THE CROSS.

QUEEN ELEANOR MEMORIAL: WALTHAM CROSS.

(Before restoration in 1885-92.)

The Cross . . in Ritual, . . Architecture, . and Art. . . .

BY THE

REV. GEO. S. TYACK, B.A.,

Author of "Historic Dress of the Clergy," "A Book about Bells," "Love and Legend of the English Church," etc.

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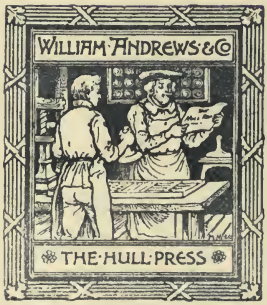

Preface.

IN issuing a new and enlarged edition of this work, the Author wishes to thank most sincerely his many unknown, but invariably friendly, correspondents, who have so kindly suggested improvements, and furnished him with fresh facts. It is practically impossible for a book dealing with so wide a subject to be exhaustive, nor can one hope entirely to avoid errors; yet, remembering the kindly reception given to his former effort both by the public and the press, the Author can confidently affirm that the present edition has been made more worthy of it.

GEO. S. TYACK.

PENKRIDGE, STAFFORD,
1st January. 1900.

Preface to the First Edition.

IN this work my aim has been to deal in a popular way with the manifold uses of the Cross as the symbol of the Christian Faith. The attempt necessitates certain limitations; to give prominence to controversial points, to go to foreign lands for illustrations and examples when so many apt ones are to be found at home, or to load the pages with references—any of these things would have been opposed to the object which I have set before myself. If my outline be sufficiently broad and clear, and the details, so far as they go, accurate—and to attain this no pains have been spared—I shall be content.

Before closing this brief preface, it is to me both a pleasure and a duty to express my grateful thanks to my friend and publisher, Mr. William Andrews, for the use of his collection of works, notes, and pictures relating to the Cross, and from his own productions I have gleaned some out-of-the-way information.

GEO. S. TYACK.

CROWLE, DONCASTER,

August, 1896.

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THE CROSS

IN

RITUAL, ARCHITECTURE, AND ART.

CHAPTER I.

Introductory.

IT is strange, yet unquestionably a fact, that in ages long before the birth of Christ, and since then in lands untouched by the teaching of the Church, the Cross has been used as a sacred symbol. The Aryan tribes, ancestors of most of the European nations, so regarded a cross of curious form, whose four equal arms were all turned midway at a right angle. The excavations of Dr. Schliemann on the site of ancient Troy have brought to light discs of baked clay stamped with a cross. It is well known that the *crux ansata*, or Tau Cross (T) with the addition of a ring, as if for suspension, at the top, is found in Egyptian inscriptions. The Greek Bacchus, the Tyrian Tammuz, the Chaldean Bel, and the Norse Odin, were all symbolised to their votaries by a cruciform device. The Spanish conquerors of Mexico found the cross already an object of reverence among the Aztecs, carved on temple walls, on amulets, and on pottery;

so, too, in North America, specimens of shell-work, engraved with crosses of various forms, have been unearthed from mounds raised by the native Indian tribes.

It is now agreed among almost all antiquaries that the type of the sacred symbol commonly called a "wheel cross" has been derived, with little or no alteration, from the sun-emblem of our pagan ancestors. As such the figure was familiar to the Britons, and to their neighbours, the Gauls; and it has been suggested (as by the Rev. S. Baring-Gould) that in adopting the X P as his standard the Emperor Constantine was actuated by policy, the same figure speaking to his pagan troops of the ever-revolving wheel of the sun, and to the Christians of the initials in Greek of the Saviour's name. Most of the numerous Cornish crosses are of this wheel shape, and isolated examples occur elsewhere in the country. The so-called Runic crosses also are a development of the same design, although in these, as a rule, the arms are not enclosed by the circle, but extend beyond it. A wheel cross occurs, with other curious cruciform figures, on the Norman, or possibly Saxon, tympanum* over the south door of Haltham Church, Lincolnshire.

Another familiar survival of the pagan use of this symbol meets us in the "hot cross-bun," so well known on Good Friday. Cakes compounded of flour, honey, and milk or oil, and marked with this sign, were anciently offered to such deified creatures as sacred snakes and bulls. And these, according at least to one theory, were the originals of those buns whose markings are now intended to recall the instrument of the Crucifixion.

* Engraved in "Lincolnshire Notes and Queries," vol. iv., no. 30 (1895).

It is further interesting to note that the sign was frequently regarded as an emblem of Deity, or as a symbol of favourable import. To the Egyptians it spoke of a future life; to the Aryans of fire, itself emblematic of life; the Mongolians lay it, drawn on paper, on the breasts of their dead; and the Buddhists of Thibet see in it a mark of the foot-print of Buddha.

In all this the Christians of the first age would have rejoiced, claiming it as a world-wide prophecy of the Cross of the Redeemer; just as they drew a similar lesson from the frequency with which the cross forms, more or less roughly, the shape of the ordinary implements of man's handicraft. "Consider all things in the world," writes Justin Martyr, in his apology addressed to the Emperor Antoninus Pius, "whether without this form they could be administered or could have any community. For the sea is not crossed except that trophy which is called a sail remain safe aboard the ship; nor is the earth ploughed without it; diggers and mechanics do not their work except with tools of this shape. And the human form differs from that of brute beasts in nothing but in being erect, and having the arms extended. The power of this figure is even shown by your own symbols, on what are named 'vexilla' and trophies, with which all your processions are made, using these, even though unwittingly, as signs of your authority and dominion."

Although we should be unwilling to-day to accept as argument all that a pious, yet simple, fancy, or the warmth of a fervid rhetoric, suggested to men of former times; it would, nevertheless, be equally, or more absurd for us to follow others, who have endeavoured to trace the mere

survival of heathen custom in the Christian use of the Cross. That such is not the case is clear, in spite of a few parallels in teaching as curious as those above referred to, from the fact that the Cross amongst us symbolizes the Faith, not as an arbitrary or mystic sign, but as the natural expression of an historical fact.

The Christians of the first two centuries, however, seldom employed any material image of the Cross, and never the Crucifix. This is only what, under the circumstances, was to be expected. To erect crosses in their houses, or to wear them on their persons, was impossible in the times of heathen ascendancy, without risking insult to the holy sign, and danger to themselves. Moreover, in days when crucifixion was still in use as the most degrading of all forms of punishment, and the cross to the world at large a more infamous figure than the gallows is now to us, it must have been difficult even for the followers of the Crucified to rise entirely above the common sentiment of their age. The absolute horror with which the "accursed tree" was regarded before hallowing associations ennobled it, is well illustrated by the exclamation of Cicero in one of his orations: "Let the very name of the cross be banished, not from the bodies only, but from the eyes, the ears, the thoughts of Roman citizens!" The earliest known attempt to depict the Crucifixion of the Saviour illustrates the fact that it was the worship of a Crucified Man which struck the contemporary heathen as especially incomprehensible. In the year 1857, a wall in the Palatine Palace at Rome, which had been hidden from sight for centuries, was laid bare, and displayed a rude sketch, which has been named the "graffito blasfemo." Stretched on a cross is a human

figure with an ass's head, before which stands a man in a short tunic with his arms upraised, while beneath, in very roughly-formed Greek characters, runs the inscription: "Alexamenos adores his God." The work, scratched on the wall doubtless by some palace slave in ridicule of a comrade, is assigned to the end of the second century, and obviously alludes with blasphemous scorn to the manner of the Saviour's death, and to the strange calumny, first flung by the Gnostics at the Jews, and then by the heathen at Jews and Christians alike, that they paid divine honours to an ass.

At this time the faithful contented themselves with a mere suggestion of the sign, such as the combined X and P, the first two letters of the name of Christ in Greek; sometimes indicating the X with a transverse stroke across the P. Nothing more definite than this, dating from primitive times, is to be found in the many inscriptions in the Roman catacombs, where the Christians worshipped and buried their dead down at least to A.D. 260. In their private devotions, however, and in public also if occasion demanded an open profession of the faith, they early adopted the habit of making the sacred sign. They prayed, as is shown in the caricature just described, with arms spread crosswise; and amid the tortures of martyrdom, when the savage uproar drowned their voices, or their failing strength denied them power to speak, their arms crossed above their heads bore their mute testimony to the steadfastness of their faith. "In every undertaking," writes Tertullian in the second century, "on coming in and going out, on dressing or washing, at the bringing in of lights, on going to bed, in whatever occupation we are engaged, we

imprint our foreheads with the sign of the Cross." To this testimony of the universal use of the practice in the primitive ages might be added that of many of the most eminent of the fathers, as, for instance, Lactantius, S. Athanasius, S. Basil, S. Ephrem, S. Cyril of Jerusalem, and his namesake of Alexandria, S. John Chrysostom, S. Ambrose, and S. Augustine of Hippo—all writers flourishing in the fourth century of our era. We have also proof that by the beginning of that century Christians, at any rate occasionally, wore the figure of the Cross concealed beneath their garments. S. Orestes, a Roman soldier, who received the crown of martyrdom during the Diocletian persecution, which commenced in 303, was discovered by this means. At some military sports Orestes was displaying his skill in throwing the discus, when a cross, hung about his neck, fell from among the folds of his tunic, and proclaimed to the spectators the faith which he held.

The growth of the use of the material cross was greatly accelerated by two important historical events, the conversion of the Emperor Constantine, with which we may put the claim of the Empress-mother, S. Helena, to have discovered the true Cross, and the outbreak of the Crusades.

The story of the first of these events has been recorded for us by Eusebius, the friend and biographer of Constantine, as it was told to him by the Emperor himself; and the account is too well known to require repetition in detail here. It will be sufficient to recall the fact that in the year 312 A.D., as Constantine was marching against Maxentius, a vision of the Cross, with the legend "In This Sign Conquer," was vouchsafed to him, and that a dream subsequently instructed him to inscribe that symbol on the imperial

banners. In obedience to this command a splendid banner was made, consisting of a cross-staff, from which, embroidered in jewels on a silken square, hung the sacred monogram; and under this standard, the *labarum*, the army marched to victory.

From this time Christianity was not only tolerated, but placed under imperial protection; crucifixion, moreover, ceased to be employed as a form of punishment, and the Cross began to be treated with honour. A cross of gold, adorned with precious stones, was placed by Constantine's orders, in the chief hall of the palace; and the imperial coinage is found to bear, with increasing frequency, the holy sign. Sometimes, as in a coin of Constantius II., the Emperor is depicted holding the labarum in his hand; or, as on those of Jovianus, he carries a globe surmounted by a cross; while later emperors stamped their coinage with the cross itself, often surrounded by a laurel crown.

The fear of insult to sacred places and religious emblems being thus removed, the Christians began to build themselves churches more worthy of their holy rites, than the rooms or the catacombs with which they had formerly been compelled to be content; and in the decoration of these the cross began to take its appropriate place. A couple of centuries later, in the reign of Justinian (527-565), it was even ordered by the imperial authority that no church should be erected except the bishop had first set up a cross to mark the site.

Closely connected with the conversion of Constantine is the alleged discovery of the true Cross by S. Helena.

It was in the year 325, the year of the first General Council of the Church, which met at Nicaea to condemn

the heresy of Arius, that the Empress, endowed with ample means and with the fullest authority, went to Jerusalem and began the search for the instrument of our redemption. The site of the Crucifixion having been preserved in tradition, excavations were made on the spot, which first disclosed the Holy Sepulchre, over which, both to conceal and to desecrate the spot, a temple had been erected to Venus; and afterwards were brought to light, in a pit hard by, those venerable pieces of wood which Christendom hailed as "the very Cross," to one of which was still affixed a board with an inscription in Hebrew, Greek, and Latin.

To determine the exact value of the story thus briefly summarized, is not so easy a matter as many have assumed it to be. On the one hand, no one questions the sincerity of Helena herself, nor the fact that she actually found the wood in the excavations which she had made. S. Cyril of Jerusalem, writing from that city not more than twenty years later, refers to the event; and most of the fathers and chroniclers of the Church who follow him notice it, both he and they evidently accepting as facts the claims made on behalf of the wood. Moreover, it is not without its bearing on the matter that the date of the discovery coincides with a great crisis in the Arian controversy, when the eagerness of the heretics to attack and discredit the Catholics in any and every way would present a special difficulty to any attempt to impose a fraud upon Christendom. And, finally, it is not easy to see who could plan and carry out so vast a deception in the face of all the persons of authority, both in Church and State, who were then in Jerusalem; nor the object which the deception would be intended to attain.

The great argument on the other side, and one difficult to overcome, and impossible to ignore, is the silence of Eusebius on the subject; yet he was present in Jerusalem at the actual time of the discovery, or very shortly afterwards, and in his life of Constantine he records others of the works undertaken in the Holy City by that Emperor through his mother, such as the erection of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. It is impossible but that Eusebius knew of the assertion with which Jerusalem and the world rang, that the wood discovered was the true Cross; yet he makes no allusion to it.

To whatever conclusion we moderns may come on the matter, it is beyond question that all Christendom at that time accepted the story as true, and greeted the sacred wood with unbounded enthusiasm; and the devotion thus excited cannot fail to have had a marked influence on the use of the figure of the Cross.

A new chapter in the development of this use is begun at the Crusades, and to these the subsequent history of this world-famed wood naturally leads us.

The greater portion of the "true Cross" was kept at Jerusalem, in the church reared by Constantine and dedicated with great solemnity in 335. It was subsequently richly adorned with gold and jewels, and was exposed for the veneration of the faithful every Easter Sunday. Nearly three centuries later, in 614, Chosroes, King of Persia, after victorious campaigns in Asia Minor and in Egypt, descended on the Holy Land with a tumultuous host of barbarians. The city of Jerusalem was taken and sacked, after ninety thousand Christians had fallen fighting in its defence; and the Cross was carried off in triumph by the heathen conqueror.

So bold an assault both on the Faith and on the Empire could not be brooked, and in 629, at a great battle on the plains of Nineveh, the Persian power was destroyed by the Emperor Heraclius, and the Cross recovered. With all solemnity the sacred relic was borne back to its former resting-place, the Emperor himself, bare of head and foot, carrying it on his shoulders into the city. In commemoration of his victory Heraclius struck a medal in silver, on the reverse of which was a cross mounted on a graduated pedestal, with the legend "Devs Adivta Romanis."

Again was Jerusalem captured in 637, now by the new-born Mohammedan power, but the Cross was not molested; and for four hundred years it was the object of Christendom's special devotion, pilgrims from every country in Europe, and of all grades of society, coming in countless numbers to kneel before it, and in many cases to die within reach of it. But in the year 1009, a Caliph of Egypt arose, in the person of El Hakim, to whose fierce and fanatical spirit the toleration hitherto granted to the Christians was hateful; and in the name of the prophet he invaded Palestine and took Jerusalem. The churches built by Constantine and Helena over the sacred sites were utterly destroyed, and the Cross barely escaped the same fate; faithful hands, however, succeeded in carrying it off and concealing it, and for almost a century it was but rarely and cautiously exhibited.

At last the trumpet call of Peter the Hermit rang out across Europe, and an army, full of enthusiasm, and led by a band of almost ideal heroes, started up in answer. Whatever faults marred the actions of the Crusaders, and however soiled by human ambitions and personal jealousies

later expeditions might be, the first Crusade was inspired by a genuine zeal for a cause that all held to be holy—the rescuing of the places sanctified by the Saviour's life and death from the pollution of unbelievers, and especially the bringing back of the Cross to its place of honour. On Friday, July 13th, 1099, the Christian armies entered the Holy City, and the Cross, uplifted on Calvary, became the centre, almost the *raison d'être*, of the new kingdom of Jerusalem.

But the time of its disappearance from the earth was not far distant. Godfrey, the first king of that almost mystic kingdom, had been buried beside the sacred wood on the right, and Baldwin, his successor, on the left, and the guardianship of the holy places had fallen into hands less conscious of the sacredness of their office, when Saladin invaded the land in 1187. The last stand of the Christians, under Guy, the unworthy successor of the early kings, was made at Hattin, and the venerable relics of the Cross itself were borne into the camp, like the ark of God at Eben-ezer, to inspire them with courage and devotion; but the spirit of the old Crusaders was dead, and the infidel was completely triumphant.

A few years later, in 1192, we hear of the Cross as still in Saladin's possession, and as shown by his permission to some favoured pilgrims, among whom was the Bishop of Salisbury, and then it disappears from history; the sacred wood that myriads had braved the perils of seas and Alpine passes to gaze upon, that thousands had gladly died to protect, vanished from the eyes of men, whither none can say.

In the church of Santa Croce, Florence, are some

ancient and interesting frescoes by Agnolo Gaddi (1326-1389), which illustrate the traditional history of the wood of the Cross. Along the walls of the choir we have, amongst other scenes, the miraculous growth of the sacred tree, the making of the Cross, its discovery by S. Helena, and its solemn translation within Jerusalem, the vision of Constantine, and the recovery of the Cross by Heraclius. Legendary histories of the wood of the Cross, which trace it from the time of Moses, or even of Adam, were popular both in prose and verse in mediæval Europe.

Nothing now remains of the most highly-prized relic which the world has ever held, except numerous fragments of the wood preserved in cathedrals and elsewhere throughout Europe, some score or more of nails purporting to be those which pierced the hands and feet of the Lord, and the board with its trilingual inscription. The sneer that there is enough wood of the true Cross to build a man-of-war has become a common-place, but it proves only the ignorance of those who repeat it; the fragments being all of the smallest dimensions, few as large as a pin, many no larger than a pin's head. The nails were probably most of them made as copies of the originals, and in course of time have come to be regarded as genuine. The famous iron crown of Lombardy has been said to enshrine a holy nail, but the claim is no older than the sixteenth century. The superscription is in the church of Santa Croce at Rome, and the question of its genuineness stands exactly on a level with that of the Cross itself: whether or no it be the veritable board which hung above the head of the Crucified, there can be little doubt that it is one unearthed by S. Helena more than fifteen hundred years ago.

Of places claiming relics of the true Cross, Mount Athos stands first in the number and size of the fragments in its possession; then come, in the order named, Rome, Brussels, Venice, Ghent, and Paris. Down to the time of the Great Revolution the splendid chapel of the Bourbons at Bourbon L'Archambault contained a piece of the Cross brought from the Holy Land by S. Louis. It was mounted in a cross of pure gold raised on steps, and formed the centre of a Calvary, in which the figures of the Virgin-Mother, of S. John, and of S. Mary Magdalene were of silver; and to which were subsequently added kneeling figures of John, Duke of Bourbon, and his wife, Jeanne of France. A golden crown suspended over the group bore an inscription to the effect that "Louis de Bourbon, the second of that name, had this cross adorned with gold and jewels in the year 1393." It was exactly four centuries later that a poor priest of the parish found the sacred relic torn from its costly decorations, and was able to preserve it in a simple reliquary.

Hardly any fragments of this holy wood are now to be found in England, though formerly there were many. In the first charter granted by S. Edward the Confessor to his abbey at Westminster, the King alludes to the relics there preserved, mentioning, amongst others, two pieces of the true Cross, and a part of one of the nails which pierced the Saviour's hands. There is a curious story in the biography of Cardinal Wolsey by his gentleman-usher, Cavendish, which, while it hardly speaks well for his Eminence's devotion, proves that he could estimate the tastes of his royal master. Wolsey, now in disgrace, was making his way to the retirement of Esher, when he was overtaken by

Norris, one of the gentlemen of the bed-chamber to Henry VIII., bringing a gold ring from the King, and a letter which seemed to give some promise of renewed power and favour. In gratitude for the hope, Wolsey gave the messenger his gold chain, from which hung a relic of the true Cross, saying as he did so, "When I was in prosperity I would not have parted with it for a thousand pounds." Then, looking about for a suitable gift for the King, his eyes lighted upon Patch, his court-fool. "I give him to his Majesty," exclaimed the Cardinal, "Patch is worth a thousand pounds!"

It is from the period of the Crusades especially that we must date the wide-spread erection of crosses and use of cross-forms throughout Europe. Worn as a badge or charm, worked in silk or formed in metal, towering in stone by the wayside or overshadowing the busy market, gleaming on banners, or resplendent in jewels in the solemnities of the Church,—everywhere the holy sign met the eye.

One use of the Christian emblem is directly due to Crusading influence. The union in the expeditions against the infidels of knights of many lands and different languages gave its origin, or at any rate its organized form, to the science of heraldry; and the spirit which presided at its birth is shown in the immense variety of crosses recognised in its vocabulary. We have the Latin Cross, the ordinary cross of suffering; the Greek Cross with its equal arms; the Cross of S. Andrew, or the saltire (X); the Maltese, or eight-pointed cross; the Tau, or Egyptian Cross (T); and others which a persistent ingenuity of invention has almost endlessly varied, until some thirty heraldic examples may be counted.

It is well known that every Crusader of whatever rank had a cross of some material stitched to his tunic; but three great orders of knighthood arose during the "Holy War," which made it their peculiar badge, as they were pre-eminently the champions of the Cross. The Knights of the Hospital of S. John at Jerusalem, or Knights of Malta, or of Rhodes, commonly called simply the Hospitallers, were founded in 1048, and were habited in black mantles with a white cross on the left breast, scarlet surcoats with similar crosses on back and front, and each wore the same emblem in gold suspended by a black ribbon from his neck. The Brethren of the Temple at Jerusalem, or Templars, founded in 1128, wore white mantles with red crosses, and carried banners of black and white charged with a cross in red. The Teutonic Knights, more properly the Knights of the Hospital of our Ladye of Mount Zion at Jerusalem, assumed a black cross as their badge.

In this connection it is interesting to note how prominent a place the emblem of the Christian Faith still holds in the ensigns and honourable distinctions of the world. The decorations of the British orders of the Garter, the Bath, the Thistle, and of S. Patrick, all consist of, or comprise, a cross, as of course does the coveted Victoria Cross. The same is true of the French Legion of Honour; the Prussian Black Eagle, Red Eagle, and Iron Cross; the Russian orders of S. Andrew, S. Alexander Newski, and the White Eagle; the Austrian orders of Maria Theresa, and of S. Stephen; the orders of Fidelité of Baden, of S. Hubert of Bavaria, of S. James and of the Calatrava of Spain, of the Annonciade of Italy, and of Solomon's Seal of Abyssinia. Similarly the arms, or ensigns, or both, of Great Britain,

Germany, Russia, Italy, Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Greece, and Switzerland, all display the sign of our Redemption, the most conspicuous instance of all being the Union Jack, with its combined crosses of S. George of England, of S. Andrew of Scotland, and of S. Patrick of Ireland. It is not a little remarkable that during the brief period of the Puritan ascendancy, when the royal arms were discarded, and the Church was overthrown, the crosses of the patron saints were nevertheless kept, and from them was formed the shield of the Commonwealth. Similarly the Scottish Covenanters clung to the national emblem of Christianity, and adopted a flag bearing S. Andrew's Cross charged with a thistle, and circumscribed with the words "Covenants for Religion, Crowne, and Kingdoms."

Evidence of the triumph of the Cross is given by the regalia of almost every Christian kingdom, where the jewelled cross surmounts the monarch's crown and sceptre, stands on the orb, and is engraved upon his signet; but no more universal recognition of the sign is to be found than in the coinage of Christendom. We have seen that shortly after the conversion of Constantine, the Christian symbol began to appear on the coins of the Empire, and the practice afterwards became general throughout Europe. This arose, probably, partly from a wish to testify to the faith of the sovereign and of his people, but partly also in the hope that those who were tempted to deface or to clip the coin might be deterred by the sight of the holy sign. The English silver pennies and nobles were almost all stamped with a cross on the reverse, reaching from edge to edge; the deniers of France, and the pistoles of Spain, were similarly marked; but fully to illustrate the fact would

be to catalogue a great portion of the mintage of mediæval, and some of modern Europe. The custom of thus marking coins has given rise to a proverbial expression, "Cross and pile," equivalent to our more modern "heads and tails." The phrase is probably of French origin, but it has found its way into English literature. Locke, in his work on the "Human Understanding," says "A man may now justifiably throw up cross and pile for his opinions." Shadwell, in his "Epsom Wells," declares that "Marriage is worse than cross I win, pile you lose." And in a slightly different way Butler, in "Hudibras," describes an impecunious fellow as having "neither cross nor pile."

All these several uses of the acknowledged emblem of Christianity show us how wide and varied in interest is the field over which the Cross of Christ has flung its illuminating influence.

CHAPTER II.

The Development of the Crucifix.

WE have already seen that the Christians of the first centuries were deterred by circumstances from any general use of the figure of the Cross. It follows naturally that the Crucifix was still later in coming into existence. Indeed, long after Christianity had become the acknowledged religion of the Empire, there were reasons which made its use inexpedient. The faithful, though now protected from insult and persecution, were still a minority surrounded by the adherents of paganism; and as the influence of the Church gradually spread to the barbarian tribes beyond the confines of the Empire, she was constantly being brought face to face with fresh forms of idolatry in northern Europe, in Africa, and in Asia. It needs but little acquaintance with folk-lore to recall illustrations of the fact that heathenism died hard; even when active opposition had been overcome, and the bulk of the people had outwardly accepted the faith, perhaps, as was not seldom the case, almost by whole tribes at a time, yet old customs, old superstitions lived on. Thus to the present day the druidic regard for the misletoe has a traditional existence in England after eighteen centuries of Christian teaching; and in Cornwall and elsewhere midsummer-night still sees the hill-tops ablaze with bonfires that, meaningless now, once proclaimed the fire-worshippers' devotion. If such things

are still found amongst us, innocent indeed now of any idolatrous intent, but eloquent of the vitality of the customs of idolatry, it is easy to divine the result that would have followed the introduction of the Crucifix into a world almost wholly heathen. It has been alleged that the Roman Senate offered to admit the Christ to the pantheon of the state; and similarly the Crucifix might simply have become the companion of the hammer of Thor, or the sun-crowned Phoebus, of the sacred ibis of Egypt, or the winged monsters of Assyria; or at best a mere substitute for them. Guided by a Divine instinct, the Church showed a wise self-restraint; and it was only as the decay of idolatry in the West removed this danger, that she allowed herself to contemplate the image of the Redeemer.

From the first, nevertheless, a yearning was felt for the help towards devotion which the eye can give, although the necessity of prudence and caution confined the faithful to the use of symbolic, rather than of historic, figures. Thus even in the days of the catacombs the Vine, the Dove, the Lamb, the Good Shepherd, are found, with a meaning obviously Scriptural in origin; and again the Fish, specially recommended, together with the above emblems, by S. Clement of Alexandria as a device for seals and rings, was frequently employed, as setting forth in an anagram, by means of its name in Greek, the words Jesus Christ, the Son of God, the Saviour. These were all common forms, calculated to suggest Christian teaching to the believer, without exciting comment from the heathen. Meanwhile the simple cross was growing yearly more familiar to the people as the emblem of the Christian religion. One of its earliest forms was that known as the fylfot, like four Greek

gammas joined at their bases; a figure that served, equally with the emblems just described, to suggest the sign to the Christian without offending others. But so rapid was the change that took place consequent on the conversion of Constantine, that so early as the papacy of John I. (who died in the year 526) crosses were carried in the processions of the Church; and, as we shall see presently, the custom was probably considerably earlier in some places.

The next step was the natural one of combining with the cross one or other of the emblematic figures which were already accepted as referring to the Crucified. The Lamb with the cross, therefore, became a common symbol of the Crucifixion during the first six centuries. In its most restrained form we find simply above the head of the Lamb the sacred monogram, as used on the labarum of the Christianized empire; and occasionally the figure becomes not so much a type as a representative of the Saviour, by having five bleeding wounds in its feet and side. Later the same emblem appears, often with a cruciferous nimbus about its head, carrying a slender cross on a tall shaft, or a banner charged with a cross. Similarly a long cross-staff is sometimes placed, instead of the pastoral crook, in the hand of the Good Shepherd. An interesting example of this occurs on a slab unearthed at Wirksworth, in Derbyshire, during the restoration of the church in 1820; it is part of a tomb supposed to date from the seventh century. The lower compartment has a quaintly designed scene representing the Ascension, in which we see the figure of the Lord holding a cross-staff in His hands, surrounded by an oval frame which is upborne by angels. Such a method of representing the Saviour was familiar to the people

AN EARLY CHRISTIAN TOMB AT WIRKSWORTH.

down to much later times, so that we find in a mediæval sermon by "Master Albert, of the order of preachers" (published about 1480), the exhortation that as "the Lord goes before us with the staff of His cross, we ought to follow His steps." In all these the emblem of Christ is the prominent feature of the design, the cross being entirely subordinate. As it became possible to be less guarded in displaying the "ensign of the faith," this order was to some extent reversed. On the tomb of Gallia Placida at Ravenna, of the fifth century, the Lamb stands on a mount—the "Lamb standing on Mount Sion" of the Apocalypse—with behind it a cross, from the arms of which depend the Alpha and Omega. Again, the Lamb lies at the foot of the cross, an arrangement apparently referred to by S. Paulinus of Nola, who describes a painting in his church in the words, "Christ in the lamb stands 'neath the Cross all gleaming with His blood."

A more decided approximation to the Crucifix was made when the sacred Lamb was placed on the cross at the joining of the arms and the shaft; an instance of which also occurs on the slab above referred to at Wirksworth.* In the sixth century we begin to meet with the Crucifix properly so called. Fortunatus gives us the first undoubted reference to one made in relief about the year 560, and S. Gregory of Tours, some thirty years later, refers to a painted one at Narbonne. The famous Vatican cross, said to have been given by the Emperor Justin (elected 519) to Pope Gregory II., exhibits an interesting stage in the transition from the emblem to the figure of Christ. The sacred

* See "Bygone Derbyshire," edited by William Andrews, F.R.H.S. (Hull, 1892).

Lamb still keeps its place on a medallion in the centre, while a half-length figure of the Saviour in the act of benediction is on the upper limb of the cross, and another, probably S. John Baptist, is on the lower one; on the arms, with a curious lack of reverence and taste, are effigies of the Emperor and his wife Flavia. A book of the Gospels in the library at Munich, supposed to have been executed in this same century, has a cross which terminates above in a kind of arch, under which is a bust of Christ, while the Alpha and Omega hang from the transverse beam.

In the course of time the cross itself seems to have been regarded occasionally less as a suggestion of the Crucifixion, than as a type or emblem of Christ. A striking and curious example of this is to be found on a tomb in the church of S. Apollinare at Ravenna, where the artist has depicted the Transfiguration in a strange union of realism and symbolism. Moses and Elias are on either side, and the hand above suggests the Father, but three sheep stand for the chosen apostles, and in the centre is, not Christ, but the Cross.

It may, perhaps, have been the perception of such a tendency which led the Greek Fathers at the Council in Trullo, in 692, to feel that the time had come for a more emphatic assertion in sacred art of the personality and human nature of the Redeemer. Thus, at any rate, they decreed :—"We order that, instead of the Lamb, our Lord Jesus Christ shall be shown hereafter in His human form in the images; so that, without forgetting the height from which the Divine Word stooped to us, we shall be led to remember His mortal life, His passion, and His death, which paid the ransom for mankind."

The alteration, however, was completed as cautiously as it had been begun, even the method of production partaking of the restraint exhibited in the development of the subject. The earliest crucifixes probably had the figure simply etched in outline, then it was painted upon the cross, and last of all it became a partial or complete relief. The last stage was not reached, unless in a few exceptional cases, until the ninth century.

The earliest crucifix in the catacombs is of the seventh or eight century, and Pope John VII., in 706, dedicated the first mosaic example in S. Peter's at Rome. An early legend tells how Wulfad, son of Wulfere, King of Mercia, coming by chance during a hunting expedition on the cell of S. Chad, found him kneeling in prayer before a rudely-carved crucifix. This would be between 659 and 670. More reliance probably can be placed in the statement that Benedict Biscop, Abbot of Jarrow (died 690), brought from Rome a picture of the Crucifixion, the first of which we hear on clear evidence in the North of England. S. Augustine, in 596, advancing with his monks to his first conference with King Ethelbert of Kent, was preceded by a silver cross and a crucifixion painted on a panel. A curious legend, recorded by Osbern in his life of S. Dunstan, alludes to a crucifix at Winchester in 968. An assembly of the notables of the realm, both in Church and State, was held in that city in the year named, to consider the conversion of the chapters of secular priests into monastic communities; and, according to the story, the advocates of the alteration gained the day, chiefly owing to a voice which spoke miraculously from a crucifix hanging on the wall of the council-chamber.

Now and again an iconoclastic spirit revealed itself in opposition to the growing use, not only of the crucifix, but of images of saints and patriarchs; but it made no headway in the West. Serenus, Bishop of Marseilles, having broken down some images in a church, was reproved by Pope Gregory, on the ground that "in paintings on walls those who are unable to read books can read what in books they cannot." In the East, however, the movement aroused much bitterness, and led even to persecution. Leo the Isaurian in 726 began an attack on all use of images; and a Council at Constantinople in 752 rejected them absolutely. This decree was not accepted generally as final; but in the end the Eastern Church settled down under a compromise, which is still maintained, by which pictures in painting, mosaic, or engraving, are permitted, while all reliefs and statues are forbidden.

Amongst the few crucifixes in the East which survived the destruction consequent first on the iconoclastic persecution, and then their final condemnation, is one that is probably the oldest in the world. It is in the Monastery of Xeropotami, on Mount Athos, and consists of an alleged fragment of the true Cross, with two transverse pieces, the upper and smaller one representing the superscription. On these lies a small ivory figure, and below is a representation of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in gold and jewels. It is said to have been a gift from the Empress Pulcheria (414-453), a fact which may account for its preservation.

As there are still found among us not a few who find cause for offence in the image of the Crucified Redeemer, it will not be out of place to quote the opinions of one or two thoughtful men of modern times on the usefulness and

lawfulness of the employment of the crucifix, and none of our witnesses shall be men whose sympathies lay at all in the direction of mediæval Christianity. On the principle involved in such use the late Dr. Arnold, the justly famous headmaster of Rugby, thus speaks :—"It is manifest to every thinking person that the fact of the Incarnation is a virtual repeal of the letter of the Second Commandment. For, in the Person of Jesus Christ there was given us an image of God, which we might and should represent to ourselves in our own minds; and what our thoughts and minds may lawfully and profitably dwell upon may clearly be no less lawfully and profitably presented to our bodily senses." (Arnold's "Sermons," vol. iii., p. 4, note.) In one of his sermons there is the following passage on the devotional use of this sacred image :—"If our Lord Himself were to return to earth, no Christian, I suppose, would refuse to worship Him; yet it would be a gross superstition to believe that His actual presence would of itself save us, or that to touch His garments would at once secure us from the judgment of God. Now what it were superstition to believe of Himself, it is, of course, superstition to believe of His image; but if His living presence impressed His words more deeply on our hearts, would it be superstition then to seek His company? And if His image, though in a less degree, produce the same effect, if it keep Him in our remembrance, and recall our wandering thoughts to Him, is it superstition not to refuse such an aid? The Bible Society, and other societies of the same kind, can have circulated the Scriptures to little purpose if the sight of the cross and the crucifix would indeed minister to superstition rather

than to godliness. But I believe that it would be far otherwise."

The late Lord Shaftesbury, whose Protestantism was sufficiently pronounced, has the following entries in his diary for the year 1833, when he was travelling in Italy and Switzerland:—"At Padua, bought a small crucifix. . . . The worship of the material, or the mere representation, is senseless, wicked, and idolatrous; but to bear about a memorial of what God Himself once exhibited to the world does but simply recall His Death and Passion, and forces us, as Scripture has foretold, to 'look on Him Whom we pierced.' . . . These Catholic districts are not without a charm. The announcement and display of religion give a grace to these solitudes; while the ensign of the cross, comely in its form, and adapted to the scenery, places the humiliation and the power of God in wondrous juxtaposition. The use of the Cross has been superstitiously abused, and Protestant nations have therefore mostly abandoned it; but we suffer by the change. Such a memorial is necessary, and ought to be pleasing."

The history of the development of the crucifix did not end when the Divine effigy assumed the place of the type upon it.

The earliest artists made no attempt at realism in moulding or carving the figure. On the contrary they distinctly avoided it, and the crucifix continued to be emblematic. The truth which they aimed especially at setting forth was the voluntary character of the Lord's self-sacrifice. The Christ, therefore, is generally clothed in a robe reaching to the feet; the outspread arms do not hang, but lie straight along the transverse beam; and the feet are

placed side by side upon a supporting ledge; the head is erect, and the eyes frequently, if not usually, are open and look straight forward; the side is not pierced, and often the hands and feet show neither wounds nor nails. Others of these early crucifixes set forth the thought of Christ as King reigning from the tree, and the figure is here royally crowned and robed. This is in unison with that line in the famous mediæval hymn *Vexilla Regis*, which runs "Regnavit a ligno Deus"; and this again was founded on a curious and ancient reading in the tenth verse of Psalm xcvi., which is quoted by Justin Martyr, by Tertullian, and by S. Augustine in the form "Tell it out among the heathen that the Lord reigneth *from the tree.*"

A crucifix that has to some extent become historical is the Holy Face of Lucca. Tradition alleges that it was carved in cedar wood by S. Nicodemus, who copied the face from an impression taken on linen of the Saviour's features immediately after the Crucifixion. This handkerchief with its likeness of the Lord was the original "*Vultus de Lucca*," and by it William Rufus was in the habit of swearing, and a double confusion has been caused concerning it; first, by the fact that the name is now applied to the carving, and then by the fact that the words of the royal oath were understood by some people to mean "the face of S. Luke." This crucifix, which is certainly not older than the eighth century, and may be considerably later, represents Christ in the combined characters of King and Priest, the figure being crowned and clad in a dark sacerdotal vestment. The claim on behalf of the carving at Lucca was disputed by another crucifix in Picardy, which was alleged to be the true *Vultus de Lucca* and the genuine handiwork of S. Nicodemus.

One of these kingly crucifixes is alluded to in an account, given in Peck's "Stamford," of the sacking of the monastery at Burg in 1069. The robbers, we are told, forced their way into the church, and, climbing into the rood-loft, tore from the head of Christ a crown of pure gold. A crucifix of this conventional character, once reputed to be miraculous, may still be seen in one of the chapels of Amiens Cathedral.

In these crucifixes there is no appeal to the emotions, no petition for pity on behalf of agonised humanity; but an impressive declaration on the part of the artist of his strong faith in the Deity of the Sufferer.

In describing these various stages in the development of the crucifix, it must not be taken to imply that step always followed step in a regular progression. As a matter of fact the different phases overlapped considerably, and now and again a rare specimen is found antedating by many years the age to which a strict classification of styles would assign it. There is, for instance, a very early pectoral crucifix,* which while coinciding for the most part with the description just given, nevertheless represents the Christ as dead, with closed eyes and uncrowned head slightly inclined. A crucifix in the Treasury at Aix-la-Chapelle, known as the Cross of Lothario, though only of the ninth century, has the hanging arms, the fallen head, and the short cloth about the loins, much as we see them to-day. On the other hand, in the National Museum at Stockholm is a stone font, once in the ancient church of Ottrava, in West Gotland, which, although of the eleventh century, has on one of its panels a

* Engraved, as are several other examples referred to, in Mrs. Jameson's "History of our Lord, as exemplified in works of Art," vol. 2.

crucifix of the early type. The head is erect, and the feet side by side, no nails being apparent either in them or in the hands; the only vesture, however, is a short apron hanging from the waist almost to the knees. The cross itself is represented as the Tree of Life, with branches and leaves.

As art in some lands was later in ripening than in others, so in some it clung for a longer period to the older art-forms; while several of the primitive emblematic figures have become parts of the Church's permanent teaching for the eyes of her children. The builders of our Norman churches had a special fondness for the Agnus Dei, the Lamb bearing the Cross, and we find it worked into their carvings in various ways. Amongst the most curious examples may be quoted those on the ancient fonts of Ilam in Staffordshire, and Tissington in Derbyshire, and above the church doors of Hognaston and Parwick, in the latter county, and of Hoveringham, Nottinghamshire.

Another peculiarity of the early crucifixes, which sets them apart from historic representations of the Crucifixion, is the attempt made to bring within the narrow limits of a cross other details, actual or mystical, of the atoning sacrifice. Many of them have on the upper limb, or on the arms, of the cross more or less conventional signs for the sun and moon. Sometimes, as on the pectoral cross noticed above, these are simply a circle, with or without rays, and a crescent; and in this case they are merely emblems of the powers of Creation witnessing the death of the Creator. Sometimes they are more fanciful, as when they are suggested by male and female figures within circles, wrapping their faces in their mantles; and here they are symbols of the supernatural darkness of the first Good Friday.

The Blessed Virgin and S. John the Divine are frequently placed on the arms of the cross beyond the hands of Christ, as in a beautiful enamelled crucifix in the museum at Copenhagen, which was once the property of Dagmar, the "darling queen" of Denmark, on whose breast it was buried in 1212. At the top, again, is often found a hand in the attitude of benediction, a symbol of the Father, and at the foot writhes the vanquished serpent. Many of the more elaborate examples had the reverse side enamelled or engraved, usually with appropriate Old Testament types, such as the fall of Adam, or the sacrifice of Abraham. A good example of this use of type and antitype is quoted in the next chapter in the case of the Station Cross at Mayence. Almost the only emblematic additions to the crucifix which have survived in use to our day are the apocalyptic symbols of the four evangelists, still often found on large crosses, especially those on rood-screens; and the skull placed at the foot, sometimes with cross-bones, as a symbol of death. This last is much more modern in introduction than the others.

Crucifixes of the full and elaborate type above described are found as late as the fourteenth century; but as pictorial art advanced, and the whole scene of the Passion was treated by artists with increasing frequency and fullness, the extraneous details dropped from the crucifix, and it became the simple, yet dignified, expression of the crucified Redeemer, as it is at this day.

Almost the same phases that we have noticed in the formation of the crucifix show themselves also in early representations of the crucifixion-scene. There is the same restraint in depicting the central figure, the same use of

conventional forms and of symbols. There are examples in which, while the two thieves are shown as crucified, the Lord stands in the midst with outspread arms, but with no cross save that in the nimbus above His head, which is really no cross, but three rays of light, conventionally suggestive of Deity. The persons introduced, as a rule, are few in number; in works emenating from lands which came under the influence of Roman art we usually have the Blessed Virgin and S. John, with emblematic signs for the sun and moon; while in scenes of Celtic origin soldiers with spear and sponge are more commonly introduced. Sometimes also the two thieves, and less frequently two female figures, personifying the Jewish and the Christian Churches, are represented. The long robe, instead of the loin-cloth, on the Crucified, and the hand symbolising the Father, are both common forms in the earliest paintings or carved ivories. There is a curious example in the chapel of S. Silvestro, at Rome, in which soldiers with a spear and the sponge on a reed are introduced, while a small angel is seen removing the crown of thorns and substituting a regal one. All the three crosses are shown in this fresco, the two lesser ones of the usual type, but the Saviour's in the form of a Y, the cross that appears on the back of a Gothic chasuble. The date of this work is said to be 1248. The thirteenth and fourteenth centuries witnessed the rise of the great Italian schools of art; and with the artists' growing mastery over their materials crucifixions became fuller of details and less rigidly conventional, though not less devotional, and scarcely less symbolic. A host of angels throngs about their dying Creator, wringing their hands in helpless grief, offering Him their lowliest worship, or catching

in chalices the sacred blood. At the foot of the Cross, also, is sometimes found a crowd of figures, representing, not the hostile multitude that surged with blasphemous taunts before the failing eyes of Christ, but monks, bishops, virgins, kings, the saintly and devout of later ages, who stand in wrapt attention or kneel in homage.

In those days, when every art found its highest expression in the service of the Church, every encouragement was given to the painting of sacred subjects; and the artists, loyal sons for the most part of the Church, sought their highest ambition in realizing their ideal of a Crucifixion, a Pieta, or a Madonna. To these feelings we owe the splendid frescoes of Cimabue, and of Giotto, the friend of Dante, at Assisi, the paintings of Duccio, the first, it is said, to represent our Lord on His Cross with the feet laid one upon the other; and, above all, the wonderful works of Fra Angelico, who embodied, if ever man did, his whole faith in his pictures, with reverent devotion and tenderest purity.

But it would be wandering beyond the limits, both of our subject and of our space, to examine in any detail those sacred canvases and frescoes by which the artists of the Italian Renaissance have placed the whole world under a debt, which never can be paid. The very names of Florence and Siena, of Umbria and Venice, of Verona, Ferrara, and Milan, are redolent of sacred art.

Suffice it to say, in conclusion, that gradually as the fifteenth century advanced, and especially in the age that followed, the symbolic and devotional treatment of the tremendous spectacle of the Crucifixion was eclipsed by the realistic and historic method. The painter no longer approached his subject with awe, that compelled a reserve

eloquent of faith in its great mystery; but too often he sought in frenzied crowds, impassioned Magdalens, and contorted limbs to display his own skill only. For Crucifixions that raise the thoughts and heart from the canvas to Calvary itself, we must turn back to those ages, which, with less anatomical knowledge, and perhaps less technical skill, were nevertheless inspired with more perfect ideals and nobler art, from the mere fulness of a simple and sincere faith.

CHAPTER III.

The Cross in Ceremonial.

ALLUSION has already been made to the frequency with which the primitive Christians used the sign of the Cross; and there can be no question that it early became a symbol of that confidence which they had, that through the Cross of Christ all blessing, all protection, in a word all Divine help, was afforded them. They delighted, therefore, in finding in the Old Testament prophetic foreshadowings of its efficacy. Israel blessing the sons of Joseph with hands laid crosswise; Moses controlling the fortunes of the chosen people at the battle of Rephidim, by spreading wide his arms; the two sticks with which Elisha caused the axe-head of his disciple to float; and those other two which the widow of Sarepta had just gathered when help came to her in the arrival of Elijah; the saving sign marked on the foreheads of the faithful in the vision of Ezekiel (Ezek. ix., 4), which all antiquity understood as being a *tau* (T); these, and other more or less fancifully selected passages, all spoke to them of the Mystery of the Cross.

A full catena of authorities for the primitive use of this sign would embrace most of the Fathers of the Church; one or two quotations must be sufficient to show how universal it was, as a symbol carved or painted, or as simply traced with the hand. S. Ephrem (died about 378), in a sermon

on the Saviour's passion, exclaims, "Let us imprint on our doors, our foreheads, our eyes, our mouths, our breasts, on all our members, this life-giving cross; without this let us undertake nothing, but in going to bed and in rising, in working, in eating and drinking, in travelling by sea or land, let us adorn all our members with this life-giving sign." S. Cyril of Jerusalem, in a like spirit, instructs his catechumens "not to be ashamed of the Cross of Christ, but openly to mark it on the forehead, and to use that sign in eating and drinking, sitting and lying, rising from bed, conversing and walking, in a word, on all occasions."

S. John Chrysostom in his fifty-fifth homily thus gives us a reason for these exhortations; "the passion of our Lord," says he, "is the fountain of that happiness by which we live and are; with a joyous heart, then, as if crowned, let us carry about with us the Cross of Christ. Let us earnestly impress this cross upon our houses, our walls, our windows; on our foreheads also, and on our breasts. It is the sign of our salvation, of our common liberty, of the meekness and humility of the Lord. As often, therefore, as you sign yourself, go over in your mind the general concern of the Cross, subdue all the motions of anger and other passions, and fortify your hearts with courage."

Not to multiply instances unnecessarily, let a saying reiterated frequently by S. Jerome sum up the practice, as inherited by his own from earlier times—"Before every action, at every step, let your hand make the sign of the cross."

Over and above the idea that this holy sign recalled to Christians their obligation to glorify their Master in

all their doings, the thought early sprang up that in the sign itself was provided a defence against the assaults of evil. S. Athanasius asserts most emphatically that "if only the sign of the cross, which the Gentiles ridicule, be used, if Christ be but named, devils will instantly be put to flight, and all the arts of magic be reduced to nothing." S. Ephrem calls the sign "the invincible armour of Christians, the vanquisher of death, the hope of the faithful, the downfall of heresies, the bulwark of the true faith." While Tertullian, who was quoted in this connection in a previous chapter, tells us in his "Antidote for a Scorpion's Sting," that "we have faith for a defence, if we are not smitten also with distrust itself, in immediately making the sign of the cross over the wounded part, and adjuring that part in the name of Jesus." One wonders whether from some similar hope the custom arose of marking plague-stricken houses with a red cross and the words, "Lord, have mercy." Tertullian's Apologies give us convincing proof of the prevalence of the sign, and the reverence felt for it, in his day, in that he more than once finds it needful to repel the heathen charge that the Christians worshipped the cross, and were indeed merely a "priesthood of the cross" (*crucis antistites*).

The charms and talismans in vogue in England in past times, for the cure or the prevention of various ailments, afford ample evidence of the survival of the belief in the efficacy of the sign. A manuscript collection of charms (quoted by Brand), dating from the fifteenth century, has several examples, of which one instance, efficacious for the staunching of blood, will be sufficient for our purpose. Five times must the following formula be

repeated "in the worschep of the fyve woundys;"—"Jesus that was in Bethleem born, and baptyzed was in the flumen Jordane, as stente the water at hys comyng, so stente the blood of thys man N. thy servvaunt, thorow the vertu of thy holy name + Jesu + and of thy cosyn swete sent Jon." In the early part of the present century it was thought in some parts of Gloucestershire that a burn or scald could be cured by signing the injured part nine times with a cross, repeating each time, "Out fire, in frost, in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost." A cross formed of elder and sallow hung about a child's neck, is prescribed, in a work of the seventeenth century, as a preventive of "the epilepsia." In Italy, at the present day, little wooden crosses stuck about the fields are supposed to ensure a blessing on the crops.

The "Myrroure of our Lady" (published in 1530) thus quaintly describes and explains the manner of making the sign:—"Ye begin with the hand at the head downward, and then to the left side and after to the right side, in token and belief our Lord Jesus Christ came down from the Head, that is from the Father, unto earth by His holy Incarnation, and from the earth unto the left side, that is Hell, by His bitter Passion, and from thence unto His Father's right side by His glorious Ascension; and after this ye bring your hand to your breast, in token that ye are come to thank Him and praise Him in the utmost of your heart for His benefits." The sign was not, however, invariably made in the same way. The whole hand was sometimes employed (the usual method in the present day) signifying the five wounds of Christ; but sometimes three fingers only, as an invocation of the Holy Trinity; or two

fingers, emblematic of the two natures of the Saviour. In the East this trivial difference has been made a matter of bitter controversy. The Greeks signed themselves with three fingers extended and two closed; while the Russians did exactly the reverse; the doctrines of the Holy Trinity and of the dual nature of Christ being symbolized by the three and the two respectively. These and other differences of ceremonial led to so much ill-feeling between the partizans of the rival forms as to necessitate the summoning of a synod in 1654, under the great patriarch Nikon. Conformity to the Greek practice was here enjoined; and the decree was confirmed at Councils held in 1666 and again in 1667. In the East, also, the holy sign is made from right to left; and such was also the case in the West in the Middle Ages. Innocent III. (Pope in 1198) says, "The sign of the cross is made with three fingers, so as to descend from the top to the bottom, and then pass from right to left;" he tells us, however, that some people even then made it from left to right.

Amongst other instructions in the "Capitula" issued under Ethelred, in 994, the parish priests are bidden to admonish their parishioners how they ought to pray, and how "to arm their foreheads with the sign of the cross." In 1257, the Injunctions of the Bishop of Norwich to his clergy contain a direction to the effect that, at their Confession, the laity are to be examined whether they know the Creed, the Pater Noster, the Ave, and how to cross themselves rightly.

This common use of the sacred sign at the commencement and the conclusion of most undertakings has given rise to one or two interesting usages. The custom still prevails

of marking documents therewith in the place of the signature of the name, in the case of illiterate persons. An early example of this is given us by Withred, King of Kent, about the year 700. He thus concludes a charter freeing the churches of his dominions from tribute; "I, Withred, King of Kent, have confirmed all these premises, and on account of my ignorance of letters have with my own hand made the sign of the holy cross." The Emperor Charlemagne signed after the same fashion; and it is still customary for the bishops of the Roman obedience to prefix a cross to their signatures. In the old horn-books it was usual to place a cross at the commencement of the alphabet, whence the first line of print came to be called the "Christ-cross row," or "Criss-cross row." John Bradford several times alludes to this arrangement. In "An Admonition to Lovers of the Gospel," published in 1555, he writes, "You learned Christ's cross afore you began A. B. C.;" and in a letter to Dr. Hill, of the same date, he says, "You know that this is our alphabet; 'He that will be My disciple,' saith Christ, 'must deny himself; and take up his cross.'" Shakespere makes Clarence (King Richard III., Act 1., Scene 1) say :—

> "He hearkens after prophecies and dreams,
> And from the cross-row plucks the letter G."

John Heywood, the "King's Jester" to Henry VIII., has an epigram on the letter H (whereof the point lies in the old pronunciation of the word *ache* with a soft *ch*), which commences :

> "It is worst among letters in all the cross-row."

In some of the earliest horn-books the whole alphabet was arranged in a cross-form.

The uses of the sacred sign illustrated by the passages already quoted are all of a private nature, and their employment, although practically universal among Christian people, must always have depended, as to their frequency, upon the taste or the habits of individuals. The same is also true of the custom, always more or less common among Christians, of wearing a cross as a personal ornament. Even in the days of persecution, as we have seen, this was sometimes done; and then it doubtless served the useful purpose of enabling the faithful to identify their fellows in the faith. Even when active persecution had passed away, so long as the Christians were only a minority in the society in which they moved, to wear the cross, to publicly proclaim one's self a follower of the Crucified Redeemer, must often have been a test of moral courage, and in its effect a measure of self-discipline. With this object in view the wearing of the sacred sign is enjoined on the converts in some foreign missions, experience doubtless having proved the advantage of insisting on this open profession of the faith. A cross or crucifix forms part of the habit of many of the religious orders, especially of those devoted to works of mercy among the poor. An illustration of its use as an act of piety in mediæval times in England by the laity is supplied by the will, dated 1514-5, of Sir Henry Vernon, of Haddon, whereby he bequeaths two crosses; one described as "my chayne with cros of golde that I weire dayly," and the other as "a cros with stonys set in yt and a litle cheyne and all of gold at the same Cross." In modern times one cannot help fearing that the sacred emblem of the world's redemption is too often worn merely as a trinket, without a

thought of the sadness and the gladness of its teaching. To the thoughtful Christian, either man or woman, nothing can be more appropriate than to bear constantly that emblem which speaks to him of the fulness of Divine love, and the greatness of human sin. But to wear it as a mere toy dangling on the watch-chain, or as a pretty addition to the necklet, is an act of thoughtlessness amounting to profanity. In the use of all such memorials it is well to observe the warning so quaintly expressed by Sir Thomas Browne in his treatise on "Christian Morals." "To run on in despite of the revulsions and pull-backs of such remoras aggravates our transgressions. When death's heads on our hands have no influence upon our heads, and fleshless cadavers abate not the exorbitances of the flesh; when crucifixes upon men's hearts suppress not their bad commotions, and His image Who was murdered for us withholds not from blood and murder; phylacteries prove but formalities, and their despised hints sharpen our condemnation."

Turning from private to public usages, we find in the very earliest liturgies ample proof of the use of this holy sign in the prescribed ceremonial of the Church.

Those ancient offices for the celebration of the Eucharist, known as the Divine Liturgies of S. James, S. Mark, of the Holy Apostles, and others, are of uncertain date, yet it is generally agreed that their substance belongs to a period before the great council at Nicaea (325 A.D.); and they one and all contemplate the use of the sacred sign in the course of their ritual. These signations are of several kinds; the priest signs the elements before offering them at the altar; he blesses the people with the sign; and is bidden also

to sign both himself and all the deacons who are assisting, on the forehead. Moreover at certain prayers he stands with arms folded crosswise on his breast; and a curious rubric in the Liturgy of the Holy Apostles runs, "The priest kisses the Host in the form of a cross, in such a way, however, that his lips do not touch it, but appear to kiss it." In the different liturgies these several consignations are found with varying frequency, but none are without the sign of the cross in some part of the office. It was not in the Eucharist alone, however, that it was used.

In ordination, according to an early account, the bishop first laid his hand on the head of him who was to be made priest, "with a holy prayer," and then signed him with a cross, after which all the clergy present gave him the kiss of peace. At the reception of catechumens, or candidates for baptism, this sign formed an important part of the ceremony. "Even as a boy," S. Augustine tells us in his Confessions, "had I heard of eternal life promised to us through the humility of the Lord our God condescending to our pride, and I was signed with the sign of the cross, and was seasoned with His salt." Marcus of Gaza also, writing, about the year 400 A.D., the life of his master and bishop, Porphyrius, describes how some converts, falling at the bishop's feet, "desired the sign of Christ, upon which he signed them and made them catechumens." The well-known primitive posture of prayer, namely with outspread arms, is distinctly alleged by many early writers to be an intentional allusion to the cross, perhaps especially to the Saviour's attitude when hanging thereon. So S. Ambrose prayed upon his death-bed; and so every Christian when at prayer represented, according to

Asterius Amasenus (a writer of the close of the fourth century), "the Passion of the Cross by his gesture." Alluding to this constant use of the holy sign in the public offices of the Church, S. Augustine says, "If we are to be regenerated, the cross is used; or if we are to be partakers of the mystical food of the Eucharist, or to receive ordination, we are signed with the sign of the cross."

In the English Prayer-Book, as is well known, this sign is specifically retained in the office of Holy Baptism, and the thirtieth Canon was issued in defence of that retention. Of its use in this connection in the primitive Church there can be no question, nor was it denied by those Puritans, who, at the Hampton Court Conference in 1604, objected to it. S. Augustine informs us that the water for baptism was signed with a cross; and from several sources we learn that both in the exorcism and the unction, which anciently preceded the actual administration of the sacrament, the catechumen was signed. And further, as the candidate was signed when first received as such, and again when he was baptised, so, too, when the work was completed in confirmation he was signed again. The last signation was preserved, with others, in the first Prayer-Book of King Edward VI., where the bishop is enjoined, immediately before the laying on of hands, to sign the confirmee on the forehead, saying, "N., I sign thee with the sign of the cross, and lay mine hand upon thee, in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost: Amen."

Some words of Wheatly's concerning the use of the sign of the cross in the English Church are worth quoting. After observing that in every ancient liturgy one or two

signations at least are always found, he proceeds,—"So much has been thought proper on this solemn occasion, to testify that we are not ashamed of the Cross of Christ, and that the solemn service we are then about is performed in honour of a crucified Saviour. And therefore as the Church of England has thought fit to retain this ceremony in the ministration of one of her sacraments, I see not why she should lay it aside in the ministration of the other."

The ceremonial which has given its name to Ash Wednesday brings us to another use of the sign of the cross. It is alluded to in the Constitutions issued by Archbishop Lanfranc in 1072: "On Ash Wednesday, let the priest, having only his stole on, bless ashes, sprinkling holy water over them, and then put them upon the heads of the brethren, saying, 'Remember that thou art ashes, and unto ashes shalt thou return.'" The ashes for the purpose are obtained by burning the palms blessed on the preceding Palm Sunday, and they are placed on the heads of the people in the form of the cross. In the administration of Extreme Unction, the sick person is anointed with holy oil in the same sacred form on the organs of the senses.

The material cross was also early adopted in the ritual of the Church. As early as the year 500 A.D., mention is made of processional crosses, their chief use being in the Rogations, or processions in which the Litany was sung. But a specimen considerably earlier than this has been found in a village near Luxor, in Egypt. This relic, which is simply though elegantly designed, and measures rather over ten inches in height by seven across, was discovered in the tomb of a priest, and by its shape seems unquestionably to be the head of a processional cross. The village

whence it was taken, was destroyed early in the fourth century, during the Diocletian persecution, and has never been rebuilt; a fact, which, together with the roughness of the workmanship displayed, marks the third century as the probable date of the cross. Originally these crosses were, like the one just alluded to, without the figure of the Crucified; but frequently they bore at their extremities the emblems of the four evangelists, while sometimes there were sconces for holding candles on the arms. Crosses of this kind were given to some of the churches at Rome by Charlemagne, and several splendid mediæval examples are still preserved on the Continent. A processional, or station, cross in the Lateran dates from the fifteenth century; S. Denis has one of the time of S. Louis; and Mayence possesses a very fine one of gilded bronze of the twelfth or thirteenth century, which embodies in its sculptures a whole system of teaching. In this instance the Agnus Dei occupies the centre of the face of the cross, having in the corresponding place on the reverse the sacrifice of Abraham; the following pairs of subjects fill the ends of the shaft and of the arms, the New Testament subject being in each case on the front, and that taken from the Old Testament behind it at the back; the descent into Hades, and Samson carrying off the gates of Gaza, the Resurrection and Jonah cast up by the whale, the Ascension of Christ and that of Elijah, Pentecost and the giving of the Law on Sinai. In the Royal Irish Academy is preserved an interesting example known as the Cross of Cong. It was made at Roscommon in the reign of Turlogh O'Conor, father of Roderic, the last King of Ireland, in the first quarter of the twelfth century, and is a good illustration of

the artistic skill of the Irish before the date of the English Conquest. An inscription in Erse, and in Latin written in Erse characters, attests the fact that it contains a fragment of the true Cross.

At S. Chad's College, Denstone, there is an interesting processional cross in hammered silver, which was brought from Abyssinia. It is thus inscribed in Amharic characters: "This is the cross which the King of Kings, Adyim Sagad, whose baptismal name was Jyasu, gave to Abuna Takla Naimant, that it might be to him for the salvation of body and soul." Jyasu reigned from A.D. 1682 to 1706.

Anciently England possessed some very noble examples of processional crosses. At Durham, for instance, was one, for use on high festivals, of gold on a silver staff; and another, for ordinary occasions, of crystal. Canterbury, according to an inventory of 1295 had four, all "gilded and gemmed;" and Salisbury, in 1222, had one for Sundays of silver, and another, presumably for festivals, "well gilt and with stones."

At one time it seems to have been customary on great festivals to suspend from the processional cross a small banner embroidered with a device suitable to the mystery commemorated. In the inventory of church furniture at Melford are several "cross clothes;" and a "cross banner" belonging to S. Mary Hill, London, was sold in 1550 by the churchwardens. These may, however, have been Lenten veils for shrouding the crosses during that season.

The Exeter Synod, held in 1287, decreed that every parish church should have one fixed cross and one movable, of which the first was probably meant to be a rood, and the second a station-cross, placed when not in procession on

the altar. The constitutions of Giles de Bridport, Bishop of Sarum, promulgated in 1256, are however, more exacting. They require the parishioners to provide "a crucifix and crosses." In fact the mediæval English rite, a system of ceremonial far more ornate than any now in use in western Christendom, required several processional crosses, at any rate in large and fully furnished churches. During Lent a plain wooden one was employed, without the figure of our Lord, and painted blood-red; but sometimes the Lenten cross was green, as in the case of one named in an inventory of S. Margaret Pattens in 1486, which is thus described; "a crosse and a crosse staffe to serve for lentten, paynted green, without ymages, wt. iij white silver nailes." In the accounts of S. Mary-at-Hill for 1501, is an item, "For paintyng the crosse staffe for Lent, iiijd." From Easter to Ascensiontide the cross was to be of beryl or of crystal; those of brass or the precious metals being no doubt carried on other high festivals, and on Sundays. A special processional cross was also provided for use at funerals, probably a black one. Thus Archbishop Winchelsey in 1305 orders the parishioners of all parishes throughout the southern province to find for the service of the Church, among many other things, "a processional cross and another for the dead."

The processional Crucifix, symbolical of our great Exemplar going before His people in their pilgrimage through the world, is borne with the figure facing outwards, in the direction in which the procession is moving; and during Lent it is shrouded, as a mark of sorrow, in a violet veil. The Council of Dublin, 1217, specially mentions that priests in carrying the Blessed Sacrament to the sick

are to be preceded by a crucifix, as well as by a light and a bell.

The processional cross seems to have come also to signify, to a certain extent, the parish in its corporate existence and authority; thus no parochial processional cross might be carried into a monastic church, and in collegiate churches at funerals the cross of the church only might be used. It would seem, in short, that no parish might as a rule carry its cross beyond its own limits. Insistence upon this law was by no means unnecessary, since Langham, Bishop of Ely, found it needful to direct his clergy to prevent their parishioners from "struggling for the precedence of their standards at the annual visitation of the mother-church, fights and bloodshed being sometimes the issue of such contests." Probably most religious or ecclesiastical corporations had their crosses, to be used in processions on occasions of special solemnity. Latimer, as a young man was "for his gravity . . . preferred to the keeping of the University Cross" at Cambridge.

To us English, the spectacle of the cross borne in solemn procession is calculated to recall with special vividness the memory of the establishment of the faith among our forefathers. How the British Church had been driven into Cornwall and Wales, and how S. Augustine, after landing in Thanet to bring the Gospel to the English, advanced with his forty companion monks to meet King Ethelbert, chanting a litany, and preceded by a silver cross and a crucifix painted on a panel,—these things all men know.

A processional cross, in a more restricted sense, is that borne before an Archbishop, as a mark of dignity and jurisdiction; concerning which it may be well to say that it

is not properly called a crosier, nor does it take with archbishops the place of the ordinary episcopal crook. The crosier is that mark of the authority of the chief shepherd of the diocese, which is now frequently called by the ugly modern name of pastoral staff, but was anciently known as a crose, a crosier's staff, or briefly a crosier. This every bishop is supposed to carry in his hand; but the archbishop, as a symbol of peculiar dignity, has also a cross borne before him. The frequency with which, in recent dictionaries and other books of reference, one finds crosier defined as the archiepiscopal cross, in contradistinction to the episcopal staff, makes this statement of the truth of the case needful.

At what date these crosses first came into use is unknown; originally the bishops of a few only of the most important sees employed them, and they had not yet come to denote specially the archiepiscopal rank. Leo IV., Pope from 847 to 855, had a cross borne before him by a subdeacon, as he rode through the streets of Rome, an action said to have been "according to the custom of his predecessors." The Fourth Lateran Council, in 1215, granted to all Patriarchs the privilege of having a cross carried before them, if neither papal legate nor cardinal was present; a stipulation which was again insisted on by Pope Gregory XI., in a bull issued in 1371. The same honour was conferred on archbishops by Gregory IX. in the thirteenth century; and as a mark of special favour even some few bishops in the Western Church have been allowed to assume it, as in the case of the Bishops of Lucca and of Pavia, who are authorized by a grant issued by Alexander II. in 1070.

In England this emblem of jurisdiction has on more than one occasion proved a ground of dispute between the

archbishops. S. Anselm who ruled at Canterbury from 1093 to 1114, refused to allow the Archbishop of Dublin to use his cross in England. Canterbury and York long maintained a struggle for precedence in the English Church, and the point on which it turned was often the right of the one to carry his cross in the province of the other. The quarrel became very bitter towards the end of the thirteenth century, so that we find William de Wickwaine in 1280, the year after his accession to the See of York, complaining to the Pope of violence shown him while travelling in the southern province. "Adam de Hales," he writes, "an officer of my Lord of Canterbury, rushed like a madman upon my attendants, and scandalously broke my cross in pieces: but thanks be to God, I soon caused another to be raised and carried. Moreover, most holy father, when I am journeying through the province of Canterbury on business relating to my own see, my Lord of Canterbury forbids food or lodging to be supplied to myself or my attendants on pain of excommunication, exactly as if we were heretics, and places the whole district where I make any sojourn under an ecclesiastical interdict." The contemporary "my Lord of Canterbury," was John Peckham. Twenty years later the feud was still rife, and we have Robert Winchelsey, the immediate successor of Peckham, writing to the Bishop of Lincoln, bidding him see that the northern primate did not have his cross carried before him in passing through that diocese: he also forbids the laity to kneel to him or to ask his blessing on pain of the Church's censure, and orders that no bell be rung and no service said in any place where he may be. In 1325, William de Melton, Archbishop of York, was appointed treasurer by the King, upon which

Walter Raynold, who twelve years before had succeeded Winchelsey, again took up the cause of the dignity of his province, and excommunicated Melton for having had his cross carried in the city of London; in spite of which Melton publicly said Mass in Westminster Abbey. In 1354, a compromise was at last arrived at, by which the Archbishop of York might have his cross borne before him throughout the entire province of Canterbury, on condition that, within two months from so doing, he sent to the shrine of S. Thomas à Becket a gold figure, of the value of forty pounds, of an archbishop with his cross, to be brought by the hands of his chancellor, a doctor of laws, or a knight. On the other hand the Archbishop of Canterbury was to enjoy the same privilege in the province of York unconditionally. The two prelates by whom this arrangement was made were Simon Islip of the southern province, and John de Thoresby of the northern. The above acknowledgement, or fine, was paid about a century later (in 1452) by Archbishop Booth of York.

William Tyndale, in his treatise of "The Obedience of a Christian Man" (1528), alludes to the archiepiscopal cross. Having quoted S. Paul's words (1 Tim. iii. 3), that a bishop should be "no striker" (or "fighter," as he translates it), he goes on, "which I suppose is signified by the cross that is borne before high prelates, and borne before them in procession."

The first metropolitan in the English colonies to assume the cross was the Bishop of Cape Town. A magnificent cross of silver gilt studded with jewels was presented to the See of Canterbury on the enthronement of the late occupant of the Chair of S. Augustine, Dr. Benson. It is

modelled on the type of those used by the English archbishops as early as the time of Chichely (1414), and is adorned with statuettes of a dozen saints.

An archiepiscopal cross, if terminating in a crucifix, is carried with the figure facing the prelate, not as in the case of a processional cross; but one of those anciently used at Canterbury had two crucifixes, one in front and one behind.

The double-crossed staff, suggesting the cross with its superscription, which is heraldically assigned to patriarchs, never came actually into use in the west, although it has been employed in Greece. The triple cross of the Pope is a modern invention, without ritual authority.

A curious triple cross, it may here be incidentally remarked, is practically the only form held to be strictly orthodox in Russia. This is a cross having, besides the main transverse beam, a small one above (representing the superscription), and another below (for the foot-rest). This last is not parallel to the others, but set at a considerable angle, owing to an Eastern legend that our Blessed Lord was lame, one leg being longer than the other. This apparently arose from an exaggerated treatment of the prophecy that He should "bear our infirmities."

From the distinctive sign of an archbishop's authority to the Pectoral Cross worn by him, in common with other bishops, is a natural transition. It early became customary for a prelate to wear about his neck a reliquary which often contained a fragment of the true Cross, and, as being intended for a religious purpose, was frequently cruciform. From this usage, it has been supposed, sprang the practice of bishops wearing a cross suspended on the breast, hence called a pectoral cross, or encolpium.

We have instances of its common use long before it began to be reckoned as one of the regular ornaments of a bishop or a mitred abbot. S. Gregory of Tours, who died in 594, is said to have worn such a cross, as also did Pope Leo III. in 811, and S. Alphege of Canterbury in 1012; the pectoral cross worn by S. Cuthbert, Bishop of Lindisfarne in 685, is still preserved at Durham, having been found within his tomb. It is of gold, with a single large garnet in the centre, four smaller ones in the angles, and twelve on each arm. The pectoral cross worn by recent bishops of Lichfield is of the type known as S. Chad's cross, which is heraldically described as a cross potent with a quadrate in the centre; it may be seen also in the arms of the diocese. Innocent III. (1198-1216) is the first to mention this ornament as commonly worn by bishops, but he claims it as being strictly one of the papal insignia, granted to other prelates as a favour, and not of right. This position, however, has been contested; at the Council of Florence, in 1439, the western bishops were not suffered to wear their encolpia in the presence of the pope; but those from the East claimed the right to do so, and exercised it. By the fourteenth century special prayers had been prescribed to be said when putting on the pectoral cross, as is the use with regard to the rest of the episcopal habit. It was about this time also that it became usual for priests, when in their full vestments, to wear the stole crosswise on the breast. In each case the cross-bearing required of a disciple of Christ is symbolized, but in the case of the bishop there is also an allusion to the breast-plate of the high priest.

In this connection it may be worth while to make passing mention of a strange society of early monks, referred to by

Cassian (flourished about 424), who, with more zeal than knowledge, interpreted the exhortation of our Lord literally, and wore constantly about their necks heavy wooden crosses. In the thirteenth century a number of men who called themselves "*fratres cruciferi*," or brethren of the cross, because they carried crosses on their staves, caused some little trouble in England. At a synod at Rochester in 1244 they demanded that some habitation should be assigned to them, and claimed that by papal bull they were free from the jurisdiction of all authorities other than the Holy See. William Grenefeld, Archbishop of York, having heard that these mendicants had been allowed publicly to solemnize divine offices in several places, issued an injunction in 1312, putting all such parishes under an interdict, on the ground that nothing was known as to the orders of the men, nor of the constitution of their pretended brotherhood.

The full and solemn ritual for the consecration of a church, as still used throughout the major part of Christendom, involves a frequent use of the sacred sign. By a law of Justinian, the building of a church might not be undertaken until the bishop of the diocese had visited the proposed site, and fixed thereon with solemn prayer "the precious cross." On the completion of the building, there is made in ashes on the floor a cross of the shape known as S. Andrew's, and twelve crosses are marked on the inside of its walls, and often twelve more on the outside, five more being cut on the slab, or mensa, of the altar. These mural crosses, having during the ceremony of consecration been anointed by the bishop, are afterwards either cut in the stone or traced in colour. One such in colour still exists in the Palace Chapel at Chichester, and in the cathedral are

others cut in the walls of two of the chapels: at Salisbury, Ottery, and elsewhere examples of an ornamental character are found; two of the external crosses may still be seen at Exeter, and one at Brechin; and several are also visible on the parish church of Althorpe, in North Lincolnshire. One of a curious form is found on the east wall of the chapel of Pillaton Hall, the ancient seat of the Littletons, near Stafford. Each internal cross ought to have, at the time of the consecration of the church, a lighted taper placed above it, the whole twelve being said to symbolize the Apostles, "the lights who lighten every land." This idea is beautifully emphasized at the Sainte Chapelle, in Paris, where each of the consecration crosses is accompanied by the statue of an Apostle. High upon a buttress of the parish church of Costock, near Loughborough, in Nottinghamshire, is a stone showing on each of its two exposed faces a cross of an elegant interlaced design, somewhat of the kind usually found in old Irish sculptures. These, however, can scarcely be consecration crosses; the stone is possibly the head of some ancient shaft, as it is almost certainly not now in its original position. These crosses do not occur before the eleventh century.

The altar-cross and that upon the rood-screen will be dealt with in the succeeding chapter; Lent and Passiontide, however, entailed the use of certain forms of ceremonial with regard to them, which call for notice here. According to the pre-reformation use in England all crosses, images, and relics were covered with veils from the Monday after Quadragesima (the First Sunday in Lent) till Mattins (which was of course then said very early, and before the first mass) on Easter Day; except from mass to vespers on

Palm Sunday. Before the larger images, such as the Rood, the veil took the form of a curtain, of white linen, or other simple material, embroidered with the emblems of the Passion; the smaller figures were enveloped in a covering of a similar kind. Cranmer says that this practice, "with the uncovering of the same at the Resurrection, signifies not only the darkness of infidelity which covered the face of the Jews in the Old Testament, but also the dark knowledge they had of Christ, who was the perfection and end of the Law, and not yet opened until the time of His death and resurrection; the same is partly signified by the veil which hid the secret of the Holy of Holies from the people." Becon, Cranmer's chaplain, devoted one section of his "Potation for Lent" to the consideration of "the covering of images and what it signifieth." He tells us that "one cause is to signify to us, that they that are sinners, and have a pleasure still therein to remain, are not worthy to behold the saints in heaven." Of the veils he also says, "the clothes that are hanged up this time of Lent in the church have painted in them nothing else but the pains, torments, passion, blood-shedding, and death of Christ, that now we should have our minds fixed on the passion of Christ." The modern Roman use requires the covering of crucifixes and images only from the Monday after Passion Sunday until the conclusion of the Litany which precedes the Holy Saturday mass; and the veils and coverings are of purple. Henry VIII. put this ceremony under his bann at the same time that he forbade the creeping to the cross in 1546.

There was an ancient custom, somewhat obscure, and perhaps never common, of burying in graves a metal cross inscribed with a papal absolution. Specimens of these

have been found at several places on the Continent, and in England at Bury S. Edmund's and at Chichester. It may have been a custom cognate to this use of "Crosses of Absolution" to which Cartwright, the Puritan antagonist of Archbishop Whitgift, refers when, in complaining of the contemporary funeral rites, he speaks of "a cross, white or black, set upon the dead corpse."

Another ceremony, which must not be omitted, is that pathetic part of the solemnities of Good Friday, which used to be known in England as "Creeping to the Cross." This rite, which consists in kneeling before a crucifix laid before the altar and kissing it, boasts a very early origin. An epistle of Paulinus shows that it was practised in Jerusalem in the fourth century. The friend and adviser of Charlemagne, Alcuin, who was born at York about 740, mentions it; and the Canons of Ælfric in 957 bid the faithful to "greet God's rood with a kiss." In 1256, the Bishop of Sarum, Giles de Bridport, enjoined all parishioners throughout his diocese thus to venerate the cross, and to make an offering according to their ability at the same time; and he even forbade them to communicate on Easter Day, unless they had done so. This was one of the very few religious services which might still be observed in a district laid under an Interdict; but in that case the crucifix was placed, without any kind of solemnity, in the churchyard, and there saluted by the faithful. At the Reformation "Creeping to the Cross" proved the ground of much discussion between the more moderate and the extreme men. Those reformers who were most strongly tinged with foreign Protestantism, from frequent intercourse with Geneva, clamoured for its abolition, along with other ceremonies

which they disliked. There is still extant the order of precedence, which was drawn up to regulate the approach of Henry VIII. and his court to the crucifix; and a proclamation by that monarch specified this rite as one that was to be maintained. In 1546 its abolition was suggested, upon which Thomas Cranmer wrote to the King, "That if the honouring of the cross, as creeping and kneeling thereunto, be taken away, it shall seem to many that be ignorant, that the honour of Christ is taken away;" for, as he says elsewhere, "we humble ourselves to Christ herein, offering unto Him, and kissing the cross in memory of our redemption by Christ on the Cross." In 1548, under Edward VI., a royal proclamation announced that no proceedings were in future to be taken against any persons who omitted sundry ceremonies hitherto customary, the "creeping" being one. In 1549, on similar authority, it was forbidden; and Ridley, Bishop of London, in his injunctions to his diocese in 1550, enforced the prohibition. Yet the custom did not at once die out, and in the sister kingdom of Scotland it was practised, according to a letter from Latimer to Sir W. Cecil, at Dunbar, on Good Friday, in 1568. It is referred to in a play of 1608, "The Merry Devil of Edmonton,"—

> "You must read the morning mass,
> You must creep unto the cross,
> Put cold ashes on your head,
> Have a haircloth for your bed."

Barnabe Googe, in his English version of Naogeorgus, describes the rite in his usual caustic and not over-reverent style:—

"Two priestes, the next day following, upon their shoulders beare
The image of the crucifix about the altar neare,

Being clad in coape of crimozen die, and dolefully they sing ;
At length before the steps, his coate pluckt off, they straight him
bring,
And upon Turkey carpettes lay him down full tenderly,
With cushions underneath his heade, and pillows heaped hie ;
Then flat upon the grounde they fall, and kisse both hand and feete,
And worship so this woodden god with honour farre unmete ;
Then all the shaven sort falls downe and foloweth them herein,
As workemen chiefe of wickednesse, they first of all begin :
And after them the simple soules, the common people come,
And worship him with divers giftes, as golde, and silver some,
And others corne or egges againe, to poulshorne persons sweete,
And eke a long-desired price for wicked worship meete."

The concluding lines refer to the practice, which forms part of the rite, of making an offering at the time of venerating the cross. Gifts in kind seem anciently to have been common, since another writer, in a work entitled, "A short Description of Antichrist," speaks of "creepinge to the crosse with egges and apples"; and Bale, Bishop of Ossory (1553), calls the ceremony "holding forth the Crosse for egges on Good Friday."

The "Creeping to the Cross" was followed by the Mass of the Presanctified and Vespers, and the whole ceremony concluded with the solemn "burial" of the crucifix in the Easter Sepulchre. The Sarum Missal has the following rubric on this rite : "Vespers being ended, let the Priest put off his Chasuble ; and taking with him one of the superiors, in surplices, both with bare feet, let him replace the Cross in the sepulchre, together with the Lord's Body in the pyx." Verses and responses alluding to the entombment of the Lord were recited meanwhile alternately by priest and choir. On Easter morning, "before the Mass and ringing of bells," two of the higher clergy with all reverence brought forth this cross once more, and carried it to one of the side altars ;

after which all other crosses, and the images and pictures in the church, were uncovered, as we have already seen.

A somewhat similar ceremony is observed in the Greek Church on Holy Cross Day ; a crucifix is placed in a basket of flowers before the altar, and each member of the congregation, after reverently kissing it, takes a flower, and makes an offering in money.

In this connection the following remarks of two distinguished scholars and members of the English Church will not be out of place, as showing the calm judgment of such men in regard to such acts of outward devotion paid to the image of the Crucified Redeemer. Thus wrote Sir Thomas Browne in his " Religio Medici ":—" I am, I confess, naturally inclined to that which misguided zeal terms superstition—my common conversation I do acknowledge austere, my behaviour full of rigour, sometimes of morosity. Yet at my devotion I love to use the civility of my knee, my hat, and hand, with all those outward and visible motions, which may express or promote my invisible devotion. I would violate my own arm rather than a church ; nor willingly deface the name of saint or martyr. At the sight of a cross or crucifix I can dispense with my hat, but scarce with the thought or memory of my Saviour." And the following is a note by Dr. Arnold on an incident in his travels as recorded in his life :—" Now for Bourges a little more. In the crypt is a Calvary, and figures as large as life representing the burying of our Lord. The woman who showed us the crypt had her little girl with her, and she lifted up the child, about three years old, to kiss the feet of our Lord. Is this idolatry? Nay, verily, it may be so, but it need not be, and assuredly is in itself right and natural. I confess I rather

envied the child. It is idolatry to talk about Holy Church and Holy Fathers—bowing down to fallible and sinful men —not to bend knee, lip, and heart, to every thought and every image of Him our manifested God."

In the ceremonial used at the Epiphany, as observed in the Greek Church, the cross takes a conspicuous place. In the East special emphasis is placed on the baptism of our Lord as part of the celebration of this festival; and, in commemoration of that event, a cross is thrice dipped in holy water, and then carried round to be saluted by all present. In the Holy Land this suggestive rite is performed in the waters of the Jordan, and attracts a great crowd of pilgrims, who afterwards dip themselves in the sacred stream. In some places, as at Patras, in Greece, the sea is solemnly blessed on this day, part of the ceremonial being the trine immersion of a cross, attached to a long ribbon, in its waves.

A curious and striking use of the cross at S. Peter's, at Rome, is thus described by an eye-witness: "The Temple is never seen to such advantage as when (on the evening of Good Friday) it is lighted solely by an immense cross of brilliant lamps suspended in the centre under the dome; the cross sheds a liquid brilliancy on a vast space where the pope, in white robes, with all the cardinals ranged behind him, kneels in silence for the space of half-an-hour; during that time you might hear the fall of a pin. A pale and uncertain light, diminishing in proportion to its distance from the glorious focus of the cross, fills the rest of the Temple, developing, with a veil-like undecided effect, which cannot be described by words, the colossal statues on the tombs, and the crowds of living beings assembled there;

. . . it is said that the great Michael Angelo . . . first gave the idea of thus illuminating the interior of the church by the cross alone."

A reference to those Holy Days, which have been specially dedicated to a commemoration of the Cross, will appropriately close this chapter; the consideration of altar crosses, roods, and others which serve rather as fitting ornaments of churches than as adjuncts to their ceremonial, being, as before intimated, left to form another section.

The Feast of the Invention (or Finding) of the Cross, which occurs on May 3rd, commemorates, as its name implies, the recovery of the True Cross by S. Helena. It is said to have been instituted by Pope Sylvester I., who died in 335, but there is no positive evidence of its observance before the eighth century.

Holy Cross Day, or the Feast of the Exaltation of the Cross (September 14th), is held in the West as of less honour than the feast just named, but in the East it is regarded with special reverence. It commemorates, according to some, the apparition of the Cross to Constantine, but according to others the consecration of the church built by that Emperor to receive the True Cross. It was certainly observed in Constantinople in the days of the Patriarch Eutychius, who died about 582. On this day in 629 the Emperor Heraclius came in solemn pilgrimage to Jerusalem to restore to the church there that wood of the Cross, which he had recovered from Chosroes; this event added great lustre to the festival, and a memorial of it has since been added to the earlier commemoration.

Both these holy days have been retained in the calendar of the English Church. And of old the week during which

the Feast of the Invention was kept was known as Cross Week; later, however, this name was applied to the Rogation Days, during which the bounds of the parish were "beaten," or perambulated, the procession being headed by the parish cross. Falke, Master of Pembroke, devotes a chapter of his reply to Martiall (published in 1580) to proving the unlawfulness "of Processions, and bearing of the Cross before them." Grindal, Archbishop of York, in his "Injunctions for the Laity" of that province in 1571, orders "the perambulation of the circuit of every parish yearly . . . in the days of the rogations, commonly called Cross Week or Gang-days." Pilkington, Bishop of Durham, asked in a sermon preached at Paul's Cross in 1561, "From whence came all the gang-days to be fasted in Cross-week?"

Besides the above festivals, several ancient martyrologists mark March 25th as the actual anniversary of the Crucifixion. Lady Day was in fact regarded as commemorating a multitude of events; some Latin lines inserted in several martyrologies declaring that on that date, in addition to the Annunciation and the Crucifixion, there occurred Adam's creation and his fall, the death of Abel, the sacrifice of Melchisedech, the offering of Isaac, the martyrdom of S. James, and the arrest of S. Peter under Herod. The Greeks commemorate the Saviour's death on March 23rd, but the actual date was probably April 6th, A.D. 31.

The Greek and Ethiopian Churches celebrate on May 7th a miraculous apparition of the cross at Jerusalem in the year 351. The story of this appearance is related by S. Cyril in a letter to the Emperor Constantius. The vision of Constantine, noticed above in connection with his conversion,

is commemorated in the Orleans Breviary on August 19th. Baronius inserted in his Martyrology, under November 9th, on more than doubtful authority, a commemoration of a miraculous crucifix, which is alleged to have bled when pierced, at Berytus.

Not unconnected with the observance of stated days as festivals of the Cross, is the custom of dedicating churches under the name of S. Cross, that is, of course, Holy Cross, or Holy Rood. The instance of the famous Abbey and Palace at Edinburgh will at once occur to all; other cases are found at Caermarthen and Bettws-y-Grôg in Wales, and in England at Winchester, Southampton, Thruxton, Swindon, Malling, Ilam, and a few other places.

The Scottish instance given recalls an interesting legend in the annals of the Northern Kingdom. King David Bruce was hunting on the Feast of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross in the neighbourhood of his capital, when a hart of remarkable size and beauty suddenly appeared before him, and charged at him. Horse and rider were borne to the ground, and on the King's putting out his hands to save himself from further attack, a crucifix "most strangly slypped" into his grasp from amid the antlers of the animal, and the creature at once vanished. On the succeeding night Bruce was warned by a vision in his sleep to erect an abbey on the spot where this miraculous event had happened; and accordingly, having summoned to his aid artificers from France and Flanders, he built the Abbey of the Holy Rood for the canons regular of S. Augustine, and "placed the said Cross most sumptuously and richly in the said Abbey, ther to remayne in a most renowned monument." This celebrated crucifix, of which we shall hear more hereafter, became

ST. CROSS, WINCHESTER.

known as the Black Rood of Scotland. Another story relates that S. Margaret received this silver crucifix from the Holy Land in the year 1070; and that, partly in memory of her, David, her youngest son, raised this abbey to enshrine it. Probably in most ancient cases the dedication in the name of Holy Rood, or S. Cross, was connected, like that of S. Sepulchre, with the enthusiasm of the Crusades and the passion for pilgrimage to

> "those holy fields
> Over whose acres walked those blessed Feet
> Which *eighteen* hundred years ago were nailed
> For our advantage on the bitter Cross."

CHAPTER IV.

The Cross as an Ornament of the Church and its Precincts.

A VERY natural sequence from the custom which, as we have seen, early arose of using the sign of the cross in almost all forms of blessing, was the fancy for making articles of church furniture cruciform, or of marking them with a cross. As a matter of fact the only place where the sacred sign might not be placed was on the floor, lest anyone should trample on it; an exception to this rule, in the blue cross on the ground at the west end of Durham Cathedral, was intended as a boundary, and is therefore an exception only in the letter, not in the spirit, since it was assumed that no one would step on or over it; just as it was supposed that the faithful would not trample on the graves of the dead, which were similarly marked.

Scarcely had Christianity achieved its victory over the empire than churches began to arise, which proclaimed by their shape the Faith to the service of which they were dedicated. Those built by Constantine himself at Rome, the ancient S. Peter's, S. Paul-without-the-walls, and S. Maria Maggiore, were all cruciform, as also was the splendid Church of the Apostles which he built at Constantinople; and this ground-plan, whether the form chosen were the Greek or the Latin Cross, began, especially in cathedrals and other

large churches, to supplant the simple parallelogram of the basilica.

Evagrius tells us that the church which enshrined the pillar on which S. Simeon Stylites practiced his austerities was "constructed in the form of a cross, adorned with colonnades on the four sides." S. Edward the Confessor is reputed to have been the first to introduce cruciform churches into England, in the erection of his famous abbey at Westminster.

The historian just named, Evagrius, who wrote in the sixth century, also records that Chosroes, who, though a heathen, had a Christian wife, gave to Gregory, Patriarch of Antioch, among other things, "a cross to be fixed upon the holy table;" and Sozomen, earlier still, refers to "crosses lying upon the altar." The primitive ages, however, knew nothing, unless in an exceptional case, of any permanent ornaments upon their altars, yet a cross seems to have been sometimes hung above, or placed beside them, in very early days. In this, as in other matters already dealt with, the suggestion, rather than the representation, of the Saviour's sacrifice probably came first in the development of Christian art. Thus S. Paulinus of Nola, writing about the year 400, describes a cross in front of an altar erected by S. Felix; it had beside it the Alpha and Omega, around it a crown or nimbus, and a white lamb was placed beneath. The cross did not become an indispensable ornament of the altar until the tenth century; and down to the fourteenth century it was invariably brought in, with the two candles, by acolytes immediately before mass, and removed at its conclusion. At the present day at Avila, in Spain, the celebrant at High Mass carries with him to and from the altar a small silver

crucifix. The same cross was probably often used in mediæval times both for the altar and for processions, a staff being joined to it for the latter purpose.

The Venerable Bede gives one of the earliest, if not absolutely the first, mention of an altar-cross in England, when he relates how Paulinus, when forced in 633 to retire from Northumbria into Kent, took with him "a large gold cross, and a golden chalice, dedicated to the use of the altar." S. Cuthbert a little later erected one in his oratory at Lindisfarne; and Aldhelm, Bishop of Sherborne, who died in 709, speaks in one of his verses of "a cross at the altar gleaming with plates of gold and silver, and decked with gems." Coming to later times, it is on record that Ethelwold, Bishop of Winchester from 1006 to 1014, gave a splendid gold cross to the altar of S. Etheldreda in the cathedral; and that S. Margaret of Scotland presented to a church a crucifix, on which was a figure of pure gold. In connection with these splendid examples, mention may be made of the altar-crucifix in the Palace Chapel at Munich, which is of massive gold studded with jewels, and has an inscription cut on an emerald measuring a square inch.

The foreign Protestants, whose interference was so manifest in most of the extremer courses taken by the English Reformers, held very strong views as to the unlawfulness of altar-crosses, and especially of crucifixes. Writing from Zurich on March 20th, 1560, Peter Martyr says, "To have the image of the crucifix upon the holy table at the administration of the Lord's Supper, I do not count among things indifferent, nor would I recommend any man to distribute the sacraments with that rite; . . . neither Master Bullinger nor myself count such things as matters of

indifference, but we reject them as forbidden." "Master Bullinger" speaks for himself in a letter of May 1st, 1566 "I could never approve," he says, "of your officiating, if so commanded, at an altar laden, rather than adorned, with the image of Him that was crucified." The matter was thought sufficiently important to form the subject of a conference, as we learn from a letter written by Jewel, Bishop of Salisbury, to Peter Martyr. "This controversy about the crucifix," he writes, "is now at its height. . . . A disputation upon this subject will take place to-morrow. The moderators will be persons selected by the council. The disputants on one side are the Archbishop of Canterbury and Cox; and on the other, Grindal, the Bishop of London, and myself." The discussion took place in the spring of 1560, and apparently resulted in favour of the Protestants, although the sympathies of the Queen, as we learn from a letter addressed by Sampson, Bishop of Worcester, to Martyr, were on the other side.

At the time of the Reformation many of our churches were provided with handsome and costly altar-crosses, most of which were swept away by the wave of iconoclastic madness which then assailed the country. S. Mary-at-Hill, London, had a silver gilt cross, with images of the Blessed Virgin and S. John, weighing 81 ounces; All Hallows', London-wall, had also one of silver parcel gilt, weighing 93 ounces. S. Mary's, Louth, Lincolnshire, had in 1529 (when its further use was abandoned, and its furniture transferred to S. James's) a silver cross of the remarkable weight of 237 ounces. These are but specimens of those in use at parish churches; the great abbeys and cathedrals were naturally even more splendidly endowed.

The directing force in the agitation against this use of the cross was evidently Genevan, and it would appear to have been Genevan only, for it is well known that the Lutheran churches of Germany retain the crucifix above the altar. In England, also, the attempt was only temporarily successful. At the coronation of Charles I. a crucifix was placed on the altar; and in 1636 we are told that in "the King's Chapel" was "an altar, with tapers and other furniture on it, and a crucifix over it." Dr. Smart, preaching at Durham on July 27th, 1628, in a number of charges which he brings against Cosen, afterwards Bishop of Durham, declares that "he had set [on the altar] candlesticks, basons, and crosses, crucifixes and tapers." The agitation of the poor doctor is obvious in the absurd exaggeration in which he indulges. One crucifix, two candlesticks with tapers, and two or more "basons" (probably for flowers), no doubt formed the whole of the ornaments re-introduced by Cosen. The use of a cross upon the altar is now once more common amongst us, and daily becomes more so, nor is a crucifix infrequently found. Surely no ornament is more fitting for that sacred spot where "we show the Lord's death until He come."

Without question the most striking cross used in the decoration of a church is the great crucifix, or rood, placed on the chancel screen, generally with the figures of the Blessed Virgin and S. John the Evangelist as supporters. Naturally an ornament of this kind presupposes, not only a certain fearlessness on the part of the Church in publicly displaying her sacred symbols, but also a command of the resources of wealth, and an advanced state of art. We are therefore quite prepared to find that the rood was not a very early addition to the adornment of a church. We read,

indeed, of some comparatively early instances in which the figure of the Crucified Lord was painted on the ceiling of the choir, or of the apsidal sanctuary; an example of which exists in Ravenna, in which the Saviour is robed in eucharistic vestments, and is accompanied by S. Michael and S. Gabriel. The cross upon the screen, however, is not traced further back than the eighth century; and the rood with its full complement of figures and lights can claim only a date still later.

It lies beyond the scope of our subject to discuss the development of the choir-screen, from the curtains once hung before the altar to the broad and solid gateways of carved stone, built beneath the chancel arch, or even further west. Eventually these became a universal feature in church architecture; of wood usually in parish churches, of stone in the larger collegiate churches, in abbeys, and in cathedrals. Fine examples exist in England, at York, Lincoln, Exeter, Wells, Canterbury, Bristol, Southwell, Ripon, Christchurch (Hampshire), Tattershall (Lincolnshire), and elsewhere; but the parish churches, which had timber screens, have naturally not been successful in preserving for us so many examples as we have of the more solid erections, though we have, even of them, many of which we may be proud.

When complete these screens had a broad gallery or loft at the top, access to which was obtained by a winding stair at one, or sometimes at each, end. In several places, as at Lavenham (Suffolk), S. Martin's, Stamford (Lincolnshire), Wells (Norfolk), and Long Melford (Suffolk), the external turret which contained this stair still remains; in other cases, as at Alford in Lincolnshire, a massive pillar was

pierced to find room for the steps. Halifax parish church, which was apparently lengthened during the fifteenth century, has traces of both its earlier and later rood-lofts, and still retains the stair leading to the older one. At Sherringham, Norfolk, both loft and staircase yet remain. In some cases, especially in the Midland Counties and in the North, access to the loft was by means of a ladder or a wooden stair.

Each side of this gallery was protected by a balustrade; and on the western side, fronting the nave, stood the rood, a crucifix often of life-size, or even larger, the cross being decorated with the apocalyptical emblems of the evangelists at the four extremities, and richly painted—a tree of life and glory to us, though to the Redeemer a tree of shame and death. On either hand stood figures of the Madonna and of S. John the Divine; and sometimes beneath the cross a small effigy of the patron saint of the church was placed. On great festivals a multitude of lights blazed along the rood-loft, which with all its accessories, became the most impressive object in the church.

A few examples of early rood-screens, with or without the loft, may be quoted. A wooden screen, surmounted by a cross, was erected at Tyre, by Paulinus; a stone one, said to date from the fourth century, still stands at Tepekerman; and a third has been preserved from the time of Justinian in the Church of S. Catherine, on Mount Sinai. The Church of the Apostles, Constantinople, had a screen of brass gilt, and S. Sophia's a jewelled one, which was copied at Novgorod, Kieff, and elsewhere in the East, in the eleventh century.

The uses to which these elevated platforms were put were many and various. Those portions of the more

solemn services which it was specially desired that the people should all hear were often declaimed from their summits. At High Mass the Gospel was read thence, a custom which survived in France until the great Revolution. Public notice of the Church's feasts and fasts was given from the loft, and there the lessons were read. Down to the time of the introduction of the modern form of pulpit, at about the thirteenth century, sermons were sometimes preached there. The fine screen, referred to above, in Tattershall Church is corbelled out into a pulpit, and has desks for books designed in the stone balustrade. On occasions of special solemnity antiphons were sung and prayers said there, such as the Gradual and Alleluia, the Prophecies before the Epistle at the Christmas Midnight Mass, and the Passion on Palm Sunday and Good Friday. At Constantinople the Emperors were crowned in the rood-loft, as also were the French kings till the time of Charles X. in the cathedral at Rheims. Altars were sometimes erected on these screens, and generally one or more was set against their western face.

The great crucifix in a church was usually called a rood, whether it were the one placed upon this screen, or stood elsewhere; and several of our English roods attained a certain celebrity in mediæval days, and became the objects of pilgrimage from all parts of the country; and in some cases the temptation to attract the people at almost any cost proved too much for the ecclesiastics in charge of them, and led (it is alleged) to practices which, if truly reported, no one would wish to defend. Such was the Rood of Grace at Boxley Abbey. Archbishop Warham, in a report on the monastic houses presented to King Henry in 1512, pleads

for the preservation of this abbey because the place is "so much sought for from all parts of the realm visiting the Rood of Grace." The foundation was, nevertheless, condemned, and its revenues were granted in the thirty-second year of Henry VIII. to Sir Thomas Wyat. In dismantling the abbey church, the movements of the figure on the rood, which, it is said, were ascribed to a miracle, were found to be controlled by concealed machinery. "When plucking down the images of the Monastery of Boxley," writes the commissioner, Jeffrey Chambers, to Thomas Cromwell, "I found in the image of the Rood of Grace . . . certain engines and old wires and sticks." The whole affair was carried off, and on Sunday, February 24th, 1538, was exhibited to the people at S. Paul's Cross by Hilsey, Bishop of Rochester, after his sermon. It is only fair to add that it has been claimed that this mechanism was not employed for deception, but that the figure was intended for use in miracle plays. This view gains some support from the fact that no one seems to have been proceeded against either in the ecclesiastical or the civil courts in connection with the matter, which must surely have been the case had the charge of deception been sincerely made and actually believed.

Other famous roods were the "Rood of Winchester," and the "very cross at Ludlow;" there was also a noted one at S. Saviour's, Southwark. At Durham was preserved the "Black Rood of Scotland," already referred to, which had gained its name from the blackening of its silver by the smoke of the innumerable tapers burnt before it. This famous cross was carried in their army by the Scots in their invasion of England in 1346, and became one of the many spoils captured by the English at Neville's Cross. From

that time until the Reformation it was one of the cherished treasures of the Nine Altars' Chapel in Durham Cathedral; but since then all trace of it has been lost. No record remains to tell us which of all the sacrilegious spoilers put this historical crucifix into his own particular melting-pot.

The Holy Rood of Bromholm is alleged to be still preserved in a convent in Yorkshire. This rood, also of silver, contained a piece of the true Cross, and was given to the church at Bromholm, Norfolk, by the chaplain of Baldwin, Emperor of Constantinople, in 1206.

Charges such as that made concerning the Rood at Boxley were, whether true or false, only too readily welcomed as an excuse for an attack on all roods at the Reformation. That one case in special seems, indeed, to have been made the most of in the controversy. Calfhill refers to it in his answer, published in 1565, to Martial's book in defence of the Cross; and Peterson, Finch, and Partridge, all English Protestants in correspondence with Geneva, allude to it in their letters.

A general destruction of roods took place in the autumn of 1547, when Heylin tells us "the image of Christ, best known by the name of the rood, together with the images of Mary and John, and all other images in the church of S. Paul, London, were taken down, as also in all other churches in London." At All Hallows', Staining, the loft itself was pulled down, and the "rood-loft hangings" sold for 12s., in 1550, some eleven years before the order for the general removal of these lofts was issued.

Under Queen Mary the work of destruction was of course stayed, and in some cases the damage was even repaired. Thus, at the church just named, a new crucifix was purchased

in 1554, at the cost of £6 3s.; and the parishioners of S. Pancras, Soper Lane, were warned in October, 1555, that their rood, with all its figures, was to be reinstated by Candlemas. The parish accounts of S. Helen's, Abingdon, for the same year, contain several entries concerning a similar restoration :—

"Payd for making the roode and peynting the same, 5 4
For making the roode lyghtes, - - - - 10 6
Payed for peynting the roode, of Mary and John,
and the patron of the Church, - - - - 6 0"

Entries of a like kind are to be found in the accounts of S. Mary Hill, London, for the same year, and in those of S. Giles's, Reading, for 1558. In the earlier destruction of the roods and other church furniture of the abbeys, consequent on the dissolution of the religious establishments by Henry VIII., some of the parish churches profited by the downfall of their monastic neighbours. In the churchwardens' accounts for the parish of Hales-Owen, Worcestershire, in the year 1539, are entries detailing the purchase of sundry church fittings from the local abbey, at sums which could not be called, even in those days, extravagant; among other items we find 2s. 10d. paid "for fetching the rood from the Abbey and setting it up."

After the brief respite of Mary's reign came the revived iconoclasm of the days of Elizabeth. Reading pulled down for 4d. in 1560, what had cost 40s. to put up two years before. John Rial spent three days in destroying the rood at S. Margaret's, Westminster, in 1559, and was paid 2s. 8d. for his services; and "carpenters and others, taking down the rood-loft and stopping the holes in the wall where the joices stood" at S. Helen's, Abingdon, received in 1561 the sum of 15s. 8d.

ROOD AND DOOM, WENHASTON.

But the unaccountable hatred which the fanaticism of the time felt towards these sacred symbols, was not satisfied with their mere removal; nothing less than their destruction with every mark of violence and indignity was enough. Crucifixes were brought to Smithfield and to S. Paul's churchyard, and there broken to pieces and "burnt to ashes, and together with these in some places copes, also vestments, altar-cloaths, etc." The rood with its images from S. Andrew's, Holborn, was burnt to ashes, and that from S. Margaret's, Westminster, was destroyed by "cleaving and sawing" it.

Such rage and violence towards the effigy of the Saviour reads more like an account of the ribald and blasphemous paganism of the French Revolution, than a record of the acts of men claiming a burning desire for pure religion. Who can picture a sincerely devout Christian hacking and hewing at the statue of the Redeemer?

It must not be taken for granted, by any means, that the action of the authorities always had the sympathy of the populace at its back in these matters. For instance, it was evidently deemed advisable to carry out the work of destruction at S. Paul's at a time when no popular tumult could easily be aroused; thus the "Chronicle of the Grey Friars," under the date 1547, has this entry,—"Item. the XVIII day of November at nyghte was pullyd downe the Rode in Powlles with Mary and John, and all the images in the Churche, and too of the men that labord at yt was slayne and divers others sore hurtte."

Amongst the magnificent roods destroyed about this time must be reckoned that at S. Mary Hill, London, the figures from which were sold in the reign of Edward VI. The cross

was of wood, plated with silver gilt, and the images of silver; and at the base of the cross was a crystal engraved with the Holy Name, while the five wounds of the Lord were marked with rubies.

A very interesting relic of this era is supplied by the screen at Wenhaston, in Suffolk. The chancel arch in this church was filled in with oak-panelling against which were fixed the rood and its two attendant figures, while as a background to them a Doom, or representation of the Last Judgment, was painted on the oak. The figures were destroyed, like all the rest throughout the country, and the painting was hidden under whitewash, in accordance doubtless with a command similar that issued to his diocese of Gloucester by Hooper in 1551, that "Ye cause to be defaced all such images as yet do remain painted upon any of the walls of your churches, and that from henceforth there be no more such." So matters remained until quite recently, all memory having been lost of the work lying hidden beneath the unsightly whitewash. At last, however, during the restoration of the church, a happy accident revealed the presence of the paintings, just in time to prevent the destruction of the boards on which they are. Now that they have been cleaned and reinstated we have at Wenhaston, not only its curious Doom, but the outline of the ancient crucifix and images which stood before it. It is questionable if any other church in the country has any record of the precise size and shape of its pre-reformation rood.

It was, perhaps, in the hope of making assurance doubly sure that the ecclesiastical commissioners on the 10th October, in the third year of Elizabeth, ordered the removal

of all rood-lofts. "It is thus decreed and ordered, that the rood-lofts as yet being at this day aforesaid untransposed, shall be so altered that the upper parts of the same, with the soller (loft), be quite taken down unto the upper parts of the vaults and beams, running in length over the said vaults, by putting some convenient crest upon the said beam, towards the church." That this order was fully carried out the visitation questions of Archbishop Grindal and other similar documents, as well as the state of every ancient screen left to us, clearly show. A very few lofts escaped, among which are those at Guilden Morden in Cambridgeshire; at Honiton and Totness in Devon; at Mawgan in Cornwall; Lullingston in Kent; Skeffington in Leicestershire; and Sherringham, Fundenhall, and Attleborough in Norfolk. In no case did the rood and the statues of S. Mary and S. John survive; and in many instances the whole screen was pulled down.

It must not, however, be imagined that England has been alone in losing these objects of art and of devotion. Rood-screens, once as commonly found in France as amongst ourselves, are now as commonly absent from the ordinary parish churches, although in many instances suspended crucifixes have to some extent filled their place. The lust for destroying, which was such a passion of the Revolutionary era in that country, is largely answerable for this. The great Abbey of S. Ouen, at Rouen, once possessed a splendid rood-loft, ascended by twin circular stairs; it was pierced by brass gates of elaborate design, and surmounted by a crucifix whose top stood sixty feet from the pavement. It was defaced in 1562 by the French Protestants, or Calvinists, and destroyed by the

revolutionary faction in 1791. The Cathedral of Aiby still has a fine loft similar to the one which existed at Rouen, and Louvain has one also of great dignity. Again at the Revolution of 1831 the Parisian mob broke into the wildest rage against the Christian symbol. Thus does Alison describe some of the doings of the 14th February in that year:—"The cross, the symbol of salvation, was in an especial manner the object of popular fury; . . . all the crosses both on the outside and the inside of the building (S. Germaine l'Auxerrois) were speedily torn down. . . . Part broke into the Cathedral, . . . and immediately began pulling down the crosses and defacing the ornaments. . . . From Nôtre Dame the mob moved to the churches of S. Roch and of the Assumption, in order to destroy the crosses on those sacred edifices; but 'happily,' says the French Annalist, 'the promptitude of the Government had anticipated them, and the crosses were already destroyed.' Next day a royal ordinance was published, ordering the removal of the crosses from all the churches, and directing the formation of a new state-seal, without the emblem of salvation which had hitherto appeared upon it."

In recent years an extraordinary revival of rood-screens, adorned with all their proper and ancient images, and even provided with lofts, has taken place in England. Amongst well-known London churches, S. Peter's, Eaton Square, has recently been adorned with a fine metal screen surmounted by a cross and the figures of six angels, and S. Paul's, Knightsbridge, with a complete rood-screen; but instances of this are now indeed common. Examples may be seen in all parts of the country, as at Kenn in Devonshire, at Norton Fizwarren in Somersetshire, at Hensall in Yorkshire,

and at many other places. In some instances, as at S. Alban's, Holborn, and at S. Silas's, Hull, the rood, with its attendant statues, has been suspended from the roof, without the erection of any screen. In not a few cases, however, not only has the screen been re-erected, but it has been crowned with a capacious loft, with the figures and lights in all their ancient dignity. As an illustration of this revival, it may be mentioned that amongst village churches in the single county of York, three at least, Womersley, Cantley, and Sledmere, have been thus enriched within recent years. Certainly few architectural features add more solemnity and majesty to a sacred building than a well-proportioned and well-designed screen, crowned by the representation of the Great Sacrifice.

At Burgos, in Spain, is a rood of a curious, but distinctly ghastly, type. Théophile Gautier, in his "Wanderings in Spain," after speaking of the peculiar love of the Spaniards for realism in art, thus describes this locally famous crucifix. "The celebrated 'Christ of Burgos,' which is held in such veneration, and which must not be shown until the tapers are lighted, is a striking example of this strange taste. It is not formed of coloured stone or wood, but actually consists of a human skin (at least, so they say), stuffed in the most artistic manner. The hair is real hair; the eyes are furnished with eye-lashes, the crown of thorns is really composed of thorns, and, in a word, not one detail is omitted. Nothing can be more lugubrious, or more disagreeable to behold, than this crucified phantom, with its ghastly life-like look and its death-like stillness. The skin, of a brownish, rusty tinge, is streaked with long lines of blood, which are so well imitated that one might almost think they were really trickling down.

It requires no great effort of the imagination to believe the legend which affirms that this miraculous figure bleeds every Friday. Instead of flying drapery wrapped round the body, the Burgalise Christ has on a white tunic, embroidered with gold, and descending from the waist to the knees. This style of dress produces a strange effect, especially upon those who are not used to it."

Before leaving the subject of these crosses erected in the church, it will not be without interest to point out that when a district was placed under the ban of an interdict, all such crosses were removed from their places and laid upon the ground. The records of certain Synods held at Llandaff about the year 597 tell us that Oudoceus, the bishop, excommunicated King Morris for the treacherous murder of Cynetu ; and in token of the curse pronounced on him and his realm, the crosses were placed on the ground until penance had been performed and restitution made by the King. The same bishop took the same course with Guerdnerth, who had slain Mercion, his brother, in a contest for the chieftainship ; and Berthguinis, on succeeding him in the episcopal see, found the crosses still upon the ground, and took them up, on the offender showing signs of repentance and amendment of life. The turbulent spirit of the half-civilized Welsh of those, and even later, days is illustrated by the fact that a further instance of the same thing meets us in 1059 ; when again at a Synod at Llandaff, Bishop Hergualdus anathematized the King Catgucaunus, and in token of the interdict under which his kingdom was laid, placed the crucifixes on the ground, turned over the bells, and choked up the church-door with thorns. Ernulph, Bishop of Rochester (1114-1125), gives us the form of

excommunication used at such times in his "Textus Roffensis," the laying down of all the images in the church being part of the ceremony prescribed.

The marking with a cross by engraving, embroidery, or otherwise of almost all articles used in the sacred offices, calls for little comment, being largely a matter of taste merely. It has long been usual to enrich the stole and maniple with three crosses, one in the centre and one at each end; most of the linen used at the altar is also similarly marked. The Gothic chasubles, used in England and throughout northern Europe in mediæval days, usually had on the back a cross in the form of a Y; the modern ones have a Roman cross, as also have old examples of southern origin. The "Imitatio Christi" refers to these chasubles, and explains their form thus: the priest "has before him and behind him the sign of the Cross of his Lord, that he may continually bear in mind Christ's Passion. Before him he bears the cross on his chasuble, that he may diligently look at the footsteps of Christ, and fervently endeavour to tread in them. Behind him on his back he is signed with the cross, that he may meekly endure for Christ's sake any trials which others may bring upon him."

This passage has a literary interest, in that it has been imported into the controversy concerning the disputed authorship of that famous book of devotion. The work has been ascribed to Gerson, Chancellor of Paris, as well as to Thomas à Kempis; but Cardinal Garganelli argued that neither the Frenchman nor the German could have written it, but that the honour belongs to Gerson, Abbot of Vercelli; one of his arguments being that only the Italian vestments

had the cross both on front and back, those used elsewhere bearing it behind only.*

Funeral palls are commonly decorated with a large cross stretching from end to end and from side to side. With us, as also in France, this cross is generally made of some white material; in Spain it is of a brimstone-yellow hue.

In the reign of Edward VI. the church of All Hallows', London-wall, had a cruciform monstrance, which is described in an inventory of the time as "a cross to bear the blessed sacrament."

The curious "dissembled" cross, the fylfot, early used with various mystical meanings by the faithful, became a not uncommon form with which to impress church bells in some districts, especially in Yorkshire, Lincolnshire, and Derbyshire. As an example, a bell at Bonsall, in the last named county, may be quoted. It is alleged that this cross was thought to be a charm against lightning.

The cross has long been used in two very natural ways outside the fabric of the church. As the church in the midst of the clustered houses is itself a setting forth of the faith, so it follows, almost as a matter of course, that it should uprear the symbol of that faith as prominently as possible. Thus the tall spire, the Church's finger heavenward pointing, holds aloft a cross. At Amiens is an example dating from 1526,—a long life for a piece of metal-work in so exposed a position. The stone crown which caps the tower of S. Giles's, Edinburgh, originally had a bold cross above it, as shown in old engravings. The huge crosses which surmount the domes of S. Peter's at Rome, and S.

* It should be mentioned that this Italian Gerson is a myth, the invention of his champion, the Cardinal.

CROSS, WATTON CHURCH.

Paul's in London, are very fine examples. The cross which crowned the steeple of old S. Paul's had, according to Calfhill, "reliques in the bowl." La Giralda, the Tower of Seville Cathedral, has upon its summit an emblematic figure of Faith, fourteen feet in height, holding aloft a cross. The work was designed and executed by Bartolomé Morel in 1568, and is made to turn upon a pivot so as to act as a weathercock,—a singular use to which to put the emblem of the immutable faith of the Church Catholic.

Akin to the steeple-crosses are those which terminate the gables, and especially the eastern gable, of most of our churches. These are frequently finely designed, and are interesting especially as being the only pre-reformation crosses that have survived in their entirety in any great numbers. Probably their comparatively small size, and their almost inaccessible positions, saved them in past iconoclastic days. A gable at Watton, Norfolk, terminates in a crucifix, the holy sign in which is a good example of the wheel-cross. The cathedrals of Lincoln, Norwich, Salisbury, and other cities have gable-crosses, often elaborately floriated, which are worthy of notice; and one at Merton College, Oxford, deserves mention. The chancel gable at Penkridge is crowned with a variety of the cross *clechée*, the type formerly used on the seal of the suppressed college. The church is dedicated in the name of S. Michael, and this form of cross is said to be assigned to him. But in fact these crosses are so universally found as to need but little illustration. There is a curious legend concerning the gable-cross of an ancient bridge-chapel at Vienne. This bridge, which was erected in 175 B.C., fell into the Rhone on February 11th, 1407, the first arch to give way being one

on which a chapel had been built. The stone cross which surmounted the little sanctuary was not, however, buried like the other ruins beneath the waters, but floated out to sea, but to what final destination the story tells us not.

The other use referred to, is the erection of churchyard-crosses. Standing in "God's acre," surrounded by the heaving "turf in many a mouldering heap," where rest those who have died in faith, and sleep in hope,—what can be more natural than the symbol of the Christian's faith, the anchor of his hope? That this has been felt to be the case is abundantly shown by the use of this form in memorials of the dead, as in the shape or the adornment of tombstones and sepulchral slabs. In an illuminated copy of the English pre-Reformation Offices, preserved by a Lancashire family, is a painting of an English graveyard of the fifteenth century, where we see the tall stone cross reared amidst the simple wooden crosses which mark the several graves.

Probably the original intention of the churchyard-cross was to mark the enclosure about the church as consecrated ground, much as we have seen the site for a new church was in very early times indicated by the erection of the sacred symbol within it. It was frequently raised upon a mound of earth or upon one or more steps, and stood upon the southern side of the church.* A further object served by these crosses was the rousing of the devotion of the faithful as they passed to prayer amid the resting-places of the sleeping dead; they were, moreover, often used as fitting places for the performance of penances,

* For some notes upon the use of the southern, rather than the northern, side of the churchyard for burials, see the author's "Lore and Legend of the English Church" (London, Andrews & Co., 1899).

From a photo by Carlton & Son, [*Horncastle.*

SOMERSBY CROSS.

and hence were sometimes called "Weeping Crosses." In the Roman Catholic graveyard at Carlton, near Snaith, in Yorkshire, is an ancient cross removed (by what authority it would be hard to say) from the parish churchyard, which is known as the "Crying Cross." Whether this be a variation of the name Weeping Cross, or whether it marks the fact that public notices were of old proclaimed, or "cried," from its steps, may be questioned. Another name, "Palm Cross," marks the fact that the Palm Sunday procession in passing round the church made a station at the churchyard-cross. This use is alluded to in the constitutions of William of Blois, Bishop of Worcester, in 1229, one of which runs thus, "Let a handsome cross be erected in the churchyard, to which the procession shall be made on Palm Sunday."

One of the most striking examples of the churchyard-cross now left in the country, stands on the south side of Somersby Church, in Lincolnshire. It has a tall octagonal shaft, with an embattled capital, rising from a square base to a height of fifteen feet. The cross, which is protected by a slight embattled canopy or gable, has on the one side a crucifixion, and on the other the Madonna crowned, and holding in her hand a lily. It is supposed to date from about the middle of the fifteenth century. Other crosses, somewhat similar in design, though none more light and graceful in construction, are found in several places. At Cricklade are two examples, one in S. Mary's churchyard, and the other in S. Sampson's; each consists of a tall shaft, mounted on steps, and crowned with tabernacle work. The niches in S. Mary's cross are filled with figures, but those of S. Sampson's have been despoiled of theirs. The latter of these two is not strictly

a churchyard-cross, having been removed in recent times from the main street of Cricklade to its present site. Another of these tall crosses is found in Bitterley churchyard, Shropshire; the shaft is octagonal, and the tabernacle with its crucifixion is a good example of its kind. At Ampney Crucis, near Cirencester, is a very bold and solid specimen, the tabernacle of which is larger, in proportion to its shaft, than those already described. S. Ives and Lanteglos in Cornwall have interesting crosses in their churchyards. Each of them had been taken down and buried near the church, perhaps by some pious souls anxious to preserve them at the time when so many of their fellows were ruthlessly destroyed. They were rebuilt some fifty years ago. The S. Ives cross, which is ten feet six inches in height, is the plainer, the massive shaft being, as is often the case, a simple unadorned hexagon; while the alternate faces of the example at Lanteglos, which is of about the same height, are elaborately carved. The almost cubic head of each is cut into niches, containing a crucifixion and the figures of saints. Other instances of churchyard-crosses in Cornwall are found at S. Buryan, S. Levan, Gwinear, S. Erth, Sancreed, S. Paul, Illogan, Lelant, Cury, Ludgran, Gulval, and a few other places. These, for the most part, are roughly hewn crucifixes, of from four to six feet in height; but those at Sancreed and at S. Erth are taller, the latter being a ruder specimen of the type found at S. Ives and Lanteglos, and the former a crucifix of a primitive sort with some simple designs cut on the body of the cross. A good example of the characteristic Cornish cross, of little height and decorated with an interlaced pattern resembling wicker-work, is in the churchyard at S. Columb.

A cross, remarkable as being a post-reformation, yet not a modern, erection, stands in the churchyard at Fyfield, Berkshire. It bears the following inscription :—

"This Cross was erected
in the yeare 1627
at the expence of
Wm. Upton, Esq."

A curious example of the type of cross popularly, but not very correctly, described as Runic, stands in the churchyard at Nevern, in Pembroke. On a tall and substantial shaft, which slightly tapers towards the top, is placed a small cross surrounded by a circle, the whole being covered with interlaced carvings of a semi-barbaric kind. An interesting cross, now practically serving as a churchyard-cross, may be seen at Romsey Abbey, a fine late Norman building; a large crucifix is let into the outside wall of the south transept; the feet of the Redeemer lie side by side, and above is the Father's hand—both marks of antiquity, as we have seen. This figure of the Redeemer called forth some verses from the pen of the late Mrs. Rundle-Charles, better known as the authoress of "The Chronicles of the Schönberg-Cotta Family," from which we quote the following :—

"It stands in a quiet corner,
Which careless eyes might miss,
That Image of the Sorrow,
And fountain of our bliss.

Low within reach it standeth,
Close to the old church door,
And by the common pathway,
Appealing evermore ;

Low on the wall, that never
The dimmest eyes may miss,
And the lips of little children
May reach the feet to kiss.

Lord, ere thou call'st our spirits
  Within Thy Hands to be,
Leave us some such dear likeness
  To leave behind—of Thee.

Give us to see that Image
  By the common paths, like this ;
Low, where the dimmest vision
  The Features need not miss ;
Low, where the lips of children
  May reach to cling and kiss."

In the churchyard of S. Mary's, Gosforth, Cumberland, is a tall cross, alleged in fact to be the tallest ancient example in Britain, covered with remarkable carvings. It is of red sandstone, and dates from the seventh century, its adornment being a strangely mingled series of low reliefs representative of scenes from the Christian Scriptures (including the Crucifixion) and from the myths of Scandinavian heathenism.

Rocester, Staffordshire, has preserved the major portion of its churchyard-cross, a monolith of gritstone decorated with tooth ornament down two of its sides, and standing upon a base of circular steps. A similar structure, but one not so nearly complete, exists at Doveridge, in Derbyshire. Blithfield, Staffordshire, has its churchyard-cross in its completeness ; and Somersall Herbert, near Derby, has one dating probably from the early fifteenth century, of which only the arms and a portion of the upper member of the finial are wanting.

All over the country, remains of ancient churchyard-crosses exist. At Dindar, and at North Petherton, in Somersetshire, are graceful shafts from which the tabernacled heads have disappeared ; at Crowle, in Lincolnshire, is a short shaft on steps, which now supports a sun-dial ; at Penkridge, Stafford,

is the fragment of a graceful column ;* at Bebbington, in Cheshire, the base alone is left. In the East Riding of Yorkshire the bases of such crosses may be seen at Leconfield and at Bishop Burton ; and the quaint Norman church of Studland, Dorset, has the base of its old cross in the garth. And so the catalogue of battered fragments might be continued, through every county in England. In their perfect state, these churchyard-crosses often witnessed to the artistic feeling of our ancestors, and always to their sincere faith ; are we driven to draw as a moral from their ruins, that we have fallen as far behind them in the latter, as it will hardly be denied we have in the former ?

In recent years something has been done to repair the losses of the past in this respect. A very interesting restoration has recently taken place at Folkestone. That there was a cross in the churchyard here in the fourteenth century is proved by an ancient charter of 1327 (1st Edward III.), which directs that "upon the day of the Nativity of our Lady the mayor and the jurats shall, upon the blowing of the horn, hold a common assembly in the churchyard of our Lady ;" whence we find it recorded in the old minute-books that on that day (September 8th) in each year "the inhabitants assembled according to ancient custom at the cross in the churchyard to elect the mayor." It is supposed that the cross was blown down in a great gale which partly wrecked the church on December 19th, 1705; it had certainly fallen before 1715, for it is on record that in that year the parishioners met "at the pedestal where the cross lately stood." The election of the mayor continued to take place at this spot until 1835, when this, together with so many other

* It is said that this cross will shortly be restored.

time-honoured usages, was swept away by the Municipal Reform Act. In 1897, chiefly owing to the efforts of the vicar, Canon Woodward, the cross was restored at a cost of £300. The shaft of the present structure ends in an elaborately carved head, above which is the sacred symbol. The sides of this upper section are adorned with sculptures; on the western face is a crucifixion, with S. Mary and S. John, and on the eastern the Blessed Virgin with two angels; while the figure of S. Eanswythe, the Abbess, looks towards the town, of which she is the patroness, and S. Peter, the fisherman apostle, looks out over the sea. On the pedestal is the following inscription :—

"At this Cross
In ages past, according to an old Charter
(1st Edward III.) preserved among the
Muniments of this town,
The Mayor was annually elected
'On the Feast of the Nativity of our Lady.'
Restored September 8th, 1897."

At the unveiling of this new cross and its solemn dedication by the Bishop of Dover, the good folk of Folkestone were summoned to the ceremony by a blast upon the old Corporation horn. The necessary excavation for the relaying of the old square steps of the cross discovered the fact that there had been a still earlier erection on the same spot standing upon a circular base.

The old cross-shaft in the churchyard at Killamarsh, Derbyshire, has within recent years been completed by the addition of a well designed cruciform head; but since this was placed in position the heads of two other crosses, one of which is a crucifix, boldly executed but much shattered by past ill-usage, have been dug up in the churchyard. In a

similar way many old crosses, several of which were apparently churchyard-crosses, have been found in various parts of the country. At S. Alkmund's, Derby, one was discovered, together with a number of carved stones of an early Norman date, which had probably stood in the garth of the old church destroyed in 1844. At Quethick, Cornwall, is a cross whose head was unearthed in 1882, and its shaft redeemed from doing duty as a gate-post. S. Teath's cross, in the same county, was found in scattered fragments in various places up and down the country side; part of it once formed a gate-post, part was built into a bridge, and pieces had been used as coping-stones. At Broadwood Widger, near Launceston, is another cross recently recovered from secular use.

Beside these restorations, partial or complete, some new churchyard-crosses have recently been erected, proving the revival of the ancient feeling of their fitness. Quite recently the old base of a cross at East Brent, in Somersetshire, has been crowned with the addition of an impressive stone crucifix, intended as a memorial of the long incumbency of the late Archdeacon Denison. At Harburton, in Devonshire, is a new cross, designed after the best ancient type, with a tabernacled head surmounted by a short crocketed spire; the carvings represent, on the four sides, the Crucifixion, the Epiphany, S. Andrew, and S. Bartholomew. Hickleton and Womersley churchyards, in Yorkshire, and other places, have also had crosses re-erected in them in recent years. A fine example of a modern churchyard-cross was erected at Nettleham in 1887. It rises from a cubic base placed on three broad steps, the octagonal shaft being eight feet high. The cross itself is placed on a richly

carved capital, is three feet six inches in height, and bears the effigy of the Crucified Lord, the fingers of the right hand being extended in benediction; a gabled pent-house roof protects and completes the structure.

We have already seen that the churchyard-cross was treated in some cases, as at Folkestone, and perhaps at Carlton, as a parochial centre, where the people should meet for public business. To this fact we owe the preservation of the base of the cross at Danby, in Yorkshire, public notices having been formerly announced from that spot. This base has probably survived from the thirteenth century, and now supports a fifteenth-century shaft crowned with a cross recovered from the foundations of the early English chancel. At Sampford-Courtenay, Devon, a dole of bread used to be distributed at the churchyard-cross, which still exists, each Sunday morning.

At Cropthorne, Worcestershire, is the head of an ancient cross, probably once the churchyard-cross, which has not yet been restored to its original place and purpose. Its four members are not equal in size, and each is carved with a conventional animal, a graceful scroll connecting the four. It is at present built into the external face of the south chancel wall. At Ampthill, Bedfordshire, the head of a cross is preserved in the vestry; on one side is a carving of the Crucifixion, and on the other of the Blessed Virgin crowned.

Waldron, in his "Description of the Isle of Man," tells us that "in every churchyard there is a cross, round which they (the funeral processions) go three times before they enter the church." No doubt English burial-grounds were as universally provided with the sacred sign, although the

custom referred to was purely a local one. The Isle of Man is still rich in sepulchral crosses. One English usage, however, survived well into the present century at Stringston, Somersetshire, where, as a writer in the "Ecclesiologist" for 1844 declares, "Until very lately it was the custom of the people to do obeisance to the churchyard-cross."

Several churchyards contain ancient crosses which are now considered as churchyard-crosses, but which were not originally erected for that purpose, nor even in every case within that sacred ground. At Nunburnholme, in Yorkshire, is a very interesting example, which was recently dug up and re-erected. This was in all probability intended as a grave-cross. We have already noticed that a village-cross at Cricklade has been transferred to one of the churchyards there. The present churchyard-cross at Lowthorpe, Yorkshire, is said to have once formed part of a market-cross at Kilham.

The Reformation is responsible for the removal of the crosses from within our churches; in most cases the stone crosses outside them probably survived until their general demolition was ordered by the Commonwealth. An entry in the parish accounts of S. Giles's, Reading, suggests, however, that in some instances the ministers of destruction at the former era exceeded their authority, and pulled down the churchyard-crosses; for we find that the sum of two shillings was received "for stones of the crosse sold" in 1549.

Carvings of the cross or the crucifix are, as one might expect, to be found in various places about the church and on different parts of it, as the devotion or the fancy of the builders suggested. Over the west door of Rougham,

Norfolk, is a beautifully sculptured crucifix surrounded with vine-leaves; other instances are afforded by Sherborne in Dorsetshire, Burford in Oxfordshire, Evesham in Worcestershire, and Stepney in Middlesex.

It is a matter of thankfulness that in so many quarters the symbol of our redemption is again raised within the sacred enclosures where our dead lie at rest. We are surely not so far different from our fathers as that the solemn figure of the cross can meet our eyes without a suggestion of penitence and holy hope, especially amid such surroundings. A striking story of the power of the crucifix to impress the mind is told in connection with York Minster. In 1840, the roof and towers of the metropolitan church of the north took fire, and the whole city was roused from sleep by the awful conflagration, and stood, a breathlessly anxious crowd, kept back by a cordon of troops, around the dark mass of the minster with its crown of fire. Presently the roof fell flaming in, and at once the "storied windows" flashed out upon the night in vivid hues. Among the rest the western window of the north aisle suddenly flung upon the eyes of the crowd its great crucifix, that quivered in the darkness like a living form. Involuntarily the right hands of the soldiers sprang to their brows, and they saluted the image of the dying Christ!

CHAPTER V.

Grave-Crosses.

THE sign of our salvation having come to fill so large a place in Christian art, it would naturally be expected that in memorials in any way connected with religious feelings it would be employed, and above all in the monuments of the dead laid to rest in hope of a joyous resurrection through the victory of the Cross. As a matter of fact, our earliest Christian cross-forms are the disguised crosses of the sepulchres in the catacombs; and in spite of every outbreak of bigotry against other uses of the symbol, it has never been entirely abandoned for such purposes. Preaching-crosses and market-crosses might fall into ruin, and roods and crucifixes be wantonly destroyed, but the Cross carved in stone, or cut on stone, above the grave is found in all ages, though not so frequently in England in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries as before or since.

Probably many of our oldest crosses, and most of those found in churchyards, when not elevated on steps or otherwise specially distinguished, were originally sepulchral memorials. The fifth of the ecclesiastical laws of Keneth, King of Scotland, promulgated in 840, runs; "Let every tomb be held sacred, adorn it with the sign of the cross, and beware that you do not trample on it with your feet." The command has every appearance of simply insisting upon what was already admitted as proper and decent, and

we have evidence of the use of the cross on graves at a much earlier date.

The most primitive form of the grave-cross in Britain was a rudely-shaped pillar of stone, upon which the holy symbol was cut. At a later date the stone itself was hewn, more or less roughly, into a cruciform shape. Flat stones, engraved with the sign, and placed upon the grave were of still later introduction. Inscriptions are rare on the earlier examples, and when found are exceedingly brief; and in the former case it is naturally impossible to decide very definitely the original purpose of some of them, especially if there be any doubt as to their having been erected on the sites where they are now found. Throughout the Isle of Man are scattered a large number of sepulchral crosses, most of them bearing the names of those whose resting-places they mark, or did at one time mark. The inscriptions in several instances are in runes, but of two dates, by the help of which antiquaries have been able to fix approximately the periods to which they may be assigned; and the epitaphs are accompanied with sculptures of a characteristic type, involved scrolls, or "strap-work," animal grotesques, and other forms usual in antique northern art. All were erected within the period from 800 to 1250, most of them probably between 950 and 1175. Some of the best examples are at Kirk Braddan, where seven of these crosses are preserved. Kirk Manghold has a cross of a different type, a pillar cross dating from the fourteenth century.

Iona, famous as the home of S. Columba, has several noteworthy examples of sepulchral crosses. None of them are so early in date as the life-time of the great abbot, yet they are ancient and interesting. Within the burial-place

of the monastery were laid to rest, not only the remains of the inhabitants of the isle, but chieftains from the mainland, and even from distant shores to which had spread the name and fame of this sacred spot. Within Reilig Odhrain were buried forty-eight Scottish kings, and four from Ireland, eight from far-off Norway, and one from France. Shakespere alludes to the custom of burying the early Scottish monarchs in Iona, or Icolmkill (Columba's Isle), making Macduff say of the body of the murdered Duncan (Macbeth, II., 4), that it is

> "carried to Colme-Kill,
> The sacred storehouse of his predecessors,
> And guardian of their bones."

The sepulchral slabs in several cases still exhibit the holy sign. One, with a cross which almost stretches the whole length and breadth of the stone, is decorated with carvings of a galley, a sword, and a scroll of leaves. It probably covered the body of Ailean-nan-Sop, son of Maclean of Duart, and dates from the twelfth century. Ranald, Lord of the Isles in the thirteenth century, has a tombstone adorned with an interlaced cross and two "disguised" crosses, somewhat fylfot-like, together with a sword. A broken stone, engraved with a cross similar in design to those found on ancient Irish monuments, has been supposed to commemorate Maol Patrick O'Banan, the saintly Bishop of Down, who, having resigned his see, came to Iona to make his preparation for his summons hence, and died there in 1174.

In spite of the war waged so bitterly in Scotland at the time of the Reformation against the symbol of the Faith, other instances of sepulchral crosses are yet to be found

there. On the islet of Oronsay is a Celtic cross, with a Latin inscription in memory of a prior who died there in 1510. Argyleshire has preserved several ancient tombstones sculptured with crosses. At Kilfinnan, for instance, is a wheel-cross decorated along the sides with strap work.

It is no far cry from Iona and Man to Ireland, for that green island was the birth-place both of S. Columba and S. German, and the smaller islets learned from thence probably much of their art as well as of their faith. At Drumcliff, near Sligo, and at many other places in Ireland, are good examples of sepulchral crosses. Monasterboice or the Monastery of Boethius, a bishop who died in 521, situated in county Louth, has several crosses in excellent preservation. The Great Cross, as it is called, stands twenty-two feet in height, and should perhaps be accounted a churchyard-cross. It is on the south side of the church. Another example, which is also near the church, has been described as "the most beautiful specimen of Celtic stone-work now in existence"; this is the cross of Muiredach. It is covered with carvings of scriptural scenes, and bears on the front the inscription (in Erse), "Pray for Muiredach, by whom this Cross was made." The venerable builder was Abbot of Armagh, and died in 923 or 924.

Before turning to some English examples of sepulchral crosses, a passing note is at least due to some fine pre-Norman instances in Wales. Glamorganshire has several of these, especially at Llantwit Major and at Margam. The cross of Houelt Ap Res at the former, and that of Conbelin at the latter, are boldly sculptured wheel-crosses, covered with strap-work decoration.

Probably some of the nameless Cornish crosses ought

to be ranked among the sepulchral memorials; and the fact that they are so frequently found at a distance from any burial-ground is not always conclusive evidence that they were designed for other purposes. For instance in the market-place of Penzance, which can hardly, under the circumstances, be its original site, is a cross some five feet high, on which, at its removal in 1829 from the centre to the side of the square, were found near the base the words, "Hic procumbunt corpora piorum." This must have been intended either for a grave-cross or a churchyard-cross.

During the restoration of the chapter-house at Durham, in 1891, some very interesting cross-heads, the remains probably of gravestones, were discovered. These fragments are supposed to have marked the last resting-places of some of the community established at Durham in 995, when the relics of S. Cuthbert were brought thither. In 1083, the monastery was converted into a Benedictine house; and when, between the years 1133 and 1140 the new chapter-house was erected, it would seem that the site of the old burial-ground was utilized for it, and that the sepulchral memorials standing in it were broken up and employed in the foundations. On three out of the four crosses discovered are curious sculptures supposed to represent the Baptism of our Lord. Other embellishments consist of an Agnus Dei, figures of the Apocalyptic emblems of the Evangelists, a crucifixion, and ecclesiastics carrying books and crosses.

Pre-Norman crosses have been discovered at various places within the ancient kingdom of Wessex, many of them carved with conventional animals of a most elaborate

design. Examples exist at Roberrow and West Camel, Somersetshire, at S. Oswald's, Gloucestershire, at Colerne, Cricklade, Knook, and Ramsbury, Wiltshire, and Dolton, in North Devon. Their dates probably range from about 900 to the Conquest.

Of about the same age is the antique Celtic cross preserved in the parish church of Leeds. It is curiously wrought with human figures, difficult now to name with any certainty, and with several fine specimens of the varied and intricate scrolls so popular with the early stone-carvers of the north. It is supposed to be a monument to Onlaf Godfreyson, who died about 941. Probably somewhat older, certainly not appreciably more recent, is the well-known cross in Bakewell churchyard. This has been called an "Iona" cross, a tradition alleging that it was brought from the Scottish isle. But the character of the stone scarcely bears out the legend. It is also spoken of as a preaching-cross; but it is more probably the cruciform grave-stone of some forgotten chieftain. It stands 7 feet 10 inches in height, and the shaft tapers from 23 inches to 18 inches in breadth. Upon one face are carved a number of figures arranged in pairs, which, it has been suggested, are intended for the Apostles. Eight only of these figures are visible, but others may be imbedded in the ground. On the other side is a scroll, at the top of which is an animal, apparently a squirrel. Some of the sculptures introduced at the head of the cross have been supposed to represent scenes from our Lord's earthly life, but the work is much time-worn, and the interpretation of it is therefore difficult and doubtful. The scroll and squirrel suggest an allusion to the Norse mythology. According to the northern

EYAM CROSS, DERBYSHIRE.

legends there is a vast tree, the "world-ash," whose trunk and branches form a pathway for the squirrel, the messenger of the gods, to pass between heaven and earth.

In the churchyard of the little village of Eyam, celebrated for its tragic experience of the plague, is a very similar cross. It is a fine specimen of a Celtic cross, adorned with scrolls, and with figure-subjects carved on the arms and at the centre. It had long lain in fragments in a corner near the church when John Howard, the philanthropist, seeing it, got it rebuilt. The name of him whom it was meant to commemorate is now lost, but that of its restorer should ever be recalled by the sight of it.

At Bradbourne, situated like Bakewell and Eyam in Derbyshire, another cross belonging to the same age and class was discovered within recent years. The Norse squirrel has been carved in four places upon this.

The presence of these Celtic crosses in the Midland county, and the similarity between some of the carvings upon them and examples found in Scotland, remind us that the influence of the mission of S. Aidan and his companions was felt beyond the bounds of Northumbria. S. Chad, the friend and disciple of S. Aidan, no doubt brought with him from the North many reminiscences of the sacred art of Iona, when he came to bear episcopal rule over the Mercians.

Stone slabs covering graves are often engraved with crosses which, by their form, testify to the sculptor's familiarity with more costly erections, such as churchyard, or village, crosses. At East Kirkby, Lincolnshire, for example, is an incised slab forming the gravestone of Sir Robert Sylkestone, founder of the church, upon which is a handsome cross

obviously designed after the fashion of a standing-cross, the shaft rising from an hexagonal pedestal in two steps, and ending in a capital for the support of the cruciform head. Another instance might be quoted from Croyland Abbey. Among the stones used to make a bed for the foundation of the tower in the peaty soil, at its erection in 1427, was an old tombstone which was unearthed during the operation of underpinning the tower in 1860. On this stone is a good floriated cross on three steps.*

At Bakewell a large number of incised slabs were utilized in the rebuilding of the church, which took place about the year 1100, and again at about 1260. In the course of operations rendered necessary in the years 1825 to 1841 by the giving way of the tower-piers, many of these stones were recovered; and on several the sacred sign appears. The county of Derby is especially rich in sepulchral monuments of this kind, many of them of great interest both from their antiquity and their artistic merit.

The North of England also has preserved many of these incised slabs. In remote parishes of Northumberland, Cumberland, and Durham, a great number, amounting in all to two hundred or more, may be seen in more or less perfect preservation. The typical form is a long slab of freestone,

* This stone is further interesting from having been twice used as a gravestone. The original inscription runs round the edge as follows:— "Petre: Preces: P.: Me Petro: Pastor: Pie: P. Me" ("Peter, thy prayers for me, Peter: Tender Shepherd, pray for me"). The date of this is about the end of the thirteenth century. About two centuries later, and very shortly before the stone was dug up and used as described in the text, one John Tomson was buried in Peter's grave, and his friends cut the cross upon the stone and added another inscription, "Orate P. a'ia Joh'nis tomson" (Pray for the soul of John Tomson). V. *Lincolnshire Notes and Queries*, Vol. I., 225.

upon which is cut a cross occupying almost its full length. Some implement or other object is frequently added to show, as is generally supposed, the trade or profession of the deceased. At Newcastle-on-Tyne, for example, are the fragments of two gravestones which once covered the graves of priests; on these the shafts of the crosses widen out about the middle so as to form the outlines of chalices.

In not a few cases a sword has been cut upon one side of the cross, and on the other a pair of shears; or two stones lie side by side, one with the sword, and the other the shears. Examples will be found at Aycliffe, Durham, at Shaftoe, Northumberland, and elsewhere. It is natural to suppose that these emblems in such cases mark the sex of those buried beneath; husband and wife being represented respectively by the manly sword and by the shears of the thrifty housewife, ever busy with her distaff and her spinning-wheel. At Ainstaple, in Cumberland, is one more elaborately carved; the cross being surrounded by the helmet with its crest, and four shields of arms, as well as the sword. Some warrior-pilgrim lies at rest at Haltwhistle beneath a stone incised with a cross, beside which are his sword, his pilgrim's staff, and his scrip. At Heysham, Lancashire, we find a harp in conjunction with the cross and sword. The church of S. Pierre, near Chepstow, preserves two fine stone coffin-lids or slabs which were found buried in the churchyard in 1765. One, supposed to be that of Sir Urian de S. Pierre, a knight who died in 1239, has a long cross running the entire length and breadth of the stone, with a sword beside it, and an inscription in Norman-French around it. The other, possibly that of Dame Margaret, wife of Sir Urian, has a human hand holding a cross of more ornate design, which

pierces a dragon with the butt-end, and about midway up the shaft puts forth foliage, birds and beasts being introduced into its branches. In a similar way the sepulchral slabs, or stone coffin-lids, of bishops and abbots sometimes had a crozier beside the incised cross. Examples exist at Eccleston in Lancashire, at Flaxley, Gloucestershire, at Romsey and Dorchester Abbeys, in each of which the crozier is grasped by a hand; and others are found at Durham, at Margam, and elsewhere. At Barnard Castle is a priest's gravestone, on which, in addition to a finely designed cross, with a chalice and a book, is a hand in the attitude of benediction. A very good example of the incised stone coffin-lid may be seen amid the ruins of Hales Owen Abbey, Worcestershire. In this instance the lower half of the stone is occupied by the kneeling figure of a monk, probably the effigy of the original occupier of the coffin, some abbot or canon of that Premonstratensian house, beside whom lies an open book. The upper portion of the stone is filled with a crucifixion, the Blessed Virgin and S. John standing beside the crucifix, and the conventional signs for the sun and the moon occupying the extreme corners of the slab. Ixworth Abbey, Suffolk, has some good stone coffins incised with crosses, the shafts and butts of the latter being themselves also crossed.

For a long time the tombstones in our churchyards have been for the most part monotonously ugly and unideal. A square or oblong stone large enough to hold the long, and often fulsome, inscription, with its tag of doggerel verse, seemed to satisfy the taste (and the faith) of the time. Now, however, the sign of our salvation forms with increasing frequency the appropriate head-stone for the graves of the

faithful departed, and proclaims the hope in which they have been committed to the dust. One or two modern grave-crosses may be mentioned. In Fordham churchyard stands a Celtic cross, nine feet in height, which has recently been erected to mark the grave of James Reynolds Withers, a self-taught Cambridgeshire poet. A more ornate work has been reared upon the grave of the late Christopher Wordsworth, Bishop of Lincoln, in the little churchyard of Riseholme. This also consists of a cross of Celtic type, eight feet high, and placed upon three steps. The cross has nine medallions on either face; those on the western one having representations of the Annunciation, the Nativity, the Baptism, the Temptation in the Wilderness, the Transfiguration, the Crucifixion, the Agony in the Garden, the Entombment, and the Resurrection; while on the eastern face are the Creation of Light, and of animate Life, the Fall, the Building of the Ark, the Burning Bush, the Brazen Serpent, David and Goliath, Jonah and the whale, and the Translation of Elijah. This fine grave-cross, designed by Mr. J. A. Reeve, in the fulness of its teaching and richness of its adornment, is worthy of a place among many of the splendid examples of antiquity.

CHAPTER VI.

Public Crosses.

THAT "the ages of faith" considered religion foreign to no department of life, is in nowise more strikingly shown than by the public use of the emblem of Christianity. Our forefathers held it as the fittest of all ornaments, not for the Church only, but for every place where Christian men were found. Over five thousand crosses, it is said, existed at one time in the public places of England;—in the obscure village churchyard and the busy mart, the lonely highway and the crowded city thoroughfare.

Precisely how many of these now remain, it would be difficult to say; but certainly only a small proportion exists in anything like the original state. Some have survived as mere shafts, beautiful still in many cases, but shorn of almost all meaning by the loss of the one member that gave them a being and a name. In other cases an unsightly stump, a useless flight of steps, a few worn stones, an ancient place-name, or a bare tradition, keeps alive the memory of the Cross, now desecrated or destroyed.

The ceaseless beating of the tide of time is responsible for much of this decay, which the local authorities, in carelessness or ignorance, have been guilty in too many instances of watching without attempting to retard; and in not a few cases the whole structure has at last been taken down simply to avoid the cost and trouble of needful repair.

Modern improvements in the streets of our towns have cost us several examples that could ill be spared. It would be as foolish as futile to decry the opening out of narrow thoroughfares to the sweet influences of sun and air, or to grumble when growing towns make due provision for growing traffic ; yet one cannot but regret the many ancient landmarks that these changes have swept away, nor can one doubt that, had a proper appreciation of their worth been felt, some means might have been found to preserve most of them.

But after all it was the bigotry of the Puritan epoch which robbed us of the greater part of our public crosses ; just as it was the narrow views imported into the Reformation movement from foreign sources that were chiefly answerable for the disappearance of our roods and other church crosses.

Some method of classification being needful in treating of the various kinds of crosses, one has been adopted here which is practically useful, rather than strictly accurate. Churchyard-crosses, included in a preceding chapter, form a division sufficiently distinct ; grave-crosses also are another obviously separate class ; yet others which specially commemorate some person, without marking his place of burial, or recall some event, as do the Eleanor Crosses and that at Neville's Cross, near Durham, will compose another class to be considered in the next chapter, as memorial crosses. In our present one attention is called to those which were public, in the exclusive sense of being used for public purposes, such as markets, royal proclamations, and preaching ; and finally, under the names of roadside and boundary crosses, will be included many stone crosses which cannot be grouped under any of these heads.

It is confessed that this classification is not scientific, inasmuch as the classes are not in all cases mutually exclusive. No doubt several of the market-crosses, besides serving the usual purposes of such structures, enshrined the memories of departed worthies; and unquestionably many village and roadside crosses were originally erected as preaching places for the brothers of some neighbouring monastery, or for the use of itinerant friars.

For practical purposes, however, the above division of the subject will be found to serve.

To notice every cross of this public sort which has at some time adorned the streets and market-places of Great Britain, even if it were possible, would be after all the compiling of a mere tedious catalogue. It will be more interesting to take a few of the more important ones as types, referring to the others as occasion may arise.

For such a purpose no example can suit us better as illustrating the secular and civil uses to which these structures were put than the Market Cross, or "Mercat Croce," of the northern capital. This venerable erection might indeed be truly named, borrowing an American expression, the "hub" of Scotland, round which for centuries has revolved the history, not of Edinburgh only, but of the whole kingdom.

It seems not improbable that the original of this cross belonged to the class of well-crosses to be referred to hereafter, and may have been placed there by the earliest teachers of the faith in the district; since an old well exists not far from the present site, under the name of the cross-well. But no certain allusion to a cross standing here is found before the year 1436, when we read of the assassins of King James I.

of Scotland meeting their punishment "mounted on a pillar in the Market Place in Edinburgh." Nearly three hundred years before this, however, in 1175, William the Lion ordered that "all merchandisis salbe presentit at the mercat and mercat croce of burghis," which may well be taken to imply that the first burgh in the kingdom was not at that time without its "croce." Our next reference is in a charter of S. Giles' Church, dated 1447, in which occur the words "ex parte occidentali fori et crucis dicti burgi"; and its use as a market centre is clearly defined in a letter from James III. to his citizens, written in October, 1477, in which he orders "all pietricks, pluvaris, capones, conyngs, checkins, and all other wyld foulis and tame to be usit and sald about the Market Croce and in na other place."

No data remain from which to reconstruct with any certainty the ancient cross in the original form. The "pillar of the cross" now standing is the same as that named in the earliest historical notices of the structure, perhaps even the very one that was first set up; but whether it stood at the outset on an elevated platform, as it now does and long has done, or whether it surmounted a flight of steps in the way usual in England, cannot be determined. In the reign of James III. great improvements were made in Edinburgh. The church of S. Giles, for instance, was enlarged and made collegiate, and its independence of all but papal jurisdiction was guaranteed by a Bull; it seems therefore not improbable that the same royal patron of the arts added at that time dignity to the city cross, by building the lofty stone platform from which it could more unquestionably dominate the market. In 1555, some alterations were made in the structure, which are described as

"bigging the rowme thereof;" and this has been thought to imply that the open arches, which probably first supported this platform, were filled in so as to form the "rowme." The following extracts from the accounts of the city treasurer at any rate imply that the enclosed base, entered beneath by a door, was standing shortly after this date. In 1560 we read, "Item for ane band to ye Croce dur," "Item for mending of ye lok of ye Croce dur;" and again in 1584, "5 Julii, Item, ye sam day given for ane lok to ye Croce duir, and three keyis for it." An old bird's-eye view of the city as it appeared in 1647 shows the main outlines of the building to have been then very similar to what we see it to-day.

The treasurer's accounts, cited above, give evidence also of the early erection of another feature peculiar to Scottish crosses, namely the surmounting of it with the national emblem. In 1584 is an entry, "Payit to David Williamson for making and upputting of the Unicorn upon the head of the Croce."

In the year 1617 the "ald croce" was taken down and "translated by the devise of certain mariners of Leith, from the place where it stood past the memory of man to a place beneath in the High Street." The stone for building the new substructure was "brocht frae the Deyne," and on the 25th March "the Croce of Edinburgh was put upon the new seat;" the total cost of its removal and re-erection being £4,486 5s. 6d. (Scots). Amid the Puritan violence of the Protectorate the cross was defaced; among other things the Royal arms were torn down, and "the crown that was on the unicorn was hung upon the gallows by these treacherous villains;" as a consequence the city accounts show payments for repairs to Robert Mylne, a decendant of John Mylne,

who had been one of the "Master measones" at the re-erection. At this time the cross, or some part of it, perhaps the heraldic carvings, was adorned with colour, a sum being given "to George Porteous for painting the Croce."

On March 13th, 1756, the Market Cross of Edinburgh was demolished. Some of the carved medallions which had decorated it passed years later into the hands of Sir Walter Scott, by whom they were built into a wall at Abbotsford, where they now are. The pillar, which was allowed to fall and break in the course of demolition, was acquired by Lord Somerville, who set it up near his house at Drum. The site was marked out with stones, and a plain stone pillar "was erected on the side of a well in High Street, adjacent to the place where the cross stood, which, by act of Siderunt, was declared to be the Market Cross of Edinburgh from that period." But even this was not allowed to remain long, the chief argument for the removal both of it and of its great predecessor being the alleged obstruction which it offered to traffic.

Efforts were made from time to time to persuade the city fathers to restore a structure so long and so intimately bound up with the national history; and at last "the pillar of the cross" was brought back to Edinburgh, and placed upon a pedestal within the railings of S. Giles' Church. So matters were allowed to remain until 1885, when by the generosity of the Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone, then Member of Parliament for Midlothian, the original pillar was re-instated on a new and imposing base of the ancient type. The following translation of the Latin inscription which appears on one of its eight faces, and which is dated the day whereon it was formally handed over to the

Corporation, appropriately closes the record of the changes through which it has passed: "Thanks be to God, this ancient monument, the Cross of Edinburgh, devoted of old to public functions, having been destroyed by evil hands in the Year of our Salvation 1756, and having been avenged and lamented, in song both noble and manly, by that man of highest renown, Walter Scott, has now, by permission of the city magistrates, been rebuilt by William E. Gladstone, who through both parents claims a descent entirely Scottish. November 23rd in the year of grace 1885."

Many were the Scottish sovereigns who were greeted by their people at this, the heart of their capital. When James IV. brought home his bride, Margaret, daughter of Henry VII. of England, a fountain at the cross ran wine for all to drink; and a similar rejoicing took place when the ill-fated Mary, in 1561, made her public entry into the city from "Halyrud hous"; and again in 1590, when her son James VI. introduced his Queen, Anne of Denmark, to the citizens.

Of the many national and civic proclamations which have been made from Edinburgh Cross, two stand out conspicuous in the history of the whole island of Great Britain. The first, in 1513, was a summons for a general muster of the Scottish army for the invasion of England before the fatal field of Flodden; and the second was in 1603, when the Lyon King-at-arms announced from that spot the death of Elizabeth of England, and the consequent union of the crowns of the two countries. No quainter proclamation can have been made from this erection during all its long history, that one issued by King James from London in 1619, and ordered to be published from every town-cross in

Scotland. It would seem that the modern Solomon had had his patience sorely tried by the multitude of needy adventurers who had followed him from his northern dominions to his new court. He was at last driven to adopt this method in order to warn "all manner of persons from resorting out of Scotland to this our Kingdome, unlesse it be gentlemen of good qualitie, merchands for traffiques, or such as shall have a general license from our counselle of that Kingdome, with prohibition to all masters of shippes that they transport no such persons;" and further to enforce this order, it is announced that "Sir William Alexander, Master of Requests, hath received a commission to apprehend and send home, or to punish all vagrant persons who come to England to cause trouble or bring discredit on their country."

Such part as this cross has played in the religious history of Scotland, is mostly concerned with the progress of the Reformation in the north. In 1555, John Knox was burnt in effigy there, having gone to Geneva instead of answering a summons to appear before the Bishops. In 1565, a Roman Catholic priest, for the enormity of having said mass on Easter Day at Holyrood, was "tyed to the cross, where he tarried the space of one hour, during which time the boys served him with his Easter egges;" and again on the following day "he was set upon the Market Cross for the space of three or four hours, the hangman standing by and keeping him," while the populace again, as on the former occasion, displayed their godly zeal and Christian charity. In that stormy time for Scotland, the reigns of Charles II. and his brother James, when politics and religion were so strangely and unfortunately intermingled, that while the one party claimed to be punishing rebels, the

other felt that it was suffering martyrdom, many, including the Duke of Argyle and a hundred other persons of all ranks, suffered death in Edinburgh, in most cases at the "Mercat Croce."

Although the Edinburgh Cross is admittedly the most famous in Scotland, Aberdeen boasts that hers is the finest. It was erected in 1688 by a country mason named John Montgomery, but was removed in 1842 from its original site opposite the Tolbooth to its present position in Castle Street. It is similar in design to the cross of the capital. Six wide arches support an upper platform, whose balustrade is garnished with heraldic devices and medallions of the Scottish kings. From the centre of this platform rises a handsomely carved pillar crowned by a white marble unicorn holding the national shield. The spot now occupied by this cross was close to the old shambles, and hard by once stood the Flesh Cross; lower down the same thoroughfare there used to stand the Laich Cross, or Fish Cross, indicating the neighbourhood of the fish market. Edinburgh also had a second cross of a similar type in the Canongate, known as S. John's.

The cross of the metropolis appears to have been accepted throughout the northern kingdom as a model for imitation by the other burghs. Perth and Dundee once had examples, now unhappily destroyed; others yet remain in good condition at Prestonpans and at Elgin. There is a quaint record of a burgess of Linlithgow being condemned to the loss of the freedom of his burgh, a fine of £50 (Scots), and "to sitt doune upon his knees at the Croce at ten houres before noone, and crave the provost, baillies, and counsall pardone," because he had been found guilty of, "in his great raschness

and suddantie, destroying the head of the Toun's drum." At Lanark and at Linlithgow the ancient custom of "riding the marches," or, as we should say in England, "beating the bounds," commences by a procession from the town cross. There used to be a general meeting of the rougher element at Kilmarnock on Fastern's Eve (Shrove Tuesday) around the cross, and a good deal of horse-play and practical joking was indulged in. The fine pillar-cross in the market at Campbelltown, Argyleshire, formed of a monolith of blue granite, is said to be one of the spoils of the island of Iona.

England provides more than one instance in which, as in the case of Edinburgh, the present generation has in some sort replaced the town cross, hastily or heedlessly destroyed by a former age.

Bristol once possessed a handsome market-cross containing, in niches, statues of several English kings, the whole work gorgeous in vermilion and blue and gold. It was erected on the granting of a charter to the city by Edward III. in 1373. So late as 1633, the citizens, to preserve it, enclosed it with a railing and regilt it, at the same time adding a new storey with four more statues. Yet in 1733, on the declaration of some neighbouring tradesman that it was a danger to his life and property, it was entirely pulled down. Re-erected at private cost on College Green, it was actually demolished a second time, a public subscription (to the disgrace of Bristol) defraying the charges. Sir Richard Colt Hoare, having acquired the fragments, rebuilt it in his park at Stone Head; and a subsequent age has replaced it on the Green with a copy of the original, once so scornfully flung away.

Glastonbury, again, has, by the recent erection of a new

cross, made some reparation for its careless treatment of an old one. Its ancient market-cross was one of the most curious in the country; substantial, simple, and unadorned, offering ample accommodation and shelter beneath its wide arches, and with a certain quaint attractiveness in its curious gables. On showing signs of decay, its past services to the market folk were so far from pleading for it, that it was abandoned to the plundering of local builders, who coveted its time-honoured materials; and not a recognizable vestige now remains. Its modern successor is, as one expects of a nineteenth century erection, perfectly conventional, consisting of a column with canopied niches, surmounted by a short spire.

Gloucester boasted a market-cross from the days of Richard III. to the year 1750—an hexagonal tower-like structure, garnished with statues; but, like Edinburgh Cross, it was condemned as an obstruction, and, less fortunate than its comrade in misfortune, has found no one to rebuild it.

Another town in which the exigencies of modern business have been supposed to require the removal of a famous relic of the past is Coventry, whose cross must in its day have been one of the most ornate in the country. The first recorded cross in that ancient city was reared in 1422 in Cross Cheaping, at a cost of £50; the second and more famous structure was built at the cost of Sir William Hollis, Lord Mayor of London, in whose will, dated December 25th, 1541, is the following clause; "And furthermore, I give and bequeath unto the Mayor and Aldermen of the City of Coventrie, and the Commons of the same, £200 sterling, to the intent and purpose hereafter ensuing, that is

COVENTRY CROSS.

to say, to make a new Cross within the said city; whereof delivered in hand to Mr. Warren, Draper of the said City, the 24th day of August last, £20, in ready money; and also paid to Mr. Over, by the hands of Salt my Baylie, of Yoxall, £70 in ready money; and so resteth unpaid £110 stirling, which I will and desire my executors see to be delivered and paid unto the said Mayor and Aldermen of Coventrie aforesaid, to the use and intent aforesaid, within one year after my decease." The contract for the erection of this cross by Thomas Phillips and John Pettit was for £187 6s. 8d., and the work was begun in 1541, the sums named as paid by Lord Mayor Hollis having, it would seem, been expended on the work before the date of his death. In design it was a hexagon, each side of which measured at the base seven feet. It rose in four diminishing tiers, the three higher ones being filled with niches for statues, some of which are said to have been brought from the house of the White Friars. The upper storey had figures of S. Peter, S. James the Less, and S. Christopher, of an unnamed king, and of monastic religious in their habits; below these came SS. Michael and George, and the Kings Edward III., Henry III., and Richard II., with another royal figure of unknown name; while the lower tier held statues of Henry VI., John, Edward I., Henry II., Richard I., and Henry V. The whole structure rested upon four steps, including which it was upwards of sixty feet in height. It was lavishly gilded, and so solicitous were the authorities of preserving its gleaming bravery untarnished, that a fine was imposed on any one who should presume to sweep the "cheepinge," or market, without first watering it to lay the dust. It was repaired

and profusely decorated in 1629, at a cost of £323 4s. 6d.; and again in 1668, after the rough usage of the Commonwealth, it was renovated and regilt for the sum of £276. Little more than a century later, however, namely in 1771, it was razed to the ground, and its memory is only kept alive by the presence of a few of its statues and some other fragments, preserved variously in the neighbourhood.

Leland, describing Warwick as it appeared in the days of Henry VIII., wrote;—"The beauty and glory of it is in its two streets, whereof the High Street goes from east to west, having a right goodly cross in the middle of it, and the other crosseth from north to south." The "right goodly cross" has unfortunately quite disappeared to the no small detriment of "the beauty and glory" of the streets. Abingdon Cross was "sawn" down by the Puritan soldiery of Waller's army, and the same brainless bigotry robbed Chester of its high-cross. Holbeach, Lincolnshire, had a cross of unique design built upon a pentagonal ground-plan. The first high-cross in that town was apparently erected between 1252, when a license was granted by Henry III. to Thomas de Multon, lord of Holbeach and Egremont, to hold a weekly market at Holbeach, and 1273, at which date "the Cross of Holbeach" is mentioned in an Inquisition in the Hundred-Rolls. This cross was taken down, and a new one erected early in the fifteenth century. The base consisted of three pentagonal steps, above which rose five arches, supported by buttresses, and upholding a groined roof with moulded ribs. This roof had a parapet adorned with the arms of De Multon *(Argent, 3 bars gules)* and of Holbeach *(a chevron engrailed)*, and was surmounted by

two more five-sided steps, from which sprung the pentagonal spire, finely crocketed at the angles, which was crowned by the cross. This dignified structure probably stood near the bridge over the river, anciently called High Cross Bridge, at a point where five roads meet, an arrangement which perhaps suggested the form of the cross, one face being turned towards each avenue of approach. The date of the destruction of this fine cross seems to be unknown.

Leicester had a good market-cross, which has disappeared; and the same is true of Ipswich, where the structure, boldly designed and enclosing a wide space within its sheltering arches, must have been useful as well as ornamental. The earliest market-cross at Ipswich, of which we have any record, was erected by Edmund Daundy in his third Bailiwic in 1510. It is unknown when this was taken down, but a second one was built about 1619. It was constructed for the most part of timber, one Thomas Allen being the builder; and one of its pillars bore a shield with an inscription testifying that "Benjamin Osborne gave 44 Poondes to the Bvilding of this Cros," though the evidence of the town records seems to show that it cost but £38. The design was an octagon, 27 feet in diameter, and about 50 feet in height, the roof being surmounted by a figure of Justice with sword and balance. In 1660, the cross was beautified in view of the proclamation of King Charles II.; and in 1694 it was repaired and received a new statue of Justice at the public charge. Again in 1723 it was repaired, and the thanks of the Corporation were tendered to Francis Negus for his present of yet another statue of Justice, which was brought from his seat at Dallinghoe. The structure was pulled down in 1812,

"town improvements" being the plea urged for its destruction. The Justice from its summit was transformed into a Ceres, a sickle taking the place of her sword, and wheat ears of her balance; and thus converted she adorned the Corn Exchange. In 1879, a new Corn Exchange was erected, and the statue found a final resting-place in the local Museum. The figure would seem to have been somewhat dilapidated before its removal from the cross, if we may judge from the following epigram, published at the time:—

"Long in Ipswich Market-place
Astraea look'd, with languid face,
Upon the proud agrarian race,
Broken her sword, her scales uneven;
Resolved that corn again shall rise,
Ceres the lofty space supplies,
And holds her sample to the skies,
While scorn'd Astraea flies to heaven."

The demolition of the cross, which the firmness of the building made no easy task, called forth a lament even from the Quaker poet, Bernard Barton, who sang of it thus:—

"Lost to our view that ancient Cross so fair,
Its timeless fate full oft we must deplore;
Regret shall breathe her murmers in the air,
And anger loud her rage indignant pour.

There Knights of Shire exhausted oft their breath,
And thence the rising senator was nam'd,
From thence 'twas told what monarchs sunk in death;
And now, alas! no more the relic's fam'd.

* * * * *

Peace to its Manes! doomed no more to live,
Unless in memory's ever-fading page;
The mournful Muse this verse alone can give,
A feeble record for remoter age."

The old High Cross of Chester was an elaborately carved structure of stone. Like the Coventry Cross it was richly

adorned with colour, a usage of which our forefathers were fond in their treatment both of wood and of stone. In 1529, the cross was newly gilt, and the play of "Robert Cecil" was there enacted for the amusement of the citizens. In 1574, a conduit, ornamented with carved work, was made at the cross. From this spot the declaration which inaugurated the great October fair at Chester, without which no one but a freeman of the city might offer goods for sale, was yearly made; and the old base of the structure was still used for that purpose, after the cross itself had been destroyed by the troopers of the Commonwealth, when they captured the city in 1645. After the murder of the King, his son and successor, Charles II., was publicly proclaimed a traitor, by order of the Parliament at the Cross—or what remained of it—in 1649. In 1793, Tom Paine was burnt there in effigy. The other crosses of the city—at the Bars in Northgate, and at the Spital Chapel—were pulled down in 1583.

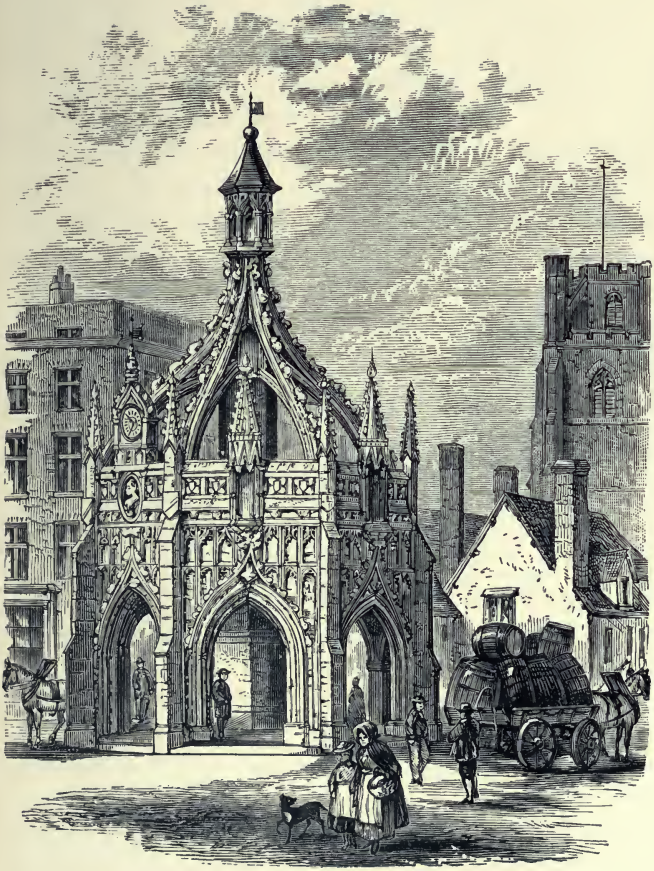
Near the Jacobean Manor House of Whitby stands a cross which probably once constituted the market-cross of the neighbouring town. It has a massive octagonal shaft, within which there was constructed a circular staircase.

It is difficult for us, at the present day, to conceive how constantly these sculptured shafts and sheltering arches met the gaze of our forefathers at every turn in the older cities of England. Besides the splendid cross, for instance, above described, Coventry had at one time its Swine's Cross (taken down about 1763), a second of the same name in another part of the town, Sponne Cross, Hill Cross, Jesus Cross, the Maiden's Cross, and the New or Queen's Cross, as well as two others close at hand at Radford and at Whitley. A similar case meets us in Doncaster, which once could boast

of a Butchers' Cross (destroyed in 1725), a Butter Cross (removed to make room for the Market House in 1846), the Northern Cross, the Wheat, or Market Cross, the Crosses of S. James, S. Sepulchre, and Maudlin (Magdalen), Snorel Cross, and one in the churchyard. Not one of all this list remains, Doncaster's only example being the Hall Cross, which will be referred to among the memorial crosses. During the Commonwealth, with its temporary establishment of civil marriages, this rite was "solemnized," if one may use the term in such a connection, in Doncaster at the Wheat Cross.

The ancient city of Lincoln is another example of a place once rich in these memorials. Only a well-cross exists there to-day; although its first bishop, Remigius, built a town-cross, his successor, Hugh de Grenoble, added others, and yet others were erected by Hugh de Wells; all of which, as also an ancient High Cross, have gone. Liverpool also had a High Cross, and others known as the White Cross, and S. Patrick's. Thoroton's "Antiquities of Nottinghamshire" (1677) has a map of the county town showing in the Market Place the Butter Cross and the Malt Cross.

Amongst the market-crosses still left to us, a foremost place, if not the first, must be given to that of Chichester. This beautiful structure was reared by Edward Story, bishop of the diocese from 1478 to 1504, who also left an estate, valued at £25 per annum, to keep it in repair, and to provide wine at the cross annually on S. George's Day. It is an octagon in plan, covering a space of about four hundred square feet, and stands some fifty feet in height. It was repaired during the reign of Charles II., at the expense of the Duke of Richmond; but was only saved



MARKET CROSS, CHICHESTER.

from destruction in the early part of the present century by the public spirit of a member of the Corporation. Crosses of this type, of which Malmesbury and Salisbury provide other excellent examples, are not only more beautiful, but more useful, than the solid decorated towers or spires, such as the crosses of Coventry and Abingdon; for the wide arches afford both shade and shelter to the market folk in summer heat or wintry rain and snow. A cross which is almost a combination of the solid high-cross and the large covered type is found at Shepton Mallet, having been erected by Walter Buckland and his wife in 1505. Other examples of the covered cross exist at Chipping Campden, in Gloucestershire, and at Cheddar. Even in the narrow scope of the spire-cross, an attempt was sometimes made to provide at least so much shelter as possible under the circumstances, as we see in the open lower storey of the Butter Cross, at Winchester, and of the curious pentagonal cross at Leighton-Buzzard.

The former of these is a singularly light and graceful example of a city cross. It stands upon a series of five octagonal steps, and is built in three tiers, with a tabernacled head. Four columns, garnished with niches and crockets, support the arches of the lowest storey, and are connected by flying buttresses with four smaller shafts which enclose the second tier, and are themselves similarly linked to the niches of the upper one. Out of this rises the shaft from which springs the head with the cross. This cross was erected in the time of Henry VI. At the end of the last century it was sold; but the townsmen, to their everlasting honour, drove off the workmen who were about to pull it down, and saved it for their city.

Tottenham High Cross has a special interest for all lovers of "the contemplative man's recreation," since it forms the meeting place and the parting spot of Piscator and his friends in "The Compleat Angler." "I have stretched my legs up Tottenham-hill to overtake you," cries Piscator to Venator and Auceps on first joining them; and "Welcome to Tottenham High-cross" is his signal for their separation. This structure, which was originally a wooden one covered with lead, is mentioned in the "Court-Roll" in 1546. It had fallen into such decay in 1600 that Dean Wood took it down, and erected in its place an octagonal column of brick, terminating in a short spire. In 1809, this was "restored" by public subscriptions, the whole being transformed into a bastard Gothic cross by means of a plentiful use of strucco.

In the Arboretum at Derby is preserved a rough, worn stone to which is affixed a brass plate, the long inscription upon which tells us all that is known about it. This inscription is as follows:—"Headless Cross, or Market Stone. This stone formed part of an ancient cross at the upper end of Friar Gate, and was used by the inhabitants of Derby as a market-stone during the visitation of the Plague, 1665. It is thus described by Hutton, in his History of Derby: '1665. Derby was again visited by the Plague at the same time in which London fell under that severe calamity. The town was forsaken, the farmers declined the market-place; and grass grew upon that spot which had furnished the supports of life. To prevent a famine, the inhabitants erected at the top of Nuns-Green, one or two hundred yards from the buildings, now Friar-Gate, what bore the name of Headless Cross, consisting of

about four quadrangular steps, covered in the centre with one large stone; the whole near five feet high; I knew it in perfection. Hither the market-people, having their mouths primed with tobacco as a preservative, brought their provisions, stood at a distance from their property, and at a greater from the towns-people with whom they were to traffic. The buyer was not suffered to touch any of the articles before purchase; but when the agreement was finished, he took the goods, and deposited the money in a vessel filled with vinegar, set for that purpose.'"

Though Hutton seems to imply that this structure was never more than an arrangement of squared stones, the present appearance of them, bearing as they still do fragments of leaden fastenings, distinctly suggests that the people made use of the remains of an ancient cross, whose head was at that time already lost. Other fragmentary crosses, which are reported to have been similarly used during outbreaks of plague, are found at Fulford, in the East Riding of Yorkshire, where is a shaft upon three steps, and in the case of the Burton Stone, now a base merely, near York.

The uses of these public crosses were manifold. The market-cross fixed the site at which buyers and sellers could lawfully congregate; its arches often offered, as we have noticed, shade and shelter to them; and the sacred sign was regarded as laying upon both parties a special obligation of honesty in their dealings. The high-cross, which was usually, at any rate in large boroughs, a distinct structure, was the official centre of the town. It was there that public notices of importance were published, and proclamations made. Sometimes, as at Aston Rogers, the Manor-court met there. The one building at times did duty both as

market-cross and as high-cross, a usage which Macauley glances at in "The Armada," in the lines—

> "With his white hair unbonneted, the stout old Sheriff comes;
> Behind him march the halberdiers: before him sound the drums;
> His yeomen round the market-cross make clear an ample space;
> For there behoves him to set up the standard of Her Grace."

Probably wherever a market was allowed by grant or charter, there a cross was presently erected as the visible symbol of the privilege; remains of them, or traditions of their existence, are therefore fairly common. In the East Riding of Yorkshire the fragments of such may be seen at Howden, Hornsea, North Frodingham, Hunmanby, Lund, and elsewhere; at Epworth, in North Lincolnshire, is the base of a cross, from which the weather-worn pillar only recently fell; and there are many similar cases. Our place-names and street-names also frequently give evidence of the existence in past days of crosses, where now no sign of them remains. Such names as Crosby, found in Westmoreland, Cumberland, and Lancashire; Croxby, in Lincolnshire; Croxton, in Lincolnshire, Leicestershire, Staffordshire, and Norfolk; and many similar words, together with still clearer instances, such as Cross Stone (Yorkshire) and Crux-Easton (Hampshire), all point to the fact that crosses, once well known, stood there. The same fragment of local history is preserved by such street-names as Cross-hill, in Crowle, Lincolnshire, Stone Cross in Penkridge, Staffordshire, and no doubt in many other similar cases.

The village-cross, in its more humble way, played the same part in the rustic life of its neighbourhood as did the high-cross in the more bustling life of the town. Such public matters as stirred the still waters of rural existence were there

From a photo by] [*F. A. Grant.*

WINCHESTER CITY CROSS.

discussed, the items of news from the great world without that reached the village gossips were there recounted, and the summons to the yearly Manorial Court, and other notices not suitable for proclamation in church, were there made public.

At Ripple, Worcester, are the remains of a once graceful village-cross, now only a tall and slender shaft mounted on three steps of unequal height. Hard by are the old whipping-post and the stocks of the parish. Just beyond the churchyard gates at Giggleswick stands a fine cross, and the same position was chosen for the village-cross of Enfield. The stump of a broken shaft, standing on a flight of ten steps opposite the gateway of Worksop Abbey, tells of what must once have been a lofty and imposing erection. At Lastingham the base of a cross was recently dug up in land adjoining the churchyard. At Bonsall, Derbyshire, is a pillar on a dozen circular steps, whereon a senseless ball has been placed in the stead of the emblem of the Faith.

The village-cross at Buckland Monachorum was restored as a memorial of her Majesty's Jubilee, and removed to the churchyard, the obstruction to the traffic being the excuse for the latter step. It is somewhat singular that the local dissenters bitterly opposed this removal, insisting on their right to a part in that sacred symbol which to the Puritans of old was an actual abomination. The village of Linby, Nottinghamshire, has two crosses, one at either end. Stanton-by-dale, in the neighbouring county of Derby, has one, which has been very well restored. At Datchet, Buckingham, a new village-cross was erected on the village-green, the gift of a parishioner, in thanksgiving for the sixty years of the Queen's reign.

Several villages and towns beside those already mentioned are happy in having preserved intact very beautiful examples of the cross; or scarcely less so in having found careful and reverent restorers of them when in ruins. Gloucestershire has some good specimens, as at Hemptsed and at Clearwell. The former is a very slender shaft surmounted by a cross of four equal arms within a circle; the whole, save that the cross is of the Latin and not the Maltese type, looking very like the cross-headed staff which formed the badge of a Grand Master of the Templars. The Clearwell Cross, of the fourteenth century, has the usual features of steps, square base or pedestal, and slender shaft, but the elegant cross at the head is of bolder proportions than is found in the majority of cases. A very similar erection is the White Friars' Cross at Hereford, which can perhaps claim to be considered a memorial cross, in that it was built by Bishop Charlton, or Cherleton (1361-1370), at the time of an outbreak of the plague in the city. It is an excellent example, with a base heraldically decorated, and finished at the top with battlements. The head has been restored. Another fine cross of about the same date is at Headington in Oxfordshire; it is crowned with a tabernacle, which is modern and not a good imitation of ancient work of the kind. But one of the most imposing of our village crosses stands at Stallbridge, Dorsetshire. It consists of three octagonal steps on which a broad, low pedestal is placed, from the centre of which rises a shaft with narrow buttresses, surmounted by tabernacle work. The column is adorned with niches containing statues of the Blessed Virgin Mary, S. John, and other saints, and the tabernacle is completed with a tapering spire ending in a small cross. The whole structure is thirty feet high.

Henley-in-Arden, Warwickshire, has a cross which deserves mention on account of the subject carved in the tabernacled head. A crucifix fills the niche from side to side, while behind it, and with hands upraised in benediction over it, is a crowned and bearded figure representing the Divine Father. The Dove, the usual emblem of the Holy Spirit, does not seem to have been inserted. This is a type of figure of which few examples have been left to us, although it was common in mediæval English art, whether the artist wrought in stone or in glass.

At Knightlow, near Stretton-on-Dunsmore, Warwickshire, stands the base of a cross,—now merely a stone socket on a mound. Whether this should be considered as a village-cross, or as a boundary-cross, or in some other light, it is not easy to determine. It stands in what is now, at any rate, a field, and is the centre of the following quaint ceremony. On Martinmas Day (November 11th) every tenant pays at this spot an acknowledgement of protection by the lord of the hundred, called "wroth-silver," in sums varying from 1d. to 2s. 3d., according to circumstances. The payment has to be made before sunrise; and in default it is alleged that the penalty exacted is twenty shillings for every penny, and "a white bull with red ears and a red nose." The payer walks thrice round the cross, and then drops the coins into the socket-hole, saying as he does so, "The wroth-money." This tax was originally exacted from thirty-three parishes, but now only from twenty-five.

How little these ancient crosses were valued in some places amid the confusion and change of the sixteenth century is illustrated by the following entries in the parochial

accounts of Melton Mowbray, where there seem to have been two crosses :—

"1584 Itm. The stock stone at Thorpe Crosse was sold to John Withers for towe shillings and towe pense, and to plante or sett one Ashe tree, or a thorne, and to renew the same till yt please God theye grow."

"Itm. The stocke stone at Kettelbye Crosse wt one stone standing is solde to Willm Trigge for fyve shillings and he to sett a Tree and husbond yt till yt growe as above said."

The destruction of these stone crosses was, however, far from general in that century, and even the ruthless and wanton wreckage of the following one has left us much which we are learning even now more fully to appreciate. Amid all the bustle of the busy market-place, and perhaps above all times in this hurrying, grasping age, the old market-cross standing with its message ever old, yet ever needful, for all who have ears to hear, testifies that there are interests of more moment than buying and selling and getting gain; and by its very antiquity speaks of the frailty of the life of man, so many generations of whom have bargained and chaffered beneath its shadow, and gone out, one by one, in long procession into the unknown Infinite.

Turning to those public crosses, which were used chiefly, though not quite exclusively, for religious purposes and especially for preaching, S. Paul's Cross comes first by right both of the importance of its position, and of the prominent part which it has played in the religious history of the country.

The original foundation of the Cross at S. Paul's is lost in antiquity, but evidence exists that one, on or near the site of the later one, marked the spot whereon the city folkmote

was held before the twelfth century. The earliest actual mention of the cross is in 1191, when one William Fitz Osbert here delivered an address against the divine authority of the Crown. From that time down to the middle of the seventeenth century, a period of about five hundred years, the references to it are frequent and interesting.

It was first used for ecclesiastical purposes in 1285, when the churchyard was enclosed, and began probably to be regarded more distinctly as a cathedral precinct; yet even after this the events connected with the cross are not all strictly ecclesiastical. In 1382, the building was damaged in a severe thunderstorm, and in 1449 it was re-built in "a more splendid style" by Thomas Kemp, Bishop of London. Funds for the restoration were raised by means of an indulgence, the original of which is still preserved among the cathedral records. The translation of this interesting document is as follows*:—"To the sons of our Holy Mother, the Church, under whose notice these present letters shall come, William, by Divine permission Archbishop of Canterbury, Primate of All England, and Legate of the Apostolic See, wishes eternal health in the Lord. We esteem it a service pleasant and acceptable to God, whensoever, by the alluring gifts of indulgences, we stir up the minds of the faithful to a greater readiness in contributing their gifts to such works as concern the honour of the Divine Name. Since then, the High Cross in the greater churchyard of the Church of London (where the word of God is habitually preached both to the clergy and the laity, being a place very public and well known), by strong winds

* See "Chapters in the History of Old St. Paul's," by Dr. W. Sparrow Simpson.

and tempests of the air and terrible earthquakes hath become so frail and injured that, unless some means be quickly taken for its repair and restoration, it will fall utterly into ruin; therefore by the mercy of Almighty God, trusting in the merits and prayers of the most Blessed Virgin Mary, His Mother, and of the Blessed Apostles, Peter and Paul, and of all the Saints, we by these presents mercifully grant in the Lord to all the servants of Christ throughout our province of Canterbury, wheresoever living, truly repenting and confessing their sins, who for the restoration and repair of the aforesaid Cross shall give, bequeath, or in any manner assign, of the goods committed to them, gifts of charity, Forty Days of Indulgence. In testimony whereof we have to this present letter affixed our seal. Given in the Manor of Fulham, in the diocese of London, on the 18th May, in the year of our Lord one thousand three hundred and eighty-seven, and in the sixth year of our translation."

The last preaching at the cross was in 1633, after which the sermons were delivered in the cathedral; and in 1643, by order of the Long Parliament, the cross was taken down. All that now remains of it is the octagon base, which was discovered a few years since, when the churchyard was laid out as a garden; the site will be found, marked out with stones, at the north-east corner of the present cathedral, a portion of the east wall of which rests upon a small part of it.

In its palmy days, S. Paul's Cross consisted of a covered pulpit of stone, surrounded by a low wall, and surmounted by a bold cross on an ogee roof. When not in use it was closed by a door; and near the opening or window where the preacher took his stand, was, in its latter days, a bracket

for an hour-glass. At the left hand of the structure, against the east wall of the cathedral transept, was a covered gallery of two storeys, in which persons of special distinction were accommodated to hear the preaching; the bulk of the congregation sitting on movable forms, or standing, between the cross and the church.

One of the earliest sermons of note delivered at this famous pulpit was one preached by Dr. Ralph Shaw on June 19th, 1483, from the text "Bastard slips shall not take root," a rendering of Wisdom III., 16. It was at the time when Richard, Duke of Gloucester, was scheming to obtain the crown, and Shaw is said to have been specially instructed to prepare the people for that event, by suggesting the illegitimacy of Edward V. and his brother.

Here at various times were heard such famous leaders of the religious thought of the nation as Fisher, Latimer, Gardiner, Ridley, Coverdale, Tunstall, Bonner, Grindal, Scory, Jewell, King, "the king of preachers," according to the opinion of James I., Hooker, "the judicious," Donne, Dean of S. Paul's, and Laud, who, as Bishop of London, was the last of the famous preachers to occupy this celebrated pulpit. Several of the sermons delivered here have become historical, or were connected with events that have helped to make history. On September 12th, 1557, "Dr. Standyche did preach at the shrowds for the winning of the battle of St. Quentin," the lord mayor and the aldermen being present in state. Jewell, Bishop of Salisbury, preached a sermon on March 30th, 1560, which became known as "the Challenge Sermon," from the fact that it was largely composed of a number of theses, which he defied the Roman controversialists to prove from the Fathers or

from Holy Scripture. Another discourse that acquired a name had been preached here by Latimer in 1548; this was the "Sermon of the Plough," which treated in a quaint and characteristic manner of the seed and the husbandry of "God's plough-land." Queen Elizabeth came to S. Paul's Cross in full state on September 8th, 1588, to hear another bishop of Salisbury, Dr. Piers, preach in commemoration of the overthrow of the Armada. On this occasion eleven ensigns taken from the Spanish fleet were exhibited, previous to their being displayed on the following day on London Bridge. Royal attendances at sermons here were accompanied sometimes during this reign with an amount of pomp and circumstance that must have been somewhat disconcerting to the congregation, if not to the preacher. On one occasion Elizabeth was attended hither by almost the whole of her court, by a thousand soldiers, ten cannon, drums and trumpets by the hundred, a party of Morris-dancers, and two white bears! He must have been an eloquent preacher that could hold the ears of a congregation when there were so many rival attractions to seduce their eyes. It was at S. Paul's Cross on Ash Wednesday, 1565, that the well-known incident occurred of the Queen's interrupting the preacher (Dean Nowell), by crying from her place, "To your text, Mr. Dean! Leave that, we have heard enough of that!" when Nowell was attacking the use of images.

On March 24th, 1619, the cross was draped in black in memory of the death of Anne of Denmark, the queen of James I., who had died early in the month; and in April, King, Bishop of London, delivered a sermon there at a solemn thanksgiving for the King's recovery from severe illness. In 1629, a muttering of the coming storm was heard

THE PREACHING CROSS, ST. PAUL'S, LONDON.

at S. Paul's Cross, when, on the Sunday before Whitsunday, two papers were found attached to it addressed to King Charles I., who was warned of the wrath of heaven against him, and bidden, "Give an account of thy stewardship, for thou must be no longer *Stuart*."

The Cross, however, was not used for sermons only. Being a place centrally situated, and resorted to by large numbers of people, it was deemed a suitable one for the performance of acts of public penance. In 1441, Roger Boltyngbroke, who was found guilty of the sin of necromancy, sat on a chair by the Cross during sermon time, surrounded by his magical appliances, and afterwards openly abjured his dark arts. A more notable penitent was Mistress Jane Shore, who came here "out of all araie, save her kertle onlie," and with a taper in her hand, in May, 1483. John Hig, "alias Noke, alias Jonson"—a suspicious character obviously—stood bareheaded and barefooted, with a faggot on his shoulder, all through the preaching at the Cross on Good Friday, in 1528, as a penance for certain "damnable and erroneous opinions" which he confessed to having "erroneously and damnably said, affirmed, believed and taught." A similar penance was performed in 1532 by a barrister of the Middle Temple, James Baynham by name, who seems to have been a singularly weak and vacillating creature. Having professed Protestantism, he recanted; again recalled his recantation, and was burned at Smithfield. In 1534, Elizabeth Barton, "the holy maid of Kent," who professed to have had divine revelations condemning the divorce of King Henry VIII., was compelled to stand on a high scaffold over against the pulpit, together with some half-dozen priests and monks, who had expressed belief in

her prophesyings. This probably mistaken, but certainly well-meaning and pious, nun was hanged at Tyburn on April 21st, 1534. In November, 1554, five men did penance here by standing during the sermon with lighted tapers in one hand and rods in the other; in March, 1556, a man, for transgressing the rules of Lent, stood with the carcase of a pig on his head and another in his hand; and in August, 1559, a "minister" did penance for "marrying a couple that were married afore-time."

The custom, common in past days, of formally destroying a book by way of condemning its publication, has several times been illustrated at S. Paul's Cross. Many of Luther's works were burnt at a sermon preached there by Fisher on May 12th, 1521; and Tyndale's translation of the New Testament, after another sermon by the same bishop, Cardinal Wolsey being present also, in 1530. In 1613, some books by a Jesuit named Suarez, whose works were said to be "derogatory to Princes," were burnt at the Cross, and the writings by Pareus, concerning the people's authority over princes, were similarly treated in 1622.

A notice of the Cross in the reign of Edward III. gives us a curious insight into the ideas of episcopal duty at the time. Michael de Northbury, Bishop of London from 1354 to 1362, acted as a pawnbroker for the benefit of the citizens of that city; and if at the year's end the pledges were not redeemed, notice was given by the preacher, after his sermon at the Cross, that they would be sold in fourteen days. Amongst the incidents of a secular character which centred in this time-honoured erection, we find a pleasing illustration of the friendly relations which subsisted between the King and his subjects in bygone days; for it seems to

have been customary for the monarch, before going abroad, to come down to S. Paul's Cross, and there to bid them farewell. So came, at any rate, Henry III., both in 1257 and in 1261, before passing into France.

The gatherings round the spot were not always of so friendly a nature. Under Queen Mary, religious feeling ran so high as to lead to serious disturbances. Dr. Bourne, chaplain to Bonner, was interrupted by shouting and uproar for attacking Ridley in a sermon on August 13th, 1553; and a dagger was flung at him, which stuck into a post of the Cross. On the following Sunday, about one hundred and twenty halberdiers were present, and peace was preserved; but in June of the next year, Dr. Pendleton was fired on whilst preaching, and nearly struck by a pellet "of tyne." The city was fined six hundred pounds for a murderous riot that took place at the cross in the early days of King Charles I. One Dr. Lamb, a conjuror, was popularly accused of having compounded poisons, with which, it was alleged, the Duke of Buckingham hastened the death of James I. Walking one day in Cheapside the doctor was recognized, and shouts of "The poisoner" were raised. The unfortunate man was seized by a mob, and dragged by the hair through Wood Street to S. Paul's Cross, where his life was literally beaten out of him.

No other preaching-cross attained to the name and fame of that of S. Paul's, yet they were not uncommon in the country. In the Green Yard at Norwich was one of wood, with leaded roof and a cross of the same metal; this was made use of especially in Lent, during which season, as we are told by a document of 1405, one sermon only was preached at the cathedral on each Sunday, and that "in a

certain large garden situated on the north side of the cathedral, called *Le Greneyerd.*" Worcester also had a preaching-cross. Remains of one may be seen near the church at Iron Acton, in Gloucestershire, a graceful structure originally, now lamentably mutilated ; and at Disley, in the same county, is another, also in ruins. A still better example is the Blackfriars' preaching-cross at Hereford, a hexagonal enclosure with open arches, above which is the stump of what was once the sacred emblem. At Shrewsbury is a stone pulpit, which might easily be mistaken for another example ; this, however, is the pulpit of the ruined refectory.

The Puritans, although such advocates of preaching, evidently had a strong prejudice against these open-air pulpits. That at Iron Acton bears to this day marks of the violence used in the attempt to destroy it, and most of our English preaching-crosses have, like our most famous example, wholly disappeared.

It would appear that in not a few instances, although no cross especially erected for preaching existed, yet sermons were delivered from the steps of the churchyard-cross. In the counties of Somerset, Hereford, and Gloucester, in several cases stone seats have been placed against the external walls of the church, in such a way that the occupants of them would face the churchyard-cross. In the first-named county such seats may be seen at Glastonbury and at Spaxton. At Westhide, in Herefordshire, is the stump of a churchyard-cross standing on four circular steps, the topmost of which has a socket cut in it. This, it has been suggested, may have been made to hold some kind of book-stand. The fragment of this cross-shaft, about three feet in height, was crowned by a sundial in 1739.

In this last half century, the English people have awakened once more in a wonderful way to an appreciation of life in the open air. Never were out-door sports and games so generally followed; and "garden-parties" and "garden-meetings" are amongst our most modern inventions. Parks and pleasure-grounds are now demanded almost as a public right, and no "exhibition" can look for success that does not provide ample accommodation for its patrons to listen to music under the open skies. In the face of all these signs of the times, is it too much to hope that the Church may be touched with the same feeling—surely a healthy and a desirable one; and that we may yet see on summer's evenings the congregations choosing to sit or stand about the preaching-cross in the churchyard, rather than sit, involuntarily listless, at the best with difficulty attentive, in the heat of a crowded, and often ill-ventilated church?

CHAPTER VII.

Memorial Crosses.

EVERY cross is, of course, primarily a memorial of the Sacrifice of Himself, "for us and for our Salvation," by our Divine Redeemer. But further than this grave-crosses are obviously memorials of a special kind; and many of those reared as churchyard-crosses or, like those noticed in the last chapter, as high-crosses or for public and at least semi-secular purposes, were nevertheless given as memorials of some person or event. The scope of this chapter therefore needs some definition; and it is proposed to confine it to the notice of crosses raised in commemoration of some fact in history, or some person of eminence, but not in connection with a burial-place, nor for any other use beyond the keeping alive of such a memory.

Among the memorial crosses of England are, or have been, several meant to recall battles famous in its history. It is said that the first cross raised in the Kingdom of Northumbria was that wooden one which S. Oswald, the King and Martyr, planted with his own hands on the eve of the battle of Hevenfelth in 635. This, originally a sign of the cause for which Oswald sought to reclaim his realm, became a memorial of the Christian victory, and was still preserved as such in the time of the Venerable Bede, who tells us that "the place is shown to this day, and held in great veneration." Another memorial of battle was the famous Neville's Cross, near Durham, erected to mark the

spot where Ralph Neville, in October, 1346, defeated the Scottish invaders. This, according to ancient accounts, was a singularly dignified structure, with a crucifixion beneath a stone canopy at the top, and a series of figures at the base, the whole being raised on half-a-dozen steps.

There are other similar memorials of the age-long conflict which raged along the Border between the English and the Scots. The noble family of Percy erected a tall cross, charged with crescents, the ancient badge of that House, on the spot where the Earl Douglas fell at the Battle of Otterbourne, or "Chevy Chase," on August 10th, 1388. Only a portion of the shaft now remains. In the kirkyard of Falkirk stands a fine granite cross, erected a few years since by the Marquis of Bute in memory of two kinsmen of his own, Sir John Graham and Sir John Stewart, who were slain in the defeat of Wallace at the Battle of Falkirk. This took place on July 22nd, 1298, in the suburb of the town now called Grahamston. A rough stone, of pre-historic date and origin, and known as the King's Stone, marks the site of the Scottish overthrow at Flodden; but this is probably not part of a cross.

The Battle of Wakefield, fought in December, 1460, was at one time commemorated by two crosses, or, to speak more accurately, two such monuments showed where fell two of the leaders in that sanguinary fight. Richard, Duke of York, was mortally stricken at a spot now within a highway unromantically named Cock and Bottle Lane; his son, the Earl of Rutland, was killed within the town of Wakefield. When brighter days dawned upon the cause of the White Rose, and another son of the slain duke ascended the throne as Edward IV., the new monarch erected crosses

at the spots where his father and his brother had fallen. Camden, writing something more than a century later, speaks of the memorial raised to the former, and Leland notices the other as standing in Kirkgate, Wakefield. No trace of either of these monuments is known to exist at the present time; but in 1897, the site of the death of the Duke of York was once more marked by the erection of a memorial stone. It is to be regretted that this took the form of a column only, and that the opportunity was not seized of renewing the form of the earlier memorial.

At Hedon, in the East Riding of Yorkshire, is a memorial cross which has had an unusually varied history. It is alleged to have been originally erected at Ravenspur to commemorate the landing there in 1399 of Henry IV., when, as Duke of Lancaster, he returned from banishment to dethrone Richard II. The cross was subsequently removed to Kilnsea, then to Burton Constable, and finally to Hedon. The same event is probably commemorated by the White Cross, near Leven, in the same district, the head of which has been built into the wall of the present church at Leven, over the doorway.*

Intimately connected with these crosses in historical association, if tradition may be trusted, was one which formerly existed at Idle Stop, in the Isle of Axholme, North Lincolnshire. The first scene in the closing act of Richard II.'s reign may be said to consist of the bitter quarrel between Thomas Mowbray, lord of the Isle of Axholme and Duke of Norfolk, and Henry of Bolingbroke, Duke of Hereford,

* For this, and several of the allusions to the East Riding of Yorkshire, see "Ancient Crosses of the East Riding," by the Rev. E. Maule Cole, M.A., F.G.S., 1896.

NORTHAMPTON CROSS.

and afterwards of Lancaster; a quarrel which led to a duel which the King stopt, and to the banishment of both the noblemen. Lancaster quickly returned, as the two crosses just noticed remind us, and more than avenged himself for his brief humiliation. Norfolk betook himself to Venice, and there died of the plague in 1399, the year of his rival's triumph. Legend, which for the sake of its pathos one would wish to be true, says that before leaving his native land he visited his Manor of Epworth, and took at Idle Stop what proved to be his last farewell of his duchess; and that the cross, which was erected there by one of the family of Evers, marked the spot where the husband and wife parted. The name Parting Cross given to this erection might give rise to the story, or take its rise from it. It has been variously described as Perteney Cross and as Parsons' Cross, but the first-named title is at least ancient; it occurs in an old parchment copy of Arelebout's map of the district, dated 1639. No vestige of the cross now remains.

Another action in the Wars of the Roses is recalled by a broken cross erected in 1765 near Market Drayton, in Shropshire. This marks the spot where Lord Audley, the Queen's Champion, fell in the disastrous rout of the Lancastrians at Blore Heath in 1459. The Battle of Mortimer's Cross, fought in 1461, takes its name from the fact that a wayside cross, erected by the piety of the Mortimers, stood at the meeting-place of four roads on the field of battle. Thus the cross in this case antedated the battle; it has long since disappeared.

At Braddoc Down, near Lostwithiel, Cornwall, a Royalist victory in the great Civil War is commemorated by a cross.

The action was fought in 1643, but the cross is much more ancient; a characteristic Cornish cross having been removed from its proper site, and mounted upon a massive pedestal, as a memorial of Sir Ralph Hopton's triumph.

Of all the memorials of battle, however, unquestionably the most complete in the country are Battle Abbey and Battlefield Church; the former commemorating the Norman victory at Senlac in 1066, the latter the success of Henry IV. at the Battle of Shrewsbury in 1403. In these two buildings we have, of course, the same idea as in the erection of crosses, —the linking of religion with the affairs of this life, and especially with its blessings,—but carried out on a fuller and more perfect scale.

The Rood of Chester, the celebrated cross which gave to the insular flat upon which it stood the name Roodee, or Rood Island, was memorial in character; since it was supposed to mark the spot at which was found a miraculous image of the Blessed Virgin, which had floated down from Hawarden. The mention of the latter parish suggests the notice of a modern memorial cross, which formed part of a scheme for commemorating the Christian Martyrs of Armenia, who have suffered under Mohammedan persecution in recent years. Hawarden churchyard was selected as the site for its erection. East and West, the world of the Past and that of the Future, are strangely blended in this cross; a block of stone from the United States of America having been offered as a base for the memorial raised in honour of martyrs in Asia Minor.

One or two foreign examples of memorial crosses may be given. Two crosses at Callao, in Peru, mark, or did at one time mark, the devastation of a great earthquake in 1746.

GEDDINGTON CROSS.

The old town of Callao was at that time utterly overwhelmed by the sea, and its remains are now below high-water mark. One of the crosses claims to show the spot to which the tidal wave flowed, and the other the distance inland to which it bore a Spanish frigate. The former is about one-third of the way to Lima, and the latter some half-mile from the shore; but doubt has been thrown on the accuracy of the claims thus made.

Down to the time of the Great Revolution a stone cross not far from Jumièges, near Rouen, kept alive a curious local legend. The abbey of Jumièges was founded in 654 by S. Phillibert, who was also its first abbot; and the same saint established the convent of Pavilly, some four leagues distant, and appointed S. Austreberthe its first abbess. This saintly lady undertook, on behalf of her house, to wash the linen vestments of the neighbouring abbey; and went regularly from the one monastery to the other accompanied by a docile ass laden with the linen. One day a huge and hungry wolf sprang upon the patient beast during the journey, and killed it; and the abbess, fearlessly running up to it, charged the savage animal to fulfil the task of its victim. This the wolf did not only then, but thereafter, so long as its life lasted. In the eighth century a chapel was erected on the spot where the ass was killed; and this subsequently falling into ruin was replaced by a stone cross, known as the "Cross of the Green Wolf." The 23rd June, the date of the alleged miracle, is still observed locally as a festival.

No event can more appropriately be commemorated by the Sign of our Salvation, than the introduction of the Christian Faith into a country, and more than one such

memorial exists. Madam Ida Pfeiffer tells us that "near Bjarkesoe (not far from Stockholm) a simple cross is erected, ostensibly on the spot where Christianity was first introduced" into Sweden. Wheatleaf Cross, Buckinghamshire, is supposed, by some writers, to commemorate the conversion of the Britons of that district to the Faith. This is a unique cross, being a "turf monument" 230 feet in height. It is cut on the side of a chalk-hill, and consists of a triangular base, measuring 340 feet on its lowest side, surmounted by a Latin cross 55 feet in height. There are other theories to account for the construction of this singular work. It has been said to immortalize a victory gained by Edward the Elder over the Danes; and on the other hand it has been considered merely a mark of ownership, the parish of Risborough, in which it is situated, having been the property of Archbishop Lanfranc, and held by Algar Stalre, the standard-bearer of Christ Church, Canterbury. In 1897, in commemoration of the thirteenth centenary of the landing of S. Augustine in Kent, a splendid Celtic cross was erected at Ebbsfleet. It is of great height, and stands upon a massive base; the whole of the shaft being carved in relief with Scriptural and ecclesiastical subjects. One of the Dartmoor stones, Roman's Cross, at Leemoor, a plain Latin cross nearly six feet in height, standing on a circular base, is claimed by a local tradition as marking a spot whereon the Apostle S. Paul once preached.

The majority of memorial crosses, however, preserve the memory of persons rather than of events; and almost all Christian lands have examples of them.

Travellers in the Alps will be familiar with the memorials, pathetic in their simplicity, of those mountaineers and way-

farers who have met sudden destruction beneath the overwhelming avalanche; ever and anon the rustic cross of wood is met with, marked with the initials of the dead and with the letters "P. I.," or perhaps the words in full, *Perit ici.* Spain, too, has her wooden crosses scattered along her most lonely roads and hillsides, or by the forest pathway; memorials, these, however, of more sombre tragedies, telling where the brigand or the highwayman struck down his victim. In Italy, a black wood cross marks the site of some disaster. Here, however, it occasionally has a very different meaning. During October open-air preaching is in vogue in the rural districts of Italy, and priests from the towns visit the villages for the purpose. Where some sermon that has proved memorable was delivered, a roadside cross is sometimes planted, to recall it to the recollection of the people.

William Wordsworth, in his "Descriptive Sketches," has an allusion to these Continental wayside memorials, especially to those seen amid the rugged peaks and drifting snows of the Alps:—

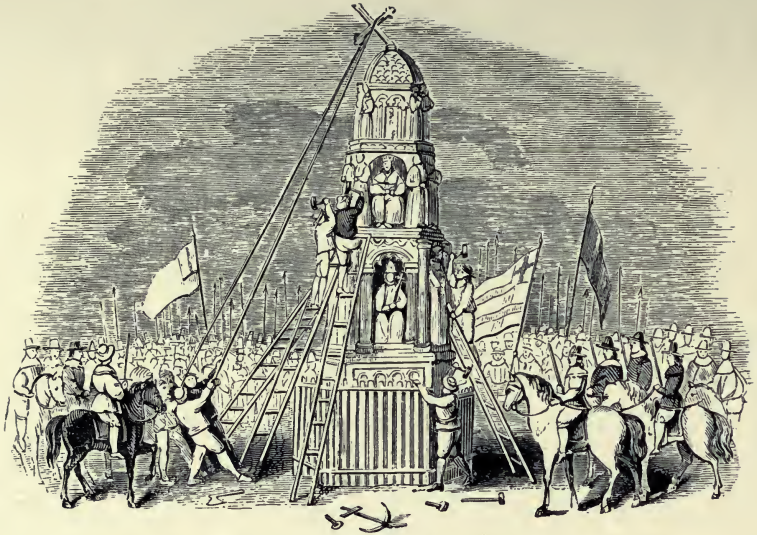
> "Loose-hanging rocks the day's bless'd eye that hide,
> And crosses reared to Death on every side,
> Which with cold kiss Devotion planted near,
> And, bending, watered with the human tear,
> That faded silent from her upward eye,
> Unmoved with each rude form of danger nigh,
> Fixed on the Anchor left by Him who saves
> Alike in whelming snows and roaring waves."

The great type of the permanent memorial cross among us in England has been supplied by the devotion of Edward I. to his Queen Eleanor, and any land might well

have been proud of the splendid series of crosses which he raised to her memory.

Queen Eleanor died at Hardeby, now Harby, in Nottinghamshire, on November 28th, 1291, her husband being at the time in the north, entering upon a Scottish campaign. The body was embalmed; and as the solemn procession, which the King joined ere its start, made its slow way to Westminster, a spot was chosen at each halting-place, on which a monument was to be raised. The total number of these is not quite certain, but the following is probably a complete list of them, namely:— Lincoln (where those parts of the body removed in the embalming were buried in the Minster), Grantham, Stamford, Geddington, Northampton, Stony-Stratford, Woburn, Dunstable, S. Albans, Waltham, West Cheape, and Charing. All have now disappeared except those at Geddington, Northampton, and Waltham; and these three survivors, singularly enough, illustrate three distinct styles of construction, the ground plan of the first being a triangle, of the second an octagon, and of the last a hexagon.

With so many crosses varying so largely in design, it is probable that there were several architects, but not many names have come down to us; John de la Battaile is said to have designed the one at Northampton, and Pietro Cavallini that at Waltham, Alexander of Abingdon and William de Ireland executing the work. All the existing crosses have several statues of the Queen, so that we may conclude that this was a feature common to the whole series; and all were adorned with the arms of England, Castile, and Ponthieu. The design in each case is beautiful, and the detailed carving, whether in the diapering of the surface, or



PURITANS DESTROYING CHEAPSIDE CROSS.

its enrichment with flowers, crockets, and other architectural features, both elaborate and exquisite. Charing Cross,* the last of the series, more nearly approached the Northampton Cross than either of the other two which remain, but its plan was hexagonal. Not a trace or a description of the original condition of most of the other crosses has been handed down to us.

Geddington Cross is in a singularly perfect state, wanting only its upper member with the actual cross. That at Northampton is similarly truncated. In the reign of Queen Anne a new cross, quite out of keeping with the rest of the design, was placed upon the latter by the local justices of the peace, who also adorned its faces with sundials; these have happily been again removed. Waltham Cross, which had become seriously decayed, was restored early in the present century, and again more carefully and satisfactorily in 1887 as a memorial of the jubilee of the reign of Queen Victoria.

Cheapside Cross was reconstructed between 1441 and 1486, largely of timber and lead, a drinking fountain forming part of the design; and another restoration, or rather rebuilding, took place in 1600. In the excitement of the religious ferment of the Reformation era it was a great sufferer, all the images on it being broken in 1581, and

* In the first edition the writer helped to circulate yet further the fancy that Charing Cross means the "cross of the beloved queen" (chère reine). As this idea is found in not a few popular works (as, for instance, in the thirteenth edition of Dr. Brewer's "Dictionary of Phrase and Fable"), he, having been convinced of his error, thinks it wise not only to omit it, but to take this opportunity of recanting. As a matter of fact the existence of the village of Charing in days before the Conquest sufficiently proves that the name was not coined in the thirteenth century. The "chère-reine" derivation has, indeed, nothing whatever in its favour, unless it be its ingenuity.

again "with profane indignity" in 1596. Its final destruction took place in 1643 under an order of the Long Parliament, which decreed the demolition of all crosses. Both this and, it would appear, the earlier attacks upon it, were the work of a fanatical minority merely, which could command but little popular sympathy; thus we find that Sir Robert Harlow, who had charge of the work of destruction, brought with him to the city a troop of horse and two companies of foot to protect the workmen from the rage of the citizens. The Cross at Charing was removed at the same time, and at a subsequent date the statue of Charles I. was placed upon the site. Charing Cross seems to have been considered one of the sights of the town, if we may judge by a couplet in "Good Newes and Bad Newes," a work published in 1622, where a countryman in London is described as seeing

> "The water-workes, huge Paul's, old Charing Crosse,
> Strong London bridge, at Billinsgate the bosse."

Of the fate of the rest of these crosses we have no record; some perhaps crumbled with decay, and were neglected, others doubtless came to an end similar to that of their London sisters.

The Waltham Cross has proved the most suggestive to architects of subsequent times; amongst other instances the Crimean Cross, near Westminster Abbey, has been formed on its design. Sir G. Gilbert Scott drew inspiration from the Northampton Cross for the erection of the Martyrs' Memorial at Oxford; and near Sheffield is one which perhaps follows, though at an immense distance, the type at Geddington. This is the memorial to the four hundred victims of the terrible epidemic of cholera which visited Sheffield in 1832. This cross, the foundation-stone of which

CROSSES AT SANDBACH, CHESHIRE.

was laid by James Montgomery, the poet, is chiefly interesting as one of the earliest instances of the reviving taste and feeling for this specially appropriate form of monument. Another memorial cross, whose noble size and dignified proportions, when compared with the one last named, give ample evidence of the artistic growth which has accompanied this growth of feeling, is the S. Andrew's Cross, at Plymouth.

Two crosses of a different type to the Eleanor crosses are those at Newark and at Wedmore. The first, which consists of a tall shaft on a flight of bold, hexagonal steps, was erected by the Duchess of Norfolk, as a memorial of her husband, John Viscount Beaumont, who fell at the battle of Towton Moor in 1461. The present head of the cross is modern. The Wedmore Cross, sometimes called "Jeffrey's Cross," commemorates the unfortunate countryfolk of Somersetshire, who fell in Monmouth's rebellion, or were butchered by the brutal Jeffreys afterwards.

In the churchyard at Mylor, Cornwall, is a tall plain shaft, oblong in section, with a wheel-cross head, which now serves the purpose of a churchyard-cross. It is said, however, to have marked originally the site of S. Mylor's martyrdom.

Probably, could we but decipher the allusions intended by their sculptures, we should find that many of our ancient carved crosses were originally memorials. Almost certainly the two shafts at Sandbach, in Cheshire, are such. These, which are amongst the most valuable relics of early art in this country, dating probably from the eighth, or even from the seventh century, were broken into many pieces and scattered over the district as doorsteps, gate-posts, and what

not, until collected and most carefully restored by Colonel Forde, the lord of the manor. The larger of these two columns, each of which has lost its cruciform head, is covered with sculptures of sacred subjects taken from the New Testament; we have the annunciation of S. Elizabeth, and of the Blessed Virgin Mary, the trial and crucifixion of our Lord, the apocalyptic emblems of the four evangelists, and other sacred scenes and persons. The carvings on the smaller cross are of a secular character, and are supposed to represent events connected with the marriage of Peda, King of Mercia, to Alchfleda, daughter of Oswy, King of Northumbria, and his baptism, on which as a condition that marriage depended; most of the work is now inexplicable, referring to scenes of which all other records are lost. The stones of which these columns are composed are of the hardest and most durable sort, and a perfect enthusiasm of destruction must have been required to tear them down and break them.

A curiously carved shaft in the church of S. Oswald at Crowle, in North Lincolnshire, has been supposed by many to be the shaft of a very ancient cross; and if so, it must almost certainly be included amongst those raised as memorials. It is covered on one side with an involved chain pattern, roughly suggesting a snake swallowing its tail; and on the other are some human and animal figures, the meaning of which has never been satisfactorily explained. What makes the shaft especially interesting is the presence of the fragment of a runic inscription. The wall into which the Crowle Stone is built was part of the eleventh century church of the place; and this ancient memorial to some long-forgotten hero was obviously taken from some

THE CROWLE STONE.

neighbouring spot and converted into a lintel for the west door by the Norman builders.*

Another memorial cross of quite a different type is the Hall Cross of Doncaster. It was erected by, or in memory of, Oti, or Otho, di Tilli, steward of Conisborough for the Earl of Warren, under Stephen and Henry II. It would have been destroyed by the troopers of the Earl of Manchester in the Civil War, but for the action of the mayor, who succeeded in preserving it; but in 1792 it was taken down on making some alterations in the level of the road, and another cross of the same character was put up in the following year on Hall Cross Hill. It consists of a circular central column, with four others much smaller placed about it, each of the five originally terminating in a cross. Its memorial character is preserved by the old Norman-French inscription, which it still bears, "Icest est la cruice Ote di Tilli a ki alme Deu en face merci. Amn." It served a more gruesome purpose in the seventeenth century, being the spot chosen for the exposition of the heads of decapitated traitors.

Among the simple crosses planted in such profusion over and around Dartmoor are one or two interesting memorials. On Fox Tor stood, till about 1812, a cross raised on a very solid square sub-structure in three tiers, known as Childe's Tomb. Here, according to the story, Childe, a hunter of ages long gone by, met his death from cold one stormy winter's night. The whole memorial was wantonly destroyed by some labourers early in this century, but it has recently been re-built and surmounted by a new cross. Bra Tor

* See "Bygone Lincolnshire," edited by William Andrews, F.R.H.S. (Hull, 1891).

boasts a modern addition to the Dartmoor crosses, one having been erected there in memory of her Majesty's Jubilee; and another, of a style more lofty and ornate than is characteristic of the locality, has been erected at Plympton S. Mary in memory of the Rev. Merton Smith, a late vicar, who perished in the Pyrenees in 1883.

Iona has several crosses which are alleged to mark spots memorable in the life of S. Columba. On Tor Abb (Abbot's Mount) is a base and socket, whence the shaft has disappeared. Here was it, so runs the tradition, that the saint stood in silent contemplation of his monastery, and then broke forth in the prophecy, "Small and low though this place be, yet shall it be held in great and uncommon honour; not by the Irish kings and people only, but also by foreign chieftains, and by barbarous nations; yea, even the saints of the other churches shall hold it in no little reverence!" The Cross of the Maclean has been said to occupy the spot wheron S. Columba rested on his last perambulation of the abbey lands; it is not, however, so old as the days of the great abbot by several centuries, and dates probably only from the fifteenth. It is about eleven feet high, and is hewn out of mica-schist. In the centre is the figure of the crucified Lord attended by angels. S. Martin's Cross is now the only perfect monument of the many which once adorned the isle. It, too, is formed of the solid rock, its socket being of red granite. It measures fourteen feet in height, and eighteen inches in breadth. Its carvings include figures of the Madonna and Child, with adoring cherubs; a number of ecclesiastics in vestments, musicians with harps and trumpets, and conventional foliage, animals, and scrolls.

S. MARTIN'S CROSS, IONA.

Scotland has several splendid examples of the Celtic cross, the exact object in the erection of which is now forgotten, but which in many instances are almost certainly to be reckoned among the memorials. In Wigtonshire are several good examples, as at Kirkcolm, Kirkmadrine, Whithorn, Monreith, and elsewhere. Near Perth there are crosses at S. Madoes and Dupplin; in Forfar, at Kirriemuir; and at several places along the north-eastern districts of the country. These are for the most part covered with curious carvings, the meanings of which are yet an unsolved, perhaps now an insoluble, problem to antiquaries. Besides hunting scenes and conventional, if not actually grotesque, animal forms, there are constantly repeated instances of certain Pictish symbols. Such figures as the crescent crossed by two lines resembling the letter V, twin circles connected by three lines like the letter Z, a grotesque suggesting a roughly executed elephant; these, and other more or less incomprehensible forms, constantly meet us on these ancient monuments. It is remarkable that, although they date only from the ninth or the tenth century, all clue to their interpretation appears to be lost. They have been variously ascribed to Cymric Christians, to Gnostic or magical influence, to Scandinavian paganism, and even to the occult faiths of the Far East; but no general agreement concerning them has yet been attained.

The finest, and perhaps the most interesting, of the Scottish crosses is found at Ruthwell, in Dumfriesshire. It is over seventeen feet in height, tapering gracefully from the base to the head; and is adorned with the effigies of saints, with conventional foliage, and with animal forms, amongst which occurs the squirrel, whose presence has already been noted on some of the famous Derbyshire

crosses. The chief interest centres in the runic inscriptions which are carved upon the top stone and about the vine, which (as at Bakewell and elsewhere) clambers up its sides. One reads "Caedmon me fawed" (Caedmon made me); the other consists of some lines of an ancient poem, a translation of which begins:

> "Christ was on the Cross;
> Yet thither hastening
> Men came from afar
> Unto the Noble One."

For a long time these runes led to much discussion among scholars, and to translations which were far from harmonizing together. In 1840, John Kemble, the translator of "Beowulf," published a more satisfactory version, from which the above lines are quoted. Professor Blume added to the interest of the subject by discovering, in a monastic library at Vercelli, a parchment manuscript of Old English poems and homilies, one of which, a "Dream of the Rood," contained these very lines. This poem has been ascribed to Cynewulf, who died in 1008; but others lean to the opinion that that poet merely revised and altered a yet older poem, which may have been the work of Caedmon, who flourished about 650. Whether, therefore, the legend "Caedmon made me" is to be referred to the poem or to the cross may still be questioned. The local legend concerning this cross is that it originally stood upon the banks of the Solway, but that angels bore it to Ruthwell, and that a church was there built over it. In 1642, it was flung down and broken; and the fragments strewed the earthen floor, or became embedded in it. In 1802, the Rev. Dr. Duncan found the remains outside the churchyard, and

removed them to the manse garden; and some years later he had them reconstructed so far as possible in their original form.

At Bewcastle, Cumberland, is a fine cross in many respects very similar to the one at Ruthwell. This was erected in memory of Alchfrid, son of Oswy, and prince of Deira.

The mention of Caedmon recalls the fact that a cross was raised as a memorial of him in Whitby churchyard in 1898. It is of the Celtic type, standing about twenty feet in height, and is enriched with appropriate carvings. The eastern face, divided into four panels, has representations of Christ in the act of blessing, of David playing upon a harp, of S. Hilda, Abbess of Whitby, and of the vision of Caedmon. The other faces are covered with foliage and animals of the antique northern fashion. An inscription on the eastern face announces that the cross was erected "To the Glory of God and in memory of Caedmon, the Father of English Sacred Song, who fell asleep hard by, A.D. 680;" and on the other sides are lines from one of Caedmon's poems in runes, in Saxon characters, and in modern English.

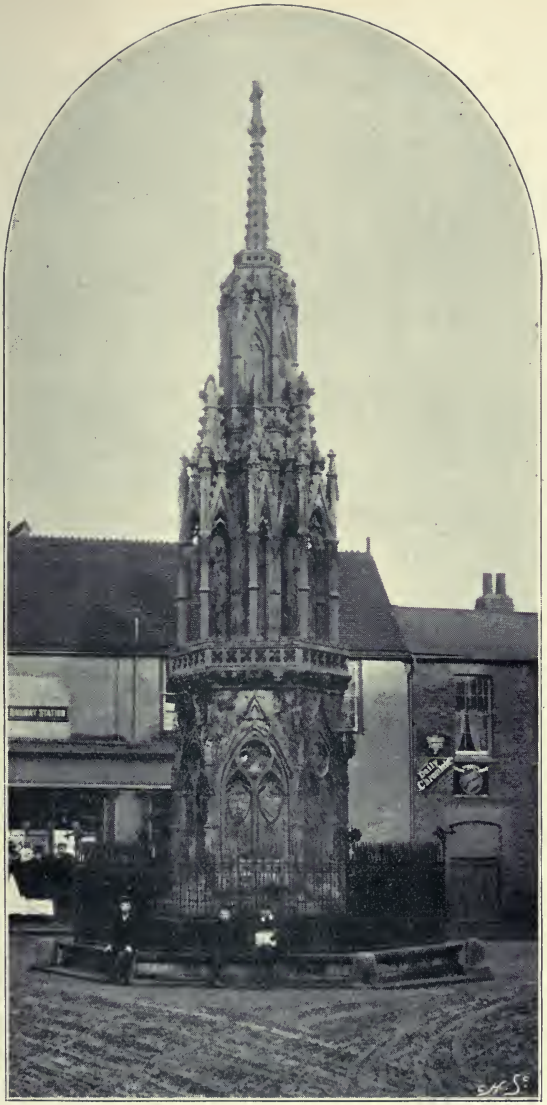
On Blacklow Hill, in Warwickshire, a simple cross upon a tall pedestal was erected early in this century to mark the site of Piers Gaveston's execution. A rough stone, with the name and date, had long kept alive the recollection of the spot, and the cross was thus inscribed; "In the hollow of this rock was beheaded on the first day of July, 1312, by Barons as lawless as himself, Piers Gaveston, Earl of Cornwall: the minion of a hateful King, in life and death a memorable instance of misrule."

The Abbey of Valle Crucis received its name from a

cross, raised probably as a memorial, hard by, and now known as Eliseg's Pillar.

On the Yorkshire Moors, not far from Hebden Bridge, is a curious double cross that was probably erected as a memorial, although all history, and even tradition, concerning it appears to have been lost. The structure is known as Abel Cross, and originally consisted of a long stone in which were two sockets, with a stone incised with a Latin cross in each. The height from the ground to the top of the crosses is seven feet, and each incised shaft tapers from two feet in breadth to one foot three inches. About half a century since some vandal pulled out the crosses, and sawed the base in two, intending doubtless to make the whole structure into modern building stones. Happily, the steward of the lord of the manor discovered the outrage in time to prevent further destruction. The date assigned to this almost forgotten memorial is the tenth or eleventh century.

Among modern memorial crosses mention may be made of one on the Surrey Downs, near Guildford, on the spot where the late Lord Granville witnessed the fatal fall of Bishop Wilberforce from his horse. At Ascot Priory is a handsome granite cross, furnished with a broad step in front for kneeling, which marks a favourite sheltered nook where Dr. Pusey was wont to sit reading or writing. On August 6th, 1897, there was unveiled on the High Down, Freshwater, in the Isle of Wight, a Celtic cross of Cornish granite, thirty-eight feet in height, with the following inscription; "In memory of Alfred, Lord Tennyson, this Cross is raised, a beacon to sailors, by the people of Freshwater and other friends in England and America." Travelling far to the



QUEEN ELEANOR MEMORIAL: WALTHAM CROSS.

(After restoration in 1885-92.)

glowing East, we find at Cawnpore a handsome cross, at whose foot a marble angel stands folding two palm branches upon his breast,—a memorial of those who fell in the ghastly massacre of 1857. On the little isle of S. Mary's, Scilly, is an unpretentious cross which tells where the body of Sir Cloudesley Shovel was found, after his disastrous shipwreck when returning from the siege of Toulon in 1707.

Thus in all quarters of Christendom, and scattered up and down our own fair island of Great Britain from far Iona to the Cassiterides, is found the simple but expressive emblem of the Christian faith, bearing its silent testimony to the belief and hope of all the ages, that through the Cross the holy dead all sleep in peace to rise in joy.

CHAPTER VIII.

Wayside and Boundary Crosses.

WE have seen how the cross was erected in the busy market and beneath the shadow of the great cathedral, where crowds hurried to and fro, day by day, for business or devotion. It was not alone in such populous places, however, that the sign of salvation reared itself to cheer the weary traveller through life's ways by a message of faith, of hope, of divine love. In the village street, the lonely trackless moor, the meadow pathway and the king's high-road, at every turn and in every place in mediæval England, one met the same sacred memorial. Nay, even the hillside itself has been scored with it, as in the case of Whiteleaf, already mentioned. These numerous examples are not easily classified. If only the full history of their raising could be known, many doubtless would fall into classes that have already been considered. Some would prove to be memorials which have failed to preserve the memory of their founders; others may have marked spots, round which the villagers gathered to hear sermons from the travelling friars, to listen to some proclamation issued by the lord of the manor, or by the king, or to discuss those topics of local politics, or of public interest, which might from time to time come uppermost; others again marked the boundaries of estates, and especially of Church lands; pointed the way to the hidden cell or holy oratory; marked the site of the wells,

whose cooling waters might refresh the wayfarer; and in almost countless ways taught mankind how all good things come to us through the Cross, and are blessed by the Cross.

In the west of England, in Devon and Cornwall, roadside crosses were, and even now are, remarkably common. Those of the former county seem to have generally served one of two purposes, either to mark the boundaries of lands, or to act as guide-posts on the otherwise almost trackless moorlands of Dartmoor and the neighbourhood.

For example, not far from Princetown stands one of the largest of the Dartmoor crosses, known as Siward's or Nun's Cross, over seven feet in height. On the western face of this is carved, in two lines, the word 'Boc-lond,' marking it as a boundary-stone of the lands of Buckland Abbey; although in this case it was adapted to that purpose, not erected expressly for it, the foundation of the abbey being not so ancient as the cross. The abbey dates from 1278. Bennet's Cross, again, is one of the boundaries of Headland Warren, and of the parish of Bovey Tracey; it bears on its face the letters W.B., standing for "Warren Bounds;" the letters, but not the boundary-line, are modern.

An ancient track across the moor, called the Abbot's Way, which formed the most direct method of communication between the abbeys of Buckland and Tavistock on the one side, and that of Buckfast on the other, was marked out with a series of crosses, many of which yet remain. The fords of the Avon, on this pathway, were indicated by this means; Huntingdon Cross still stands at one ford as of old, but Buckland Ford Cross has gone. Some of these

weather-beaten stones have carved on their several faces the initial letters of the towns towards which those faces turn, as a guide to the traveller. Sandowl Cross, now a rough stone rising scarcely a yard from the earth, has cut upon it the letters B., T., K., and M., pointing to Brent, Totnes, Kingsbridge, and Modbury respectively. Similarly Hookmoor Cross indicates the direction to be taken to reach Modbury, Brent, Totnes, and Plymouth.

These Dartmoor crosses are interesting as ancient landmarks and boundaries, and as indications of the almost instinctive way in which our forefathers employed the Cross for every purpose of more than usual importance; they are moreover not devoid of a certain picturesque effect from the harmony of their rugged forms with their moorland surroundings. They are not, however, in the ordinary sense of the word, beautiful. They are mostly plain Latin crosses, occasionally mounted on one or two steps, with no attempt at carving or decoration. Nor are they specially impressive in height or size; Merchant's Cross, near Lynch Hill, is the largest and stands but eight feet two inches high, and some are much less than this. Some few of them have an incised cross cut within the head, or even running the whole length, but those on the Moor proper are of the simplest kind. On the borders we find a few cut by some slightly more ambitious hand. At Hele is a Maltese cross, the section of each of its limbs being an octagon, and a Latin one of the same section is at Holne.

The roadside crosses which dot the neighbouring county of Cornwall are similar in this respect, that there are few of them of any great size, but otherwise the type is quite different. They are mostly shafts terminating in circular or

BURYTHORPE CROSS.

REMAINS OF CELTIC CROSS, WEST KIRBY, CHESHIRE.

oval heads, on which is either incised, or cut in relief, a cross or crucifix; in very few instances is the stone itself cruciform. A great number of the Cornish crosses stood near an ancient cell or chapel, serving much the same purpose as a churchyard-cross; others marked the pathways which led to these rude and now forgotten shrines. Formed of the hard granite of the district, the simple, and sometimes almost grotesque, carvings of these monuments, have been generally well preserved; and seeing that in recent years an increasing amount of interest is shown towards them, there is every reason to hope that the days of careless neglect or wanton destruction are over. Many crosses have recently been reclaimed from degrading uses, as field gate-posts and the like, and placed in more seemly situations. A singular cross unearthed at West Kirby, near the Dee in Cheshire, bears a closer resemblance to the characteristic crosses of Cornwall, than to those found elsewhere in England. The fragments of the shaft, for it is in several pieces, are covered with ingenious interlacing scrolls, and the head has a bold Latin cross within a circle cut upon it.

Many other examples of wayside crosses are scattered up and down the country, in a greater or less condition of preservation, some of them being still tall and graceful structures. At Aylburton, in Gloucestershire, is the lower portion of a very substantial column, said by competent authorities to have formed part of a fourteenth century cross, probably designed by some foreign artist. At Bromboro, in Cheshire, are the remains of a cross, well illustrating the meaningless fashion in which some of our ancient buildings are restored. It was at one time a tall cross of simple

design, standing at the top of a flight of nine steps; but the upper member, the actual cruciform head, having been destroyed, a senseless stone ball has been put in its place, and sundials affixed to the shaft. At Burythorpe, in East Yorkshire, the head of what must once have been a beautiful cross is preserved in the garden of a private house. It is foliated, and of a singularly graceful pattern, but whether originally a wayside, or a churchyard-cross, it is impossible to say with any degree of certainty. The East Riding has been specially unfortunate in the matter of wayside crosses; of the many examples which it once could boast, little having been left but a number of stone sockets, so mutilated for the most part that local tradition has forgotten their origin and purpose, describing them as stone chairs, stone coffin heads, old fonts, and so forth.

In the same county a series of wayside crosses marks "The Long Causeway," the old pack-horse route between Halifax and Burnley. Stump Cross is now, as its name would suggest, a mere fragment of its former self, the upper member gone, the original name forgotten. Eastward from this the memory of three crosses, at no great distances from each other, is still preserved, but the stones have entirely disappeared. These are Robin Cross, Maiden Cross, and Duke's Cross. Beyond these, at a distance of some two miles and a half from Todmorden, stands Stipenden Cross, which has fortunately been preserved. It is placed upon the summit of a large mound, above which it rises six feet six inches in height. Another pack-horse road, which runs from Halifax to Colne, possesses an example known locally as the "Long Stoop," and more accurately as Reap's Cross. This stone, which is composed of millstone grit, lay

for a long time broken and overthrown, but has in recent years been replaced on its ancient site, and restored. It is a simple Latin cross standing twelve feet high amid the heather of the Yorkshire moor.

The loss of so many of these time-worn landmarks is due almost entirely to neglect or mischief. No parliamentary decrees interfered with these lonely monuments, as they did with town crosses; and no fanatic mobs troubled themselves to travel the almost trackless moors to destroy them, as they did the crosses in the churches. John Britton, writing in the early years of this century, complains that such erections were "suffering from the wantonly careless practices of boys and childish men;" and it is only in quite recent times that any one has felt sufficient interest in them to protect them from further damage, or to undo the damage done.

On the Continent there are examples of crosses which are exceedingly impressive from their vast proportions, or from their romantic surroundings. William Wordsworth speaks of a cross planted on the apparently inaccessible rocks of the Grande Chartreuse, in the words,—

> "The cross with hideous laughter demons mock,
> By angels planted on the aërial rock."

The pilgrims to the Passion Play at Ober-Ammergau see from afar against the sky-line a gigantic cross, which crowns a rocky precipice, the Kofel, towering some two thousand feet above the village. Somewhat similar must have been the effect produced on the spectators by the mighty cross, one hundred and ten feet high, if report says true, which John Puttock, the hermit of Lynn, erected, and which was "of great service for all shipping coming that way."

One of the publications of Wynken de Worde, issued in

1496 under the name "Dives et Pauper," gives us the following explanation of the erection of roadside crosses: "For this reason ben crosses by ye way, that whan folke passynge see the crosses they sholde thynke on Hym that dyed on the Crosse, and worshyppe Hym above all thynge." Shakespere alludes to their use, making Stephano say of his mistress, Portia,

> "She doth stray about
> By holy crosses, where she kneels and prays
> For happy wedlock hours."

It was customary for funerals to pause at each such cross upon their way, and for the mourners briefly to pray for the departed soul. Grindal, in his Injunctions for the laity of the province of York (1571), forbids this; decreeing:— "That no person or persons whatever shall . . . rest at any cross in carrying any corpse to burying, nor shall any leave little crosses of wood there." The connection between such a custom and the erection of crosses like those in memory of Queen Eleanor, is obvious; it is a simple and not unnatural transition from halting at each cross passed to rearing crosses where the funeral halts.

The site selected for the planting of a wayside cross was frequently at the junction of cross-roads. From pagan times such an open space was endowed with a reputation of quasi-sanctity; and Calfhill, in his reply to Martial's "Treatise of the Cross," maintains that in these cases the cross was merely a substitute for the figure of Mercury, which it was the Roman custom to place there. It has been thought that the practice of burying suicides at cross-roads, which was abrogated by an act of the fourth year of George IV., arose from the fact that a cross commonly

stood there. In other words, as consecrated ground was refused to the self-murderer's remains, and as the law prescribed interment in the public highway, that spot was chosen to which the sacred sign gave at least some semblance of sanctity. Cross-road crosses still stand at various places in Yorkshire, as at Swine, Atwick, Hatfield, Nunkeeling, Keyingham, and Ottringham; and bases and fragments of them at Settrington, Appleton-le-Moor, Carnaby, Wetwang, and elsewhere.

A special class of wayside crosses has been provided by the ancient custom of placing this holy sign beside wells and springs. From ancient times an idea of special sanctity attached itself to springs of bright clear water. It was so in the days of classic Rome, and the Derbyshire custom of well-dressing proves its existence in the past amongst ourselves. All over the country we find such springs with a tradition of being "holy wells," and their frequent dedication in the names of saints illustrates the same fact. Canons of the Church, enacted in 960, ordered that no well should be venerated except with the permission of the bishop of the diocese; but so strong was the popular superstition, that similar enactments were called for in 1018, and again in 1102. It was no doubt out of regard for this popular estimation of wells, that in 950 they were declared to be sanctuaries, whither the hunted fugitive from justice might flee and be safe. The special fame of the wells of S. Keyne and of S. Winifred is widely known.

Such being the case, it was a natural thing to erect upon this holy ground the sign of our salvation, a practice to which the reader will no doubt remember Sir Walter Scott refers in his *Marmion*:—

"Where shall she turn? behold her mark
A little fountain cell,
Where water, clear as diamond-spark,
In a stone basin fell,
Above some half-worn letters say,

'Drink, weary pilgrim, drink, and pray
For the kind soul of Sybil Grey,
Who built this cross and well.'"

Just such a rustic roadside erection as that to which Clare thus turned for water to slake the thirst of the dying Marmion, exists at the village of Bumpking Leys, in Shropshire. A plain oblong trough of stone surrounds the well, and beside it is a small Latin cross, with an inscription, now indecipherable save for the sacred initials I.H.S.

We have already noticed that a well-cross is the only one left of a number of crosses once existing in the city of Lincoln. It stands near the old church of S. Mary-le-Wigford, and consists of a square building, like a wayside chapel, the gable of which once bore the cross. It is said to be the finest well-cross in the country, and dates from the fourteenth century. The heavy base of a cross in Bisley churchyard, in Gloucestershire, which is now simply a truncated spire, has been supposed to cover a well, which has now, however, dried up or taken some other course. And again in the same county, at Hempsted, another conduit, resembling the one at Lincoln, is found. This building, known as Our Lady's Well, has the bases of two crosses on its gables, and niches for statues beneath them. In the present century the well was closely built up. The neighbourhood of London at one time had several well-crosses. The original cross at Tottenham, above referred to, was not improbably of such a character; and S. Chad's

Well, S. Bride's Well, and the Clerks' Well (Fons Clericorum), which have given their names to the respective districts of Shadwell, Bridewell, and Clerkenwell, doubtless had their crosses likewise. Near Madron, in Cornwall, is a well-chapel covering the Madron Well. This, though only twenty-five feet by sixteen feet, was complete with stone benches, raised sacrarium, and altar, but was almost destroyed by Major Ceely in the Civil War. Helston also has a holy well, and a third is near Grade Church, all in the same county, where in each case the well-cross has developed into a wayside chapel.

A most interesting well-chapel is that of S. Clether, also in Cornwall. S. Clether was a king of Carmarthen, who, about the year 500, having been expelled from his dominions, betook himself to North Cornwall, and devoted the rest of his life to apostolic labours among the still pagan people of that district. Finding a clean spring of water in the Inney Valley, he built himself a cell and a chapel there, and till a great age made this spot his home. His simple chapel was rebuilt in the fifteenth century, but was again suffered to fall into ruins; and the spring becoming choked, the place was rendered almost inaccessible by bogs. The memory of the site was, however, still preserved by the name "Sentry" (an obvious corruption of sanctuary), even yet locally given to the surrounding land; and one of the boundary crosses of the consecrated enclosure still survives. In 1897 the bog was drained, and in the following year the site of the chapel was cleared of its accumulated earth and overgrowth of tangled vegetation. The stone altar was found in place; and most of the stones of the building having been discovered, the little shrine was restored with the original

materials; and once more consecrated to the service of God. In connection with this chapel there are two springs of water, one outside and slightly above it, and the other within the south-east wall; the two being united by a subterranean passage, in the course of which the water bubbles up beneath the altar. The arrangement appears to have been purposely made in accordance with the vision of Ezekiel, as recorded in the forty-eighth chapter of his prophecy.

In the churchyard of Camborne is a cross recently discovered beside a well near the manor-house of Crane. When found it was imbedded in the ground, part of it forming the mouth of the well, beside which it had probably stood in earlier ages. It is a tall wheel-cross of good design, simply carved upon both faces, with incised lines upon the shaft. In the course of removing it from the spot where it was found, a second cross was unearthed beneath it. This is smaller, standing only a little over two feet in height; and it has been supposed that it was never actually finished, flaws having been discovered in the granite. This also is now in Camborne churchyard; and including these two no less than eight ancient stone crosses are now preserved in various places in that parish. In the parish of Lelant there are five. These two cases help to illustrate the extraordinary number of crosses which the county of Cornwall formerly possessed.

Several of the wayside crosses, besides those at wells, had granted to them, or acquired by popular custom, the rights of sanctuary; and doubtless in early days, when the arm of the law was not long enough or strong enough to reach through all the length and breadth of the land, and when

the king himself amongst his barons was scarcely more than *primus inter pares*, the foremost of his peers, it must have been a wise and merciful policy, which multiplied these "cities of refuge," where safety was guaranteed to the accused until his case was fairly investigated.

Others of these crosses appealed to the devotion of certain classes of the people, like one which stood at King's Weston, on the Severn, which was emphatically the sailors' cross. Here the mariner, after a successful voyage, or perhaps after an almost unlooked-for escape from the perils of the deep, paid his vows and offered his grateful thanksgiving.

It has already been remarked that some of the Dartmoor crosses served as landmarks, standing as sentries on the boundaries of estates, especially those of religious communities. The sacred sign was probably used for this purpose, in order to add special solemnity to the divine law, "Thou shalt not remove thy neighbour's landmark, which they of old time have set." The boundaries of the sanctuary of S. John of Beverley were indicated by crosses, three of which, or the remains of them, still exist near Bishop Burton, Walkington, and Bentley. Similarly were marked the sanctuaries of Croyland Abbey and of Ripon. Copleston Cross, Devonshire, is a boundary cross. It stands at the junction of the three parishes of Crediton, Colebrooke, and Down S. Mary; and is now a shaft, carved with interlaced work and figure subjects, on a modern base. There is still in existence in the Public Record Office a charter of King Edgar, dated 974, by which three hydes of land are granted to Ælfhere the Thane, the boundaries of the land, as set out in the deed, beginning and ending at

"Copelanstan." Haxey, Lincolnshire, formerly had a cross adorned with the armorial insignia of the Mowbrays, the lords of the Manor. Hard by it stood the parish stocks. This may have been a boundary stone. In Langley Park, Norfolk, stands a cross-shaft which was originally erected on the estate of the adjacent abbey, but was converted into a landmark early in the present century by Sir Thomas Proctor, who placed it in the park at the meeting point of the parishes of Langley, Chedgrave, and Thurlton. Boswell, in his "Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides," mentions a series of boundary crosses which marked the limits of an ancient asylum, or sanctuary, in the island of Rasay. On a rock near the coast was also a crucifix, sculptured within a square, of which Johnson's comrade says, "I could not approach the spot without a grateful recollection of the event commemorated by this symbol."

The boundary crosses of parishes, where they existed, formed stations in the annual perambulation, or "beating of the bounds," at Rogationtide. William Kethe, preaching at Blandford Forum in 1570, complains that at that season it was customary to read "Gospelles at superstitious crosses, deck'd like idols." The parishes of Oxford were formerly deliminated by means of crosses cut on the stones of the buildings, which were whitened with chalk each Rogation week.

The index to Randolph's "State of the Archipelago," published in 1687, mentions a unique boundary cross. There is a note which, in reference to mount Athos, says, "It is a demy isle only inhabited by *Greek Hermits* and *Caloirs* . . . ; in the narrow neck of land is a great cross erected, beyond which no woman must pass."

Many of the crosses, which apparently should be counted among those of the wayside, were really in intention akin rather to the churchyard-crosses, since they stood beside a wayside chapel, or the cell of some recluse. Among such was probably the Hallingan cross, recently discovered serving the humble office of a stand for a flower-pot. In 1399 Geoffrey S. Aubyn, then lord of the manor of Halligan, in the parish of Crowan, Cornwall, was granted a license to have an oratory in connection with his mansion there. It was just beyond the limits of an enclosure known as the Chapel Field that the cross was found; from which it is no extreme conjecture that the field received its name from the presence within it of the oratory, and that the cross marked as sacred the ground wherein it stood. The head of the Halligan cross, the only portion known to exist, is a stone disc one foot eight inches in diameter, having a circle with a cross formed of four of its radii incised upon it. At Pendarves, in the same county, is another cross of almost identical design and workmanship. The oratories, wayside chapels, and hermit-cells of Cornwall were numerous, and several places in the county, notably S. Michael's Mount, were the resort of pilgrims; hence, no doubt, the fact that, in spite of the loss occasioned by fanaticism and neglect, some three hundred crosses still remain within its borders.

In mediæval days the erection of bridges for the convenience of travellers was considered not only a praiseworthy work, but almost one of Christian charity. Hence religious gilds sometimes undertook their maintenance, pious bishops gave or bequeathed money for their erection, and on the bridges themselves oratories were built, and the sacred ensign was planted. Near Boston, Lincolnshire, one

of these bridge-crosses was dug up in 1831 during some alterations to Northdyke Bridge, between Sibsey and Stickney. From the portion discovered it would appear that originally it consisted of an octagonal shaft with a capital of oak leaves, above which was a shield charged with a crucifix in relief. The figure was one foot seven inches in length, the five sacred wounds, the nails, and the crown of thorns all being represented. The cross was three feet six inches long. The carving is said to have been very fine.

Many wayside crosses from their use for the performance of penances were known as Weeping Crosses, and the name still exists in some instances. To "come home by weeping-cross" was at one time a proverb for being unfortunate in an undertaking. Florio, in his translation of Montaigne's "Essays" (published in 1632), uses the expression:—"Few men have wedded their paramours . . . but have come home by weeping-cross"; and Ozel, translating Brantome's "Spanish Rhodomontades" (1774), renders one passage with the words:—"Making an irruption into Provence, he came home by weeping-cross." At a cross-road near Salisbury is a clump of aged elms, which are known as the Weeping-cross Trees, or, by corruption, the Whipping-cross Trees. Here obviously once stood one of these crosses. Flintshire still has an example at Holywell, and Staffordshire one near the county-town. One at Shrewsbury was also used as a station in the great Corpus Christi procession. Others are known to have existed on the road between Banbury and Adderbury, and elsewhere.

In the churchyard of Penrith is a broken cross, which should probably be reckoned among the grave-crosses, but which, according to a local tradition, was a weeping-

GIANT'S THUMB, PENRITH.

cross in no doubtful degree. The upper portion of this Celtic cross has disappeared, leaving the two holes formed by the lower half of the circle in connection with the shaft and transverse beam of the sacred emblem. The structure, it has been alleged, was used as a pillory, the hands of the delinquent being thrust through these holes. The legend appears to be of very questionable value, and was probably suggested by the shape of the stone, at a time when the purposes of churchyard and other ancient crosses were little understood by the rustic antiquaries. This curious structure is locally known as the Giant's Thumb ; it is carved with characteristic Celtic scrolls, and was mounted on a new base in 1887.

At Cardington, in Bedfordshire, a wayside cross stands at the meeting-place of three roads, which is interesting as having been erected in modern times, yet before the ecclesiastical revival of the last half-century. It was given by Mr. Samuel Whitbread.

The interest now happily taken in these relics of antiquity leads constantly to the discovery of broken members or battered bases of forgotten crosses; and in not a few of these cases it is difficult, if not impossible now, to say with any certainty for what object they were originally erected. Instances have already been cited incidentally in this and previous chapters, and to these one more may be added. In 1897, the base of a cross, apparently very ancient, was found in the vicarage shrubbery at Colebrooke, Devonshire. It is formed of Dartmoor granite, and is carved at the corners. The site is on the boundary of the glebe and close to the roadway; whether it was a preaching-cross, a wayside cross, or intended as a boundary, seems therefore

open to debate. Competent local authorities hold that the cross itself, which seems to have been entirely destroyed, was of the Celtic type, and date it as early as the fifth century. A regiment of Parliamentary cavalry, under a local landowner, Colonel Coplestone, was quartered in the church of Colebrooke during the Civil War; and we may perhaps credit the troopers, who certainly did other damage in the neighbourhood, with having destroyed the ancient cross.

The crosses of the land, so various in form, in situation, in use, speak most convincingly of the extent to which religion entered of old into the lives of the people. In times when the people's holidays were begun by attendance at the Eucharist, when trade gilds had their special altars in the parish church, when every public function naturally included the offering of the great act of Christian worship, it was simply a part of a consistent national life that the cross should dominate the market, should offer its welcome form at each turn of the highroad, should mark the boundaries of property, and crown the hillside and the cooling spring, as well as stand where the dead lay sown as seed for the Great Harvest, or gleam from the lighted altar, or tower above the worshippers from the roodloft.

In the destruction of these holy emblems all England has not suffered equally. The west has been most fortunate; Cornwall, Devon, Somersetshire, and Gloucestershire being especially rich in the number and excellence of the examples still preserved in a more or less perfect condition. The eastern counties have met with the hardest usage; Lincolnshire and the neighbouring shires having been swept almost bare of them. In several places the wayside cross was

overshadowed by a spreading tree, or a tree was planted on the spot whence the emblem of our salvation had been dragged: and the living wood preserves the memory of the sacred symbol. At Messingham, Lincolnshire, an old sycamore stands in the village street, and is known as the Cross Tree; near Islip, Oxfordshire, an elm bears the same name. This substitution of a tree for a stone cross has already been noticed in connection with public crosses.

CHAPTER IX.

Conclusion.

THUS briefly we have reviewed the uses of the sacred symbol of the Cross in Christendom, and especially in England. The field is one of well-nigh infinite extent, and there are portions that we have barely touched. The heraldic employment of the sign might fill a book full of interest, and even of romance; and every foreign land has examples worthy of record, and a history diversely woven, like our own, of devotion and iconoclasm, which has its word to say both to our art and our religion. A fascinating portion of the story of the Cross, which lies somewhat beyond our scope, is the legendary lore that has sprung up about it; how the wood for the True Cross was matured for its high purpose; and how there was a mystic meaning in the several kinds of wood employed; how the aspen has never ceased to tremble at the recollection that its timber formed part of the sacred tree; how the cross-bill twisted her beak in the vain endeavour to drag the nails from her Creator's hands, and the robin splashed his fluttering breast with the Redeemer's blood, in a similar fruitless attempt; how the patient ass was signed with the holy sign in memory of the sacred burden that he bore on the first Palm Sunday; how at the foot of the Cross grew the *arum maculatum*, whose petals were spotted with the holy Blood; and a score of other legends, often full of pathos and of graceful fancy.

It is pleasant to picture those times, further off from ours even in feeling than in years, in which such fancies were woven. The smoke of factory and mine had not then blasted or blackened the foliage of half the land, nor green pastures nor rustling woods been swallowed up by an ever advancing tide of bricks. The world moved slowly then, and commerce and trade were in their infancy; yet the world was beautiful. The stately minster and the lordly abbey, the rustic church and the humble cell, stood in stately grandeur or in simple grace amid the fields and farmsteads of the people. In every market-place the tapering cross, then perchance fresh and white from the carver's hands, saw the folk gather at its feet to chat and chaffer, as beneath the shelter of a friend: and every highway and byway was marked at intervals, like the great pathway of man's life, with crosses that are at once emblems of suffering and of salvation. In infinite variety of form, yet always elevating in purity of outline, gracefulness of adornment, and perhaps in richness of colour, these crosses taught, unconsciously to the learners, the love of the beautiful and the good.

The wonderful growth of British commercial enterprise, closely allied as it is with the building up of our colonial empire and the establishment of our place in the family of nations, is not a fact that any Englishman can regret. But when one marks the sordid spirit, the selfish grasping for wealth, the apotheosis of mere material prosperity, which too often accompany it, he may well feel that the constant presence of a symbol which speaks of other and higher aims is not less, but more needed now, than it was of old.

From the point of view of the mental elevation of the

people, also, the loss of so many treasures of art cannot be too deeply regretted, nor their rebuilding, if rebuilt in the old spirit, too greatly desired. We are but just awakening to the realization of the fact that Art is not an amusement for the rich, but an educating, elevating, spiritualizing power for all. We may rejoice in the wealth of our manufacturing cities, in the vast output of our foundries and our coalpits; but a factory, too hideous in its blank, bald, monotony of bareness for use as a prison amongst men with eyes and hearts, does not compensate for the loss of an abbey, whose every arch, and gable, and "storied window," raises the soul to thoughts of the pure and the true; nor can a foundry chimney, even though its veil of poisonous smoke represent a fortune working out beneath, be accepted in exchange for the graceful, tapering cross, the very sight of which, in its calm still beauty, would cheer the dweller in our modern towns like the glimpse of an oasis in a desert.

In our schools of all grades some elementary instruction in art-forms is now considered a necessity, and something is being done for "children of a larger growth" by opening to them, at times when the masses can use them, the treasures of our museums and picture galleries; how largely would these attempts at popular instruction have been aided if the people had ever before their eyes the graceful forms of which ignorance, carelessness, and bigotry have combined to rob us.

And what an influence might not the continued presence of such examples among us have had upon the building of our towns. It is at least significant that in the days when these types of art were common in the land, even domestic architecture showed a certain harmoniousness of outline;

the gabled roof, the timbered front, the quaintly designed chimney, formed a setting not unbecoming the jewel in our mediæval market-places and our village streets. It is only since so many different instances of our forefathers' taste and skill, fair copies each and all for their successors, have been taken from us, that we have learnt to build our towns in a horrid monotony of dullness.

Ruskin, in words of biting force, has defined a town of to-day as "the modern aggregate of bad building, and ill-living held in check by constables, which we call a town, of which the widest streets are devoted by consent to the encouragement of vice, and the narrow ones to the concealment of misery." May we not hope that the wish now so obvious among us to rebuild, so far as may be, those glorious piles which are instinct with "the beauty of holiness," is a proof that we are beginning to realize both the squalor and the sin of this condition of things? So far we have seen, it may be, but the little cloud no larger than a man's hand; may it be indeed the earnest of that refreshing rain for which the land has panted, a reviving influence which shall make English art once more the expression of a sincere and devoted faith.

In our rapid review of the various uses to which the sacred figure of the cross has been put, we have been considering the most widely-spread illustration of a tendency of the human mind, namely, the universal love of emblems. This trait in man's character, a strange one, perhaps, but a very powerful one, has been forgotten or ignored by the iconoclast and the Puritan, and it is owing to this characteristic that they have never been able to obtain more than a transient victory.

There is scarcely anything which moves the heart of man, or rouses his enthusiasm, or binds him more closely to his fellows, but he has commonly represented it by a symbol.

Amongst the earliest of such influences was the family or tribal bond, carrying us back to days of patriarchal simplicity. In the last blessing bestowed by Jacob upon his sons, we find the earliest allusion to the *family emblem*, in the lion of Judah, the serpent of Dan, the hind of Naphtali, Joseph's "fruitful bough," and the other symbols of the twelve ancestors of the chosen race. A striking parallel to this catalogue, in the *totems* of the North American Indians, will occur to almost everyone. But, indeed, the custom of selecting some natural object to denote the idea of the family was well-nigh universal. The inhabitants of the East Indies are as familiar with the spirit of totemism as their brethren of the west. In Africa, the Hottentot, the Bechuana, and others distinguish their tribes by the figure of some animal; in far off China the flowers serve the same purpose, and in Australia the same practice obtains under the name of *Kobong*. Not to multiply examples, we may refer only to the ancient Greek tribes as affording another instance, and suggest the parallel supplied by the crests used in mediæval and modern heraldry.

The adoption of national symbols was but the inevitable extension of these practices, consequent on the nation, and not the tribe, coming to be recognized as the political unit; and thus we get the Roman Eagle, the White Horse of the Saxons, the Black Raven of the Danes, and the countless national emblems of more modern times.

A closer analogy to the use of the cross meets us when we recall how, in all ages, the gods have been suggested to

their worshippers by signs and symbols. The thunderbolts of Jove, the lyre of Apollo, the caduceus of Mercury, the hammer of Thor, are all obvious examples.

It may be true that many of these took their rise at a time when letters were almost unknown save to the learned few, and thus the emblem appealed to those to whom written words were meaningless. Yet as learning spreads to the masses of the people, the popularity of significant tokens does not decrease; but man gives a natural welcome to that which, by a few strokes or a simple outline, sums up for him the expression of a great truth.

And what figure is so expressive of the Christian Faith as the hallowed symbol of the Cross? To the ignorant as clearly as to the learned it tells of the sufferings which purchased our redemption, of the life of sorrow and death of agony voluntarily undergone by the God-Man. In the light of that Redeemer's own teaching, it speaks of the life of self-abnegation, the daily cross-bearing, to which His followers are pledged. To the faithful it foretells also that flashing of the "Sign of the Son of Man" across the heavens which shall announce the end of earthly time. The Christians' faith, the Christians' life, the Christians' hope, all are summed up and symbolized in that one most sacred sign—the Holy Cross.

Indexes.

I. SUBJECTS. II. PLACES.

INDEX I. SUBJECTS.

INDEX II. PLACES.

NOTE.—In the following Index the names of places beginning with *Saint*, as S. Ives, are placed under the letter S; names having a distinguishing adjective, as Long Melford, North Frodingham, are ranged in each case under the initial of the first word.

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