as vicar in 1415 by Mr. John Harris in an article contributed by him to the *Herts Advertiser* on 19th of September, 1896. Geoffrey Felydene, Vicar of St. Peter's, formerly warden of St. Andrew's, ob. 1426. (Amundesham I. 9).

John Beulee mentioned as warden 1417, 1421, afterwards Vicar of St. Peter's.

John Trylle mentioned as warden, 1428 to 1433. He became perpetual curate of St. Stephen's and Master of St. Julian's Hospital and died in 1449 (Wills, Arch. of St. Albans, Stoneham, 59).

Benedict Edrych, mentioned as warden in 1438 to 1473. He died in 1476 and directed that his body be buried in the chancel of St. Andrew's Church (*Ibid*, Wallingford, No. 23).

N.—H—, the King's Chaplain, mentioned as warden in 1478. Had licence to absent himself from his cure, which was probably undertaken by Richard Walshale, who is described in 1479 as sub-warden (Wallingford's Register, pp. 179, 191)

William Wooderof mentioned as warden in 1507.

Richard Cokkes, described as warden in 1509.

John Basse, mentioned as warden 1510 to 1519.

Thomas King, described as warden or farmer in 1531 and 1535.

William Bolton, warden or farmer in 1541, 1542.

George Wetherall, the first Rector of St. Alban's Parish Church in 1553.

* The names and dates in this list are principally taken from the Wills of the Archdeaconry of St. Alban, in which bequests to the Vicars are frequent. Mr. Harris, in his article above alluded to, states that Richard Walshale was Vicar in 1478, and resigned in 1482. He also gives Giles Ferrars as Vicar, apparently between Thomas King and William Bolton.