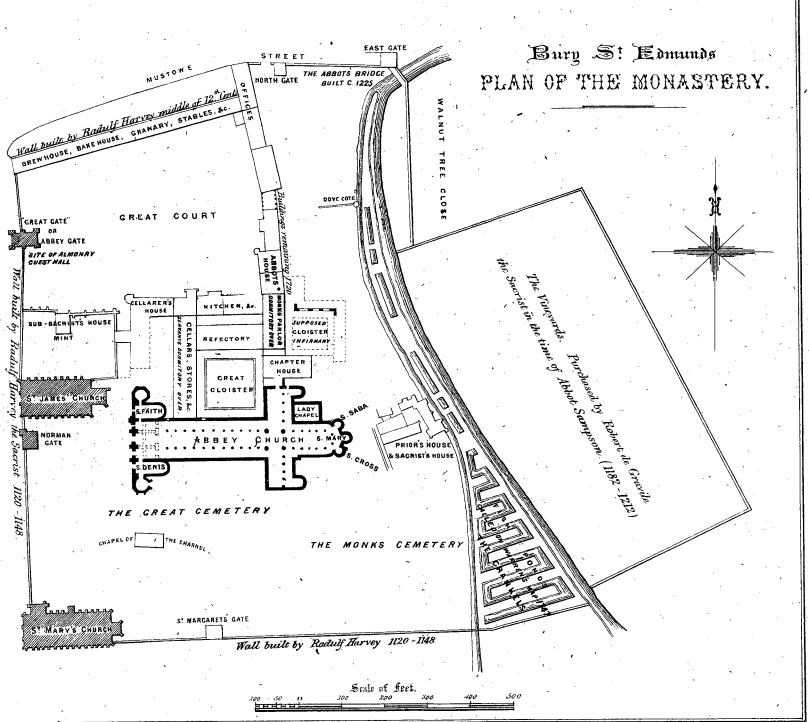
Paper read at the Meeting of the British Archaeological Institute at Bury St. Edmund's, 20th July, 1869, by ALFRED W. MORANT, F.S.A., F.G.S.

St. Edmund, King and Martyr, being the Saint to whom the Abbey Church was dedicated and from whom the present name of the town of Bury St. Edmund's; or Saint Edmundsbury was derived (the Saxon name having been Beodricsweorth) it will be interesting to glance for a short time at the principal events in his life and martyrdom.

Edmund was born in 840 of Royal Saxon descent, and having shewn himself in his boyhood extremely wise and pious was chosen by Offa, King of the East Angles, to be his successor when he laid down his crown and retired to Rome in 855. Little is known of Edmund until a few years before 870, during which time a circumstance had occurred which ultimately caused the death or martyrdom of the King.

A noble Dane, named Lothbroc, having sailed out one day to follow the sport of hawking, went unattended, and, being surprised by a sudden storm, was carried out to sea, and, after being tossed about for several days and nights, after much distress was driven to the English Coast and landed at Reedham, which at that time was on the shore of an estuary which extended nearly up to Norwich. The



inhabitants found him with his hawk and took him, as Roger of Wendover says, "as a sort of prodigy," and presented him to King Edmund, who, being pleased with him, agreed that he might stop in his Court to be instructed in noble accomplishments. Lothbroc spent much time with the King's huntsman Berne and soon became a proficient in woodcraft, and the King also taking a great liking to him caused Berne to have a deadly hatred against him. One day when they were out hunting Berne took an opportunity to kill Lothbroc, and concealed his body in a wood, but the murder was discovered by means of a greyhound which Lothbroc had reared and which remained by his body, only leaving it on two occasions to go to the King's Palace for food; on the second it was followed and the body of its master found. Suspicion fell upon Berne, and after trial he was sentenced to be put into the boat in which Lothbroc had landed, to be taken out to sea, and there left without any means of navigation. This sentence was carried into effect, and in a few days he was drifted by the winds and waves to the Coast of Denmark. The Danes recognised the boat and brought Berne before Hinquar and Hubbathe sons of the murdered Lothbroc; they put him to the torture to discover the fate of their father, and at length he falsely stated that he had been put to death by Edmund. King of the East Angles. Hinquar and Hubba determined to take vengeance upon Edmund, and immediately raised an army of twenty thousand men and sailed for England. taking Berne for their guide; they were driven by stress of weather to Berwick-upon-Tweed and there landed and marched towards East Anglia, ravaging the country on their way.

At this time Edward was residing at a Royal vill called Haerlesdune, now called Hoxne. Hinquar sent a messenger to him to offer that if Edmund would divide his riches with him he should retain his kingdom under him. Edmund refused, and answered, as the Chronicle informs us, "Though you may violently rob me of my wealth which Divine Providence hath given to me, you shall not make

me subject to an infidel, for it is an honourable thing to defend our liberties and the purity of our faith." Edmund immediately collected his army and advanced against the Danes. A severe battle was fought at Seven Hills, near Thetford, after which Edmund retired to Hoxne.

Hinquar being shortly afterwards joined at Thetford by his brother Hubba with ten thousand men, they united their forces and marched to Hoxne. The King finding himself hedged in by his enemies, by the advice of Humbert. Bishop of Elmham, fled to the Church. By Hinguar's command, Edmund was dragged from the Church, bound to a tree. beaten with scourges and clubs, and insulted with every species of mockery, but he, praying all the time, so provoked his tormentors that they shot at him with their bows until. as is related. "he was entirely covered with arrows so that there was not a place in the Martvr's body in which a fresh wound could be inflicted, but it was completely covered with darts and arrows, as is the hedgehog's skin with spines." The Danes then beheaded him, and carried his headless body to Hoxne Wood, and left it among a thick briar, and to prevent the whole body being decently buried, they threw the head into another part of the wood, hoping it would be devoured "by the beasts of the fields and the birds of heaven." Bishop Humbert was also slain. After the martyrdom of King Edmund, the Danes wintered in the country of the East Angles, giving themselves up to plunder and rapine. During the winter they were joined by Gytro, a powerful Danish King, but on the approach of spring all the Pagans retired together from East Anglia. The Chronicle goes on to state :-

"On hearing of their departure the Christians came forth from their hiding-places from all quarters, and did their best endeavours to find the head of the blessed King Edmund, that it might be united to the body and the whole committed to sepulture in Royal manner. When they had all met together and were diligently searching the woods for the Martyr's head, there appeared a wonderful and unheard-of prodigy, for while searching among the woods and brambles and calling out to each other in their native tongue "Where are you ? where are you ?" the Martyr's head made answer in the same tongue, "Here, here, here !" and did not cease repeating the same till it brought them all to the

spot, where they found a huge and horrible-looking wolf embracing the head with its paws and keeping watch over the blessed Martyr. Boldly seizing the head and offering praises unto God, they conveyed it to the body, followed by the wolf as far as the place of sepulture, then uniting the head to the body deposited it within a suitable tomb, after which the wolf returned to his wonted solitude."

A small Church of mean workmanship was erected by the faithful on that spot, and there the body rested during many years, this was at Hoxne, and the date of King Edmund's martyrdom is A.D. 870.

Tradition has long pointed out "Saint Edmund Oak" in Hoxne Wood as the spot where the King was martyred, and when the tree fell down in September, 1848, it is a curious fact that there was found, deeply embedded in its trunk, an iron arrow head, which may have been part of one of the actual arrows directed by the Danes against the Royal victim. The portion of the tree containing the arrow head was exhibited in the Museum, in the Afhenæum, at Bury, by Sir E. C. Kerrison, Bart, who has carefully 'preserved it, the oak having stood upon his estate.

Saint Edmund, having perhaps more direct claims to veneration as a Martyr than any other English Sovereign, is a very favourite subject for carving and painting in the Churches of East Anglia, especially in rood screens. He is usually depicted as a King with an arrow in his hand, as at Ludham, Stalham, Hempstead, Barton Turf, &c., or as a King tied to a tree and pierced with arrows, as at North Walsham, Colney, &c. There is also an interesting wall painting representing this subject in Troston Church, near Bury. The honour in which he was held is shown by fiftyfive Churches still retaining their dedication to his name, fifteen of these being in Norfolk and seven in Suffolk, the remainder in other counties.

A Church and Monastery were built by King Sigebert (the fifth King of the East Angles) at Beodricsworth about the year 670, dedicated to the Blessed Virgin, but no particulars of this are known.

In the year 903 the body of Saint Edmund was removed from Hoxne to a very large Church, constructed of wood, at

Beodricsworth, where it remained until about 1010, when on account of the ravages of the Danes it was taken to London for safety, and was there kept for three years.

It should here be mentioned that in 945 King Edmund the Atheling granted a charter to the Monastery, which first bestowed upon it the means of a permanent revenue, he may, therefore, fairly be called the founder of the establishment.

Canute, King of England and Denmark, found in the year 1020 a society of priests in charge of the Church and body of St. Edmund at Beodricsworth, and with the assistance of Ailwin, or Ælfwine, Bishop of East Englia, he dismissed the priests, and formed a Monastery under the Benedictine rule, which was commenced with twelve monks from St. Bennot at Hulme, with half of their furniture, vestments, books, &c., and other monks from Ely.

In 1021 they commenced building a new Church, which was consecrated in 1032, and the body of the Saint deposited in a noble shrine adorned with jewels.

Bishop Ailwin wishing to increase the power and importance of the new Monastery even at his own expense, granted to it the special exemption that the Monastery and town to the extent of a mile round it should not be for the future subject to the jurisdiction of the Bishop of the diocese. Four crosses were erected by the monks to define the boundary of their exempt jurisdiction, and within which the Abbot was to exercise episcopal authority.

Baldwin, the third Abbot, who was elected in 1065, originally a monk of St. Denis at Paris, and afterwards physician to King Edward the Confessor, with the assistance of William the Conqueror, commenced to rebuild the Monastery, and in 1095 the body of St. Edmund was again removed, and the Shrine deposited in the new Church the remains of which are now to be seen.

The Monastery being now well established, frequently received large grants and privileges. Abbot Baldwin in 1071 obtained a grant from Pope Alexander II., and about sixty bulls were granted by succeeding Popes to confirm

and enlarge the rights and privileges of the Monastery. One of these bulls, obtained from Pope Gregory IX. ordains that "no person except the Roman Pontiff or his Legate shall in the town of St. Edmund or within the four crosses distant one mile from the four extremities of the town as was formerly granted by Alexander II.,* and others our predecessors, claim to himself any power or right, or celebrate any public mass, or build any Convent, Oratory, or Chapel, or hold any Synod, or exercise any episcopal office." A bull of Alexander III. grants the privilege of exemption from the effect of a general interdict thus, "But when the country is under a general interdict you are permitted with doors shut, the interdicted and excommunicated excluded, without ringing the bells and with a low voice to celebrate divine offices."

The Abbots of Bury on their appointment received episcopal consecration and benediction, they held Synod in their own Chapter-House, appointed the parochial Clergy of Bury, were spiritual Parliamentary Barons. Wills were proved in their Court, money coined in their Mint, and their temporal prerogatives gave them absolute authority over the town. The Abbot was constituted Lord of the Franchise, and had the power of trying by his High Steward any causes arising within the Franchise, the town and one mile round it; he could inflict capital punishment, and no officer of the King, as Chief Justice, High Sheriff, &c., could hold a Court or exercise an Office within the town without the Abbot's permission.

The Alderman or chief burgess of the town, although elected by the other burgesses, could not execute the duties of his office until the Abbot had confirmed his election.

In consequence of the authority exercised by the Abbots,

* This limit of the jurisdiction of the Abbot in respect of the town was first defined in 945 by King Edmund, son of Edward the Elder, and Ailwin, Bishop of Elmham, granted that within the limit the Bishop of the Diocese should have no authority or jurisdiction. The bounds Risbygate-street, and shows the socket, were marked by four *milliaria* or mile - into which the shaft of the cross was placed.

stones, but subsequently by four crosses. The area enclosed was called the "liberties of St. Edmund," and was called in Latin "banleuca." The base of the cross which marked the North-West boundary is still remaining at the end of

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and their interference with the townspeople, frequent disputes arose and also serious riots, particularly in 1305 and in 1327 (the first year of the reign of King Edward III.); on this latter occasion the townspeople, assisted by about 20,000 men and women, attacked the Monastery and its. possessions, broke down the gates, destroyed the windows, beat and wounded the monks, burnt the stables, malthouse, bakehouse, granaries, the new Hall and apartments adjoining, the Chapel of St. Lawrence and the Strangers' Hall, the Solarium of the Cellarer's house and Chapel belonging to it, the Infirmary, the Chapel of St. Andrew, and also other parts. The ruins of the buildings on the North side of the great Court and some other parts of the ruins still show distinct marks of the intense action of fire, as the natural colour of the stone is changed to red, and the flints are reddened and split into small fragments; the mortar is also destroyed.

The Justices awarded to the Monastery £140,000 damages, but at the request of the King the Abbot and Convent remitted the sum of £122,000, and afterwards remitted the whole. The Alderman, 32 priests, 13 women, and 138 men were outlawed, thirty carts full of prisoners were taken to Norwich, and 19 of the most notorious offenders were executed.

Some of the outlawed parties invaded the Manor of Chevington, where the Abbot was residing, robbed and bound him, shaved him, and took him to London, and from thence to Dist in Brabant, from whence after some time he was rescued and brought home. After this riot the town obtained independent authority as a Corporation, with a common seal, custody of the town gates, &c.

In 1381 the insurrection of Wat Tyler extended from Kent into Suffolk, the Monastery was again attacked and plundered, and the mob beheaded the Lord Chief Justice of the Court of King's Bench,* the Prior, and the Keeper of the Barony.

* He was Sir John de Cavendish, who is said to have graced the Judicial Bench for ten years without an imputation of having perverted the course of justice.

Two other matters had proved sources of great expense and annoyance to the Abbot of the Monastery. The first was the attempt of Herfast, Bishop of East Anglia, to remove the See from Thetford to Bury, which, after a journey to Rome, Abbot Baldwin, with the assistance of William the Conqueror, eventually succeeded in frustrating, and the See was in 1094 established at Norwich. The other dispute arose with the Franciscan or Grey Friars, some of whom, about 1256, arrived at Bury, and by the authority of Pope Alexander IV. procured land in the North end of the town and commenced to erect a Friary, but the monks of the Abbey destroyed the buildings, and much litigation ensued; however, in 1263 the Friars publicly renounced all right and title to their estate in Bury, upon which the Abbot and Convent granted to them a part of their possessions called Babbewell, without the town. The Friars there built a Convent, which was continued until the Dissolution.

The Royal Visits to, and Parliaments held in, the Abbey demand some notice to enable us to form an adequate idea of the importance and fame to which it attained. The principal visitors were:—

Edward the Confessor.

Henry I., in 1132, on account of a vow made during a violent storm when he was crossing the English Channel on his return from Rome.

Richard I. before setting out on the Crusade made a devotional visit to St. Edmund's Shrine.

In 1199 King John, immediately after his Coronation, setting aside all other affairs, came down to St. Edmund's, as Jocelyn de Brakelond tells us, "drawn thither by his vow and devotion, we indeed believed that he was come to make offering of some good matter, but all he offered was one silken cloth which his servants had borrowed from our

Shortly before his murder he had been elected Chancellor of the University of Cambridge. He was beheaded in the Market Place at Bury, after a mock trial. William Cavendish, one of his descendants, was gentleman Usher to Cardinal Wolsey, and became his biographer.

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Sacrist and to this day have not paid for: He availed himself of the hospitality of St. Edmund, which was attended with enormous expense, and upon his departure bestowed nothing at all either of honour or profit upon the Saint, save thirteen esterling pence which he offered at his Mass on the day of his departure." In 1203 King John again visited the Shrine. In 1205 the Earls and Barons who opposed King John held a meeting at Bury, and in 1214 a large number of them met the King in the Abbey Church, where Cardinal Langton, Archbishop of Canterbury, placed upon the altar the Charter of Henry the First, the basis of Magna Charta, which the King solemnly confirmed, and thus Bury participates with Runnimede in the history of the attainment of this important privilege.

Henry III. several times visited the Convent, as did also Edward I. and Queen Eleanor, Edward II., and Edward III.

In 1383 Richard II. and his Queen spent ten days in the Monastery, and their entertainment cost eight hundred marks.

In 1433 Henry VI. determined to celebrate Christmas in the Monastery, and the Abbot's Palace being out of repair, 80 workmen were employed, and in one month it was refitted and decorated.

And in 1486 Henry VII. paid what was probably the last Royal visit.

The first Parliament held at Bury appears to have been in 1272, under Henry III.; the next was held by Edward I., in 1296; then by Henry VI., in 1446, on which occasion the meeting took place in the Refectory. The last Parliament was held in 1448, also by Henry VI.

When in its full tide of prosperity the Monastery contained within it a Lord Abbot, a Lord Prior, a sub-Prior, a "decanus Christianitatus," an Archdeacon of St. Edmund who was Sacrist, 80 Monks, 15 Chaplains attendant on the Abbot and Chief Officers, about 40 clergy who officiated in the several churches and chapels, and a free school for 40 boys. In the time of Edward I. there

were 111 servants resident in the Monastery. Afterwards it is said that besides the Abbot were 32 Officers, 142 Servants in various departments, besides the Officiating Chaplains, the Monks, and their servants; but at the Dissolution it only contained 62 monks, and in 1539 only the Abbot and 44 Monks signed the surrender, and the Commissioners assigned to them pensions to the amount of £650 per annum.

The revenues of the Abbey were equal to 52 Knights' Fees and three-fourths of a Fee, and the Abbot's temporal jurisdiction extended over eight Hundreds and a-half.

In regard to the value of its endowments Bury Abbey ranked as the tenth among the Benedictine Monasteries, and in magnificence and privileges it is supposed to have exceeded all others, Glastonbury alone excepted.

The Charters and lists of donations show that at various times the Abbey enjoyed the following amount of possessions and patronage:—

In Suffolk	40 (Churches	•••	81	Manors
- //	16	· ,,	••••	:49	",
" Essex	6	"	•••	6	"
, Kent	: 0	"	•••	T	"
"Northamptonshire	2	"	•••	1	"
.*					
	64		•	138	

At the valuation made in the 26th Henry VIII. its yearly income was, according to Dugdale, $\pounds 1659 \ 13s. \ 11d.$, but, according to Speed, $\pounds 2336 \ 16s.$, and it has been calculated that the estates would now be worth about $\pounds 200,000$ per annum.

At the Dissolution there was taken away from the Abbey 5000 marks of gold and silver besides vestments and jewels of great value, and the plate, bells, lead, timber, &c., yielded also 5000 marks to the King.

As might be expected from the importance in which this Abbey was held, many noble persons were interred within the Church. Amongst those may be mentioned Alan, Earl of Bretagne, and his wife Constance, second daughter

of King William the Conqueror; Thomas of Brotherton, Earl of Norfolk, fifth son of Edward I. (whose arms occur on one of the shields in the Abbey Gate); Thomas Beaufort, son of John of Gaunt, created Duke of Exeter by Ilenry the Fifth, and also his Duchess, Margaret, daughter of Sir Thomas Néville. The body of the Duke of Exeter was exhumed in 1772 and, after being examined, was placed in an oak coffin and re buried in the Lady Chapel. Lastly, Mary Tudor, sister of Henry VIII., Queen of France, widow of Louis XII., and afterwards wife of Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk, was buried here, but her remains were removed to St. Mary's Church, where they now rest.

Having now roughly traced the history of the Abbey, we will take a view of the buildings and lands enclosed as they existed a short time previous to the Dissolution, when we have reason to believe that the various parts of the Monastery were as extensive as at any time.

The Abbey precincts contained an area of about 23 acres, exclusive of the Vineyard on the opposite side of the river Lark (formerly called Ulnothes river) which contained six acres, and the Walnut-tree close adjoining, which contained three acres. The whole of the area of the 23 acres was enclosed on the North, West, and South sides by a high wall strengthened with buttresses and provided with merlons and embrasures, and was bounded by the river on the East side, the Vineyard being also enclosed by a wall, which formed a further security on the East side.

Standing upon the open space of ground now called the Angel Hill, a length of about 1100 feet of the West boundary wall would be seen, with the two Gates called the Abbey Gate and the Norman Tower, and the West ends of the Churches of St. James and St. Mary. On the North side the Abbey grounds could be entered by a postern gate from Mustow street, and on the South side in about the middle of the boundary wall was St. Margaret's Gate. This wall was erected by Radulf Harvey the Sacrist, in the time of Abbot Anselme. 1120-48.

We first will enter the precincts by the Norman Tower, which immediately faces the West end of the Abbey Church. It is a splendid specimen of Norman architecture in four stages and in height 86 feet, and it is about 40 feet square. In the lower stage are large semi-circular arches on the East and West sides, the Western side being provided with strong gates. Above the entrance are three chambers, each lighted by arcaded windows, two on each side of the lower chamber and three on each side of the two upper chambers. The ornament is of Early character, shallow, and worked with the pick. In the gateway on the South side is the doorway which opened into the Porter'slodge, and in the first floor chamber are two doorways with steps in the thickness of the wall communicating with the ramparts. The outer or Western arch is richly ornamented and is probably an insertion of later date than the other portions of the Tower.

If we pass under this Tower and walk straight on we soon reach the West front of the Abbey Church, which was of enormous width. It somewhat resembled Lincoln Cathedral; three arches of nearly equal width formed a front to the Nave and its Aisles, each Aisle was flanked by an Apsidal. Chapel, and these again by two octagonal towers; but whereas the West front at Lincoln only measures about 180 feet, the Church at Bury measured 246 feet.

Not a fragment of moulded stonework remains to give a clue to the date of this front, but the three principal arches are pointed, so that it would appear to have been altered at some period, as it is clear from the moulding of a Norman arch impressed upon the mortar of a wall in the Southern Chapel that the original Norman building extended very nearly, if not quite, up to the present West end.

From the Registers and documents of the Abbey now remaining it seems that in addition to the two octagonal towers there were towers over the Chapels, and also a large tower or Campanile over the West end of the Nave, a little Eastward of the West front. This Campanile partly fell

down in 1430, was entirely removed in 1432, and Abbot Curteys commenced to rebuild it in 1435. The estimated cost is shown from a bull obtained from Pope Eugene IV., which granted absolution to all who assisted in rebuilding it, to have been sixty thousand ducats of gold. In this year-John Wode, mason, of Colchester, was engaged for seven years from Michaelmas, 1435, to work on the steeple of the Monastery; and in 1440 Abbot Curteys also entered into a contract with John Arnold and Herman Remond to make bricks.

It is not clear for what purpose the octagonal towers were intended, but they were entered from the Apsidal Chapels, which had entrances both in their West ends and in the walls dividing them from the Pronaos adjoining the large side arches. St. Alban's Abbey, also a Norman building, had a West front entered through three porticoes in a similar manner,* and the Pronaos of the Norman Church of Melbourne, in Derbyshire, is also similar.

The Apsidal Chapel on the North side was dedicated to St. Faith, that on the South to St. Dionysius. These Chapels were built by Abbot Anselme between 1120 and 1142, as they were consecrated by John, Bishop of Rochester, who died in 1142.

The octagonal towers were probably erected by Abbot Sampson (1182 to 1211); he also completed the lead roof to the Campanile.

The Nave consisted of 12 bays; was in width between the Aisle walls 82 feet.

The central tower was peculiar. Instead of four supporting piers there were six. Mr. Gordon Hills accounts for this in the following manner :—Abbot Baldwin, who erected the Presbytery and Crypt beneath it, originally intended the two Easternmost piers to support that side of the central tower, but Abbot Robert, his successor, deciding to lengthen the presbytery one bay, left the intended tower-piers standing and built four others

* See Buckler's History of the Abbey Church of St. Alban's, p. 91.

towards the West. It is in the bases and portions of the shafts of these piers that the only moulded work remaining in the Church is to be found.

The Presbytery was built by Abbot Baldwin between 1065 and 1095, and terminated with the Apse. It had a Crypt which William of Worcester describes as being 50 paces in length, 40 paces in breadth, and says that it had 24 columns, and a beautiful spring of water. Three Apsidal Chapels were added by Abbot. Anselme (1120-1148); the centre chapel was dedicated to St. Mary, that to the North to St. Saba, and that to the South to St. Cross.

Towards the-East end of the Presbytery, behind the high Altar and about the centre of the Apse, was the Shrine of St. Edmund.' It was placed there in 1095 and never afterwards removed, except to a new stone base in 1198. The Shrine is represented in an illumination in Lydgate's MS. "Life of St. Edmund," now in the British Museum (Harl. MSS. 2278) as a chest gabled and crocketted, adorned with pinnacles and panels, enriched with gold and jewels, placed upon a sculptured stone base resembling an Altartomb.

The Shrine narrowly escaped destruction by fire in 1198, and Jocelin of Brakelond, a monk of the Abbey, who wrote a Chronicle of the Monastery from 1173 to 1200, gives a very graphic account of the event, which is here copied from the translation by Mr. T. E. Tomlins, published by Whittaker and Co., in 1844, p. 30:—

"In the year of grace 1198 the glorious Martyr Edmund was pleased to strike terror into our Convent and to instruct us that his body should be kept more reverently and observantly than it had hitherto been. Now there was a certain flooring between the Shrine and the Altar whereupon two tapers which the Keepers of the Shrine used to join together by placing one upon another in a slovenly manner stood; and under that flooring there were many things irreverently huddled together, such as flax, and thread, and wax, and various utensils, so that whatever was used by the Keepers of the Shrine was there put altogether, there being a door with iron gratings. Now as we are given to believe, when these Keepers of the Shrine on the night of St. Etheldreda (17th October), were fast asleep, that part of the taper

which had been clapped upon the other, and was still burning, fell upon the aforesaid flooring covered with rags, and consequently all that was above or beneath began to burn rapidly, so much so, that the iron gratings were at a white heat. And, lo ! the wrath of the Lord, but not without mercy, was kindled, according to that saying, 'In wrath remember mercy,' for in the same hour the clock /fell, before matins. Now the Master of the Vestiary getting up, observing and noticing the fire, ran as hard as he could, and having struck the bells as if tolling for a dead person, cried out lustily that the Shrine was consumed by fire. . We, on the other hand, all running thither, found the fire raging wonderfully, and encircling the whole Shrine, and not far from mounting up to the woodwork of the Church. Our young men, some running for water, some to the well, some to the clock, some with their hoods, not without great labour extinguished the force of the fire and also snatched from destruction some holy relics upon the first alarm. And when cold water was poured upon the front of the Shrine the stones fell and were reduced as it were to powder; moreover, the nails by which the plates of silver were affixed to the Shrine started from the wood which had been burned underneath to the thickness of my finger, and the plates of silver were left hanging without nails on one side or the other. However, the golden holy of holies in front of the Shrine, together with some of the stonework, remained firm and untouched, and, if anything, brighter after the fire than it was before, for it was all of gold. It so happened by the will of the Holiest that at that time a great beam which used to be beyond the altar had been removed in order that it should be repaired with new carving. It also happened that the cross, and the St. Mary and the St. John, and the chest with the camise of St. Edmund, and the amulet with relics which used to hang from the same beam, and other holy things which also stood upon the same beam, had every of them been previously taken away, else these all would have been burnt, as we believe, even as a tapestry was burnt which hung in the place of this beam. But what would it have been had the Church been curtained? When, therefore, we had assured ourselves that the fire had in no place injured our Shrine, we most carefully began to inspect the chinks and crannies, if there were any, and now perceiving that all was cold our grief was in a great measure abated. And behold some of our brethren cried out with a great wailing that the cup of Saint Edmund had been burnt, and when many of us here and there had searched amongst the stones and plates and among the coals and cinders, they drew forth the cup entirely uninjured lying in the middle of the great charred timbers, which were then put out, and found the same wrapped up in linen cloth ' half burnt, but the oaken box in which the cup was usually placed had been burnt to ashes, and was only to be recognized by the iron band and the iron lock. This miracle being observed, we all wept . for joy. Now as we observed that the greater part of the Shrine was stripped off, and abhorring the disgraceful circumstances of this fire,

after a consultation with all of us, we called a goldsmith to our assistance, and caused to be joined together the metal plates, and fixed them to the Shrine without the least delay, to avoid the scandal of the thing ; we also caused to be concealed all traces of the fire, whether visible by wax or in any other manner. But the Evangelist testifies that 'there is nothing covered that shall not be revealed,' for some pilgrims coming very early in the morning to make their offering they could have perceived nothing of the sort; nevertheless certain of them peering about enquired where was the fire that they had just heard had been about the Shrine. And since it could not be entirely concealed, it was answered to these prying folks that a candle had fallen down and that three napkins had been burnt, and that by the heat of the fire some of the stonework had been destroyed. Yet for all this there went forth a lying rumour that the head of the Saint had been burnt; some indeed contented themselves with saying that the hair only was burnt, but afterwards the truth being known, 'the mouth of them that spake lies was stopped.'"

A new stone base was prepared, the coffin opened and examined, and the Shrine placed upon the new base in November of the same year, as previously mentioned.

Returning from the East end of the Church, we may now examine the Transepts, which were about 225 feet from North to South, and about 52 feet in width from East to West. They appear to have had an Aisle with a single row of columns on the East side, with screens between the columns, forming six Chapels besides two Apsidal Chapels; one at each extremity of the Transepts. To the North of the Presbytery and joining the North Transept was the Lady Chapel, built in the 13th century, by Abbot Symon de Luton, upon the site of the Church in which St. Edmund's body first rested. From the measurements taken by William of Worcester, in 1479, and from remains of foundations, it is shown to have been about 70 feet in length by 37 feet in width.

The Church which we have been considering was unusually large, and to enable us to realize this, it will be desirable to compare it with some other buildings. Mr. Gordon Hills has stated that "Byland, the largest in its dimensions of the Abbey Churches in Yorkshire, measures 333 feet in length within the walls; Fountain's, originally of smaller size, by a magnificent extension at its East end,

is 359 feet long inside; St. Cuthbert's Cathedral, at Durham, with an almost identical Eastern addition, is 414 feet long; St. Edmund's Church, at Bury, measured in a similar manner within its main walls, and omitting the subordinate Eastern excrescences, is 472 feet in length. As a Norman edifice it far surpassed in size any other Church or Cathedral in the Kingdom of that era. Those Churches . or Cathedrals which by subordinate Chapels and other additions in later times have challenged the supremacy of its magnitude are Winchester, 545 feet long inside; Canterbury, 514 feet; Salisbury, 474 feet; and Westminster, 489 feet. 'The only Churches which, comparing them with St. Edmund's, have superior size without excrescences or extraneous additions are, York and Lincoln, each 498 feet long; Ely, 517 feet; Peterborough, 480 feet; and St. Alban's, 450 feet."

Finally, to afford a more familiar example in this locality, Norwich Cathedral, including the large Lady Chapel at the East end, now destroyed, could have been placed within the Church at Bury, with many feet to spare all round it.

Leaving the Church by the door of the South Transept, we should find ourselves in the Monks' Cemetery. On our left would be the Chapel of St. Andrew, before us the Chapel of St. Stephen; but of these little is known. St. Andrew's was built by Radulf Harvey, the Sacrist under Abbot Anselme, 1120-1148. On our right would be the Chapel of the Charnel, the lower part of the walls of which still remain. This building has undergone great vicissitudes. It was founded in 1301 by Abbot John de Norwold, who appointed two chaplains to celebrate masses in the Chapel for the repose of the dead. In 1637 it had become a common alehouse, then it was a blacksmith's shop, and finally, at the end of the eighteenth century, the private mausoleum of John Spink, Esg.

Continuing our course in a Southerly direction, we should come to the South or Saint Margaret's Gate, which was entirely removed in 1760. From a Drawing made before

its removal, it appears to have been of the Norman style of architecture, and probably built by Radulf Harvey when he erected the wall round the Abbey precincts. It consisted of a semicircular arched gateway ornamented with chevron mouldings.*

Before leaving the Cemetery by the South Gate, we should pass on our left the Church of St Margaret, which was re-built by Abbot Anselme (1120-1148), and consecrated by John, Bishop of Rochester. Of this Church there are not any remains.

Just beyond the Gate were the Schools, first placed there by Abbot Sampson. The Shire House was erected on this site as early as 1578. In 1579 a deed describes "the late gramer schole hall nowe the shirehouse."

Following the course of the South wall, we should find at its Western corner the fine Church dedicated to St. Mary, which has been very fully described by the late Mr. Samuel Tymms, in his history of the Church published by Jackson and Frost, Bury St. Edmund's, in 1854.

Turning to our right, and walking along the edge of the moat at the foot of the Abbey wall, we pass the Norman Gate, and just beyond it see the Church dedicated to St. James, which was originally built by Abbot Anselm, and consecrated by William de Corbeuil, who was Archbishop of Canterbury from 1123 to 1136. The chancel was re-built 1390-1402, again in 1711, and again in 1865-9. The original nave was probably removed when the chancel was re-built in 1390. Bequests in 1432 show that the present nave had been commenced, and was making progress early in the fifteenth century, but the work does not appear to have been completed before the reign of Edward VI. Proceeding still further along the side of the moat in a Northerly direction, we should arrive at the Gate leading to the domestic offices of the Abbey, called the

* Some remains of this gateway were exposed in excavations, in 1871, and the ground since the gateway was built , or Abbey Gate: appears to have been raised about five

feet, the same difference of level appears to have taken place at the Norman Tower

Great Gate, or the Abbey Gate. This was erected soon after the riots in 1327, when the old Gate erected by Radulf Harvey was destroyed. The architecture would mark it as being of about this date, but the shields of arms carved within the Gateway assist further to prove that it was erected before 1346, because the arms of England appear alone and not quartered with France, and after 1327 because another shield has the arms of Henry, Earl of Lancaster, who obtained the Earldom in 1327.*

The Gateway is a Tower about 46 feet in width, 64 feet in length, and 62 feet in height. The outer front has a doorway about 18 feet in width, with a segmental arch, and above it another arch of Ogee form, richly crocketted; between the two arches are three ornamental niches. The whole front is, richly ornamented with canopied niches, each of which appears to have contained a statue. Immediately above the Ogee arch of the entrance is a string course which divides the building into two stories; the hollow of the moulding is enriched with carvings of flowers, beasts, &c.

Just within the entrance arch is the groove for a portcullis, and about 15 feet further is another archway, within which a heavy gate was formerly hung. This porch was originally groined. Passing through this we enter the Gate Hall, which has also been groined and provided with stone seats on either side. The side walls of both Porch and Gate Hall are panelled and worked with tracery resembling windows; the mouldings are rather thin and have been considered to have . a French character. Below the springing of the tracery in the Porch five shields of arms remain, and in the Gate Hall the blocks can be seen where six other shields have been erased. The Archway on the East side is very well moulded, and does not appear to have been ever provided with a gate. Standing within the

* See a paper by Mr. W. S. Walford, 'tute of Archaeology, Vol. ii, page 90. in The Proceedings of the Suffolk Insti-

Gateway and looking towards the West we see two doorways, one on either side of the entrance Gate. These open into passages connected with winding stairs which lead to a chamber above the groining and also to the roof; they also give access to a narrow passage contrived in the thickness of the wall and provided with loopholes to enable the defenders to shoot either way; there are also loopholes in the side walls of the passages leading to the stairs. In the South wall of the Gate Hall is the doorway which formerly opened into the Porter's Lodge. The whole of the upper story appears to have been used as one chamber, provided with a three-light window over the inner archway, two small two-light windows at the sides, a fireplace, and a garderobe. The chamber was about 50 feet in length, and 30 feet in breadth; the use to which it was applied is not known. The Tower was covered with a flat roof, and the walls all the way round are battlemented, provided with loopholes, and the whole Gateway well adapted for defence. It should also be mentioned that being placed partly in front of the boundary wall of the Abbey precinct it afforded means for a flanking fire for the protection of the wall.* This Gateway has been well illustrated by Britton, in his "Architectural Antiquities." Vol. iii., page 88, et seq.

Passing through this Gateway we should have found ourselves in a Court-yard about 550 feet in length and 350 feet in breadth, and about four acres in area. On our right were the Almonry, Guest Hall with its Chapel of St. Lawrence, and the Hall of Pleas. These were all built by Abbot Sampson, but at present not a vestige remains. Yet more to the right, extending nearly to Saint James's Church, and enclosed by a lofty battle-mented wall, were the Mint and the Bowling-green; the buildings are also destroyed, with the exception of the enclosure wall.

* From a Drawing kindly sent to me by Mr. Dewing, made in or about 1745 by the Gateway two octagonal turrets.

On the left or North side of the Great Court were the Abbot's Stables with chambers above for the servants of the Monastery; also the Stables, Brewhouse, Bakehouse, Granaries, &c. These Stables must have been very extensive, as Browne Willis, in his "*History of Mitred Abbies*," informs us that they could accommodate 300 horses. The entire length of the South wall of these buildings is in nearly its original state and has the remains of two large doorways and ten windows. This wall shows unmistakeable marks of having been subjected to the action of fire. The buildings were about 30 feet in width, and portions of the North wall remain. No cross walls are to be found, and it is not possible to assign any particular part to have been devoted to any special purpose.

This range of buildings was commenced under Abbot Ording (1148-57). Abbot Sampson, however, to whose time (1182-1212) most of it belongs, found the Stables and Offices open at the sides; he walled them up and roofed them in a substantial manner, they having been previously thatched with reeds.

Forming the East side of the Great Court were the various buildings comprising the Abbot's Palace, consisting of a Dining-hall, Chapel, Chamber, Garderobe, Buttery, Kitchen, Cellar, Stable, Bakehouse, and Brewhouse.

The substructure of the Dining-hall still partly remains in two apartments which were vaulted, as can be seen in one of them, which is divided into three bays from North to South, and two bays in width, measuring inside 47 feet by 39 feet. At the North-West angle is the ruin of a turret which probably contained the staircase. If these two chambers were beneath the Dining-hall, it must have been about 95 feet in length and 40 feet in width. The date appears to be of the twelfth century, and they are said to have been built by Helyas the Sacrist (1148-1157), and renovated by Walter de Bánham in Abbot Sampson's time. The Abbot's inner chamber

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projected as usual from the side of the Hall; a wall still marks its position.

Of the other portions of this range very little can be said, as the ruins are but slight, and indeed of a large part nothing at all remains. However, two views of their appearance in 1720 are to be seen in the "Antiquarian Repertory," Vol. iii., page 326, and in the Supplement to Yates's "History of Bury," which show the buildings continued from the Dining-hall towards the North two stories in height, with battlemented parapet and an open arcade of four pointed arches, which are described as being of 15 feet span, 12 feet in height, with columns two feet in diameter; of these there are now not any signs.

On the East side of the Abbot's Palace and Offices was his garden sloping towards the little rivers Linnet and Lark, and in the North wall of the garden, which divided the Abbey precincts from the town, was the North Gate, a small gate used as a postern; adjoining it was a Tower, supposed to have been used as a prison. The position of this can yet be traced by the additional height of the walls. The wall is continued to the river, and terminates in the East Gate of the town. The custody of this Gate was always vested in the Abbot. This wall has ten stone buttresses, and is in a very perfect state; it was built about the year 1230.

Adjoining this Gate is a singular and interesting bridge; it is, in fact, a double bridge, one inside the boundary wall of the Abbey precinct, consisting of three openings, each spanned by a low segmental pointed arch, and the boundary wall supported by three arches of more pointed form than the inner arches. Outside the wall are three bold buttresses resting upon the piers of the arches, the piers terminating in gablets. These buttresses are pierced by pointed arched openings apparently for the purpose of a passage, a foot bridge being probably formed by means of timbers laid from pier to pier. This bridge communicated with the East Gate by means of a small covered chamber;

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it is called the Abbot's Bridge, and the moulding shows it to have been built about the year 1225.

The wall followed the line of the river for about 100 yards and then joined that enclosing the Vine Field or Vineyard of the Abbey. This wall yet remains and encloses a piece of ground of about six acres in area in which terraces can still be traced. The Vineyard was purchased by Robert de Gravel the Sacrist, in the time of Abbot Sampson (1182-1212) and he enclosed it with a wall which, however, must have been re-built, as the existing wall appears to be of the 15th century.

On the bank of the river Linnet, in the Abbot's garden, was the Dovecote, an hexagonal building from which a wall extended to the Abbot's dwelling. Adjoining the Dovecote was the bath-house, constructed over the river so that it flowed through it. This was erected by Hugh the Sacrist, about 1150. It is said to have been about 60 feet square, divided into several compartments, and was filled up about 150 years ago. Upon Warren's map of Bury, published in 1747, the fish-ponds are shown to have been towards the South-East end of the precincts. They were of a somewhat serpentine form, and were called the "Crańkles."

Before proceeding to describe the remaining portion of the Monastic buildings, it should be remarked that they are here erected on the North side of the Church instead of on the South side, where they are more frequently placed, because, as has been remarked, the lofty Church would not overshadow them; but Mr. Gordon Hills, who has so deeply studied the arrangement of Monastic buildings, informs me that he has discovered a rule which has no exception so far as he has observed in all the principal Monasteries of England and Ireland, namely, that "the domestic offices were always placed so that they should be on the side of the Church to which the watershed lay; usually, therefore, when the Church is end on to the stream the buildings are down the stream from the Church. When the Church is parallel to the stream, the buildings are between it and the Church. In the older Benedictine houses founded on some

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spot hallowed by the act of some Saint or by some special event, this rule is not so obvious, because the water supply and drainage was not, in the origin, the first consideration; but when the construction of Monasteries had settled into an absolute rule and fashion, as it did very early, and the necessity of, and application of water and drainage was a part of that rule, this water supply and drainage was the key to the position of the buildings." Mr. Hills has repeatedly drawn attention to this rule and has never heard any valid exception to it.

The Monastic buildings were, then, on the North side of the Abbey Church at Bury. The Great Cloister was 157 feet square, and had a Lavatory described by Leland as being a splendid work. 'It was supplied with water brought in leaden pipes from a source two miles distant. On the North side of the Cloister was the Refectory, the North wall of which remains. Adjoining the North transept was a Treasury and Vestry, next to it the Chapter House, probably with the Library over it, next to this the Monks' Farlour or Locutory, with the Dormitory over it.

On the West side of the Cloister was a long building extending from the Great Court to the Church. The remains of the Entrance Porch and the jambs of Inner Doorway may be seen, and are apparently of the date c. 1240. The lower part of this building probably contained wine and beer cellars and stores, and the upper part may have been a Guest-hall or Hostry for guests of superior degree, as at Norwich, Walsingham, &c.

To the West of the last described building was probably the Cellarer's House; the foundation remains, and shows a staircase turret at the North West angle. The cellarer's lodgings extended to the wall of the Bowling Green.

At the back or North side of the Refectory are the foundations of what were possibly the Kitchen and Buttery.

Eastward of the Dormitory was the Infirmary, and North of that the Necessarium.

To the East of the Church, extending quite to the bank of the small river, were the Hospices of the Prior and

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Sacrist; a few foundations can be traced, but not enough to enable us to particularize the various apartments.

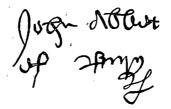
In endeavouring to assign the buildings to their original uses in this case much difficulty exists, because scarcely anything beyond the foundations remain, and in some cases not even those, so that much is matter of conjecture.

It should be mentioned that the Church and the Monastic buildings were erected of flint rubble, faced with stone from Barnack, in Northamptonshire, King William the Conqueror having issued his precept to the Abbot of Peterborough, commanding that the Abbot and Convent of St. Edmund should be permitted to take sufficient stone for the erection of their Church from these quarries, granting at the same time an exemption from the usual tolls chargeable upon its carriage from Barnack to Bury. Some bricks were used in relieving arches, and are also found occasionally mixed with the flint work. The mortar used in the Church is also mixed with pounded brick.

In conclusion we can but deplore that buildings originally so magnificent are now so utterly destroyed, and that we are quite unable to restore them, evén upon paper, almost every fragment of architectural cháracter` having long since been removed, and no engravings or drawings being known which can in any way assist us.

By the kindness of the Misses Lathbury, of Bury, I am enabled to illustrate this paper with a view of the house in which John de Melford, or Reeve, the last Abbot of Bury, He was elected Abbot in 1514, and was obliged, died. after a long struggle, and after having made several concessions, to surrender his Abbey on the 4th of November, 1539.A pension of 500 marcs per annum was assigned to him, and he retired to a house in the town at the top of Crown-street, and here he died on the 31st of March, 1540, and was buried in the Chancel of St. Mary's Church under a marble slab, ornamented with his effigy in brass, fully robed, and with mitre and pastoral staff. There were four shields of arms, and a Latin inscription which is to be found in Weever's "Funeral Monuments," p. 731.

Cole in his MSS., Vol. xxvii., p. 198, states that in 1643 the brass was stolen by the fanatics, and about 174_6^5 the slab was 'removed to make room for the gravestone of a person of the name of Sutton.



The accompanying woodcut is a facsimile of the Abbot's signature, taken from one in the possession of Richard Almack, Esq., F.S.A., who obligingly lent it to be engraved, and among the Davy drawings in the British Museum is one of "The drinking cup of John Reeve, the last mitred Abbot of St. Edmund's Bury," a relic'said to be still preserved in the family of Rowland Burdon, Esq., of Castle Eden. I am informed (but have not had an opportunity of seeing it) that Sir William Parker in his "*History of Melford*," lately published, has given many particulars of this Abbot's life.

The view of the East Gate is copied from one in the third volume of the "Antiquarian Repertory," p. 329, where it is thus described :—

THE EAST GATE AT BURY ST. EDMUND'S, IN SUFFOLK.

THE ARCHES IN THE WALL OF THE MONASTERY AT BURY ST. EDMUND'S, SUFFOLK, WITH THE EAST GATE.

This view shows the arches in the East wall of the Abbey, as also the East Gate of the town, now demolished.

These arches are of considerable antiquity, being evidently as old as the wall, which was erected before the year 1221, by the Abbot Sampson, to enclose some ground he had purchased there for a vineyard. Their use was to serve as a watercourse, and perhaps to form an occasional

footbridge by means of planks to lead from one projecting buttress to the other, there being an arched passage left between them and the wall, West of which is another bridge for foot passengers. The East Gate was always in the custody of the Abbot. The view being in nature greatly obscured by trees, these are here supposed to be cut down and only their stumps remaining.

This plate was engraved from one of the drawings before mentioned in the drawings of the Abbey gate.

The plate itself was published March, 1780, and "was taken from drawings made many years ago and purchased out of the collection of Lord Yarmouth about 30 years ago." (Fr. Ant. Rep.), Vol. 3, p. 326.

Lord Yarmouth died 1732.

The coat of arms used for the Abbey was azure three ducal coronets or two and one, the coronets generally, but not always, each transfixed by two arrows in saltire points downwards.

Of the seals of the Abbey several are known. The earliest is oval, $3\frac{3}{4}$ inches by $2\frac{3}{4}$ inches; the device is a figure of St. Edmund crowned, seated upon a faldstool or throne, in his right hand is a sceptre, terminating in a fleur-de-lis, and in his left hand an orb. The legend in Roman capitals, SIGILLVM · SANCTI · EADMUNDI · REGIS · ET · MARTIRIS. Yates, in Part ii., p. 38, of his "*History* of the Town and Abbey," states that an impression of this seal was appended to the foundation deed of St. Saviour's Hospital, at Bury, in the first of King John.

The large circular Common Seal is illustrated and so fully described by Mr. Frederic Ouvry, at p. 188, in the second volume of the "*Proceedings*" of this Institute, that it would be superfluous to describe it here.

The Secretum was pointed oval, 3 inches by 2 inches. On the obverse the King is shewn tied to a tree, pierced with numerous arrows, whilst five soldiers, armed with bows and arrows, are shooting at him. In the lower portion, under a trefoiled division, the executioner is represented as having just cut off the King's head, which the wolf is carrying off. Near the body of the King is a sunk trefoiled opening with three roundlets in it. Legend : SIGNUM : SECRETUM : CAF'LI : SANCTI : ÆDMUNDI : REGIS : ET :

MARTIRIS. On the reverse, St. Edmund, with his crown and sceptre, sitting under a canopy; on either side of the King is a Bishop and Abbot, but probably Bishops Humbert and Ailwin, standing, beneath them a trefoiled opening, similar to that on the obverse. Legend, in Roman letters, AGMINE: STIPATUS : SEDET : ED REX : PONTIFICATUS.

A small pointed oval seal, engraved in "Archæologia," Vol. xv. pl. 35, and there supposed to be the seal of Walter de Banham, Sacrist, temp. Henry I., although I cannot see upon what authority, has for device a tree and the wolf carrying the crowned head of the King; the legend is OSTEND'NT · SIGNU' · GA'TERI · REX · LUPA · LIGNU'.

Of the personal Seals relating to the Abbey the following are known :---

Hugh, Abbot 1157-1182. It is pointed oval and represents the Abbot standing holding in his right hand a pastoral staff and in his left a book. Legend in Roman capitals— SIGILLVM · HUGONIS · ABBATIS · SANCTI · ÆDMUNDI.

That of Sampson, Abbot 1182-1215. Pointed oval, $3\frac{1}{4}$ inches by 2 inches, shows the Abbot vested in albe, dalmatic, chasuble, mitre on his head, pastoral staff in his right hand, and a book in his left. Legend—SIGILLVM. SAMPSONIS · DEI · GRATIA · ABBATIS · SANCTI · EADMVNDI.

Counter-seal circular, 1_{10}^2 inch in diameter. Device—The Holy Lamb holding a cross patty. Legend—SECRETUM· SAMPSONIS ABBATIS.

An unknown Abbot. Seal pointed oval, $2\frac{3}{4}$ inches by 2 inches. Device, an Abbot standing vested in a loose robe, on either side of him a crossier. Legend defaced.

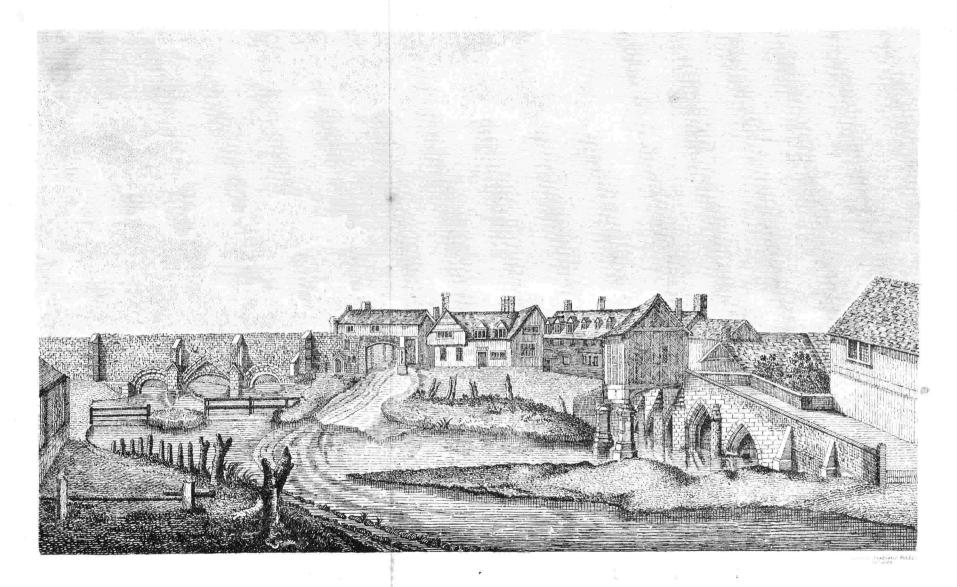
Counter-seal pointed oval $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch by $1\frac{1}{10}$ inch. Device -St. Edmund crowned bound to a tree, two men shooting arrows at him. Legend, defaced.

John Melford *alias* Reeves, 1520-1539. The only known impression is very imperfect. It is pointed oval, $3\frac{1}{4}$ inches by $2\frac{1}{4}$ inches. Tabernacle work and 3 niches; in the centre a robed figure supported by four angels. In the left hand niche St. Edmund, holding in his right hand an arrow and in his left a sceptre. The figure

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ALFRED W. MORANT.



EAST GATE AT STEDMUNDSBURY IN SUFFOLK.

FROM AN OLD PRINT IN THE POSSESSION OF MR. J. C. FORD.



The Old Bridge, beyond the East Gate, Bury St. Edmund's. Remobed, 1840.

FROM A SKETCH BY THE LATE MRS. LATHBURY.



the last Abbot, died, March 31st, 1540. Pulled down, 1855.

FROM A SKETCH BY THE LATE MISS E. LATHBURY.