

Eleanor of Castile, Queen of England : and the monuments erected in her memory / by James Galloway.

Contributors

Galloway, James, 1862-1922.
Royal College of Surgeons of England

Publication/Creation

[London] : Printed for the author by The Economic Printing Agency, [1909]

Persistent URL

<https://wellcomecollection.org/works/zc4gudwb>

Provider

Royal College of Surgeons

License and attribution

This material has been provided by This material has been provided by The Royal College of Surgeons of England. The original may be consulted at The Royal College of Surgeons of England. where the originals may be consulted. Conditions of use: it is possible this item is protected by copyright and/or related rights. You are free to use this item in any way that is permitted by the copyright and related rights legislation that applies to your use. For other uses you need to obtain permission from the rights-holder(s).



Wellcome Collection
183 Euston Road
London NW1 2BE UK
T +44 (0)20 7611 8722
E library@wellcomecollection.org
<https://wellcomecollection.org>

9.

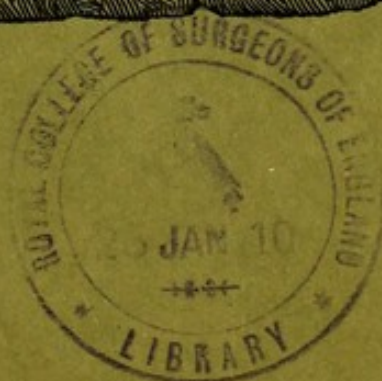
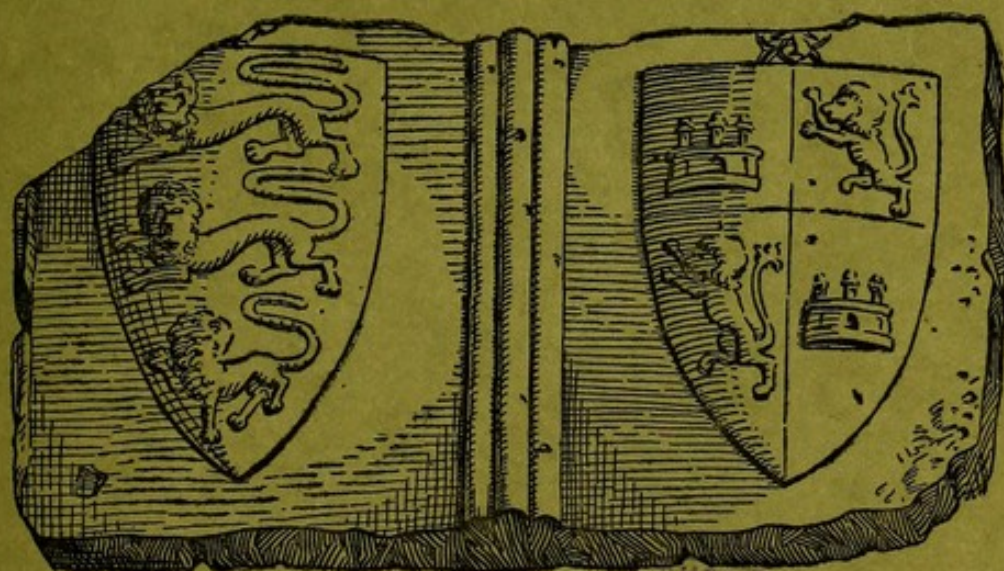
Eleanor of Castile,

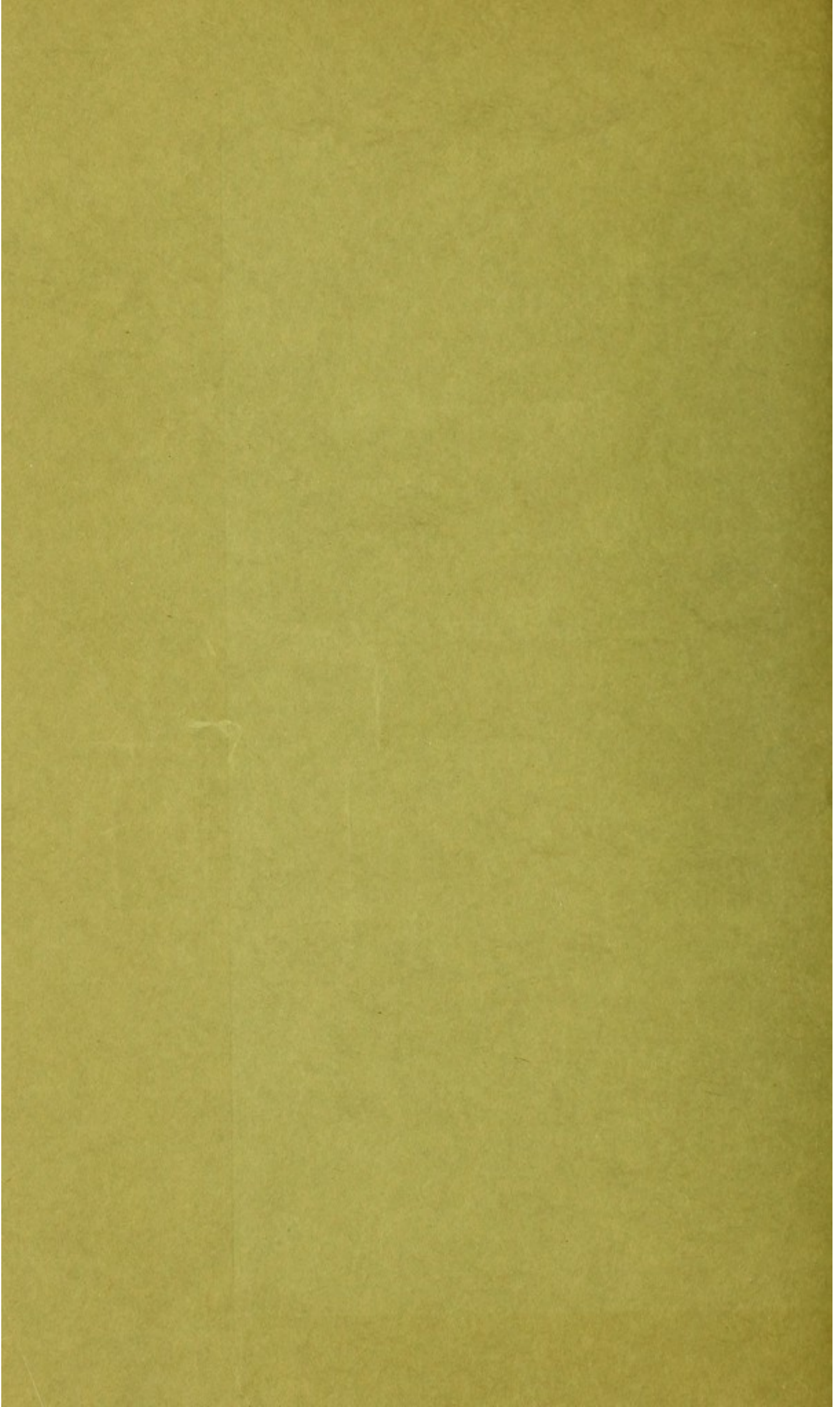
Queen of England:

AND THE

MONUMENTS ERECTED IN HER MEMORY.

By JAMES GALLOWAY.



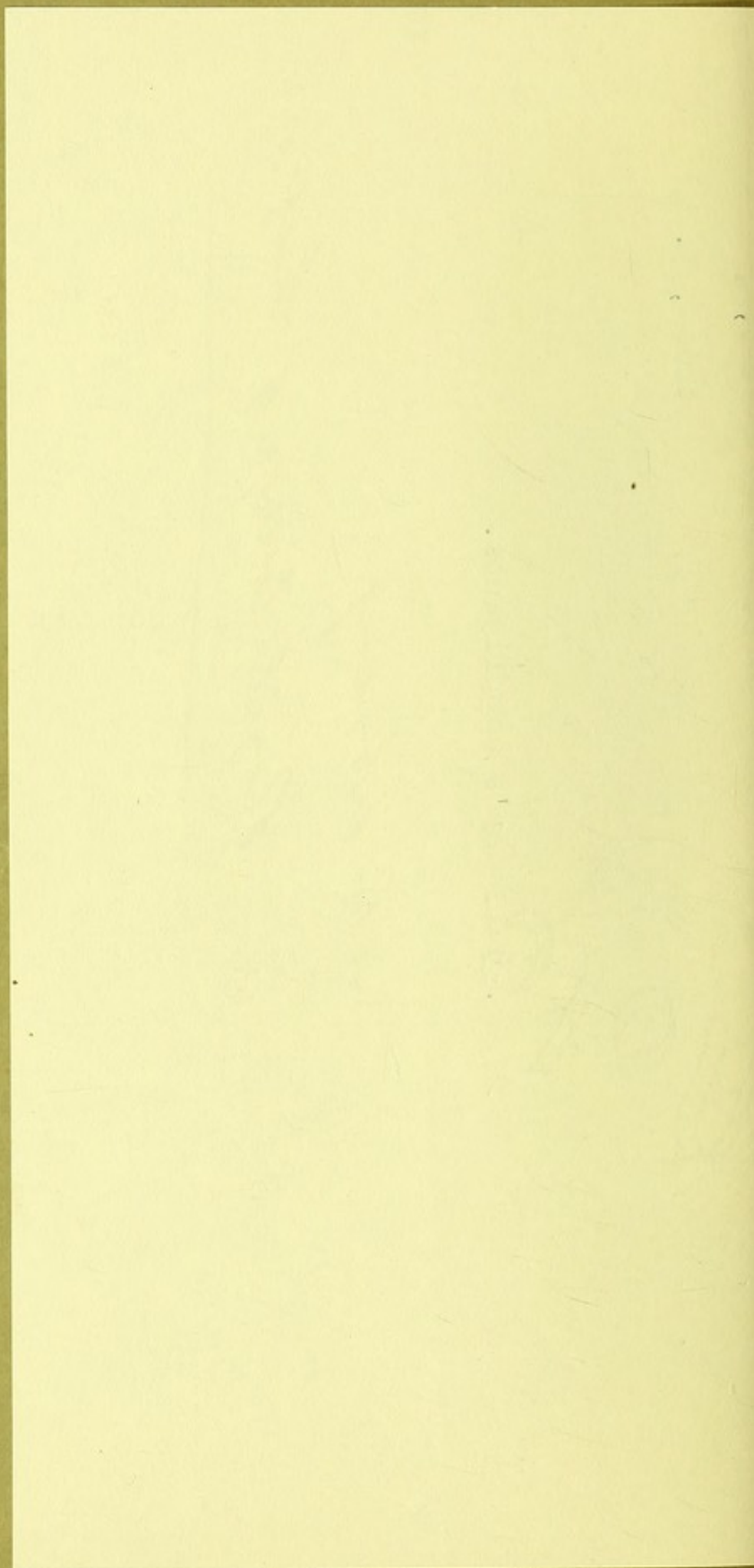


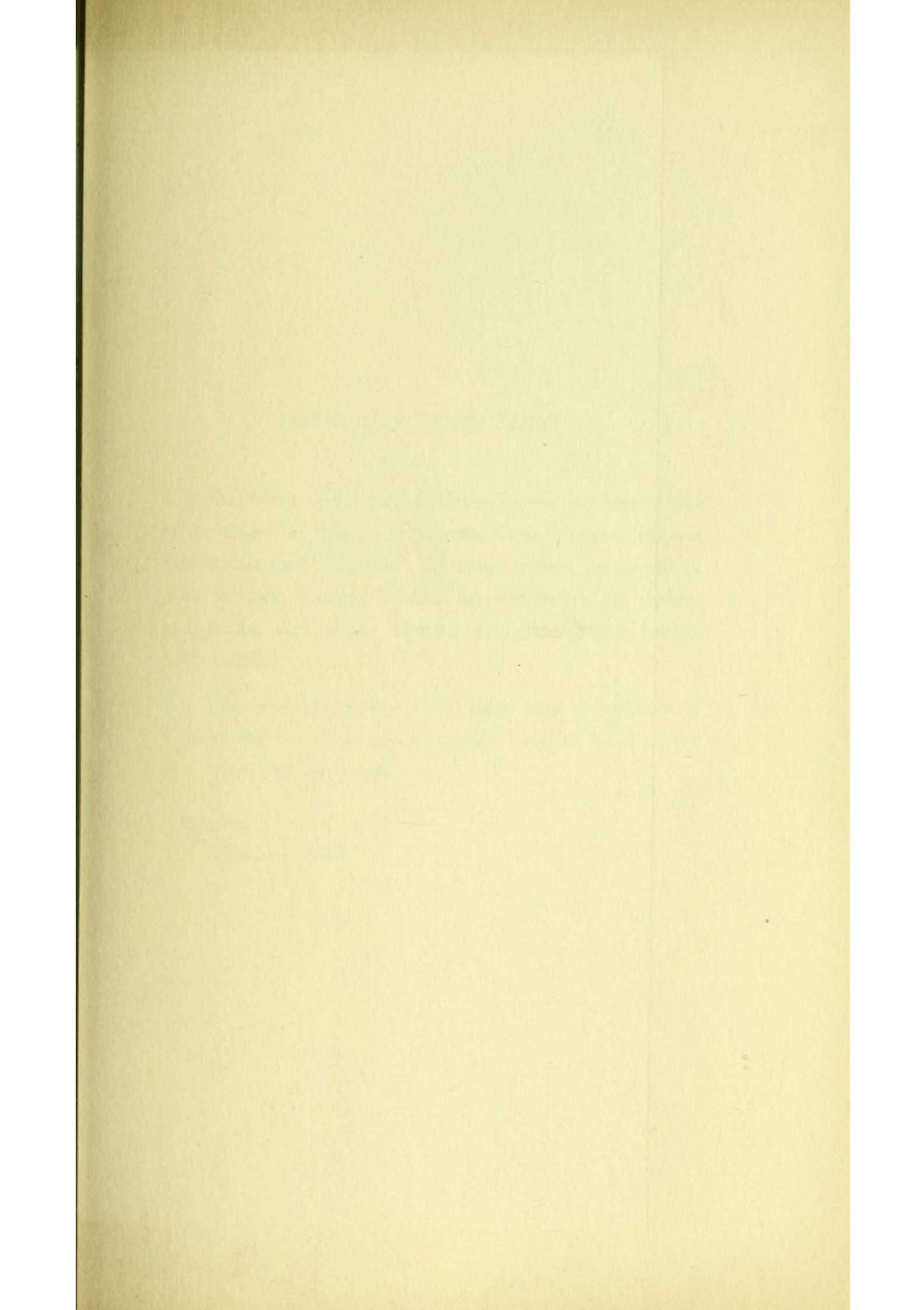
54 Harley Street,
London, W.

With Dr. Galloway's compliments.

To the Librarian

Royal College of Surgeons







INTRODUCTORY NOTE.

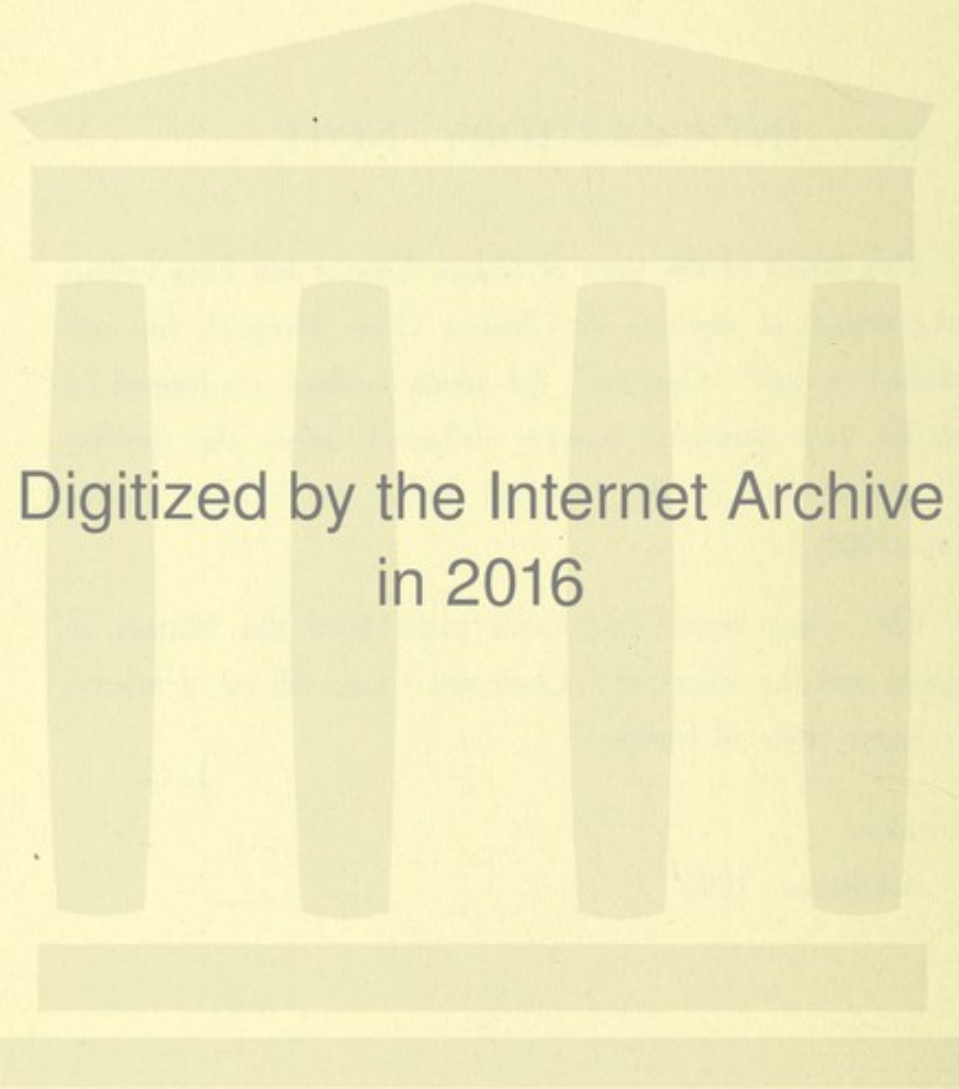
This sketch of the story of Queen Eleanor has been written at the request of students at Charing Cross Hospital, and was published in their "Gazette." Its rough outlines are formed by notes for two illustrated lectures delivered before the students and nursing staff of the Hospital during the Winter Session, 1908—1909.

The writer hopes that these pages from the History of England and the village of "Charrynge" may still be of interest to a larger circle of friends.

J. G.

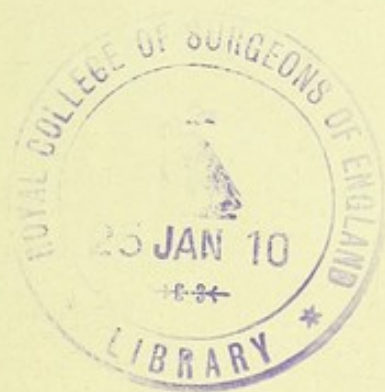
London,

Christmas, 1909.



Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2016

<https://archive.org/details/b22418404>



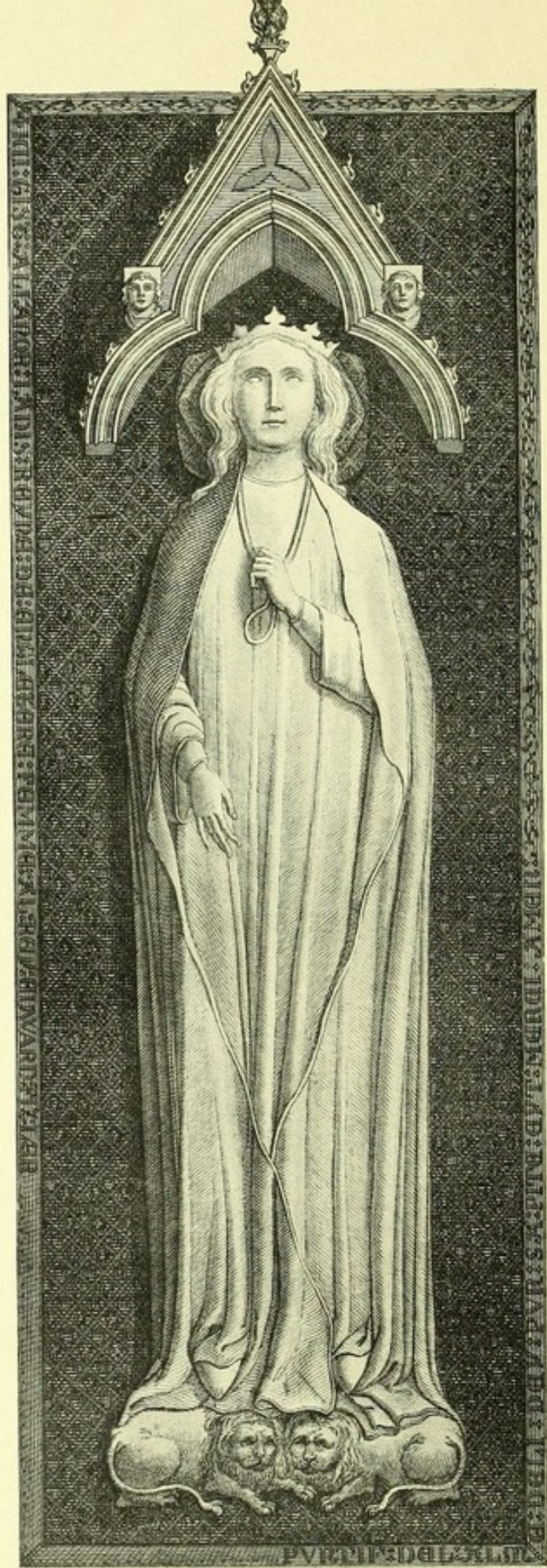
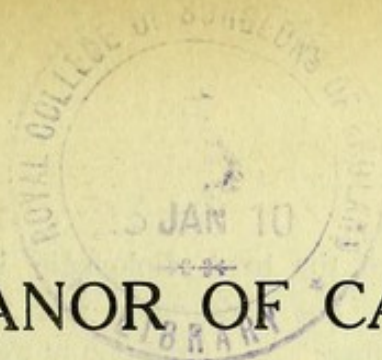


PLATE I.—The Effigy of Queen Eleanor in Westminster Abbey ; made by William Torel (anno 1291) : from the drawing by Basire ; Gough, "Sepulchral Monuments of Great Britain," Vol. I. Part i., Plate xxiii.



ELEANOR OF CASTILE,

QUEEN OF ENGLAND,

AND THE

MONUMENTS ERECTED IN HER MEMORY.

By JAMES GALLOWAY.

Tradition for over six hundred years has conferred the title of the "Good Queen Eleanor" on the Consort of Edward I., and does not fail to repeat the tale of one of the most beautiful episodes in the domestic annals of the mediæval English court ; but the force of this tradition has, without doubt, been greatly strengthened by the existence of the remarkable series of monuments erected by King Edward to perpetuate the memory of the Queen.

The story of the "*Regina bonæ memoriæ*" may be of interest to those who read these pages, not only because the Cross erected at Charing was the finest of the memorial crosses, but because the artistic conception and much of the excellent craftsmanship which was lavished on these beautiful monuments had their origin in the district with which their daily work brings them in close association.

It will first of all be needful to recall something of the life and character of a Queen who made so powerful an impression on her people. That her influence must have been remarkable is sufficiently indicated by the fact that the crosses partook of the nature of shrines. They were built on consecrated ground and were intended to claim the prayers of the passer by. This great demand on the devotion of her people, which might readily have given the impression of being forced or exaggerated, was clearly held to be entirely fitting and appropriate.

The Coming of Eleanor to England.

The omens at the commencement of Eleanor's career in England were by no means favourable, and little indicated the event. At the age of about nine, Eleanor, a princess of Castile, was married to Edward, the heir to the English Crown, who had reached the mature age of fifteen years. The marriage took place in the year 1254, in the ancient city of Burgos, and was celebrated with the utmost pomp ; but the magnificence of the occasion fails

to conceal the features of the hard diplomatic bargain driven between Henry III., the father of the bridegroom, and Alfonso X. of Leon and Castile, Eleanor's half-brother. As a condition of this treaty Alfonso merged all his claims and rights in Guienne and the South of France in the English Crown ; and the marriage, only after much difficulty, placed the seal on this compact following a long period of petty warfare and intrigue, during which Alfonso had sought to encourage the Gascons and other Gallic subjects of Henry against their liege lord.

This Spanish marriage was by no means a popular one amongst the English, and although in the following year, 1255, when Eleanor came to London, her reception was marked with much circumstance and great official cordiality, it is clear that the Londoners had no great love for the Spaniards. Henry had given sufficient reason for the people's jealousy of foreigners ; his prodigality and many acts of favouritism already shown to foreign relations of the royal house and their retainers gave good earnest that a similar outburst of extravagance on the part of the King would result from this Spanish invasion. Preceding the arrival of Eleanor, an embassy led by her brother, Don Sancho, the young Archbishop of Toledo, had arrived to make certain preliminary arrangements. They had been greeted with only a modified degree of favour by the London populace. Their manners were considered to be anything but up to the London standard. Under an aspect of richness and profusion their habits were considered to be sordid and mean ; one of the counts in this indictment of offence is that, not content with hanging the walls of the rooms with tapestry, they must also use tapestry for covering the floors ! The unfortunate young Prelate himself on riding through the streets of London had ventured to confer his benediction on the populace with up-raised hand—an act which was interpreted with but little generosity. The hapless ten-year-old Princess and wife presents a pathetic picture. In the midst of all this political intrigue even this little maiden did not escape the animadversions of her future people. Special notice is taken of the fact that though landing with a great retinue at Dover, and with much bravery of outward attire, she had but a very scanty wardrobe (*minus bene munita hernesio*). One of the first disbursements on the part of Henry for his daughter-in-law was to remedy this grave defect !*

The young Prince, her husband, appears to have been a headstrong and undisciplined young man ; though nominally in possession of great estates in France and England, his actual income in money was small, and he and his

* Rot. Litt. Claus., 39 Henry III., m. 2. (No. 69).

friends and retainers seem to have lived on the land as if they were a band of foreign robbers. Edward's thoughtlessness and the harshness and cruelty of those around him are unfavourably commented on at this time. The hard discipline which the young Prince received in the years immediately following, was very necessary to render him the great king of England which he subsequently became, and many years also were required before the little Princess acquired the gracious firmness of character which is recognised in the "*Regina bonæ memoriæ*" of English history.

The Early Influences Affecting Eleanor's Character.

The young Princess did not stay long in England at this time. She returned to the Continent, no doubt to continue her education under the influence of her royal relatives in Spain and France. Her half-brother, Alfonso, was a man of studious ability and high culture. His astronomical researches are known to this day, and he is distinguished by the title of "*El Sabio*" among the early Kings of Spain. Eleanor's education was, therefore, carried on under conditions more favourable than might be expected in such a troubled age. The influences thus exerted on her developing character left their mark throughout her life, and more than once her love of beautiful things and the encouragement she gave to learning appear in the fragmentary records of her history.

Edward, on the other hand, probably gained little in the way of discipline or of military or political training from his father. It was in the merciless school of civil rebellion and strife that he was to receive his first hard lessons, the results of which may be traced throughout his career. His early association with Simon de Montfort, a leader of much genius, afforded him his first training in warfare. This training never stood him in better stead than when, after his final rupture with this great leader, the battle of Evesham gave him the opportunity of putting in practice what he had learned against his old master. At the same time his experience of the meaner side of the miserable politics of this period produced the distortion of Edward's character which marred many of his great actions in the future.

It was not till the Barons' Wars were approaching their termination that Eleanor definitely took up her residence in England. The domestic life of the young Prince and Princess may be reckoned as commencing about the year 1264, ten years after their marriage, when their eldest child, named after her mother, was born. Eleanor seems* to have lived a very domesticated life,

*Eleanor did not quite escape experience of the alarms of war even at this early age, as may be inferred from the sudden orders for the retirement of the Princess and her household from Windsor to Westminster after the battle of Lewes. (*Foedera*, Vol. I., pt. ii., p. 563.)

principally at Windsor and in her Castle at Guildford, and there is evidence that her gracious character and many acts of kindness to the neighbouring people soon began to have their inevitable effect. She showed early the desire to accompany her husband on his travels, one of the most characteristic features of her later life. Edward, on the other hand, was still under the shadow of his father. The state of English politics was exceedingly perturbed, and the King's eldest son was much involved in the intrigues of the time. The strength of Edward's character frequently showed itself by courage and enterprise in the field of battle, by political insight and evidences of good statesmanship; but his impetuosity and his lack of consideration led to frequent acts of harshness which must have alienated many who would otherwise have been supporters of the royal house, and his conduct in private must have frequently been a cause of anxiety and mental distress to his young Princess.

Eleanor Journeys to the Holy Land with Edward.

There must have been, therefore, a great sense of relief to many within the land when, in the year 1270, Edward, having taken the Cross, entrusted his children and all his possessions to his uncle Richard and departed to join the French King on crusade to the Holy Land. The dangers besetting such expeditions to the East from sword and pestilence were perfectly well understood—repeated and painful experience had brought them home to all, both of high and of low degree. With this full knowledge Eleanor made the momentous decision to accompany her husband and to share the trials and dangers of the crusade.

Before they had actually left France on their journey to the East, intelligence was received of the death of Louis of France, the leader of this crusade, in Tunis, and although it must have been clear to Edward that the chance of a successful issue of the crusade was much diminished, nevertheless, accompanied by his comparatively small English force, he went on.

The next two years were spent in the East. The crusade ended in failure, scarcely relieved by the exploits of Edward in raising the siege of Acre, at the battle of Nazareth, and in one or two smaller engagements. Of any single event during the crusade, the attempted assassination of Edward by an emissary of one of the Sultan's emirs stands out most clearly. During the struggle, Edward was badly wounded in his arm. The wound suppurated, the arm swelled, and threatened to become gangrenous. At this juncture the physician in the household of the Master of the Temple was called in to advise, and stated his opinion that the only chance of recovery was by means

of free incision of the affected arm. Edward decided that this should be done. On hearing the decision of her husband, the Princess, worn out with anxiety, broke down completely, and had to be conveyed from the tent in charge of her brother-in-law, Edmund, and John de Vescy.* The operation was then performed, and Edward made a satisfactory recovery. During his convalescence, he must have owed much to the devoted care of his wife and to the skill of his medical attendants. It was during these three years of close association, while Edward had to bear the trial of repeated disappointments in addition to the severe hardships and imminent perils of the Crusade, that a bond of firm comradeship was formed between the future King and Queen.

Eleanor had already borne three children before leaving England, and during her years of travel in the East and in France, two if not three more had been born, of these, Joan of Acre, of romantic memory, and a son Alphonso, for some years heir to the English crown, survived. It can hardly be a matter of doubt that her frequent child-bearing added to the hardships of her long journeys, and the almost certain incidence of disease had an adverse influence on the health of the future Queen.

The Return to England.

On their return journey, while resting in Sicily, the Prince and Princess received the intelligence of the deaths first of their eldest son John, and then of King Henry. Their homeward journey was, however, still greatly delayed: Edward running the fantastic risks of a knight-errant in Burgundy, and becoming embroiled in bouts of partisan warfare in the South of France, while the Queen visited her royal relatives in Spain, and rested for some time at Bayonne, where the young Alphonso was born.

It was not till late in the following year that they returned to England, when both Edward and Eleanor were hallowed and crowned at Westminster amidst surroundings of the greatest magnificence and with the promise of a fortunate reign especially in their relationships with the King of Scotland (19th August, 1273).

One of the first great designs of Edward's statesmanship was to secure the more complete subjection of Wales to the English crown. Eleanor's influence appears to have been exerted to moderate the impetuosity and harshness of her husband, and to add the occasional touch of graciousness

* Hemingford, Walter : *Historia Angliae Scriptores*. Gale ; Vol. II. p. 591. Oxford, 1687.
Hemingburgh, Walterus de : Hamilton, H.C., Eng. Hist. Soc. Vol. II. p. 335.

which became notably absent when her guiding hand was removed. Llewelyn II., the Prince of Wales, had been in close terms of intimacy with the de Montfort family, and was betrothed to Eleanor, the King's cousin and only daughter of the great Earl, Simon. On her way to Wales from France in 1276, the ship conveying this lady was captured by Bristol sailors. The distinguished captive was promptly sent to Edward at Windsor. Eleanor de Montfort was too valuable a political asset to be given up easily by Edward, and she was accordingly kept in captivity in order to influence the negotiations with the Welsh Prince. The rigour of her captivity, however, was much alleviated by the action of the Queen, whose kindness and consideration stands out in pleasant relief to the unrelenting harshness of Edward's dealings with Llewelyn. The unfortunate Princess, Eleanor de Montfort, died soon after her marriage, after giving birth to a daughter, and happily did not witness the savage outburst signalling Edward's final triumph over Llewelyn. Accompanied by the Queen, Edward gradually established himself in Wales. In 1284 Eleanor's son, Edward, was born at Carnarvon, and the Welsh once more received a native-born Prince, but the episode of Eleanor's kindness to the de Montfort Princess and her presence with Edward during the later stages of the occupation of Wales, were no doubt factors of great assistance to Edward in bringing his Welsh policy to a successful conclusion.

The following years of Eleanor's life seem to have been passed in much contentment in the midst of her numerous family. She still retained her custom of accompanying her husband on his travels, and undertook in his company another long voyage to France and probably to Spain. The memory of her domestic happiness is recalled by the traditions which still remain of the gaiety which distinguished the "Maiden Hall" at Westminster.

The Queen, however, did not entirely escape trial and mental anxiety even in her relationship with her daughters. She keenly felt Edward's decision that her daughter, Princess Mary, a girl of six, should take the veil and enter the great Benedictine nunnery of Amesbury. Edward seems to have been forced to this harsh decision by the masterful influence of the Queen Mother, Eleanor of Provence, who was living in retirement in this convent. The Princess Mary survived to the year 1332, and saw much of the trouble which subsequently befell the Royal House.

Records remain which show that Edward allowed himself to relax from the severity of the warrior and the statesman in the domestic circle. His domestic relaxation seems to have been often of a boisterous character.

There is, for instance, the story of the King being held in bed by seven of the Queen's ladies and damosels on the morning of Easter Monday, 1290, till he paid them the fine of £14 expected on that day.* On another occasion, in the same year, Matilda of Waltham, stated to be the King's laundress, wins a wager from the King by venturing to ride his horse, when he had gone hunting in Essex. The King recovered his steed by paying a fine of 40 shillings to the bold Matilda.†

The last year of the Queen's Life.

The year 1290, however, was to be distinguished by events of far more serious import than the records of domestic happiness. Edward, secure in England, had reached, perhaps, the culminating point of a successful career. His judgment was appealed to and his advice followed in foreign lands; and the great political design of bringing about the union of the Scottish and English crowns, so often the dream of his predecessors, now appeared to promise a successful issue by the betrothal of Prince Edward to his cousin, Margaret of Norway,‡ the grand-daughter of Alexander III., and heiress to the Scottish throne. Eleanor's influence must have been willingly exerted to bring about so happy a solution of the long drawn-out Anglo-Scottish dispute.

Earlier events of importance in 1290 in Eleanor's domestic life were the marriages of her two daughters Joan of Acre and Margaret. The celebrations which distinguished the latter event were of so striking a character that their record remains to this day as an example of the extreme of mediæval magnificence.

Already, however, the tragic events which closed this year were throwing their shadows over the land. The Queen's health was not as it should be,§ and a rumour rapidly gained credence that Margaret was dead in Orkney, where she had rested on her voyage from Norway to Scotland. The question of the succession to the Scottish Crown, with all its dangerous consequences, was immediately opened up, and it is clear that Edward promptly came to the conclusion that he must be in a position to bring about a result favourable to the English interest.

The journey to Harby and the Queen's fatal illness.

The summer meeting of Parliament in Westminster was adjourned, but re-assembled during the autumn, and Edward left London on the 21st July

* Wardrobe Account 18 Edw. I. fol. 45b. Chancery Miscellanea $\frac{4}{5}$.

† " " 18 Edw. I. fol. 47b. " " "

‡ The "Maid of Norway" was King Edward's grand niece, and first cousin "once-removed" to the Prince.

§ There is some evidence that a daughter was added to the Queen's already large family early in this year.

travelling northwards accompanied as usual by the Queen. By slow stages they reached Harby* near Lincoln, where the Queen remained at the house of Richard de Weston, who was no doubt a relative of Sir John de Weston, a confidential member of her own household. It is clear that the Queen was unable to bear the fatigues of travelling, and as the Autumn Session of Parliament was summoned to meet at King's Clipstone, a royal residence in Sherwood Forest, Edward was anxious that Eleanor should be sufficiently close at hand for him to have full knowledge of her health. During the month of September he made short journeys in the districts of the Peak and Sherwood Forest, and paid a visit to Harby on the 11th September. The Clipstone Parliament occupied his attention during most of October and the early part of November.

During the whole of this period the Queen was steadily declining in health. It is interesting to note one or two indications of the nature of her long illness. It is on record that a certain Henry de Montepessulano† received on the 18th of October the sum of thirteen shillings and fourpence, on account of syrups and other medicines purchased for the Queen at Lincoln.‡ The Queen's physician was a certain Magister Leopardus, who is specially mentioned in the Queen's will as receiving a legacy of twenty marks. In addition to the physician attached to her household she seems to have been attended by some of her own countrymen—the physician to the King of Arragon is especially mentioned. To him the Queen presented a silver goblet, worth twelve-and-a-half marks, and Sir Garcia de Ispannia, who was evidently of the King and Queen's household, received a certain sum for a cross given to the Queen.

The character of the illness is described by a contemporary annalist as being of a lingering character, associated with slow fever.§ In spite of all skill and care the Queen steadily became worse, till at length the illness must have been recognised as fatal. Another annalist speaks of the Queen as being stricken with a serious illness.||

At the close of the Clipstone Parliament, Edward travelled slowly towards Harby, arriving there on the 20th. The gravity of the Queen's

* Previously written "Hardeby," "Hardby," etc.

† The presence of a member of the ancient Medical School of Montpellier in the Queen's Household is of much interest.

‡ Wardrobe Account, 18 Edw. I. fol. 13, Chancery Miscellanea $\frac{4}{5}$.

§ Wykes, Thomas. Ann. de Oseneia. Annales monastici: Rolls Series. Vol. IV. p. 326, "*Modica febris igniculo contabescens.*"

|| Walsingham, Thomas of, quoting William Rishanger, a contemporary writer: "*Regina consors grave infirmitate correpta quarto idus decembris ex hac vita migravit in villa de Herdeby.*" Historia Anglicana, Rolls Edition; Anno 1291, pp. 32-33.

illness seems scarcely to have been appreciated by the King. He spent six days on his journey from Clipstone to Harby—a distance of little more than 20 miles. On his arrival the hopelessness of the Queen's condition must have been apparent to him. She died on the evening of the 28th of November.

The King's grief and depression is put in evidence not only by the contemporary writers, but by Edward's actions at the time of the death of Eleanor, and during the subsequent months. The gracious character of the Queen's influence on her consort, and the affection she inspired in her people, is amply testified by the contemporary annalists. Walsingham, once more quoting his predecessors such as Rishanger, describes her shortly in the following sentence :—"She was in very truth a woman of pious, gracious, and compassionate disposition, the friend of all English folk, and as a pillar of the whole state."* The important point of this description is the emphasis laid on the fact that Eleanor was the friend of her English subjects. This had not been the characteristic of her predecessors. In the time of Henry III. the foreign relatives of both the Queen and the King swarmed into England, and memories of the unjust favours showered upon them still rankled in the minds of the people. An echo of this can still be heard on listening to the tale of the annalist at Dunstable. He writes from the English point of view, and is chiefly concerned with describing the benefits received by his Convent from the King and Queen.†

Edward's letter conveying information of the Queen's death to the Abbot of Cluny still remains, and gives pathetic evidence of his own sorrow :—"Whom while living we cherished dearly and being dead we shall not cease to love.‡

After the obsequies at Westminster were concluded the King went into retirement in the religious house of the "Bons Hommes" at Ashridge, issuing to pay a visit to his mother and daughter in the Convent at Amesbury.

* Ibid. "*Fuerat nempe mulier pia, modesta, misericors, Anglicorum amatrix omnium, et velut columna regni totius. Cujus temporibus alienigenæ Angliam non gravabant, incolæ nullatenus per regales opprimebantur, si ad aures ejus vel minima querela oppressionis aliquantulum pervenisset. Tristes ubique prout dignitas suæ permittebat, consolabatur, et discordes ad concordiam, quantum potuit, reducebat.*"

† Ann. de Dunstaplia : *Annales monastici*. Rolls Series, Vol. III. p. 362. Of Eleanor this annalist drily remarks :—"Hyspana genere quæ plura et optima maneria adquisivit."

‡ Close Roll, 19 Ed. I., m. 11 d. A.D. 1291 : *Fœdera*, Vol. I, pt. ii, p. 743 :—"De Orando pro Regina." "Cum itaque, dictam Consortem nostram *quam vivam care dileximus, mortuam non desinamus amare*, ac opus sanctum et salubre, juxta divinæ scripturæ sententiam, censeatur pro defunctis, ut a peccatorum solvantur nexibus, exorare."

The Queen's death marks the crisis of Edward's career. His kingly manner and appearance, his renown as a warrior, and his success as a statesman combined to make him one of the most prominent personages in Europe. The political problems of the future might well have been solved by his firmness and skill had not the distortion of his character, which dates back to his early years, become more pronounced. Especially in the management of the Scottish difficulty his firmness of purpose contrasts curiously with the meanness and shiftiness of his administration. These base qualities more than anything else brought to so unhappy a termination his statesmanlike plans for the union of England and Scotland. This great political scheme ended with Edward's life in the dark scene at Burgh-on-the-Sands, marked by the desire for savage revenge* only too characteristic of Edward's worse nature. At no period of his career did Edward miss the moderating influence of Eleanor of Castile more than during his quarrel with Scotland.

King Edward's Plan for the Commemoration of Queen Eleanor.

It is quite clear that Edward must have carefully considered the most fitting means for the perpetuation of the memory of his consort during the anxious weeks of Eleanor's last illness. It would have been otherwise impossible to put into immediate operation the details of his great design.

The plan which commended itself to the King was that after the body had been embalmed a funeral procession should be formed, led by himself and accompanied by the important officers of State, and should pass through England from Lincoln to London. The itinerary was so arranged that at the close of each day's march the cortège should rest for the night near some important town, or at a religious house of note. The route thus determined was not the most direct.

He spent Advent Sunday, the 2nd December, 1290, in Lincoln, the body resting at the Priory of St. Catherine on the southern outskirt of the city, while the King chose the situation for the first of the tombs under the great eastern window of Lincoln Minster, and attended the memorial services in that great Church.

Leaving Lincoln on the 3rd December, the procession passed through Grantham, Stamford, and Geddington, reaching Northampton on the 9th. Then by way of Stony Stratford, through Woburn and Dunstable to St.

* This phase of Edward's character brings to mind the "demon blood" of his Angevin ancestry.—*cf.* Norgate, Kate: "England under Angevin Kings." Vol I. pp. 143-144; Vol. II. p. 207.

Alban's, which was reached on the 13th. The King went thence direct to London, to make due preparation for the ceremonial entry into the City, while the procession conveying the remains of Eleanor passed on to Waltham Abbey, in order later to pass through the length of the City. The procession through the City of London was of the most solemn character, being led by the King, accompanied by the whole nobility, the officials of the Court the prelates and the dignified clergy.

The night following the departure from Waltham, the body rested at the western end of Chepe (Cheapside), or perhaps actually in St. Paul's, the next night in the village of Charing on the confines of Westminster, and the entombment in the Abbey Church of St. Peter's took place on the 17th.

Three tombs were to be erected in memory of the Queen—one in the Cathedral Church of Lincoln, where the viscera were buried; one in the Church of the Dominican Friars in London, a religious fraternity which had early gained the sympathy of the King and Queen. In this beautiful Church of the Blackfriars built mainly by the munificence of Edward and his consort, the heart of the Queen, at her own request, was to be enshrined. The third tomb was erected in the Chapel of St. Edward the Confessor, where the body is interred. The King determined that at every station on this route where the Queen's body rested for the night, a memorial cross should be erected in the most sumptuous manner possible.

The ceremonies which took place at these various stations were solemnly conducted with the full rites of the Church, and we still have evidence of what took place at Dunstable and St. Albans. The Dunstable annalist states that the body rested one night there—probably in the choir of the Priory Church—and the bier still remained in position till the Chancellor and the other magnates of the Court selected a suitable place for the erection of the Cross. The Prior of the Convent was present at the ceremony and consecrated the spot by sprinkling holy water. The Priory received two valuable pieces of embroidery and more than 40 pounds of wax.*

At St. Albans, as was to be expected of the greater house, the ceremonies must have been conducted with even greater magnificence. The procession was met as it approached St. Albans by the whole Convent, "*solemniter revestitus in albis et capis*" at the Church of St. Michael near the entrance of the town. The body was then conducted to the Abbey

*This was not the first time that Edward presented gifts to the Priory at Dunstable, including the valuable embroideries on cloth of gold of Eastern origin, "*scilicet Baudekyns*," i.e., cloth of Bagdad, where this gorgeous fabric was originally made.

Church and placed before the High Altar. The whole of that night the Convent was engaged in its divine offices and holy vigils. There can be no doubt that this progress passing through so much of the land, accompanied by the King and the great magnates of the Court, honoured by the most ceremonious rites of Holy Church, and ending with the great celebration at Westminster, was one of the most remarkable spectacles ever witnessed in England.

The idea of this impressive ceremonial was no doubt suggested to the mind of Edward by the funeral of his old leader on crusade—Louis IX. of France. After the death of Louis in Tunis, his body was conveyed to France for entombment. It was carried on men's shoulders from Paris to St. Denis, and at the places where the bearers rested on their journey a cross was subsequently built. It is well known that Edward held the memory of Louis in great veneration, and was well aware of these circumstances; no doubt he had seen the crosses in memory of St. Louis while in France and accompanied by the Queen.

Besides arranging for the construction of the tombs and crosses, Edward made very ample provision for the religious celebrations to be made in memory of his wife. These were conducted in many places throughout the land, but the most elaborate was that held annually up to the time of Henry VIII. in Westminster Abbey, on the eve of St. Andrew's Day, the 28th November.

The Builders of the Queen's Monuments.

Edward was well aware that he had both the men and the materials for the accomplishment of this great design. Although the King was unable to devote much of his time to artistic matters, he could not have been the son of his father without having a cultivated taste and a competent knowledge of the arts and crafts of the time. His father, Henry III., however much he failed as a ruler in an age when the power of the King was the main factor of good government, was an enthusiastic lover of art and a patron of artists. It was during the reign of Henry, and largely owing to his influence, that perhaps the most remarkable development of Early English architecture took place. His principal work, to which he gave himself with the utmost devotion, and, indeed, with little consideration of other and more important duties, was the re-building and decorating of the Abbey Church at Westminster. For the carrying out of his designs he had gradually fostered a school of architects, sculptors, painters, and other artists in Westminster unrivalled in

England. This Westminster School of Art not only produced a great part of the magnificent edifice of the Abbey Church, but was directly engaged in the construction of many other great churches and buildings. Its influence, however, was still wider. From it trained and skilled men travelled throughout Britain, imparting the knowledge of structure and artistic design, while artists and students came to learn the Westminster methods from the ends of the land.

There is, however, a good deal of evidence to show that Edward inherited the collecting proclivities of his father, and was encouraged in this failing by Eleanor. He spent very large sums of money in buying gold and silver plate, jewellery, carvings, and embroideries. Records remain not only of his own possessions, but of the lavish way in which he and the Queen presented such works of art to religious houses which they visited from time to time, and in which they took special interest. An example may be found in the Queen's Executry accounts, where we find that a certain Brother Nicholas received the sum of 10 pounds for bringing jewels, and, apparently, other works of art from Acre to England for the Queen's service.*

In the year 1290 and for some time before, the King's Master Mason at Westminster was a certain Master Richard Crundale, or, as he was usually called in the Rolls containing the accounts of Queen Eleanor's Executry, "*Magister Ricardus de Crundale, Cimentarius.*" Richard Crundale was the direct successor of such great architects and builders as Master Henry of Westminster, Master John of Gloucester, and Master Robert of Beverley, who had been successively the King's architects, and to whom we owe the beautiful designs and the excellent workmanship of Westminster Abbey. Crundale succeeded Robert of Beverley, and had apparently been in charge of the work at the Abbey for about ten years at this date. To him the King entrusted the building of the Cross at Charing, and also the construction of the beautiful tomb in the Abbey Church, but it can hardly be doubted that it is to him we owe the suggestion of designs for many of the other Crosses, and it is at any rate clear that the influence of the Westminster School is shown both in their planning, and in the selection of the architects and builders who carried out the work.

The Queen's Executry Accounts show that, in addition to the work for the Cross at Charing and the tomb in the Abbey, the statues of the Queen

* *cf.* "*Liberationes factae per Executores,*" &c., *Item, fratri Nichalao de Acon, pro cariagio diversarum rerum et jocalium, ad opus Reginae de Acon usque in Angliam, x li.*

which found a place in all the Crosses, and much of the decorative stone carving, were made at Westminster under the eye of Richard Crundale.

In association with Crundale, there were at work in Westminster two sculptors ("Imaginatores") of renown, namely—Alexander of Abingdon, and William of Ireland; these were the men who carved the statues. Ralph of Chichester carved much of the decorative stone work. The painter who decorated the tombs had also a high reputation in his time—Master Walter of Durham. Master William Torel, a citizen of London and goldsmith, had the good fortune to be chosen to mould and cast the metal effigies of the Queen, which found their place on the tombs at Westminster and Lincoln. His work was carried out in material of more durable character, and his reputation as an accomplished craftsman in metal rests firmly on the evidence of one of the most perfect remaining examples of mediæval art. Another worker in metal, Master Thomas de Leighton, has left evidence of his skill in the fine iron grille over the Queen's tomb. The executry accounts tell us also of the men employed by Crundale to bring the stone and Purbeck marble from Corfe, Caen, and other places, and the names of others associated with the works at Westminster are still preserved.

The actual cost of the erection of the Cross at Charing is difficult to tell. The accounts show that large sums were received by Richard Crundale, amounting to some £700, but this sum no doubt represents work for other memorials to the Queen, and not alone for those at Westminster. It is also evident that the executry accounts are not complete, so that an exact calculation of the cost is no longer possible.* Unfortunately Richard Crundale died before the completion of the Queen's memorials, and was succeeded in 1293 by Roger Crundale, under whose care the work was completed.

The Cross in the City of London at the west end of Chepe was entrusted to Michael of Canterbury, a member of the Westminster School, and subsequently the successor of the Crundales as the King's Master Mason in Westminster. This distinguished architect was engaged in rebuilding the Chapel of St. Stephen's at Westminster while working on the Cross at Chepe. Of the exact plan of the "Cheapside" Cross little or nothing is known, but there can be little doubt that it conformed in essential details to the plan determined on by Richard Crundale. We know, however, that Michael of

To obtain some idea of the cost of the memorials, money at the end of the 13th century may be considered to have possessed thirteen times its present purchasing value.

Canterbury undertook the construction of Chepe Cross for the sum of £300, and the executry accounts show payments to the extent of £226 13s. 4d. This gives us the closest indication we can now obtain of the actual money spent in building the crosses. It is generally recognised that the Cross at Charing was the finest and most elaborate of the series, but Chepe Cross, situated as it was in the City of London, must have also been a noble example of artistic work; probably the crosses in country places were on less magnificent a scale.

The Cross at Waltham was constructed by Roger Crundale and a certain Dyminge de Legeri, sometimes called de Reyns. Roger Crundale was obviously a member of the Westminster School, and there is little doubt that he was Richard Crundale's brother. Dyminge de Legeri may have been a foreigner, but his work was held in high appreciation, for he not only helped in the construction of Waltham Cross, but was employed in making the sculptured tomb at Lincoln.

The building of the five Midland Eleanor Crosses—namely, at St. Albans, Dunstable, Woburn, Stony Stratford and Northampton—is of special interest, inasmuch as the work was entrusted to what seems to have been the mediæval representative of a firm of architects and builders in Northampton. The most prominent member of the firm was a certain Johannes de Bello, or de la Bataille, in whose name most of the payments are made out, but with him was one scarcely less important, namely, Simon de Pabeham (Pabenham). These two builders were also of the Westminster School, and appear later in connection with works at Westminster itself. At this time, however, they were working at Northampton as their centre. Nearly £400 was noted as being paid to John Battle, but we can form little opinion as to how the money was distributed. The Cross at Northampton, a beautiful example of Battle's handiwork, still exists.

We know nothing of the architects or builders of the Crosses at Geddington, Stamford, or Grantham. The Cross at Geddington remains the most perfectly preserved example of the whole series. This Cross is remarkable, as it shows a completely different plan from those already mentioned. Indeed its scheme of construction differs to such an extent from the others that it is not probable that Crundale had any part in its design. It is also noteworthy that no mention is made of these three Crosses in the executry accounts. If arrangements for building them had been made at Westminster, we should have had evidence of it in the executry rolls. It is

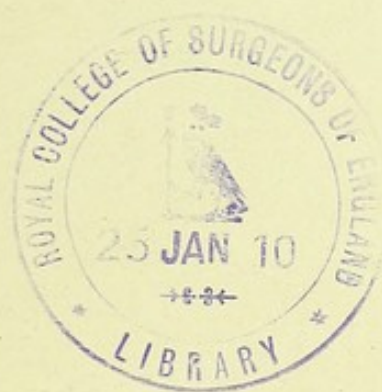
probable, therefore, that in the Geddington Cross, the only one of the three remaining, we see the work of some other master. The influence of the builders of Lincoln Cathedral may have made itself felt so far as Geddington, on the border of John Battle's territory. It is, however, very tempting to make the suggestion that the Cross at Geddington—possibly also those no longer remaining at Stamford and Grantham—owe their origin to foreign artists. These places we may regard as having been in the Queen's own country. On her marriage it is specially mentioned that she received in dowry important possessions at Grantham, Stamford, Tickhill, and the Peak. At the time of her death we know that there were Spaniards in her household, and it may be that the very unusual and striking design of Geddington Cross owes its origin to a Spanish, rather than to an English, artist.

At Lincoln, the re-building of the Cathedral had given rise to a local school of art independent of although no doubt influenced by the greater school at Westminster. The Master Builder of this school at the time was Richard de Stowe, sometimes called "de Gaynisburgh," evidently a man of local birth and training, whose tombstone is still to be seen in the cloisters of Lincoln Minster. To him was entrusted the erection of the Cross at Lincoln, but some of the finer decorative work was done by the Westminster artists. William of Ireland furnished the statues and the ornaments so frequently mentioned in the accounts as the "*virgæ, capita, et annuli*," and special mention is made of payments to him for their carriage to Lincoln.

The construction of the tomb over the remains of Eleanor in the Cathedral was entrusted to Dyminge de Legeri, with whom was especially associated Alexander of Abingdon. This tomb for long supported a replica of Torel's effigy of the Queen at Westminster made by that artist's own hands.

The monument constructed to contain the heart of the Queen in the Church of the Blackfriars in London, must have been elaborately beautiful. Walter of Durham expended his utmost art in its decorations, and in addition special effigies of the Queen were placed on this monument, which were made by Alexander of Abingdon, Dyminge de Legeri, and William of Suffolk.

Richard Crundale's design for the Memorial Cross consisted of a solid pillar, surmounted by a cross, following in principle the more ancient crosses existing throughout the land; but with his greater skill in construction and more developed artistic feeling the simple column was surrounded with new architectural features.



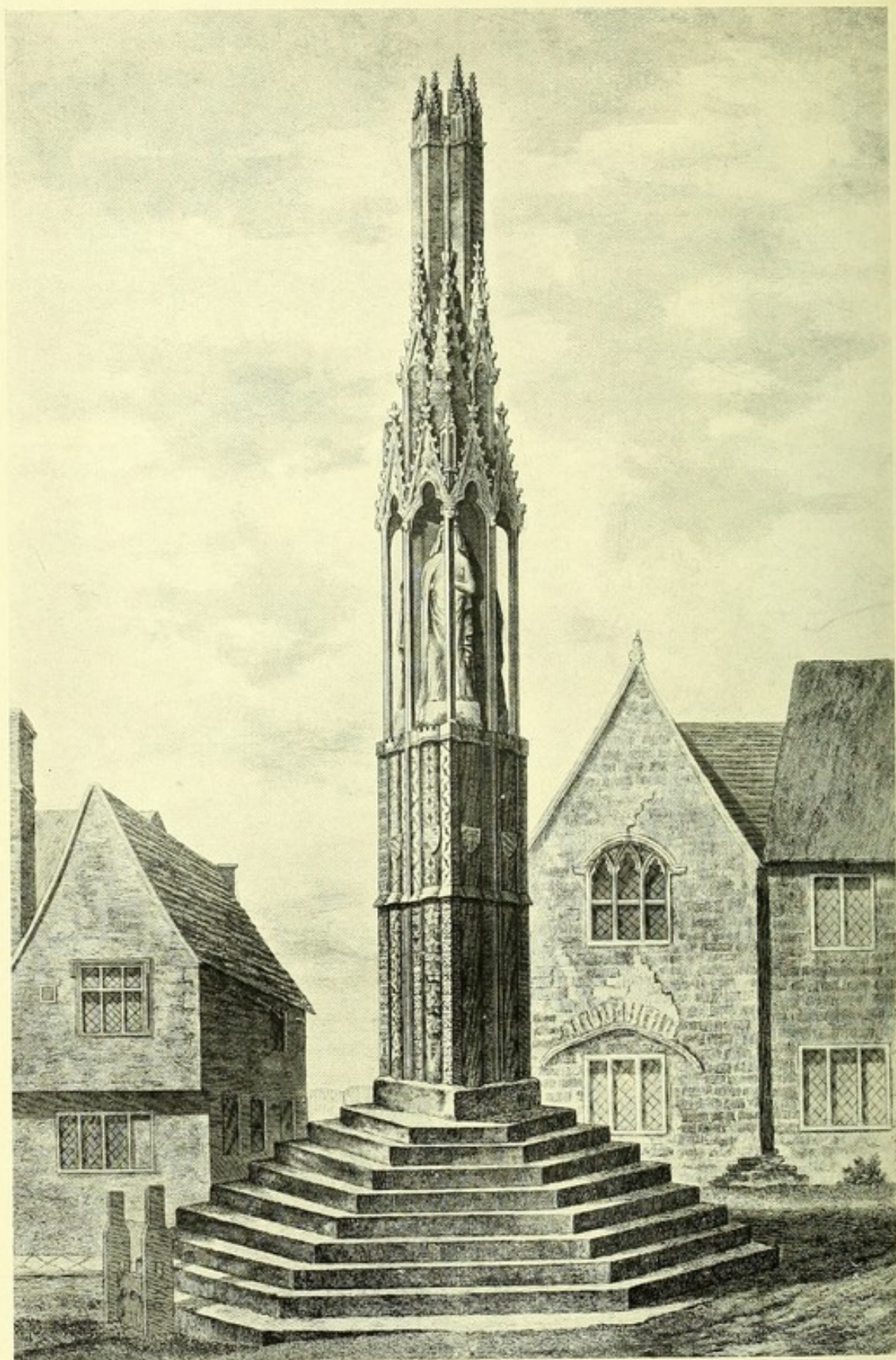


PLATE II.—The Cross at Geddington in the 18th Century. *Vetusta Monumenta*; Plate xiv., Vol. III. 1791. Drawn by Schnebbelie, engraved by Basire.

The area on which the Cross stood was covered with stone pavement, on this pavement a smaller platform, attained by a varying number of steps, was built, from this platform arose the Cross proper. The architectural decorations surrounding the column were arranged in three stages. The first stage presented three, six, or eight faces, arranged in panels; in these panels were carved shields, emblazoned with the Queen's heraldic bearings, giving the coats of England, Castile and Leon, and Ponthieu*. The second stage consisted of a platform for displaying the statues of the Queen, the number of statues corresponding to the faces of the cross—three, four, or more, as the case might be. Protecting the statues was arranged an elaborate system of "tabernacles," giving to the passer-by the impression of a shrine. The third stage showed the continuation of the solid column, probably in all cases surmounted by a cross. The whole of the monument was ornamented with the decorations characteristic of early English decorated architecture. The work was done at the best period of this school, and shows how beautifully the artistic ideas of the time could be utilised for monumental purposes.

THE ELEANOR MEMORIALS AND THEIR FATE.

LINCOLN.

The Cross at Lincoln was built by Richard de Stowe, who at the time was the Master Mason in charge of the work at Lincoln Cathedral. Stowe received sums on account of his work during the years 1291 to 1293 amounting to £106 13s. 4d.

Of Stowe's designs for the Cross we have no record, but the presumption is that it agreed in its main features with the other Crosses, for some of the finer decorative work and statues were sent to the Cross from Westminster. These were entrusted to William of Ireland, the "Imaginator." The accounts of this sculptor are specially noted. He received in all the sum of £23 6s. 8d. for making the statues of the Queen, the "*virgæ, capita et annuli*," and for their carriage from Westminster to Lincoln. We know that he received the sum of five marks—£3 6s. 8d.—for each statue. The Cross stood on Swine Green, opposite the Gilbertine Priory of St. Catherine, where the Queen's body rested. The last traces of the Cross at Lincoln have long since disappeared.

* For England, three lions passant, guardant; Castile and Leon, quarterly; for Ponthieu, three bendlets within a bordure.

The Tomb in Lincoln Cathedral was erected by Dyminge de Legeri and Alexander of Abingdon, who was under the immediate influence of Westminster. Note is made of their receiving £18 6s. 8d. on account of their work at Lincoln, a sum, however, which includes a small amount to Alexander of Abingdon on account of making statues for the tomb at Blackfriars. Roger de Crundale was evidently associated with the work, as he is mentioned as receiving £1 16s. 8d. for marble supplied and work done at the tomb of the Queen. The most important feature of the Queen's tomb, however, was the metal effigy made by William Torel, which was an exact replica of the effigy on the tomb in Westminster. The tombs at Westminster and Lincoln were probably similar in design. The Queen's tomb occupied a position under the great east window of the Cathedral, but now no relic of it survives.

In 1901 a monument in memory of the Queen, copying the original tomb, was placed on the southern side of the retro-choir, by the late Mr. Joseph Ruston. Sufficient information was obtained from drawings of the original monument by Dugdale and Bishop Sanderson, now in the possession of the Earl of Winchilsea, to permit of this being done. This monument, however, could not be placed in the original position on the north side of the "Angel Choir" as the site had been used for a recent interment, and the Bishop's Chair had been erected close to the site. No fragments of the original tomb were discovered when this work was being done.*

GRANTHAM.

No information is obtainable of the design, nor of the builder, of the Cross at Grantham. Edmund Turnor, writing in 1806, makes the following note :—

"On St. Peter's Hill near the south entrance into the town stood the "elegant Cross erected by Edward I. in memory of Eleanor, his Queen."†

A note in Camden is as follows :—

"Queen Eleanor's Cross stood before Mr. Hacket's house, called Peter Church Hill, where stood a Church dedicated to St. Peter, now "demolished."‡

The fragments of the Cross which survived were destroyed by Cromwellian troops during the Civil War.

*From information kindly given by Mrs. J. M. H. MacLeod.

†Turnor, Edmund, 1806. Collections for the History of the Town and Soke of Grantham.

‡Camden-Gough : Britannia. Vol. II., p. 360.

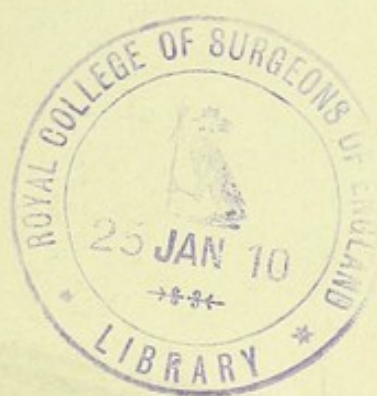




PLATE III. The Cross at Geddington, from a photograph by the Author, 1908.

STAMFORD.

There is no information as to the builder and designer of the cross at Stamford. Richard Butcher, sometime Town Clerk of Stamford, in a work published in 1717, states as follows :—

“ Not far from hence upon the North side of the Town near unto York Highway, and about twelve score from the Town Gate, which is called Clement Gate, stands an ancient cross of Free Stone of a very curious Fabrick, having many ancient scutchions of arms insculpted in the stone about it, as the Arms of Castile Leon quartered, being the paternal coat of the King of Spain, and divers other hatchments belonging to that Crown, which envious Time hath so defaced, that only the Ruins appear to my eye, and therefore not to be described by my Pen.”*

In Camden's “ Britannia ” there is the note : “ Not far from the Town without Clement Gate, stood a fine cross, erected by Edward I. in memory of his Queen Eleanor, but pulled down by the soldiers in the Civil War.”†

GEDDINGTON.

The cross at Geddington has withstood the ravages of time and has been disturbed less by restoration than the others. Its design differs greatly from that of the other remaining crosses, but it is so elegant in spite of its unusual structure, that it is very unfortunate that we have now no knowledge of its builders. No mention is made of Geddington Cross, nor of Stamford, nor Grantham, in the Queen's executry accounts. These Rolls, however, are not extant later than the year 1294. It is probable, therefore, that these three crosses were built a year or two later than the others.

The cross stands in the middle of the village, where the main road from Stamford to Northampton turns in a southerly direction to pass over the old bridge across the small river Ise. There is here a widening of the road caused by the junction of a small road from the east, allowing of a clear space, so that the cross is well seen from all sides. The cross itself rises from a platform led up to by a series of eight steps, arranged in hexagonal form. It is exceptional in being triangular in section. The first storey consists of three faces, each face being divided by firm mouldings into four panels. These panels show a beautiful example of stone carving in various diaper designs. Even now the effect is rich, but before the outlines had faded, the diaper work must have shown great firmness and strength. The upper panels of the

* Butcher, Richard. London, 1717. “ Survey and Antiquity of the Town of Stamford.”

† Camden-Gough : Britannia. Vol. II., p. 351.

lower storey present the shields bearing alternately the arms of England, Castile and Leon quarterly, and Ponthieu, as in the case of the other crosses. The second storey also gives the effect of a triangular outline, the angles corresponding with the middle of each side of the lower storey. At each angle rises a beautifully moulded pillar which, with similar pillars from the other sides, support the series of canopies sheltering the three statues of the Queen. These tabernacles are richly ornamented in the characteristic style of decoration of the period. The third storey continues the main column of the cross upwards, and consists of a cluster of pillars ending in decorated finials, repeating the designs of the tabernacle work below. The column was, no doubt, originally surmounted by a cross. Fortunately no attempt has yet been made to replace this terminal feature. The triangular design of the cross gives a very curious effect when it is looked at from certain directions. It will be evident that when seen from a line parallel to one of the faces of the first storey, the whole of the cross presents a lop-sided aspect. Its symmetry of outline becomes obvious on changing the point of view a little to one side or the other.

Geddington Cross, like the others, suffered not only by exposure to the elements, but perhaps even more by neglect and wilful damage. It is mentioned that in ancient times, during the rough sports which were held on Easter Monday, it was the custom to catch squirrels in the neighbouring woods and turn them loose in the neighbourhood of the cross. The little animals naturally took refuge in its crevices and corners; whereupon the mob attempted to destroy the squirrels by stoning them, and many a decorated finial and beautiful piece of foliage must have been shattered on those days.

On the south side of the steps leading to the cross is a spring of water, evidently used from time immemorial by the inhabitants. It is now covered in by a small square-headed stone cistern. This cross fortunately has escaped the attention of the Cromwellian soldiery. It was restored in 1868, and repairs were judiciously carried out in 1890*.

NORTHAMPTON.

The cross at Northampton is the only one remaining of the five built by John Battle and his partners. It occupies a site on the east of the main road leading south, at a distance of about a mile from the town, in the

*cf. "The Stone Crosses of the County of Northampton." Christopher A. Markham. Northampton: Joseph Tebbutt. 1901.

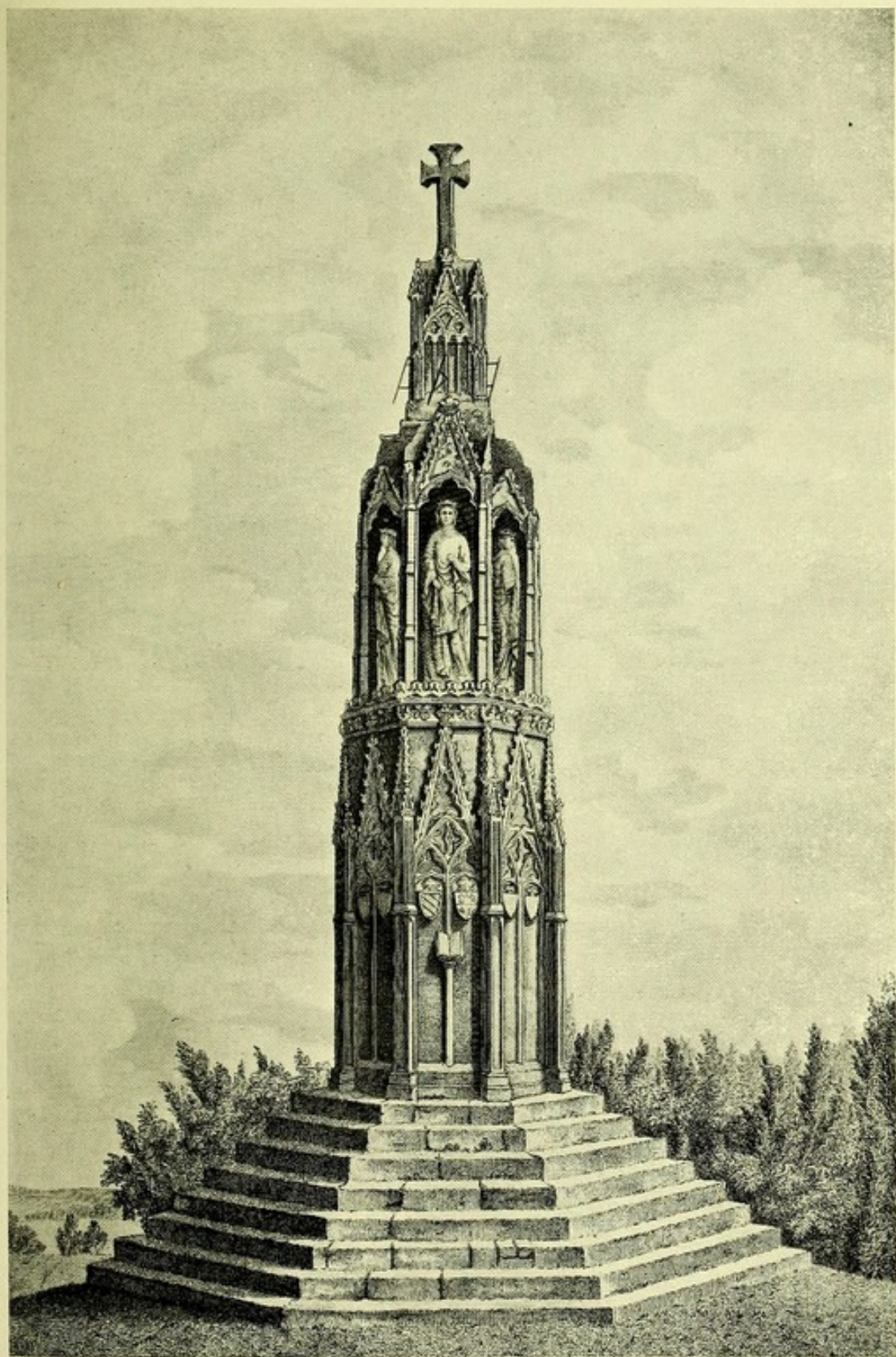
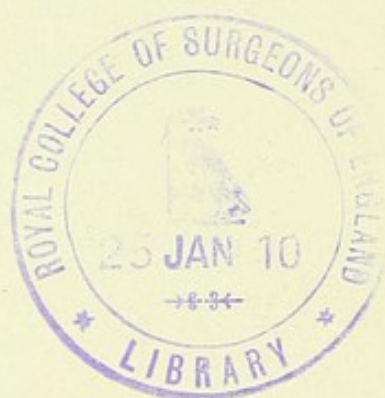


PLATE IV.—The Cross at Northampton in the 18th Century, subsequent to the unhappy “restoration,” which was completed by placing a new cross on the summit. *Vetusta Monumenta* ; Plate xii., Vol. III. 1791. Drawn by Schnebbelie, engraved by Basire.



parish of Hardington. The road rises slightly as it leaves the flat land of the Nene Valley, and on this little elevation the cross was erected. It was the proximity of the religious house of Cluniac nuns (St. Maria de Pratis), now Delapré Abbey, that determined the spot where the funeral procession stopped for the night. This cross stands quite in the open country, and its fine proportions can be easily seen. Unfortunately it has suffered much, both at the hands of time, but especially from the restorer, and much of the original decorative work has disappeared. Its strong, beautiful outlines, give the observer a high idea of John Battle's skill as a designer.

The cross is situated on a platform surrounded on all sides by an ascent of eight steps. From this the cross, which is of octagonal outline, rises. The lowest storey is supported by buttresses at the angles, and the faces thus formed are divided into two panels by a perpendicular moulding. Surmounting the panels is a series of decorated gables. The panels show alternately shields with the arms of England, Castile and Leon quarterly, and Ponthieu. In addition, every alternate face is ornamented with an open book.

The second storey is arranged also to give an octagonal outline, but consists really of the quadrilateral solid column of the cross, on each face of which stands the statue of the Queen, about 6 feet in height, facing north, south, east and west. Attached to this solid column is a series of eight open tabernacles, elaborately and beautifully decorated.

Above this tabernacle storey rises the solid four-sided column of the cross, panelled and adorned with pointed tabernacle work, reproducing the designs of the storey below. The column originally terminated, no doubt, in a cross-shaped finial. This no longer exists, the feeble effort to replace the terminal cross during the restoration of 1713 being happily removed.

The first restoration of the cross of which we have particulars was in 1713. It was probably carried out very badly, and certainly in bad taste. Further repairs were undertaken in 1762, during which the benefactions of the restorers were duly and pompously notified on the cross itself. Careful repairs were carried out in 1884, and now the care of the cross is vested absolutely in the Northampton County Council. In spite of the destruction due to early restorations the Northampton cross remains a remarkable tribute to the skill of the architects and builders of the period, and a fine example of English decorated work.

It is difficult to obtain an idea of the cost of the crosses erected by Battle. The executry accounts give evidence of a sum of nearly £400 paid to Battle and his partners, but this money was on account of the five Midland crosses. We know that the accounts are incomplete, so that the amount spent was no doubt larger than this sum; possibly also a larger amount may have been spent upon the cross in such an important position as at Northampton than in certain other places.

In addition to the money which passed into the hands of Battle, considerable sums were paid to William of Ireland and Ralph of Chichester, who were entrusted with the sculpture of the statues of the Queen, and the finer ornamental work represented by the constantly recurring item, the "*virgæ, capita et annuli*."

The building of the cross involved another very important piece of work at Northampton. The roadway from the town to the Queen's cross passes over the flat marshes of the River Nene. Robert Harrison (*Robertus filius Henrici*) received £80 for the construction of a causeway across the marshy land, and certain sums were also expended in laying the pavement. The necessity for such a "rood-way" is obvious to anyone who has visited the spot, and the building of the causeway would have been regarded at the time as a work of piety.

STONY STRATFORD.

The cross at Stony Stratford was one of those built by John Battle and his partners. Ralph of Chichester was the sculptor employed to do the ornamental work. He is noted as supplying "*virgis, capitibus et annulis*."

Dr. Lipscomb, writing in 1847, says: "The cross here was demolished "about 1646, but an old inhabitant, William Hartley, told Mr. Cole that he "remembered part of it remaining at the western extremity of the town."*

WOBURN.

The cross was erected by John Battle and his partners, Ralph of Chichester being employed to make some of the ornamental carving. The puzzling détour of the procession from Watling Street to Woburn was no doubt due to the desire of the King to have the advantage of the religious services of the important Cistercian Abbey at this place.

* Lipscomb, George, M.D. *Hist. and Antiquities of the County of Bucks.* London, T. and W. Robins. 1847, p. 366.

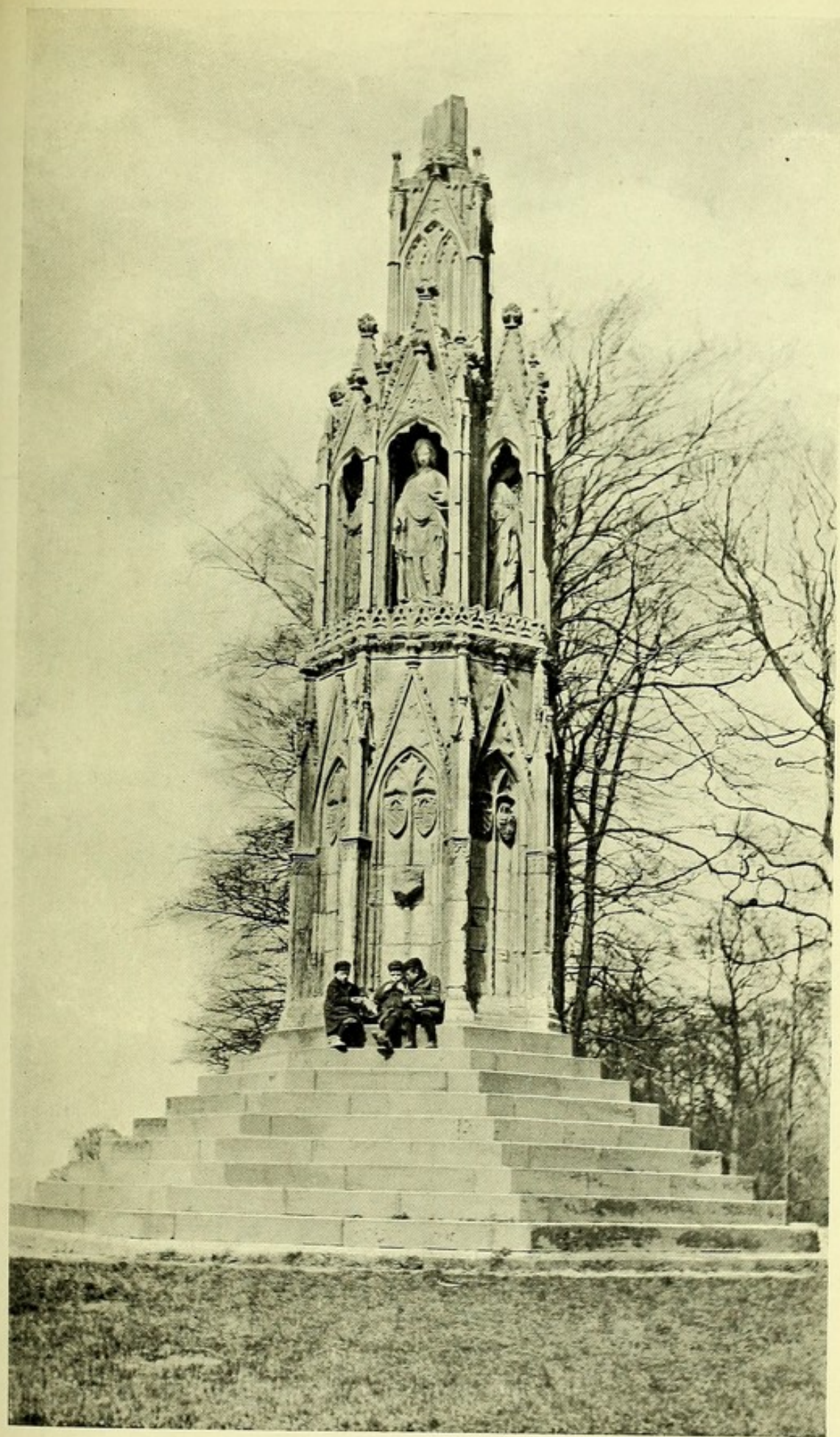


PLATE V. The Cross at Northampton, from a photograph by the Author.



DUNSTABLE.

The Cross at Dunstable was built by Battle of Northampton and his partners, part of the sculpture being supplied by Ralph of Chichester. It stood in the main street of Dunstable where Watling Street crosses the Icknield way. The Church and remains of the Augustinian Priory of Dunstable are situated a very short distance to the East, along the Icknield way. Mention has already been made of the description given by the Dunstable annalist of the arrival of the funeral procession, and the ceremony of consecration of the site where the "lofty cross" was subsequently erected. The cross is said to have been demolished by troops under the Earl of Essex in 1643. Parts of the foundation of the cross have been met with during recent alterations in the roadway.

ST. ALBAN'S.

The cross was erected in what became the Market Place of St. Alban's by John Battle and his partners, some of the sculpture being supplied by Ralph of Chichester. The visit of the procession to St. Alban's is especially noteworthy on account of the record remaining of the elaborate religious services in the Church of the great Benedictine Abbey during the night the procession rested there. In 1596 the cross is described as "verie stately." There can be no doubt, however, that already the cross had suffered much damage by the lapse of time, as well as by neglect. At any rate scant ceremony was shown to the cross in later years. It is stated to have been partly destroyed by order of Parliament in 1643; fragments, however, stood in the market place till the year 1702. In 1703 an octagonal market house was built on its site; in 1765 this became a pump house, and in 1872 the present drinking fountain in the centre of St. Alban's was built on the consecrated site of the "verie stately cross."

WALTHAM.

The cross at Waltham was constructed by Dyminge de Legeri (de Reyns) and Roger Crundale. Crundale was a near relative, probably the brother, of Richard Crundale, the master mason at Westminster, and was obviously in close touch with the Westminster School. Dyminge de Legeri, of whom we have little knowledge,—his name suggests a foreign origin—must have been a builder of recognised skill. It is possible that he may have been specially associated with Waltham Abbey.

The cross occupies a position on the main road at Waltham, where a side road branched off leading to the important Augustinian house of Waltham

Abbey. The platform from which the cross arose seems originally to have had ten steps. As the result of restorations this number has been diminished to four. From this platform the cross, which is hexagonal in design, arises. Each side of the lower storey is divided into two panels which show alternately the shields charged with the arms of England, Castile and Leon quarterly, and Ponthieu. The panels are surmounted by pointed three-cusped arches supporting a quatre-foil decoration, and finally a gable-like ornament. The whole panel is richly decorated, the upper part with diaper work. The second storey, which is separated from the first by a perforated battlement, consists of a series of open tabernacles in pairs, sheltering three statues of the Queen. The tabernacles terminated in profusely decorated triangular gables. The third storey, still hexagonal in shape, is ornamented with tabernacle work, reproducing the designs of the storey below. From this arose the shaft of the cross, which has been replaced during a recent restoration. Considering the ruinous state into which Waltham cross had been allowed to pass in the beginning of the 18th century, it is almost a wonder that so much of the original structure still remains. The lowest storey still gives a good representation of the original work. The Queen's statues remain after having suffered many indignities. Most of the rest of the cross is the result of restoration.

In 1720 Dr. Stukeley remarked on its ruinous state, and prevailed upon the Society of Antiquaries to take steps for its preservation, and Lord Monson surrounded and strengthened the base of the cross with new brickwork in 1757. In early days the Four Swan Inn, at the junction of the road from Waltham Abbey, was the only house of any importance near, but other houses gradually arose. The cross and its site apparently belonged to no one, so the houses crowded on the cross, till at length they actually abutted on its eastern side, destroying much of its beautiful work and even endangering the solidity of the whole structure. The prints of the cross in the 18th century show the ruinous condition into which it had fallen.

In the beginning of last century a local committee undertook its restoration, £1,200 being expended at this time. This work was finished in 1834. In 1893 more complete restoration was carried out, nearly £1,200 being again expended on the cross.* The Falcon Inn, which had encroached on the cross so as actually to be in contact, was set back, and now the roadway surrounds the cross on all sides, allowing its proportions to be seen, and

* *Vide* "Weekly Telegraph for Waltham Abbey, Cheshunt and District;" Friday, 6th January, 1893.

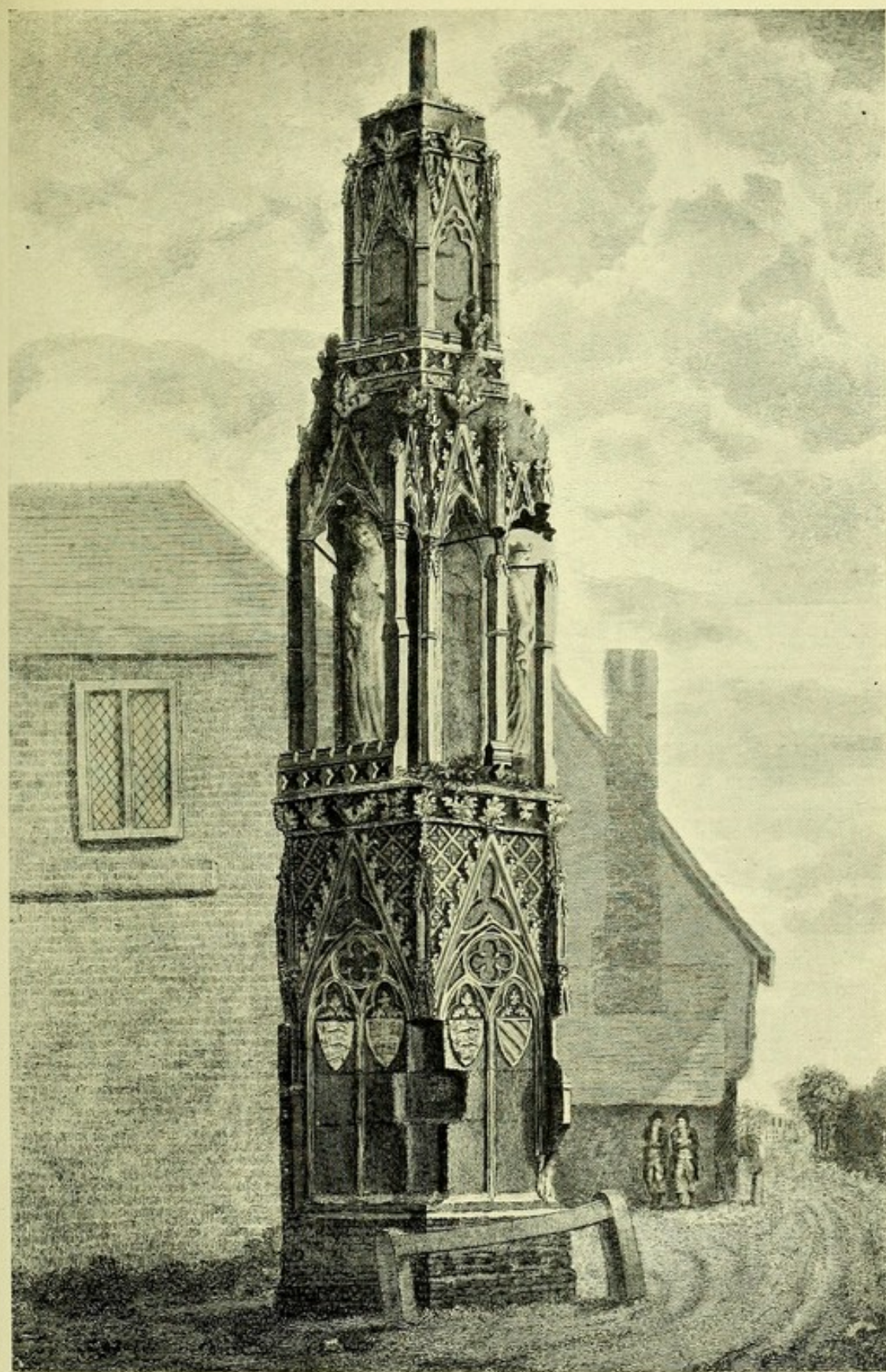
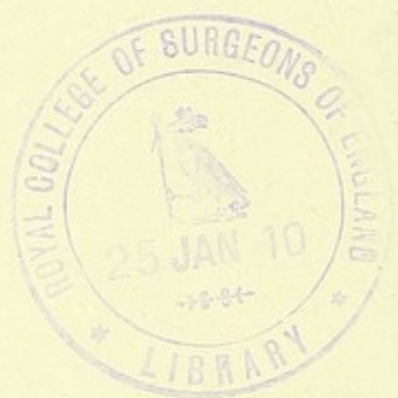


PLATE VI. The Cross at Waltham, showing its ruinous condition during the 18th Century. *Vetusta Monumenta* ; Plate xvi., Vol. III. 1791. Drawn by Schnebbelie, engraved by Basire.



aiding in its preservation. It is interesting to compare the sums expended on restoration with the amount noted as being paid to the original builders. The sum of a little over £90 can be traced into the hands of Dyminge de Legeri and Roger de Crundale. Alexander the Imaginator aided a little in its construction, and a good deal of the stone, especially the Caen stone, so much in use at the time, was conveyed directly from the works at Charing.

CHEPE.

The cross in the City of London stood at the west end of Cheapside, opposite Wood Street. The construction of this cross was entrusted entirely to a distinguished architect, Michael of Canterbury, who, at the same time, was engaged in building the Chapel of St. Stephen's at Westminster. There is unfortunately no relic of the original design. In the Guildhall Museum, however, are two broken stone panels, which formed almost certainly a portion of the Eleanor Cross in Chepe. These panels show the characteristic heraldic shields emblazoned with the arms of England and of Leon and Castile. Portions of ornamental mouldings are also preserved on these panels. It is possible that these may be relics of the work of Michael of Canterbury, but it is more probable that they are of later date. In the case of Chepe Cross, we may gather the best idea of the amount of money spent on individual crosses. Michael of Canterbury evidently agreed to erect the cross for £300, and the Queen's executry accounts give evidence of his receiving £226 13s. 4d.

By the year 1441, the cross "being by length of time decayed," John Hatherley, Mayor of London, procured licence of King Henry VI. to "edifie the same in more beautifull manner for the honor of the citie." This restoration probably followed the main lines of the original structure, and was very slow in progress.

In the course of time the citizens of London seemed to have lost interest in the cross and its significance, and it is only necessary to refer to the pages of John Stow, published in 1603, to sympathise with this worthy's indignation at the desecration which the cross had suffered even in his time. It had been partly restored on several occasions subsequent to the time of John Hatherley, including various re-gildings and re-burnishings in honour of various important royal functions, but in the year 1581 "diuers Juries" of the citizens, having considered that it stood in the "highway to the let of carriages," so much prejudice was aroused that on the night of the 21st June a band of roughs destroyed the lowest images round the cross. These,

however, were images totally different from those originally on the cross, and included one of the Virgin Mary. In the year 1595, according to Stow, this image "was againe fastned and repaired, and in the yeare next following a new misshappen son born out of time all naked was laid in her arms."

Later the cross was further desecrated by the addition of an alabaster image of Diana, which served the noble purpose of a water conduit for the benefit of the citizens. Attempts were made by certain members of Queen Elizabeth's court to bring home to the Mayor and citizens the desecration of the cross which had been permitted. But shortly after Christmas, 1600, "the image of Our Lady was again defaced by plucking off her crown and almost her head, taking from her her naked child and stabbing her in the breast. etc."*

The cross by this time could only have presented a remote resemblance to the original work. The new statues which found a resting place on it had no reference to its original purpose. During the religious and political turmoils which followed, the crosses both at Chepe and Charing formed the subject of numerous political lampoons, which are interesting as giving some idea of the frenzy of destruction which possessed the extreme political sects. It can hardly, therefore, have been considered a matter of regret when the last scene of all was enacted.

The cross, mutilated and desecrated beyond recognition, was completely destroyed on the 2nd of May, 1643. The Parliament deputed a certain Robert Harlowe to do this work, who went with a troop of horse and two companies of foot, and carried it out completely. "At the fall of the top cross drums beat, trumpets blew, and multitudes of caps were thrown into the air, and a great shout of people with joy"; so runs a contemporary account.†

The history of the cross in Chepe is important as giving an indication of the gradual process of decay that seriously damaged the crosses, long before the desecrating hands of political fanatics mutilated and finally destroyed the remaining fragments.

CHARING.

The cross at Charing was the work of Richard de Crundale. He was responsible for the design of this cross, but his design no doubt influenced the ideas of the other builders, for we know that much of the finer work of

* Stow, John. "A Survey of London," Edition of C. L. Kingsford, 1908.

† Thornbury, Walter: *Old and New London*. Vol. I. p. 334.



PLATE VII. The Cross at Waltham, from a photograph by the Author.

the other crosses was executed under his observation. Most of the statues of the Queen were carved near Charing, and many of the ornaments so frequently referred to as the "virgæ, capita et annuli" were also made by the Westminster artists. The cross was built approximately on the plot of ground now occupied by the statue of Charles I. at the commencement of Whitehall.

Richard Crundale himself died in 1293, and Roger Crundale came from Waltham to carry on his work. Nearly £700 can be traced as being paid to the Crundales for the work at Charing, but this sum obviously includes work done and materials supplied for other crosses. The finer materials used in the construction of the crosses, such as Caen stone, Purbeck stone and marble, seem to have been distributed to the other crosses by way of Charing. Considerable additional sums of money are mentioned as being paid to merchants of stone, such as William Canon, Robert Blunt, and others who brought the stone from Corfe, and Henry Mauger who supplied stone from Caen. Alexander of Abingdon, the "Imaginator," carved the statues of the Queen for Charing, William of Ireland, also working at Charing, carved the statues of the Queen which found their way to the crosses built by John Battle and Richard Stowe, while Ralph of Chichester carved much of the fine stone-work for many of the Crosses.

Unfortunately no adequate idea can now be obtained of Charing Cross. It is admitted, however, to have been the finest of the series; but it must have been subject to the same vicissitudes as its neighbour in Chepe, and the sketches which exist, purporting to be Charing Cross, can only have been obtained from the mutilated structure which survived to the end of the sixteenth century. The drawing in the Crowle Collection of the British Museum, which has been reproduced by Wilkinson, is one of these. The suggestion of the Cross in van den Wyngaerde's view of London gives, perhaps, a better idea of its probable appearance.* John Norden's account is that of an eye witness, and tells of its condition about the year 1600. He speaks of it as "an old weather-beaten monument, erected about 1290 by Edward I. Amongst all the crosses which the King caused to be built . . . "Charing Cross was most stately, though now defaced by antiquity."†

Charing Cross suffered many indignities in the parliamentary period. After many years of neglect, it was sentenced by Parliament to be taken down in 1643. An old rhyme mentions the event:—

* Charing Cross Hospital Gazette, July, 1907. Plate 1.

† John Norden. MS. Harl. 570 (*circa* 1593); quoted by Lethaby: *cf.* *Speculum Britanniae*, "the first parte" 1593, p. 45 and its maps of London.

"The Parliament to vote it down
 Conceived it very fitting,
 For fear it should fall and kill them all
 In the house as they were sitting.
 They were told God wot, it had a plot,
 It made them so hard-hearted,
 To give command it should not stand,
 But be taken down and carted."

Lilly* writing in 1715, says that part of the stones were employed in paving the front of Whitehall, whilst some other stones were made into knife hafts and other articles which, when polished, looked like marble.

The Cross in the forecourt of the South-Eastern railway station at Charing Cross was erected from the designs of the late Mr. Edward Middleton Barry, in 1864-1865, and is the result of his own desire to have the opportunity of reproducing the Eleanor memorial at Charing. Mr. Barry was a learned as well as a distinguished architect, and visited Northampton and Waltham Crosses many times before deciding on the design of the monument he proposed to erect. It is well worthy of careful study as expressing the ideas formed by a conscientious artist and student of the appearance of the old Cross; especially it shows the desire to give the idea of the original builders, and to avoid the travesties of construction which have not infrequently been erected purporting to be after the fashion of an Eleanor Cross. Unhappily the motive which renders the crosses at Geddington, Northampton and Waltham so entirely appropriate, and which adds so much to their interest, cannot be transferred to the new site.†

BLACKFRIARS, LONDON.

It was a custom of the time for devout persons to desire that the heart should be removed after death, and taken to some peculiarly holy place. Queen Eleanor had taken special interest in the community of the Black Friars, and especially in the Church which they had just built in London. By her own special request her heart was to be taken to this church, and Edward took special pains that a tomb should be erected worthy of containing this relic.

There is little knowledge of the design for this monument. A certain John le Convers seems to have been a clerk dealing with the payments, while Adam, a well known goldsmith of the time, and much in the confidence of

* Lilly. "Observations on the life of King Charles I." *cf.* Edward Walford, "Old and New London." Vol. III., p. 123 *et seqq.*

† The author is indebted for information respecting Mr. Barry's cross to Mr. T. Harrison Myres, of Preston, who was one of Mr. Barry's pupils in 1864, and afterwards his confidential clerk.

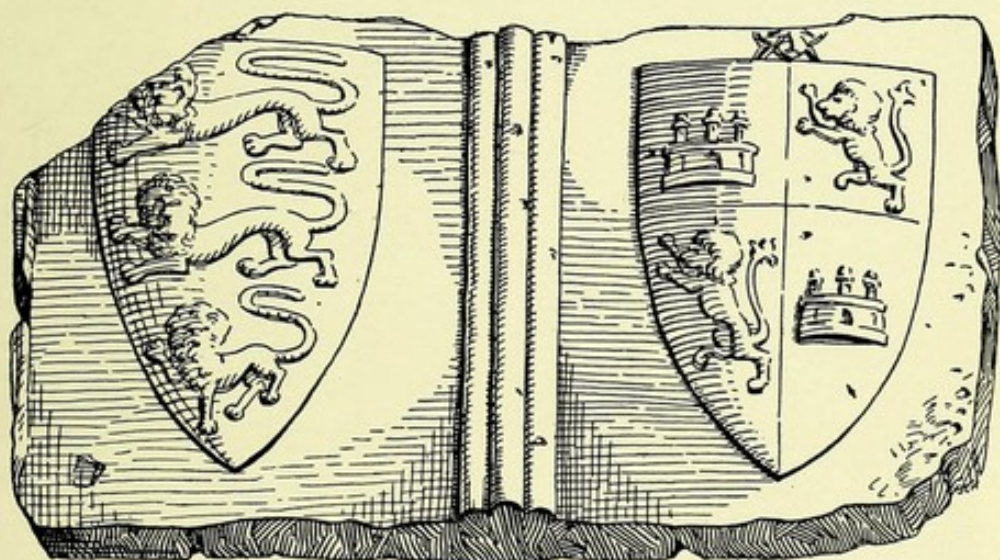
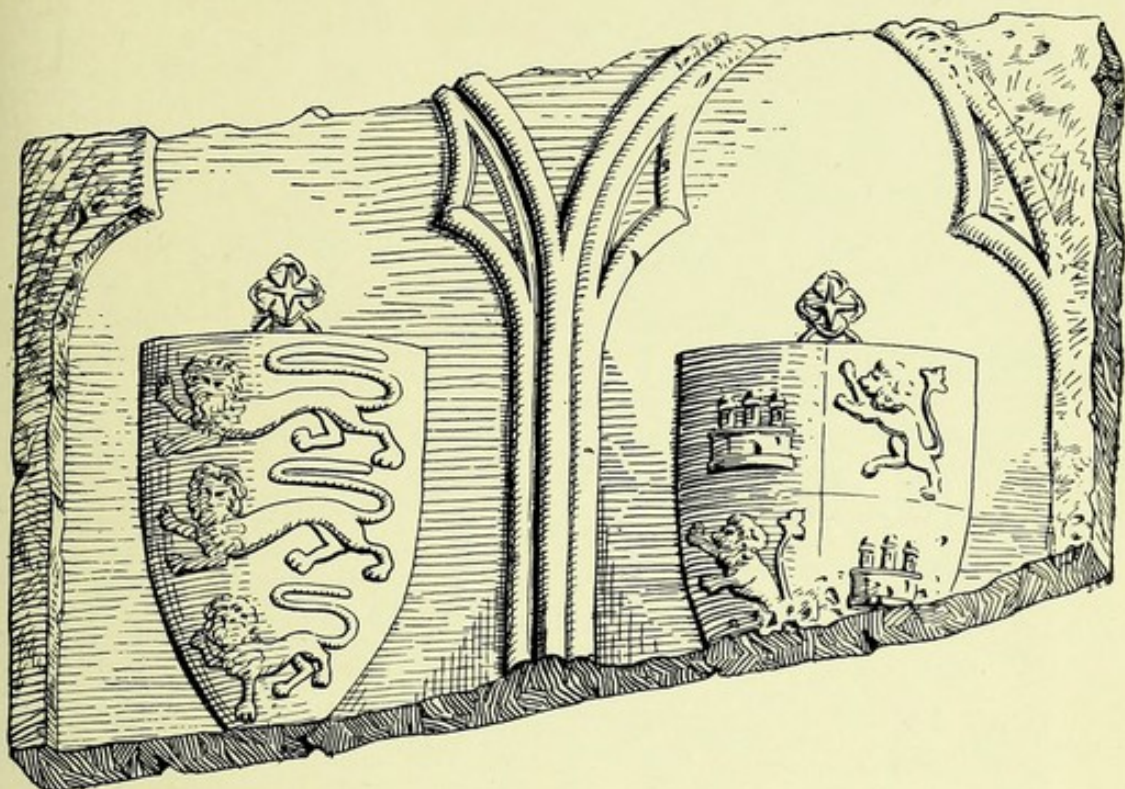


PLATE VIII. The fragments of two panels of the Cross in Chepe, City of London, now in the Guildhall Museum. The panels show the heraldic bearings of England, and of Castile and Leon, with remains of moulding. These relics are probably portions of the Cross as restored by John Hatherley, Lord Mayor of London in 1441. From a drawing by Mr. J. C. Hallinan.



the King and Queen, was asked to make an angel to support the casket containing the heart. In addition to this figure, which was of metal and gilt as were Torel's great effigies, statues ornamented the tomb. These were no doubt of the same design as those erected in other places. They were the work of Alexander the "Imaginator" and Dyminge de Legeri, and very probably of the same character as those at Lincoln. Alexander also constructed certain iron work around this monument. William de Suffolk made three small images in metal for the Blackfriars tomb.

One of the most interesting features of the monument were the paintings by Walter of Durham. This artist received the large sum of £46 13s. 4d., according to the Queen's accounts, for his work at Blackfriars. Part of the stonework, consisting of a *crista*, perhaps an ornamented stone canopy, was carried out by William de Hoo.

All traces of the tomb disappeared at the time of the dissolution of the monasteries. The responsibility for the final act of destruction seems to rest on the shoulders of the same Sir Thomas Cawarden, into whose clutches there also fell the Church and possessions of St. Mary Roncevall.*

WESTMINSTER.

On the tomb at Westminster a special amount of care was devoted by the artists and workmen employed by Edward. The design was that of a large chest formed by slabs of Purbeck marble, in which was placed the body, and the top of the chest was arranged to support the bronze gilt effigy of the Queen.

The tomb itself appears to have been designed by Richard Crundale, and the work was completed by himself and his brother Roger. Under their supervision the stone chest was ornamented with the characteristic decorated carving of the period, and with the shields bearing the arms which are so prominent on all the Eleanor memorials. Walter of Durham was employed to decorate the tomb with paintings, while Thomas de Leghtone, a skilful worker in metal, made the iron grille protecting the effigy. The perishable part of the stonework is unfortunately fast disappearing, and faint shadows only of the paintings may be observed.

The chief glory, however, of the tomb still remains, namely, the great bronze effigy of the Queen, the work of William Torel, goldsmith and citizen of London. Torel designed and cast not only the effigy at Westminster, but

* Galloway, *The Story of St. Mary Roncevall*, 1907.

the replica which reposed on the tomb at Lincoln. Records remain of enormous quantities of wax and of metal supplied to Torel for this purpose. The effigies appeared to have been cast in one mould, and the work must have been difficult to execute. After their completion the bronze castings were gilt, and special reference is made to the purchase of gold florins for this purpose. These coins appear to have come from abroad, and were obtained from the merchants of "Luka" and others. The figure shown is of so noble a design, that the wish arises that it might be regarded as a portrait of the Queen. The evidence, however, seems to be complete that the effigy represents Torel's ideal of a queen's statue: nevertheless it remains to this day perhaps the most remarkable example of a statue in metal dating from the early "decorated" period of English art (Plate I.). Special financial provision was made for the purpose of the religious services at Queen Eleanor's tomb, including gifts of land and money to the Abbey, the proper employment of which was subsequently the source of much discussion in the Chapter.*

The anniversary service in memory of the Queen took place on the 28th November, the eve of St. Andrew's Day, and was continued up to the time of the dissolution of the Benedictine community.

To obtain an idea of the appearance of this monument, it must be recollected that not only was the tomb itself formed of finely decorated stonework, but was surrounded with elaborate paintings, while the great gilt effigy of the Queen was studded with the jewellery and enamels which Edward gathered from the East and abroad. These he lavished with the utmost profusion in decorating this, perhaps the principal, monument to his wife.†

During the history of the next three hundred years, references are made to the magnificence of the tomb and of the religious celebrations in memory of the Queen. A distinguished foreign visitor to the Church in the 14th century describes how "the radiant lights like the glory of the starry sky exhilarated the souls of the beholders with joyousness."

* History of Westminster Abbey, by John Flete: edited by J. Armitage Robinson, D.D., Cambridge, 1909.

†This tomb, and its ancient glory have been so well described that it is not necessary to enter into greater detail in this place. The reader is advised to go and study so much of it as remains. In addition to the references given it will be of interest to read the accounts given by Mrs. Murray Smith, "Westminster Abbey, its Story and Associations, 1906," and Dean Stanley's "Historical Memorials of Westminster Abbey," 1869.

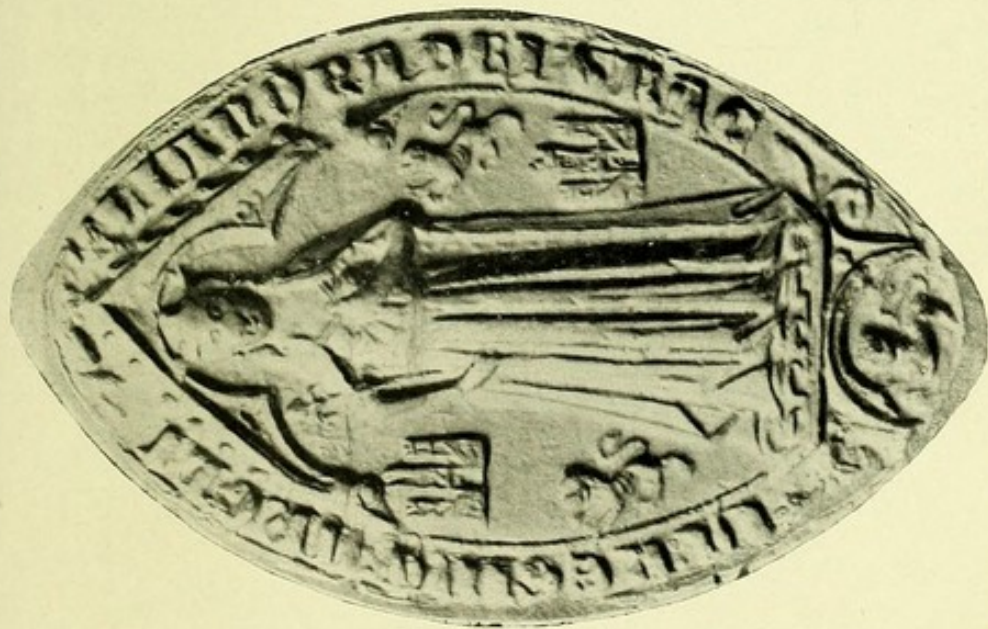


PLATE IX. The public or "Great" Seal of Queen Eleanor. Size $3\frac{5}{8}$ -in. by $2\frac{3}{8}$ -in. From the impression in the British Museum.

Legend :—Obverse. ALIANORA DEI GRACIA REGINA ANGLI(E).

Reverse. (AL)ANORA DEI GRA DNA HYBERNIE DUCISSA ACQUI(T)ANNIE.



BIBLIOGRAPHY.

Information respecting Eleanor of Castile and her Memorials is widely scattered. Careful collation of the references will give to the historical student an excellent introduction to the study of the social history of an interesting period. The attempt to do this cannot be made in this paper, but the following references will indicate the sources from which these notes are derived, and afford the writer an opportunity of expressing his great obligations to the work of others on the subject.

1. THE EARLY CHRONICLES, especially—

Rishanger, William of, at St. Albans; Rolls Series, by H. T. Riley.

Wykes, Thomas, Monk of Osney; Rolls Series, by Luard.

Hemingburgh, Walter of; English Historical Society, by H. C. Hamilton.

Dunstable, Annals of; Rolls Series, by Luard.

Walsingham, Thomas of, a St. Albans Monk, writing in the 15th Century, quotes the earlier Chronicles in the *Historia Anglicana*; Rolls Series, by Riley.

2. General historical information may be referred to in :—

Rymer, "Fœdera," Record Edition.

Gough, Henry, "Itinerary of King Edward I."

Ramsay, Sir J. H., "Dawn of the Constitution," a careful detailed account of the period.

3. SPECIAL REFERENCES :—

"Liberationes factæ per Executores Dominæ Alianoræ Consortis Edwardi Regis Angliæ primi."

These Rolls have the following reference numbers in the Record Office,—

"King's Exchequer Accounts, $\frac{352}{27}$, $\frac{353}{1}$, $\frac{353}{9}$, $\frac{353}{19}$. They have been transcribed with a most useful introduction in the volume entitled "Manners and Household Expenses of England," presented to the Roxburghe Club by Beriah Botfield, 1841. A photograph showing a specimen of these Rolls may be seen in the Souvenir of the St. Alban's Pageant, 1907.

"Vetusta Monumenta," Plates VII., XII., XIII., XIV., XV., XVI., XVII., and corresponding letter press.

Hunter, Rev. Joseph, "On the Death of Eleanor of Castile," etc., "Archæologia," Vol. XXIX., page 167, 1842.

Abel, John, "Memorials of Queen Eleanor," published by the Author, 1864.

Scott, George Gilbert, "Gleanings from Westminster Abbey," Oxford and London, 1863.

Lethaby, W.R., "Westminster Abbey and the King's Craftsmen," London, 1906 : gives much original and suggestive information.

PRINTED FOR THE AUTHOR BY
THE ECONOMIC PRINTING AGENCY,
72, FLEET STREET, E.C.