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The Church and Fortress of Dover Castle

John Puckle, John Richard Jobbins

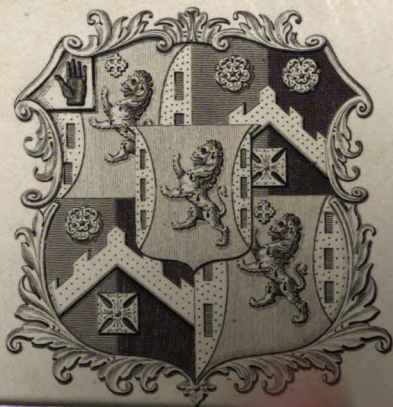
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Don, 3 Sem. aft. Trinity.

1888.

Handwritten initials or mark.

Suo stat robore virtus Deus pascit corymbos





*R Freeman
August 1952*

h. xx

2 1/2 hrs. attended

\$12.00

195



Rev.^d J. Puckle, del.

J.R. Jobbins

THE OLD CHURCH.
Westward Interior View before Restoration

THE
CHURCH AND FORTRESS
OF
DOVER CASTLE.

BY THE
REV. JOHN PUCKLE, M.A.,
VICAR OF ST. MARY'S, DOVER; RURAL DEAN.

With Illustrations from the Author's Drawings.

OXFORD and LONDON:
JOHN HENRY AND JAMES PARKER.
1864.

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D7 P9

Printed by Messrs. Parker, Cornmarket, Oxford.



THANKS · BE · TO · GOD ·
FOR · THE ·
FAITH · UNTO · DEATH ·
OF ·
ST · ALBAN ·
AND ·
THE · BRITISH · MARTYRS ·

ADVERTISEMENT.

THERE has been unintentionally a long delay in preparing the following sheets for the press; not from the number of illustrations and extent of matter which they contain, but from inability to give them the attention they required during more than two years of ill health, which compelled the writer to abstain from anything beyond the most necessary work for the time. He trusts this will sufficiently explain to his subscribers and friends the tardy appearance of their expected volume.

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The Church and Fortress of Dover Castle.

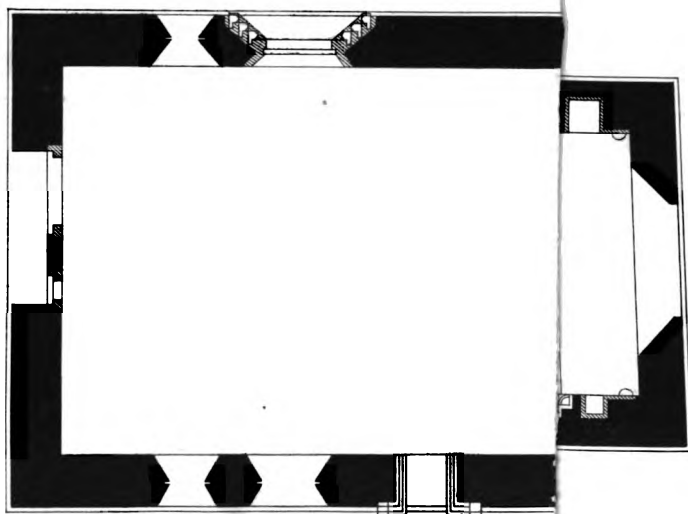
PRELIMINARY.

WHEN the members of the Kent Archæological Society met at Dover in August, 1860, within the half-buried and dismantled walls of the old Church of St. Mary-at-the-Castle,—and were pleased to receive from me such account as I could then give of the chief points of antiquarian interest around them,—I responded to a desire expressed at a general meeting, and undertook to expand the substance of that day's lecture into a more detailed and permanent form. This is the simple account of the few following pages, which have been put together partly in deference to the Society, and partly with a view to more general readers. It must be understood that I only venture to write in a suggesting and tentative tone, without pretending to any complete, or even very close treatment of the subject. Many of the data are obscure, many requiring much patience and research to collect; and I can only give such results as I could manage to work out during the scanty intervals and with the limited facilities available amidst the duties of a parish like this. At all events, I can commend the work to others' pursuit. Very possibly, others may complete the task better some day—may fill up, and perhaps materially

correct my outline. Meanwhile, I have rather wished to supply a kind of short, plain handbook for those who would be glad of some information, as condensed and authentic as may be, about the old walls they may have often seen crowning the white eastern cliffs at Dover. In the entire absence of any other information on an essential part of the subject, it will be enough for my purpose if such few hints as these may help to meet intelligent questions that have been often put without an answer, or to give additional interest to a walk round the Castle precincts, among the thousands who visit them throughout the year.

THE OLD

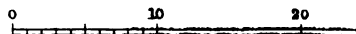
GROUND PLAN



Note.

- Original Walls*
- Continuous foundations of Tower*
- Old Caen Stone (hewn)*
- Later Caen Stone (tooled)*
- Site of Pavement remains*
- Saxon incised Stone*
- Site of Nave Altar*

Scale of



J.R. Jobbins.

PART I.

The Primitive Times.

CHAPTER I.

It must be at once understood, however, that I am mostly concerned with the ancient Church still holding its wonderful place within these precincts. For this is, except the Pharos, by far the most remarkable and primitive fabric that remains on these historic heights.

The Castle keep, the massive Norman defences, and the sweep of subsidiary towers, form an imposing array which strikes attention at once; while their history, their associations, and the changes they have undergone are more familiar subjects; and if not very commonly known, are at least within the range of most people's inquiry. It will be enough, just for completeness' sake, if I refer very briefly to some details in the older Castle History of Mr. Prebendary Darrell, or in the weighty quartos of one of my predecessors in this Vicarage, Mr. Lyon, some few particulars from which have found their way, with information of more or less accuracy, into the ordinary guide-books of the town. And these may often be corrected by reference to their parallel points in well-known passages of English history.

The case is widely different with regard to this

old Church's primitive fabric,—a perfectly unique monument (as I believe) of the early Christianity of England ; unique, perhaps, among such memorials in Europe. History, properly speaking, it has none : for little has been really known about it ; and, by any documentary evidence, there is little enough that could be ascertained of its primitive foundation and original times, whatever they might be presumed to have been. For a long while the fabric itself was masked by its own untoward circumstances ;—smothered by a vast accumulation of soil ; used as a garrison coal-yard at one time, at another as a place of many miscellaneous stores ; and overlaid with remnants of mediæval churchwardenisms, which are often as bad as any of the nineteenth century. Within the twelve months of its substantial restoration, however, the analytical process the fabric had first to go through brought out many features, and opened facts to light, which seem to tell their own tale. This restoration, having been undertaken by the Government, and entrusted to Mr. G. G. Scott, was happily overlooked on his behalf by an admirable superintendent of works, who treated the old walls as Izaak Walton, when fixing his bait, professed to treat his frogs, “as though he loved them.” One was thankful to watch how every link of information was thus sought and preserved ; and every possible care was taken to keep up one's facilities for observation, so that one might leave nothing unexplored or unrecorded with regard to every part of the building, in its materials, construc-

tion, and character of workmanship. Besides which, there were special facilities for investigation that I was fortunate enough to obtain. By the kind consideration of the late Lord Herbert of Lea, then Secretary for War, I was permitted to conduct an examination of my own, independently of the contractor's work; by which means, during the earlier stages of renovating the lower masses of the walls, I was enabled to make a careful search down to and along the lowest level of the foundations, so as to collect all the indications possible of what the work had been from its earliest times. The results which I was able to collect and put together (to be taken at what they are worth) are what I chiefly wish now to describe. No ancient remains could have been more carefully and completely examined than these; and I shall be glad if I may draw towards them some of the interest they well deserve in any English mind, which cares for the most primitive associations of the Religion of this land.

CHAPTER II.

STANDING, however, on the lofty earthwork whose rude rampart encloses the Church, and was once the sole germ of the future fortress of Dover, the Pharos reminds us that we want some slight notice of the class of Roman buildings to which it probably belongs, that we may have the instruction of comparing it with its immediate neighbour.

The earthwork itself is one of many marks of Roman intrenchment appearing at intervals along the coast, from the eastern cliff of Dover to Lympne, the *Portus Lemanis*, from which a high Roman road converged with another from Dover upon Canterbury. This stretch of coast compares, again, remarkably with that on the French side of the Channel, reaching from the familiar white headlands of Blanc Nez to the dark-grey point of Gris Nez, whence the coast retires southward upon Boulogne; all along which the well-known forms on our hills are exactly repeated by the earthworks named *de César*, *de Carlin*, *du Vent*, *du Bourg*, *de Tardinghen*, *de Florinzelle*, *de Framezelle*. So that, whatever becomes of the many vexed questions about the departure and destination of certain Roman expeditions against Britain, it is plain these masters of the world must have held long and active occupation of the Channel waters between Boulogne and Wissant on the French side, and Lympne and Dover on our own.

For purposes of navigation like this, beacon lights would be an obvious necessity; and towers, massively built on protected heights, as obvious an expedient. The tradition, therefore, which calls the rough stump of a tower on this grass rampart a Roman Pharos, or beacon, has all likelihood on its side. A friendly signal it would be, of no small moment just where it stands. Whether at Rome there was any grand red-tape establishment like our Trinity House, might be a curious question; but certainly no wise administration, even of so remote

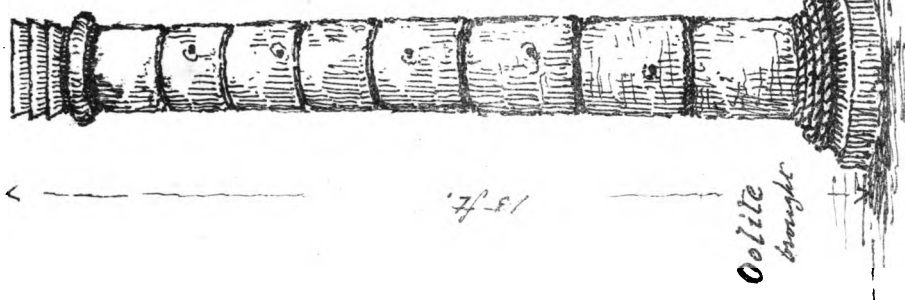
a colony, would neglect these Channel beacons. Many a dark night, whether making for the Dover inlet or afraid of hugging the South Foreland too close on a passage to Richborough, one can fancy a Roman watch looking out for the Dubrian Lights (as an old salt of ours would say) "with tears in his eyes." And one likes to think of these waters over which we now look at the bright lanterns of the South Foreland, Gris Nez, and Boulogne, having been gladdened by some ruder predecessors at nearly the same spots, so many centuries ago as those of Roman seafaring.

I speak of lights, because there would seem to have been two. One would expect there should have been two, to express a *local signal* as required. If the lower part of the Pharos represents one, the foundation lately uncovered in excavating for the Western Redoubt probably represents the other. It is rather a peculiar fragment; underlying the site of a once puzzling lump of masonry called the Bre-dengstone. It remains still partially undisturbed, but when first laid open I was enabled to examine its materials thoroughly. They are exactly like those of the Eastern Pharos, including green sandstone, a variety of Kentish rag, quantities of tufa, Roman-made brick, and the close, salmon-coloured mortar thickly mixed with pounded brick; the whole massed in a slab about eighteen inches deep, and so tenacious that it would bear almost any weight, as it protruded like a platter out of the vertical chalk cutting. One fragment of this material is very

curious. It required the plying of some heavy tools to disintegrate enough of the mass to shew its materials; a navvy-like process, during which the two companions who joined my labours turned up a small flat block of green sandstone, whose reverse face, as it started from its pink mortar bed, attracted the eyes of all three present. We contrived to carry it home, and, being carefully cleaned, it presented the unmistakeable though rough sculpture shewn in the annexed drawing. It suggests a peculiar question,—From what sort of building, and where situated, could have come a fragment of sculptured stone found *imbedded on its face in the mortar of a Roman foundation* on the heights of Dover? The fragment is placed, labelled, among the local relics in the Dover Museum.

CHAPTER III.

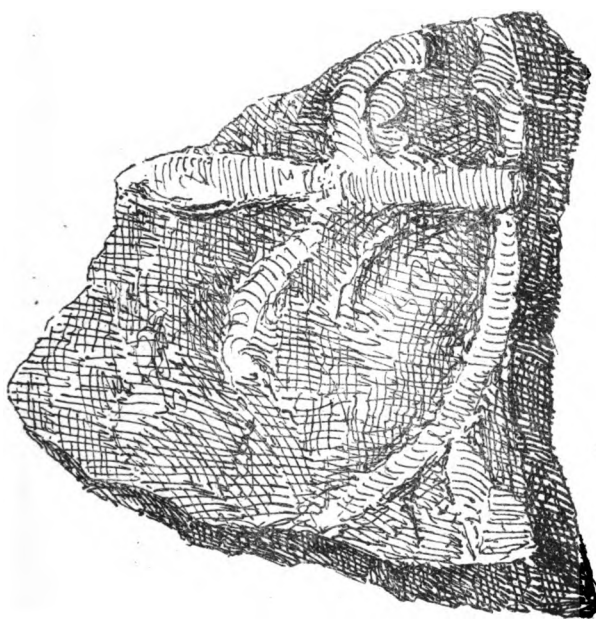
THIS foundation, then, essentially couples the fabric once resting on it with that of exactly the same materials on the opposite hill, and gives colour to the tradition of the Bredengstone having been a consort beacon with the Castle Pharos. But the latter has enough of the substratum of the fabric left to afford a hint of its original form of structure. It is still a massive shell; the inner face of its walls vertical and squared, the outside shewing tendency to a conical form, which was probably at one time much more distinct, allowing for the quantities of



Column, Reculver
from the Reculver
to Canterbury.

oolite
brought

15 ft.



Sculptured fragment of Green Sand stone,
in foundation of Western Phoenix:
one quarter size.

external masonry and facing which by degrees must have fallen or been hewn away. According to some opinions that claim respect, it would be possible still to shew something satisfactory of its internal structure and use ; to any apprehension of which, however, amidst the maze of alterations and rough piercings, older and later, within it, I could not in the least pretend. The fabric may perhaps be best compared with the drawing and description of a lofty Roman tower that long stood on the cliff north-eastward of Boulogne, the authenticity of which, strangely as the thing looks, is not without a respectable likelihood of truth.

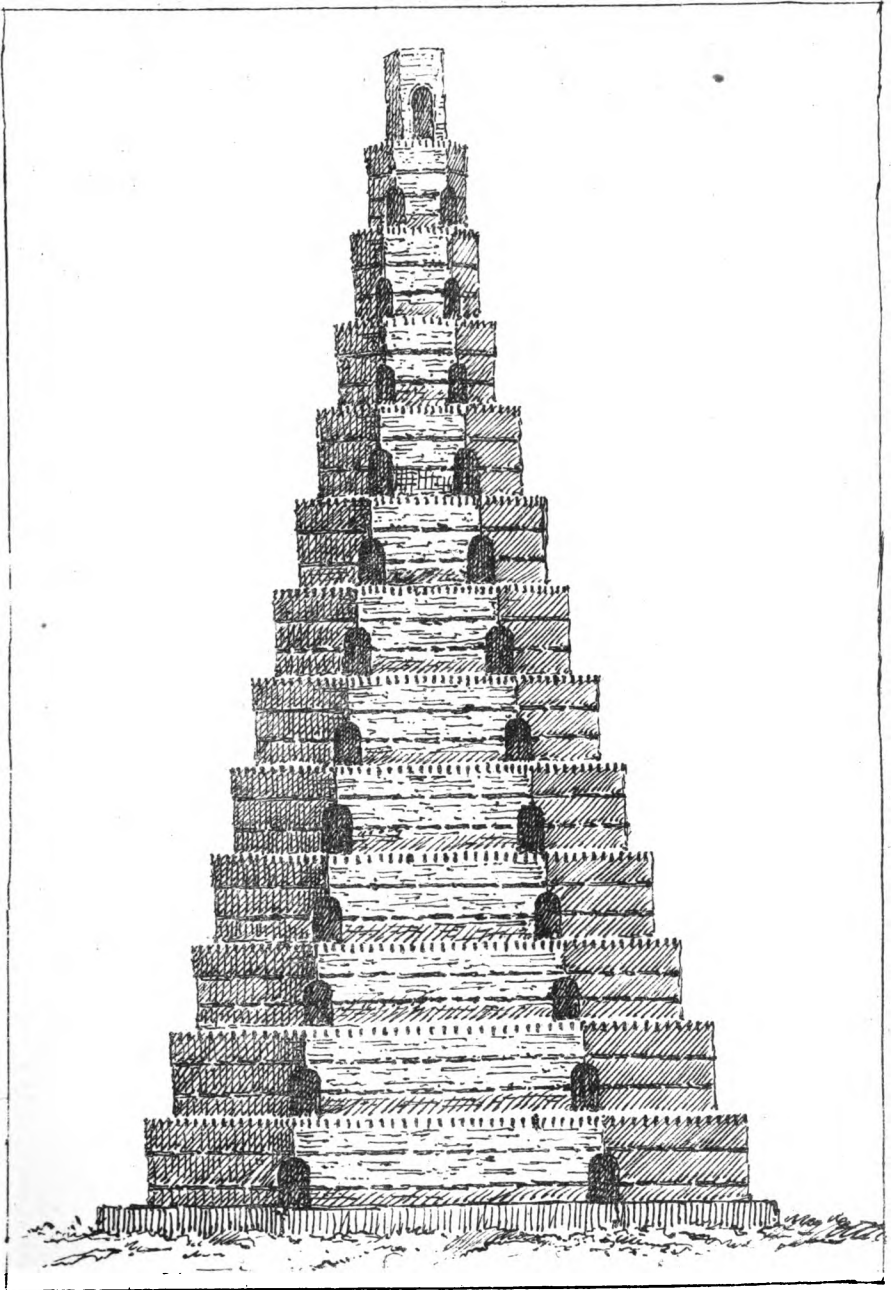
The drawing and description are both given by M. J. F. Henry in his topographical "Essay" on the district of Boulogne^a. He cites passages from Suetonius, and other authorities, referring to this tower as the fantastic work of Caius Caligula, to commemorate his late victory over the ocean. It appears that many coins of his miserable reign were found among the rubbish of the tower at the time of its fall ; a gold one especially, (sent to the Royal cabinet,) bearing effigies of his sisters, Agrippina, Drusilla, and Julia. The height of the beacon above the ground-line was about 124 feet, rising in twelve stages, gradually diminishing from the base to the summit. Among the materials there is no mention of any tufa ; but mostly of an iron-grey stone of the

^a Essai par J. F. Henry, Adjudant du Génie, Membre de la Société de Commerce et des Arts de Boulogne, et de l'Académie Celtique.

country, mixed with portions of a yellower stone of some unknown locality, and bonding courses of deep red bricks, about two inches thick, carried uniformly through every stage. From very early date it had been called *La Tour d' Odre*; by which name, among the Boulonnais, and by the more familiar soubriquet of "The Old Man" among the English Channel sailors, it continued to be well known as a beacon light of the coast, until the gaining of the sea upon the cliff destroyed it in 1644. Some time before this, it seems, while the tower was yet standing, a drawing of it had been made; and had since come into possession of M. Le Père Lequien, a Dominican and native of Boulogne, by whom it was communicated to M. de Montfaucon, when he wrote his detailed account of this Roman relic in 1716. From the print engraved from this drawing the sketch on the opposite page is taken; affording some approximate notion of what this class of Roman work may have been on the headlands of these Channel shores.

CHAPTER IV.

It must be the basement of such a beacon tower which still remains within its strong intrenched position on the eastern heights. The basement *only* is of Roman work, the octagon chamber above being but a modern addition of Tudor times. And I have dwelt thus far on the Pharos as demonstrably a Roman fabric, because a knowledge of its mate-



Caligula's Pharos : La Tour d'Ordre
Old Man of Boulogne.

rials forms an important element in estimating the probable age of the sacred building close adjoining. It is only by a careful comparison of the two that we can make such estimate with an approach to truth, and correct the vagueness of tradition about it. For instead of a mythical foundation by King Lucius, or a later one which has been supposed, in Anglo-Saxon or even in Anglo-Norman times, a closer acquaintance with its comparative anatomy (if one may say so) suggests a more distinct and interesting period still as that when it was probably built.

Except fragments here and there, such as might have been picked up along the shore, the materials used in the Pharos are few and uniform throughout; each having its own peculiar character, *quite distinct* from any supposed similar materials of subsequent date, particularly from those with which they might easily be confounded, those used in the walls of the adjoining Church.

1. Tufa; a substance freely used by the Romans wherever obtainable, and always considered to mark their work as certainly as if dated and recorded in some historical document. Quantities of it may still be dug in parts of the valley of Dover, by the river. It was squared up, and used in tolerably regular courses of blocks; those inside shewing a fair and even facing, hard, and little friable either by age or weather.

2. The concrete, or mortar. This is of two kinds, found at two levels of the lower mass of the tower. A small portion has been laid in a pale, tawny-

coloured mortar, mixed in the proportion of four parts of sharp grit, to one of lime. The greater part, however, has been carried up with the pink or salmon-coloured mortar, peculiar to Roman work, and mixed in the proportion of one part of lime to four of more or less finely-pounded Roman brick. It is nothing like so hard as concrete found (for instance) lining the Roman baths discovered under the west end of the nave of St. Mary's parish church; but it is too peculiar a material not to be recognised wherever it appears, identifying its Roman make.

3. The red tile-brick. This, again, is always esteemed a very distinctive element in materials of Roman building; but it requires some attention to distinguish justly between the genuine Roman production and subsequent imitations of the same thing. Without digressing into the habits of a Roman brick-yard, it may suffice just to refer to what is described in well-known ancient authorities, as the careful process observed in the making of Roman tile-brick. A very pure and smooth clay was selected, and so treated as to expel as much as possible all gritty and non-homogeneous ingredients. Reduced to something like the fineness and consistency of dough, it underwent a treatment not very different from that of the dough itself; being laboriously wrought and tempered by hand or otherwise, like bread being kneaded in its trough; it was then shaped off in flat blocks of the various sizes employed. The sizes vary considerably as found in different places; but those commonly seen along this coast in bonding-

courses, or the construction of arches, are something over a foot square, by about two inches in thickness. They are generally more or less deeply scored on the under face, either in a rude pattern, or simply with straight or wavy lines, making their hold on hard mortar very tenacious; though these are not unfailing marks of Roman brick. But if it be a question of any doubtful specimen, it may generally be settled at once if you break the tile. On the newly-exposed edge the deep colour and pure material become very distinct, as well as the peculiar *texture* resulting from the treatment of the clay. It has a kind of smoothed and flaky appearance, that may best be compared with the under-crust of a large household loaf well baked in a brick oven; the smooth flakes and rich colour running uniformly through the tile. Tiles imitated from these, though not very much perhaps subsequent to their date, are of very different kind: with matter of more gritty and calcined appearance, they have dark, ashy-looking streaks mixed in them, and are very variable in the colour and substance of even the same tile. So that we might compare them, not to a thick good crust, but to a burnt crumpet with ashes fallen into it. It is not easy to describe this difference in words; but it may be plainly seen on examining together a piece of genuine Roman brick and a piece that belonged to some posterior, and probably British, make.

CHAPTER V.

OF the foregoing materials the main Roman fabric of the Pharos consists. We have next to consider what are the materials of the main fabric of the ancient Church adjoining. By the main fabric I mean the mass of the original walls as they stood, up to the wall-plate of the roof nearly all round, after clearing away the substance of bygone alterations and additions, and before the work was anywhere re-covered with its present facings or plaster. Even then the walls, windows, and doorways were, roughly and substantially, much as they are now; and, whatever be their original date, they form a special (I should think unique) example of not only certain portions, or the mere site, but of the *whole mass* (except the roof) of so primitive a fabric remaining with us to this day. Through the whole cruciform structure—nave, chancel, transepts, and tower—we find the same forms, materials, and workmanship; shewing that, beneath the changes of any subsequent times, the original work was one.

The true ground-plan was not ascertained without considerable works of excavation. The ground-line, as it used to be seen before commencing the restoration, was about nine feet above the present floor. It is hard to account for, except from wilful mischief and desecration; but the interior had become filled up with earth and rubbish to an equal level with the accumulation outside. So that, although it had not

lain buried so deeply or so long, the Church may be said to have been almost as much disinterred as those latterly recovered from the sands of Cornwall. The ground-plan, as at length followed out and carefully reduced to a scale, is annexed at the beginning of the volume.

From this it will be seen that the form of the church, though beautifully chosen and well-proportioned, was not laid down with any commensurate skill. It is like the work of men better able to imagine than to execute ; with whom arts and principles of working were imperfectly known, or had been forgotten. The lines of the building were so curiously set out for working, that there is not a true right angle among them ; no two walls are perfectly parallel with each other. Also the two noble arches of the nave and chancel, of such lofty and really impressive proportion, nevertheless will not centre together ; and neither member of the building can be made to range evenly co-ordinate with the rest. It exhibits a curious blending of the faults of a ruder age with the conceptions of one higher and better ; and just what we might expect as a result of later British feeling and labour in the decline of what their Roman masters had once taught them.

Along the lines thus laid down, however, the foundations are deposited in a very strong and workmanlike manner, far more comparable to those of Roman than of any Anglo-Saxon construction. Rising from a depth about five feet below the present floor, and at a uniform thickness of nearly four feet all round,

they come to a well-made offset regularly continued, internally and externally, from which the walls then rise at a thickness of about three feet, slightly lessened towards the top. Considerable care, too, is shewn in the selection and placing of material where the great superincumbent weight is to be borne. Masses of stone are used, very different from those found in Anglo-Saxon buildings, reaching even as much as to thirteen cubic feet in size. Also the rubble-work is laid in comparatively close and regular course ; and the joints of the more massive stones are fitted with a closeness and precision not unworthy of Roman masons' skill. Indeed, if we considered only the general look of these features in the work, it would at once suggest a doubt of its belonging to even the least rude and rough of Anglo-Saxon times.

CHAPTER VI.

BUT if we specify and describe the several materials used in these walls, it will follow best the order of our inquiry, and also lay open one simple argument by which their probable date may best be approximately inferred.

1. We must remark the absence of Tufa. There is none throughout the building ; scarcely so many exceptional scraps as one might have expected as loose remnants of the tufa that had been used for the Pharos. These few morsels tend to shew that the material had been in use on that spot, but that it had

ceased to be so employed at the time these walls were built.

2. The Mortar. This, in the case of the Pharos, had been of two kinds, at two levels of the tower. Here, on the contrary, the mortar is uniformly of one kind throughout the Church, and differs in ingredients and proportion from either kind used in the Pharos. It consists of three parts of a mixture of fine sharps and gravel, with one part of lime, and one part of sand. It produces a sort of concrete paler and less hard than either of those used in the Roman work ; but still with so much of resemblance to them as to hint at the original of the lessons after which it had been made. Though distinct from that in the Roman walls, it still has more affinity with that, than with what is found in remains known to be of Anglo-Saxon foundation.

3. The Flints abounding everywhere on these chalk hills have been material so common to buildings of any period placed upon them, that it is hardly necessary to enumerate them in this list. We find them freely used here, but partially dressed, and bonded to a great extent with a dull, ochre-tinted stone, which looks like a variety of the Kentish Rag, such as occurs in considerable quantity about Saltwood, and along the cliff from Folkestone to Sandgate. The washing away of this along the coast was probably the way by which the pieces built in here might have found their way to Dover.

4. Another material, not known nearer to Dover than the Saltwood district, is the Green Sandstone,

through some of which the Saltwood railway-tunnel is driven. This has been chiefly used for the foundations of the Church ; its broader flat blocks having apparently served as the strongest bonds obtainable, and its hard angular pieces having completed the offsets along the greater part of their course. It is the same that occurs (and similarly employed) in the Roman foundation at the Western heights ; but there it is only sparingly mixed with the rubble of the mass, here it is more frequently and carefully used.

5. But the most remarkable material is a kind of stone whose selection and transport are not easy to account for. It is an Oolite, of which nothing is known now, anywhere in this part of the country. It is rather rough and coarse in grain, and so curiously developed that the same block will shew on one side an ochre-coloured mass of shells perfectly displayed, while a chip from the other side will look merely like a pale sandstone. But the question of its original quarry, and how it was ever brought here, is not one with which we have to concern ourselves at present. Here is an oolite, seldom if ever used by any early builders around, and unknown to them now, but obtained and employed in no inconsiderable quantity by the founders of this Church. And it bespeaks the work of men who held breadth and solidity to be one of its first principles, and were at infinite pains to carry it out. The jambs of the lofty south doorway were entirely constructed with blocks of this stone, serving alternately as massive ashlar, and as bonding blocks piercing deep into the

side walls. The jamb on the western side remains in best condition, and it exhibits well both the masses of stone these builders employed when they could get them, and the good mason-craft with which the joints were fitted in a manner so unlike that of other old ecclesiastical remains. The coloured sketch on the opposite page was carefully drawn immediately after the doorway had been disinterred, and cleared of the rubble with which it had been built up; a treatment which one can hardly help regretting has been partially restored, by again blocking up the opening, and obscuring the features of so unique a relic.

Proceeding farther round the walls, we find the same oolite in large massive blocks forming the low doorway at the western corner of the north transept, which must have been disused for ages, and had been completely buried in rubbish. There the disinterment shews the oolite again, the same in character, texture, colour, and mass as in the corresponding door of the nave. Proceeding still by the north-east corner of the chancel, we find the largest masses of all in use, for securing the solid basement of the walls; masses reaching even the unusual measurement, for such remains, of thirteen cubic feet. Smaller pieces of the same stone are also built in for quoins, and in various nooks of the building. One of the large masses, again, occurs at a singular spot, in a line with the piers of the great nave-arch, and slightly below the level of the ground-line. During the examination the Secretary at War per-

mitted me to make of the foundations of the building, we found the remains of one curious feature under the tower,—the remains of a mass of masonry connecting the bases of all the tower-arch piers, of equal depth and thickness with the rest of the walls, and appearing to have once risen nearly to the floor level. These underground ties must have been hewn away from time to time, according as their space was otherwise required. The one at the base of the west tower-arch has undergone several changes of construction, during each of which, however, this oolite block, perhaps more massive than they cared to remove, was left in its original place; serving now to complete a chain of examples of the singular use of this stranger stone nearly all through the foundations of the Church.

6. Some small quantities of what may be called Kentish Rag proper, may be found here and there among these materials. But, as they are inconsiderable, the next we should specify, both for abundance and singularity, is *a variety* of the Red Tile-Brick. I know of no other example of its use, either quite in a similar manner, or to such an extent. It is used for the purpose of bonding in all directions; not in the measured courses regularly observed in Roman work, nor indeed in what could be properly called courses at all, so capricious are the seams of it as they appear—now horizontal, now inclined, now twisted—in layers sometimes single, sometimes manifold, and at all kinds of intervals, without rule or order of any kind. These bricks are also freely

employed for the purpose of quoining, and also, after the Roman pattern, for the construction of arches, and with a result that remarkably justifies the use. For these quoins exhibit their strength and tenacity even at the exposed weather-beaten angles of the tower; while the lofty arches of both nave and chancel are as firm and true now as when they first rose from their springing. Perhaps the most notable application of the bricks is to the forming of the window-jambs. They are carefully laid in the line of the splay, both internally and externally; and their thin edges form, notwithstanding the thickness of the walls, as fair and uniform a facing as many that have a dressing of stone. The effect is not other than pleasing, both from their look of strength, and warmth of colour.

And these bricks, used in such large quantities through the building, are of very different manufacture from those in the Pharos. There are none of the genuine Roman type among them. They are more in the nature of common clinkers; burnt-looking things, with frequent mixture of calcined stuff and ashy streaks; with a general appearance of want of anything like the same care in working up, or looking to the quality, of the clay. A hasty glance might suggest the idea of quantities of Roman tile-bricks having been found lying about here in *débris*, and so having been used for these walls; but one cannot closely examine them without seeing reason to think them of the different and inferior make to which poorer and later imitators would most probably come.

7. Of the Caen Stone we shall have something farther to remark by-and-by, as belonging to a subsequent period of the Church. The foregoing comprise the materials of the primitive and solid mass of the building, from which we may proceed, I think, to draw some inferences towards constructing an argument for its probable time of foundation.

CHAPTER VII.

THE surmises as to what this time may have been, have ranged, for the most part, under two heads,—

I. The period proper of Roman occupation.

II. Some early date of Anglo-Saxon days; suggesting, more particularly, the remarkable reign of Eadbald, son of Ethelbert and Bertha.

The few traditions quoted on this subject are very meagre and vague, without reference to any authorized documentary evidence. One example of this is the following statement of the Rev. W. Darrell, Chaplain to Queen Elizabeth, and writer of a History of Dover Castle in that reign. Speaking of the so-called King Lucius as the first who had embraced Christianity in Britain, he writes,—“ Out of the particular regard he had for Dover Castle, after amicably adjusting all differences with his neighbours, he erected, in honour of Christ and for His worship, a magnificent church on the top of the hill on which the Castle is built. When he had finished, and secured it by a strong wall and deep ditch, or moat, he appointed three priests to perform Divine Ser-

vice in it, and assigned them for their maintenance the toll paid by shipping."

There is only unmeaning confusion in such vague mention of Dover Castle, the Church, the earthwork, and the rough wall round its edge. It may well be doubted whether this writer had ever examined, or even seen, the works, whose divers characters and dates he so quaintly blends together. Because, whenever this Church was founded, it was evidently at a different period from the Pharos, which again must have followed the construction of the earthwork itself. So that this tradition is worthless even by the manner of stating it.

But the plainest argument is furnished by the consideration of the materials themselves. Without dwelling on the absence of any recorded testimony, we see, I think, internal evidence enough against any pure Roman origin of this building. There is no tufa to be found in it, while tufa may be called almost the staple material of the Roman tower adjoining. So very characteristic a sign of Roman building must indicate by its absence that Roman builders were not the workmen here. And the interval must probably have been considerable between the time when this material was so freely employed, and when it had passed so entirely into disuse.

Again, neither of the two descriptions of concrete, or mortar, found in the Tower, can be identified with that which occurs uniformly in all parts of the Church. The difference might not be thought great ; but it is

peculiar and well-defined. The former was a more simple concrete, consisting mostly of red brick coarsely ground up, and lime ; in the latter the use of pounded brick no longer remained, but ingredients and proportions more like those now in common use, of small gravel, lime, and sand. And though there is nothing in this to indicate the limits of any interval, it clearly assists in pointing to some considerable difference between the respective periods of the Pharos and the Church.

I have already adverted to the difference in manufacture between the genuine Roman tile-brick and another variety of material superficially like it, and used in similar ways, but evidently an inferior, and probably a much later production. The broad red tiles used in such profusion in all parts of the Church are all of this latter description, with no appearance of the kneading, the fine material, or the texture exhibited in the Roman brick. Instead, most of them are as ashy and clinker-like as if they had come from one of our common kilns. With scarcely exception enough to prove the rule, the thousands of bricks built into the Church walls contain no example of such as are used in the Pharos, and which belong to its period alone.

There seems nothing, therefore, like a link between the period of this Church and that of its thoroughly Roman neighbour, the Pharos. On the contrary, the materials altogether mark a distinct gap of separation between the two ; the extent of which, and the probable limit to be assigned to it,

comes under the inference we must attempt to draw from the next stage of our inquiry.

CHAPTER VIII.

WE have to consider the second alternative mentioned—the tradition that this Church is of early Anglo-Saxon foundation ; a probable work of Eadbald the Saxon some years after succeeding to his father Ethelbert's dominion. An offering, it has been imagined to be, partly of remorse and penance for his crimes of earlier days ; partly of affectionate sympathy with his sister Ethelburga, as the almost romantic troubles of her life at length closed in peace.

I confess to having once been myself somewhat captivated by the circumstantial details of Eadbald's late but finally strong adhesion to Christianity, of its long connection with Ethelburga, and the colour of probability thence derived for his having been the founder of the Castle Church. The story stands out like a romance of real life in the history of those wild times. It begins with the banishment of Melitus from his see of London, and Justus from that of Rochester, and their flight to the continent after a fruitless conference with Laurence of Canterbury. Then follows the final attempt of Laurence himself on the mind and conscience of the King. One can vividly picture such an interview. The one strong in his sacred cause, though worn with toil, and bowed

down with trouble and suffering, the other armed with worldly power, and thrice hardened by his fearfully incestuous marriage, might recall some features of the interview of Felix and St. Paul ; with much happier result, however. Something in the message of that primitive prelate, which he had probably toiled on foot along the old Roman road from Canterbury to deliver—something in his wasted efforts, his extraordinary endurance of privation and suffering—reached the sympathies of Eadbald, whose mere reason would perhaps have stood hard as the nether millstone ; and the struggle ended in his becoming the Christian convert of the banished bishop. Hearty in his new faith as once truculent in his heathenism, he refused to allow his sister Ethelburga's marriage to Edwin, tempting as the alliance was with the great Northumbrian chief, on the ground that the daughter of Ethelbert should never, with his consent, own a pagan lord. But the promise having been offered and received, that she, with her personal household and ministry, should be in perfect religious freedom, she gave her hand to Edwin, and departed, with Paulinus as chief pastor to her household, consecrated also a missionary bishop for the north. Before long the baptism of her infant daughter, followed by that of many members of the court, became the first-fruits of Northumbria to Christ ; and finally Edwin himself declared for the Christian faith, and was baptized in the little wooden church, the germ of York Minster, at Easter, A.D. 627.

Here he fixed the intended see of Paulinus ; and thence, in concert with Ethelburga, crowned her best wishes by supporting Paulinus in great missionary efforts, advancing the preaching of the Cross into East Anglia and the lowlands south of the Humber. At length, however, pagan jealousy formed an over-strong leaguer against him ; and his slaughter on the field of Hatfield Chase left his dominions and his widowed queen at the mercy of the invaders. But Ethelburga was not reduced to such extremity in the midst of her desolation and grief. The same faithful friend of her younger days in Kent, who had tended her migration to the north, her marriage, and all its happy results there, was ordained also to complete this personal mission, and see her through these perils of suffering and death. Through the enemy swarming round York he conveyed her and her children to the coast ; and obtaining means of putting hastily to sea, he succeeded in landing safely with his charge on the shores of Kent, which they had hopefully left eight years ago, little imagining what those years were to bring forth. From a desolate home, a ravaged kingdom, and a widowhood by violent death, Ethelburga yearned for refuge at once in some religious retirement. She craved leave of her brother to found a religious house, where she might end her days in quiet piety and good works. Eadbald entered with brotherly heart into her wishes ; assigned her a portion of his royal chase at Lyminge, on the southern hills of Kent, and aided her to establish a conventual foundation there, with a church

adjoining. Over this she was the first to preside, and so continued until her death, about thirteen years after the completion of her work.

To the name of EADBALD therefore—the energetic convert of Laurence of Canterbury, the early friend and after patron of Paulinus at Rochester, the chief promoter of the rudely munificent Christian work at Lyminge,—to this name attention is induced to turn as that of a probable founder of the Church of Dover Castle. But the internal evidence of the fabric still less bears out a Saxon than a Roman foundation. And, remarkably enough, the knowledge we have of the date of the church at Lyminge rather helps to throw us back upon a much earlier time as the probable date of the Church of Dover Castle.

CHAPTER IX.

It is hardly too much to say that every early feature of this building is, more or less, at variance with any commonly received examples of Anglo-Saxon work. It has always seemed to me a mistake in terms to enumerate the Saxon among our styles of architecture at all. For those scarce reclaimed savages whom we are pleased to call our Anglo-Saxon forefathers, from having long been destroyers of churches, became afterwards but indifferent builders of them. All their work exhibits either ignorance or very partially recovered knowledge. There is reason to think they were a long time unacquainted

with the bare principle of the arch; and applied to any work in masonry little better treatment than they used for their rough half-hewn wood. Any evidences, therefore, of care, skill, and workmanlike qualities are evidences of work either earlier or later than the commonly called Saxon times.

Now these evidences appear plainly enough in all the ancient work of the Castle Church.

1. To begin with the foundations. We examined them at certain intervals throughout their extent, and they appear nothing like what they would have been in Eadbald's day, a mass of blocks and rubble, roughly jammed and grouted together; but they are fairly laid on a great breadth, and evenly built up. Attention is paid to something like courses, and working in various-sized stones, with flat pieces as bonds. Rising to the set-off, we find that useful member shaped and made as by well-experienced hands, and even a particular kind of stone selected and worked in, so as to diminish by a strong bevel to the next thickness of the wall. And the character of the foundation is homogeneous throughout. It was all evidently laid in one manner, and at one time. Just as the body and several members of the fabric are now, so they were from the first. And thus in considering the age of the building, I would again repeat, we are enabled to take it as a whole; comprising it all, nave, transepts, and chancel, within the date at which we may arrive.

2. While exploring these foundations we came upon one feature so very peculiar that a more exact

mention of it should by no means be omitted. It is this :—that the foundation is as complete under the whole square of the tower as if it had been intended to carry up the four solid walls, without the great arches opening to transepts, choir, and nave. All round the base of the tower, at a little depth below the ground-line, the masonry is as broadly and completely laid as if the tower had been first built for a square donjon, and openings had been afterwards made for the four cruciform members when subsequently added. It is difficult to conjecture now what primarily purposed end these buried walls could have served ; whether they were intended as abutments against lateral pressure, or some kind of security against superincumbent weight, or really to carry a mass of wall instead of the arches constructed over them. However this may have been, the eventual treatment of the tower has left these massive foundations unaltered ; a witness, if to nothing else, to the prodigious strength with which these primitive fabrics were built.

3. At a level a little above this foundation-line we found also, in course of excavation, some broken remains of original flooring, whose rather complex construction is at once suggestive of certain habits, derived at least from *examples* or *instructions* of the Romans. At one spot, by the chancel, the first layer on the surface of the natural soil consists of black ashes, such as might have been the refuse of some neighbouring kiln ; and over that a thicker stratum of deep-coloured burnt clay. Over this, to a con-



Rev^d J. Puckle, del

J.R. Jobbins

THE OLD CHURCH.
South Doorway.
(As when first excavated.)

siderable thickness, was laid a mass of rough concrete, with more or less of chalk rubble intermixed, something like that which formed the bed on which most of the high Roman roads in Britain were so durably grounded. Within the tower and transept space this concrete has been again overlaid with a singular kind of chalk pavement—a rude tessellation of small blocks of chalk, roughly hewn and jammed together, and firmly bedded upon the concrete below. It appeared too rough and soft to have been ever available itself as a floor, and probably only served as a dry and level substratum to carry a floor of better materials upon it. I have by me a piece of rough chalk tessellation, dug out of some Roman remains under Chichester Cathedral, the small blocks of which are a little over half an inch square by an inch in depth, firmly set in red cement. Altogether, these layers have a character much akin to Roman work, or at least to the work of those who imitated them in Britain. Small cubes of chalk of various sizes are common to many remains of Roman tessellated flooring, which makes this hewn chalk floor, with its complex bed underneath, suggestive of some very early date for the Church's foundation, not far from Roman times in England.

4. The next remarkable feature disinterred from the accumulations of earth within and without the Church, was the lofty doorway (strange in its relative proportions of height and width) in the south wall of the nave. It was formerly entirely buried, except

the little brick arch forming its head ; and the drawing before given represents it as it appeared immediately on being uncovered, with no touch of repair. This headway is arched in a very Roman manner, and with bricks unusually well copied from the Roman make. The right jamb had been nearly knocked away in the course of successive alterations and demolitions ; but the left, till again covered in, remained in fairly complete condition, and exhibited well its original character and construction. It is made of large blocks of the oolite stone before described. And these blocks, though much worn away upon their several faces, still shew how well they must have been once worked and *fitted* ; for they are so close and exact at the joints as almost to resemble the ancient masonry which was set without the use of cement in the joining at all. Nothing could be less like Anglo-Saxon building—except the initiative type it affords of what afterwards became what is called long-and-short work ; these great blocks being alternately set upright like the long members, and then let short-wise laterally into the wall, acting as powerful bonds. In all other respects they have been worked and set in a way that shews a strong degree of relationship to remains of Roman masonry, looking especially at the size of the blocks employed, and the skilled care with which they were originally shaped and put together. The same remarks apply to all the oolite masonry, wherever it exists in the building ; which is frequent enough, for it forms some part, more or less important, of each member

of the fabric. And whatever inference it suggests as true of any particular spot, extends in the same way to the whole.

CHAPTER X.

BUT there are one or two other facts to be observed with regard to the presence of this material itself.

Not only is there none of this oolite stone now to be found in any of these parts of Kent, but I believe there are no instances of its use, except as an occasional fragment, in the oldest churches therein remaining. Probably one of the oldest we could refer to is the parish church of Lyminge, whose foundation can be pretty authentically settled by documentary evidence as a work of the reign of Eadbald of Kent, on behalf of the religious house over which his sister Ethelburga was to preside. Unlike as it looks in these days to the remains of a royal foundation, there can be little doubt of the primitive identity of certain portions of this fabric, especially in the chancel and along the south side of the church. With very few exceptions, including the chance use of red tiles here and there, these remains of the work of Eadbald the Saxon consist of materials belonging naturally to the country side, varieties of rag, iron-stone, &c., amongst which there are no traces of oolite to be found, in pieces either large or small. So that in those comparatively early days of Anglo-Saxon building the

oolite was a material not known, or not used, by the builders of this reign in Kent.

But under the south-western angle of this Church there has been laid open a relic of much older times. Frequent instances one may remark of the building of churches over the remains of Roman dwellings. The church and churchyard of Woodchester are over the courts and floors of one of the finest Roman villas ever brought to light in England. The columns at the west end of the nave of St. Mary's, Dover, rest their foundations in a considerable suite of Roman baths. And so Ethelburga's Church seems to have been built above some chamber floors belonging to a former Roman station at Lyminge. In one compartment of these, at the time of their excavation, was found a broken fragment of a small column lying along the floor, evidently part of the ruins of that house; and this (on being allowed to strike a chip from it) I found to be a recurrence of the identical oolite of the Dover Castle Church. The inference is not without its value. The suggestion is very distinct of a period to which this oolite would refer. Its place here shews it to be a material both known and employed in days of Roman occupation at Lyminge, while the traces of it are lost in the nearest example that follows of Anglo-Saxon work. Any considerable appearance of it, therefore, would rather argue a relationship to some Roman period, however late, than any Saxon one, however early.

Another link in this kind of evidence is supplied by the pair of remarkable columns brought from the

Reculvers to Canterbury, and lately set up in the Cathedral Precincts. Their singular form and style appears in the drawing annexed to a former page. It is difficult to identify them with any very Classical type, even barbarized by reason of remote times or places. But they have been generally believed to be of Roman work, and came certainly from the site of the Roman station at the Reculvers. And the same oolite that we find in the Castle Church, is the stone of which these two columns consist. More frequent observations might very likely increase the number of these examples, and shew additional instances in which this marked and peculiar stone belongs to a work of Roman kindred or origin. So that its liberal use in the Castle Church becomes a sound and clear indication of at least a range of period to which its original building in great probability belongs.

Before leaving this south doorway, it is well to observe another of those peculiar marks which link the several parts of this Church together. At the base of each door-jamb, on its external face, the excavation laid open the plinth of a peculiar sort of moulding, rising like a narrow pilaster to the springing of the arch, and then passing uniformly over its head; which is the form at least it had when complete. The same feature remains, in very perfect condition, carried up the jambs and over the head of both the nave and chancel arches; adding something to their own imposing proportions, and exhibiting on a large scale the identity of workmanship

through all the fabric. The proportion of these arches, indeed, and their scale of elevation, strike one forcibly in contrast with what is generally seen of such features in Anglo-Saxon buildings. In the few authentic examples we have remaining, one can seldom trace any Saxon mason's comprehension of the true idea of an arch in its bare principle. Some that I have examined and drawn, apparently belonging to such a date, look as if they could hardly ever have been carried over any true centre; low-browed and clumsy besides; weak at the springing, though with huge abutments; and built almost like a child's grotesque notion of some better model. But a mere glance at these arches attracts the eye at once, and bespeaks better principles and construction. Their lofty pitch and free span suggest an able design, and make them at once impressive in their simple proportion, as well as grand in form. No small care and skill must have gone to their building; for the lofty jambs had to be carried up with but very little massive material, while the tile-brick arch resting on them had to carry the great superincumbent weight of the tower wall; and yet, after so many centuries of this pressure, and exposure for the last century to the heaviest stress of weather on this bleak headland, both nave and chancel-arch remain as true in their lines as when they were first completed. Rude as their material is, their form, with the place and character of the moulding at the springing, approaches more to the Classical type than to anything else, and exhibits no despicable affinity with the works of that

race whose basilicas are still so noble in their ruins. One can hardly enter by the west door, without feeling such an impression at once. The depth of effect produced by even those two towering, solemn old arches—supported by the bold lines and dignified form of the rest of the fabric—makes its own suggestion at once ; and it continues always gaining on the mind. We evidently have no other examples consistently to compare with it ; and it sends our thoughts back to days when at least the lessons of Roman builders had not yet died out from this their island colony.

There remains another feature to be noticed—always a very marked one in the character of buildings—the windows. Being such conspicuous features in all cases, they are sure to draw attention ; while, it is needless to say, there are few from which more fallacious inferences may frequently be formed ; sufficient regard not being had to successive varieties of style, and the number of changes they may have passed through, though the walls themselves may have been but little altered. The first step one has to take generally is to thread the way back to those of oldest type, if any such remain, and work up from that point. In the case of this Church it is not difficult. Its windows belong almost entirely to one or other of two classes,—those originally cotemporary with the fabric, and those belonging to the Early English reign, in which the last important alterations were made. With the former of these we are at present concerned.

much antecedent date, and having supplied forms from which Saxon builders copied in after-days.

There is yet one more curious circumstance to remark in connection with this feature of the splays, which might escape a cursory glance, and should therefore be the more carefully pointed out. I had spoken just now of the principal windows of the primitive type, as having all partaken of a like character; but there is a singular exception to this in the three lights that pierce the western gable of the nave. These three have a kind of solitary type of their own, for they have no splay at all, either within or without, but pass straight through the thickness of the wall, at right angles to its inner and outer face. In form and proportion, even in the rude moulding at the impost, they resemble the great arch of the nave in miniature, and have no sign of being other than cotemporary with the rest of the building. Their different construction from the other windows, therefore, seems to suggest some peculiar intention with respect to those that were worked with double splays. Though the inside splay might have been intended for the better ingress of light, that would hardly apply to the outside; no such object could be gained by it. But might it not possibly have had some view to defence from the interior? The whole of this ancient site had been from the first a fortress, as strong as the Roman earthwork could make it; and in course of time this Church occupied the position of its keep, the square central tower not unaptly representing a massive

donjon. That many of our earliest churches were built as places capable of defence, with the tower for a stronghold, is evident enough ; and this one seems to have been a primitive example. Consistently with this, one can conceive the great use of the external splay to all the mural openings, for the same form prevails even in the small circular apertures of the tower. It gave much more command in case of having to defend the building against assailants without ; for, with no additional exposure to the defenders, it greatly increased the sweep of any missiles from within, and enabled them to enfilade nearly all the ground beneath, up to within a few feet of the walls. There would be no such reason for the use of this form in the three windows of the western gable, (where we find them without it,) because the solid mass of the Pharos effectually masked any approach from that side. The original adoption of the form may, or may not, have had to do with some such idea of defence ; but it is at least in keeping with what must have been the original nature of the fabric, and no unlikely thought for Christians who had any such memories as those of the Diocletian persecution, or a forecast of such incursions as befel afterwards from wild Saxons or pirate Danes.

CHAPTER XI.

AT this point we may conveniently stop for a moment and review the steps we have thus far gone through. We have considered all the evidence afforded by the primitive fabric; the rest we shall find belonging to various succeeding times. So far as we may collect an approximate answer to the question of its probable time of foundation, the particulars of the argument are before us, and may be summed up for whatever they may be thought worth. It will be convenient to arrange their suggestions under a few brief heads, from which the grounds on which our conclusion rests may the more distinctly appear.

The plain and strong contrast between the Pharos, being of such well-defined Roman work, and the Church, which consists of such different materials throughout, bars the likelihood of the latter having had any origin like that of the purer Roman works in Britain.

On the other hand, the whole aspect of the materials and workmanship is, nevertheless, *Roman-like*, with no affinities to the next distinctive period following, as we gather from the items of evidence that may be thus taken in heads.

1. The concrete, or mortar, used in these walls resembles in many ways that in the Pharos; being fine, hard, and mixed in similar proportions, differing much from that in neighbouring remains of Saxon masonry.

2. The tile-brick, though changed in make and substance, is very strikingly used after a Roman fashion, as well as copied in manufacture; it is not easily detected as non-Roman at a superficial view.

3. The plan and execution of the foundations are better than anything belonging to Saxon times; evidently constructed by those who had better learned and practised this important feature of builders' work.

4. Nearly on this level the small portions remaining of the ancient floor exhibit a very peculiar method of laying down, and can but remind us, however roughly, of the way in which a Roman villa was paved, or a Roman high-road in Britain made.

5. The blocks of stone in many parts of the fabric not only far exceed in size any we find in the oldest Saxon masonry, but are put together in a manner not to be mistaken in its likeness to the work of Roman masons themselves.

6. And still more: these blocks, with a certain amount of smaller rubble, consist of a particular oolite, foreign to this part of the country; a material which we find in connection with Roman remains near at hand, but not with Saxon; and as it characterizes most of the lower structure of these Church walls, it seems to fix their period of foundation as being at least not far from days when Romans knew and used this stone, transporting it from some distance now unknown.

7. Lastly, the scale and character of the several members of the fabric, their proportions and sym-

metry of construction, shew no resemblance to those which undoubted Saxon buildings contain, and must be due to something surviving at least of that art and handicraftship which had so long found its way from the Imperial City even to this distant colony of the empire.

Considering, therefore, the manifest differences between this, and any work of genuine Roman type, the evidences it bears nevertheless of some kind of Roman instruction and example, and the entire isolation of all its features from the Saxons' rude and imperfect attempts, the period thus suggested within which we might fairly place the probable foundation of this Church, would be somewhere during the decay of the Imperial power in Britain, and before the fall of Rome; which, after the close of the fourth century, left the country a long prey to the ravages of Northmen on the one hand, and Saxons on the other.

Our view becomes thus narrowed to some part of the *fourth century*—rather, perhaps, towards the middle than the latter portion of it. For the historical character of those years, as given by England's primitive historian Bede, throws a colour of greatest probability on such having been the time when a church like this might most likely have been built on a site of strength and security like the Roman intrenchment at Dover.

CHAPTER XII.

THE Diocletian persecution, the most obstinate and deadly that had fallen on the early Christians, had raged during the early years of this century; and even in Britain, according to Gildas, had not stopped short of the demolition of Christian sanctuaries, the burning of Scriptures, the indiscriminate massacre of bishops, pastors, and people together, and the fierce purpose to trample out even the Christian name. But suffering and death only ended in giving, as ever of old, fresh life and expansion to the Church itself. The silent preaching of the Cross, bequeathed by martyrs, was irresistible. The very heathen sickened of their own cruelties, and their rulers despaired of such vain shedding of blood. In Britain, the humane spirit of Constantius and Helena gained ground; the martyrdom of St. Alban and his fellow-soldier in the fields of Verulam brought these deeds of horror to a kind of turning-point, from which they seem to have rapidly declined. And before the century had advanced twenty years the scourge was mostly quelled, and Christendom restored to comparative freedom and peace again.

The signs are neither few nor faint that the British Church was one of those to rise with elastic force from past troubles. Her simple, vigorous Episcopate had quickly restored their labours, not only at home but abroad; for the names of British

bishops are enrolled at the Council of Arles so early as A.D. 314, at Nicæa in 325, at Sardica in 347, at Ariminum in 360. And the way they bore the same high testimony at home as in foreign Councils and distant lands, appears in the careful teaching, the earnest and pure defences of the faith which remain upon record of these times. The missionary spirit, too, had now stirred, which eventually spread so far over these islands and the continent of Europe; those works of mercy and hospitality began to take their rise which ensuing times so sorely needed; and altogether these few years became those of peaceful vigour and blessing, such as the Christians of Britain might thankfully employ in regaining a hold for the sanctuaries, as well as the disciples, of the faith.

And our historian does not leave this as matter of inference, but describes expressly that it was done. Speaking thankfully of the dying out of persecution, of Christians being liberated from fear of violence and death, able once more to teach and worship in open day, he notes the glad zeal with which they hastened to profit by the peace and order of the times. He speaks of their now being able to recover and restore the churches that had been ruined, and often levelled with the ground. He particularly records the fact that this was the time when they *reared temples in honour of their sacred martyrs' memory*; when they distinctly founded them as such memorials—built them, and completed them to the best of their power, while the knowledge of these

noble lives and deaths was still fresh in many minds and hearts around them. And so they set up such martyrs' monuments as signs of the blessed triumphs of the Cross, which might not for ages pass away. ("Basilicas sanctorum martyrum fundant, construnt, perficiunt; ac veluti victricia signa passim propalant."—*Bede, Hist. Eccl.*, lib. i. cap. 8.) A type of description like this could scarcely find a fairer antitype than the venerable basilica-like pile that crowns the Roman fortress on this hill; bearing signs of identity on the face of it with that earnest kind of work, with that touching and majestic dedication, which the historian describes.

Here, then, was evidently a period of about sixty or seventy years, which the British Christians employed in building up the material and spiritual fabric of their primitive Church: a period during which the Imperial power was decaying amongst them, but before its influence and protection had quite passed away. A church which the men of that generation would be likely to build, is easily conceived. There is but one kind of character it would probably have, viz. a rude semblance of those vast and costly works with which—whether towns, stations, villas, or fortresses—the Romans had so widely covered the face of Britain. These, with the arts and skill employed in their construction, the humbler Briton had seen, and had perhaps been even more or less associated with in workmanship or labour. So the sacred fabric he would build would probably present the best imitation he could

make of such examples. He would seek out the best kind of materials he had been taught to use—such at least as were still obtainable, or could be similarly made. The breadth and solidity with which his Roman masters had built, he would impart as well as he could to the foundations and structure which he wished to last for ages. The chalk tessellated floor, on its complex bed, would be his rude remembrance of the fine and delicate pavements left by former and superior art. Marked features of the building would contain, more or less, a trace of their Roman suggestion : the bold semicircular arch, its springing from lofty piers, its able, geometric construction ; the places and proportions of the windows ; the character of workmanship, of any massive masonry especially ; and the scale of elevation of the whole. All which signs are so manifest throughout the fabric of this Church, that they are like so many concurrent voices for its having been the work of British Christians, about the ceasing of their great persecution, and when their weakened masters were on the point of abandoning the colony. As a work of Roman type, yet rough and severe as such native imitation would be, it answers all the conditions we should expect of a church built during the gracious years of peace in the fourth century, and dedicated in solemn memory of England's martyr, St. Alban, and his fellow-martyrs for the Faith.

CHAPTER XIII.

WE think, therefore, we do not presume too much in claiming for this primitive fabric the deep interest due to such associations as these. We may invite those whose footsteps reach the grassy ramparts surrounding this Church, to dwell upon it as a solid, touching memorial of their Fathers' earliest Christian days. Here (if we mistake not) have rested from their toilsome watching the primitive confessors of our land. On this breezy height they again breathed freely, whose patient Christian souls had almost dreaded the open day. Over these same blue waters some eyes have once looked down, that must have felt that gleaming sunshine as a symbol of their religious hope revived; while the walls they built up were a monument of their Christian comrades' zeal to death; while, with the memory of all the names filling up their martyrs' roll, they dedicated their temple as a thank-offering to God for His servants, so crowned with the victory of His faith and fear!

And, as we enter within these so early consecrated walls, they suggest other thoughts of depth and force in their rightful, instructive place. Their simple, solemn form of our Lord's Cross keeps up a witness of the Christianity of England in early days of deepest interest to us now. They exhibit a work of our Christian fathers, as cotemporary with the undivided Church, and the great Augustine of the

fourth century, instead of his mere namesake, an Italian missionary of the seventh. They carry us centuries beyond the earliest pretence of Papal interference in Britain ; to times of our home Church in its native strength and purity, contrasting forcibly with the feeble growth and premature decay of the mission the second Augustine left behind him. In fact, this was one notable Church of those older fathers in Christ, whom this Augustine vainly strove to displace ; whose spiritual work survived him, and was reserved in after years to re-christianize their old land.

For the missionary spirit of the British Church was one of its brightest notes of truth, and associates this Church of the Martyrs with other sacred spots of our earliest British Christianity. Such were those from which went forth the mission of St. Ninian to the far North, and St. Patrick to the far West, of these islands ; missions, both of them, destined to have their future share in returning with usury the spiritual gifts thus faithfully dispensed. For from them, in direct descent, came St. Columba, towards the close of the sixth century, founding his famed schools of Christianity and sanctuaries of learning among the Northmen of Scotland and the Western Isles ; through whom eventually Christianity was restored to Southern Britain, after a long abeyance through wars and sufferings ; when the Northumbrian Church under Oswald and Aidan became once more a mother of Churches throughout England. Thus the tie of association is strong between this elder Church

on the white cliffs of Dover, and the affiliated island sanctuaries so well known as IONA and LINDISFARNE.

And we have here still standing one material link between those men's faith and worship and our own. In the outlines of this fabric we seem to be reminded of the outlines of their spiritual system, and to be more sensible of ties of union with them as we look upon the unperishing walls within which they assembled, the places of the Sacraments at which they knelt, the evident affection they had set on the House of their God, and the sign of our Redemption with which they hallowed even its form. But associations like these may best be left to speak for themselves. It may be enough, on such evidence as we have gone through, to have reminded the worshipper, or even the thoughtful visitor, at this Church that it all but demonstrably dates from the closing Roman-British days of the FOURTH CENTURY, during the peace of the British Church after the Diocletian rage of extermination, and while our Island Christians knew not how to hold too dear the memory of St. Alban, and all to whom "it was given," like him, "not only to believe in Christ, but also to suffer for His sake."

PART II.

The Anglo-Saxon and Norman Times.

CHAPTER I.

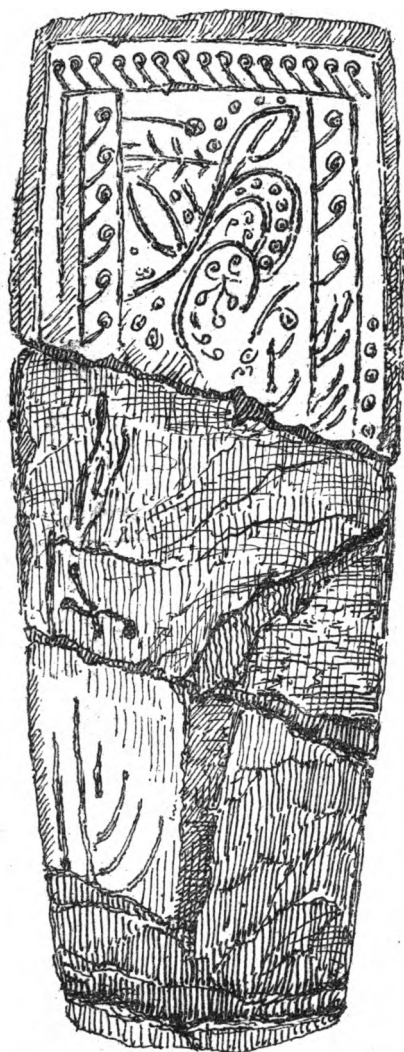
THE next period—more considerable for number of years than memorials—in the history of this Church, of which any distinct remains present themselves, is that which might have been assumed to have had some connection with EADBALD the Saxon ; supposing that he, as founder of the religious house at Lyminge, might have done some princely work for the even then venerable Church at Dover. But of these few remains, some are of too advanced a character to have belonged to any work of Eadbald's, and the rest are so obscure as to allow little definite inference to be drawn from them at all.

There seems to have been a certain time, possibly not far from the beginning of the seventh century, when Caen stone began to be used in small quantities about the Church, for purposes apparently of reparation or addition. It is found inserted as quoins in some few places, in the jambs of windows at the west end of the nave, and in a mass of masonry below the main ground-line underneath the nave arch, which might have served as the base of a screen, separating the nave from the tower and transept space. All this stone is in very small pieces, and they have a peculiarity distinguishing them from

other portions of the same material, in that they have no tool-mark of any kind upon them, but they seem to have been merely cleft, and roughly squared up, either at the quarry, or on the spot where they were used. The rude workmanship of these stones indicates an earlier period than that of the architectural fragments shewn in the succeeding drawings, on which the tool-marks visibly remain, and which argue a considerable advance in mechanical execution. And taking this rough Caen stone masonry for what, in the way of evidence, it may be allowed, it probably represents as much share as the royal Eadbald could have had in building up the material fabric of the Castle Church.

Tradition, however, points to a liberal foundation for a number of canons for this Church, variously stated from six to twenty-two, as due to the munificence of Eadbald the Saxon. The Augustinians of the Priory of St. Martin are said (according to Dugdale) to have been endowed, at the suit of Archbishop Corboil, out of the revenues of the suppressed secular canons of St. Martin's; and these canons, in their turn, had been two or three centuries before transferred from the Castle to the town, to obviate an alleged scandal supposed to arise from a religious community living in garrison precincts. And these were the canons whose original foundation as a little collegiate body within the old Saxon castle is stated to have been the bounty of the second King of Kent, about the time of his royal benefaction for the church and religious house at Lyminge.

The drawing in the adjoining plate exhibits a stone that may have belonged to this, or some very early period of the Church's Saxon times. Its form looks like that of a body-stone, but of no larger dimensions than would have been adapted to a child's remains, measuring three feet two inches in length, and fourteen inches in width across the top. It was found in a curious position. Mention has been made of a massive layer of masonry under the nave arch, on the joining of its piers at their base, and looking like the foundation of some heavy screen between the transepts and the nave. This partition shewed an opening at the centre, about three feet and a half wide, as if to serve for communication, when required, between the nave and the transepts beyond; and on the sill of this opening, bedded in the rubble, but with no sign of burial underneath, we found this stone. It was very much worn, and broken across in two places, the surface retaining the old rude tracery, being almost polished by the attrition of some kind of long and continual use, as if it had mostly served the purpose, whatever its original design, of a sill for the passage from the nave towards the altar. The character of the ornamentation is very rude Saxon, shewing no knowledge of symmetrical design, or of the use of instruments or tools. This slab of Caen stone has been merely hewn, (like the smaller pieces elsewhere,) and cleft into shape, without measurement; and the forms, arranging themselves apparently at haphazard, have been executed by merely incised lines, dragged as it were



*The Body-Stone, lying on the Entry Sill of
the presumed Nave Screen.*

on the face of the stone with a knife or some sharpened piece of iron.

The stone was raised from under a great weight of earth and rubble, and was eventually re-laid over the same spot, protected by an upper slab, and covered in with the tiles of the present pavement. It is to be regretted that some visible place was not provided for so curious a mark of one of the ages of this Church.

CHAPTER II.

WE may now pass for a while from the ancient Church, traced thus far, to consider what little is to be said of the primitive condition of the Fortress of Dover Castle during this period. Not a visible trace, indeed, now exists except the basement of a presumed strong rubble rampart running round the upper edge of the Roman earth-work. Accounts indeed are given of other very ancient remains existing in this part of the Castle precincts, up to about the beginning of the present century; but successive works of destruction undertaken from time to time by the Ordnance and other authorities in command at Dover Castle, have obliterated all vestiges of such remains, whatever they may have been. We have nothing left but the traditional lines, believed to have marked the principal Saxon works, of which Dover Castle mainly consisted previously to the greater works of Norman builders. And these

may be taken to be approximately shewn, as far as can be collected, by the broad black shading on the combined ground-plan at the end of the book.

It seems that the way of entering by Colton Gate has always remained the same, having afforded access successively to the Roman and Saxon fortress; and visitors, still winding their way up the chalk cutting and under the Octagon Tower, are probably following the footsteps of Roman garrisons, British chiefs, Thanes and Churchmen of Saxon times, the forces of Earl Godwin, and many others of earlier generations, till the Normans made their own approach to their statelier towers and Keep. Passing under the gateway, the space to the left, within the double line of defence, is described as the site of the buildings serving for the primitive residences of the canons of Eadbald's foundation, close to the Church they had to serve. From thence, by a zigzag descent to the extreme angle on the cliff, under a tower long called the Canons' Gate, they could hold communication with the town. At the opposite or western angle of the main walls, there seems to have been a tower, afterwards adopted, and fitted for his own service, by one of the Confederate Knights, as the name of Sir William de Harcourt would suggest. At right angles eastward from thence, and directly in line with the Colton Gate, was the more strongly fortified entrance called, from proximity to the great well within the inclosure, (the same still in use by the parade-ground,) the Well Towers and Gate. Further eastward we come to another Saxon work, apparently included

afterwards within the Norman tenure, and commonly known as the Armourer's Tower. This was connected at the northern angle of the fortress with another small tower, under which was an entrance bearing the very obscurely derived name of King Arthur's Gate; and from thence, turning eastward, extended the parallel lines abutting upon Godwin's Tower, from which projected northwards again the external work ascribed to that somewhat mythical and variously represented Earl of Kent.

This completed the circuit of defences inclosing the Saxon fortress, but of which nothing now remains to exhibit the original form, except the rubble foundation running round the horse-shoe parapet of the original Roman work. There appears no trace of any other building than the massive Church itself having ever served the purpose of donjon, tower, or keep; the low dwellings of its canons at the southern angle being probably the only other buildings within the area of the Castle of those still rude and unskilled days.

At some intermediate and much later date it would seem that the great complicated plan, which expanded Dover Castle into the proportions still remaining, was anticipated shortly before the main Anglo-Norman works by the construction outside the Saxon lines of three towers, which came to bear, nevertheless, the names of after Norman commanders. It was the first step towards extending the line of defence. The one on the north-east was so placed as to cover Earl Godwin's outwork, with the ap-

proach to his sally-port and tower, whose traditional position may be seen on the plan; and it took its name from one Sir Geoffrey Clinton, sometime Treasurer to Henry I. The next, to the south-east, was immediately at the apex of the Roman earthwork, and took its name still later from Sir William de Valence, who shared many of the unhappy counsels and fortunes of Henry III. It was better known latterly as the Mill Tower, from having been turned to the pacific use of a flour-mill for the garrison. And also, at the south-west, was a heavier work, flanking the approach to the main gate, and named after Sir Ralph de Mortimer, a soldier high in favour both with William I. and Rufus; known also for his successes at Wigmore Castle on the Welsh border. The basement of this tower is said to be still remaining, sunk in the solid chalk through which the approach is cut now leading under the archway of Colton Gate. The tower over this Gate—a Saxon work at first—has undergone much later alteration; the entrance arch having the character of the time of Edward III., when it was commanded by Lord Burghersh, whose arms are borne on the stone shield above. About the same period a similar transformation was effected of the upper member of the Pharos, under Constable Richard de Grey, whose arms are also inserted on a small square stone. The octagon stages of both these towers appear to have had even later changes, the few broken tracery pieces of the windows being of Tudor type.

Of the three isolated towers mentioned above nothing now remains above the surface of the ground. They have been destroyed by engineering assaults within comparatively recent memory; though for what useful purpose it might be difficult to say. They were not got rid of without employing some very considerable force; nor, according to some statements upon record, without a wasteful sacrifice of life and limb.

CHAPTER III.

WE come now to the period proper, so to speak, of the Norman works; works of which the Castle may be said to have almost entirely consisted from that time to this. They seem to have been carried out entirely apart from the old clumsy lines traditionally held by their Saxon predecessors; and to have developed an elaborate system of defences on a scale exceeding that of any others yet remaining in this country.

As I said at first, it does not fall within the purpose of these few pages to dwell at any length on the details of the Norman works. It is needless to transcribe a long course of figures, measurements, descriptions, and names of probable original builders, accessible to most people who would wish to know them; or to draw out the character of that course of massive constructions, most of which may yet be examined in externally little altered state by simply

making a circuit of the walls. A glance at the ground-plan before alluded to—in which the Norman works remaining are represented white, and the site of those perished are shaded with plain lines—may indicate to general readers as much as they may be interested to know of the original plan and construction of this curiously ordered feudal fortress. The names affixed to the several towers in succession may also convey as much as would be required of the time and manner more or less officially recorded of their building by their respective Confederate Knights.

The Fortress seems to have been held under a curious double feudal tenure, granted by William the Norman, vested primarily in a Lord Constable, and, secondly, in a certain number of chosen knights appointed by himself, and sworn to leal and true service under his authority. According to the following document (which it is to be hoped may be better trusted for its facts than its Latinity) the system of wardership and defence was only so far a knightly confederation, as that each appointed knight made common cause in the defence of the fortress, furnishing his own quota of men for garrison according to the value of the estate he held, but responsible proximately to the Constable, and finally to the Crown.

Sciendum est, q'd D'm's Willi'm^s Dux Normannie post-qu'm p' bellu' adquisivit regnu' Anglie, Sociis et Comitibus suis multos honores p'ut decuit largitus est. Int' cetera Constabulariam Castri Douerie in p'petuu' feod'

contulit D'no de Fenes. Dedit etiam eide' D'no lvi. Milit' et dimid' Milit'.

Ip'e vero, ut gratus D'no suo et fidelis assignavit eosdem Milites ad custodiam dicti Castri. Scilicet q'd quolibet mense intrarent quatuor vel quinq' Milites ad custodiand' Castru'. Et in fine mensis illis recedentibus venirent alii loco illor'. Et sic potueru't p'ficer' tuu' (terminum ?) suu' semel p' annu'.

Will's de Albrinco cui datu' est D'nic de Folkestone, simili modo et exemplo assignavit xxi. milit' ad custod' dic' Castri q' terni p' sing'los menses intrarent et sic p'f'ic'ent t'nu' suum p' xxviii. septimanas.

Fulbertus de Doueria D'm's de Chilh'm si'li mo' assignav' xv. milit' q' t'ni intrarent p' mensem et fac'int t'nu' p' xx. septimanas.

Will's de Arsik assignavit ad idem xxiii. milites qui t'ni intrarent p' mensem et p'ficiunt t'nu' suu' p' xxiii. septimanas.

Galfridus Peverel assignavit ad idem xiii. milites et quart' q' t'ni intrarent p' mensem, et p'ficiu't t'nu' suu' p' xx. septimanas ; unde t'u' defecit in' l'b's q'rteriis.

Will's Maminot assignav' ad idem xxiiii. milites qui t'ni intra't p' mensem, et p'ficiu't t'nu' suu' p' xxxii. septimanas.

Rob'tus de Porth assignavit xii. milites q' bini intra'nt p' mensem, et p'ficiu't t'nu' suu' p' xxiiii. septimanas.

Hugo de Crevequeor assignavit v. milites qui sing'li intra'nt p' mensem, et complet' t'nu' suu' p' xx. septimanas. P. duo inde no' manebunt n' p' tres septimanas.

Adam filius Will's assignavit iii. milites, q' intra'nt sing'li quilibet eoru' bis p' annu' et manet p' mensem.

Omnes isti p' dicti milites faciebant wardas Castri p'dicti' p' se vel p' alios sc'd'm cursu' predictu' usq' ad tempus Regis Joh'n's.

Dom's vero de Fenes q' p' temp' fuit semper fuit Constabularius Castri p' dicti.

Tandem Rex et magnates sui considerantes non esse

tutu' alienigenam et alteris Regis hominem habere custod' principalis Castri tot' Regni', fecerunt gratu' dicto D'no de Fenes alibi, et ita recessit de officio Constabularie. Et D'n's Hubertus de Burgo Comes Kancie factus est Constabular' Castri. Qui p'pendens q'd non ess' tutu' p' Castro quolibet mense habere novos Custodes vel Ward', procuravit p' assensu' Regis et o'ium militu' p'dl' coru' q'd quilibet miles mitteret p' warda' unius m'sis x. solidos. Et q'd inde stipendiarentur certi h'nes electi et jurati ad Cast'm custodiend' tu' milites q'u pedites, &c.

After commencing with the magniloquent charge—somewhat in the style of a legal indenture—“Know all men by these presents” that William, Duke of Normandy, having acquired the kingdom of England by right of conquest in war, &c., &c., this record goes on to shew,—

1. That he bestowed the office of Constable of Dover Castle on one Lord de Fenes in perpetual tenure; with sufficient maintenance for a certain number of knights.

2. That the said Constable delegated his charge to the actual wardenship of such subsidiary knights, appointed in order of rotation, and intended to be so carried out, that each being responsible for about a monthly guard, the year's custody of the Castle might be made out between them, though it is difficult to see how the intention stated, and the provision made, were so contrived as to agree together.

3. That Sir William de Albrinces should furnish twenty-one warders for the keeping of the Castle, answerable for a guard of twenty-eight weeks: that

Sir Fulbert de Dover, Lord of Chilham, should find fifteen warders for a guard of twenty weeks : Sir William d' Arsich twenty-three for twenty-four weeks : Sir Geoffry Peverel fourteen for twenty weeks : Sir William Maminot twenty-four for thirty-two weeks : Sir Robert Porth twelve for twenty-four weeks : Sir Hugh Crêvecœur five for twenty weeks : Sir Adam Fitzwilliam three to serve for a month twice in the year.

4. That all these knights continued to fulfil their ward of the Castle, either in their own person or by deputy, while the said Lord de Fenes not only then, but in perpetuity, remained Constable of the said Castle.

The same record, however, speaks further on of his office having terminated by the substitution of Sir Hubert de Burgh in the constableness; who is also there said to have changed the system of wardenship by rotation, and to have from that time organized a body of stipendiaries for the defence of the Castle. He is related to have required a money payment from the Confederate Knights, in place of their sending the covenanted number of their own retainers; and with this money to have kept a permanent body of men in garrison, elected in some form, and sworn to fidelity in their garrison duties; a system of which we find frequent traces in the after notices of this then national fortress. There appear, by the way, sundry contradictory statements about this Hubert de Burgh, and a confusion one cannot well reconcile, since he is here named as

successor to the first Constable under William, Duke of Normandy,—we hear him afterwards spoken of as Constable at the close of the reign of King John,—and yet again as founder of the great Hospital of the Maison Dieu, which, according to the evidence of the fabric, would bring him down to the reign of Edward I.

CHAPTER IV.

THIS singular institution of the Confederate Knights, and the identifying with their names the several towers both of the outer and inner lines of defence, has left the old writers comparatively small attention for the greater work of the Keep itself, of which there are very slight and vague notices now to be depended on. The authority of some ancient but unnamed chronicle has been quoted for ascribing its foundation to Henry II.; stating also that the design and plan was copied from that of Bishop Gundulph at Rochester Castle. I am not concerned to go into any doubtful details of the original building of the Keep, for which there are few and slender grounds enough. But one could hardly examine, however superficially, these features of the Castle at Dover and Rochester and think that either one could possibly have been copied from the other. They differ in almost every point; in elevation, in division and arrangement, in great constructive features, in adaptation to courtly requirements, in

high and florid ornamentation. The plain chambers within the massive walls of the Dover Keep betoken at once their earlier time, shewing signs of little other purpose than resistance to the war of elements and men. They differ wholly from the studied and costly elaboration at Rochester, where the whole upper course of the Keep, by means of enriched arches and columns, is thrown into one grand reception hall, besides the many accessories exhibiting rather a type of baronial power and display; whereas we see little appearance of anything but constructing the most solid possible fortress in the Dover Castle Keep.

It seems most probable that the Keep really was, what one would naturally take it to be, part and parcel of the one great original design; its mass always forming the centre of the position, having risen, more or less, in regular succession with the surrounding walls and towers, and having been completed as one connected work, at whatever minor intervals, and under however many different hands; very much as one would conclude in the case of most other Norman fortresses in various parts of the kingdom. And there is a uniformity in the general figure and outline of these fortresses which it is curious to remark, more especially in the form assumed by the line of defences round the Keep. I do not remember any instance of its varying, wherever the site of such Norman works is at all traceable. Generally—as in such cases as our own at Dover, Framlingham, Castle Rising, Kenilworth,

Ludlow, Goderich, &c.—the form presented is like the outline of a broad-shaped Windsor pear, more or less continuously made out ; the Keep generally standing nearest to the rounder curve of the figure, with the towers at mutually enfiling intervals, and some little concentration of strength towards the smaller end, or place of the stalk. The example at Dover is remarkable from presenting this irregular figure in double form. The position of the Keep is here doubly escarped, within a double circuit of walls and towers, like two such pears nearly concentric on one axis ; reversing the old Roman and Saxon position, resting on the cliff as a kind of inaccessible base, with the point of the outer defences turned north and north-west,—the side from which assault might most readily be made.

One feature, common to many great castle keeps of this period, was probably the last thing added to the Keep at Dover, as it is executed in a manner so much more elaborate and florid than any other part of the work. I mean the kind of vestibule at the head of the stone stairs on the south-east face, which has been popularly known by the name of King John's Chapel, and which Mr. Lyon describes as "a very handsome chapel, richly ornamented, with arches, after the manner of the Saxons ; intended for the King's use, or for the Governor in his absence." It has often seemed to me that the describing this workmanship as "after the manner of the Saxons" is about a measure of the correctness with which it has ever been called

a chapel at all. Its situation, its diminutive size, and such few accessories as are traceable about it, are anything but conformable with the idea of what a chapel for Dover Castle ought to and must have required. Nor is it conceivable that the Constable, or any other magnate in state occupation of the fortress, should have the Church ceremonial provided for by a halt at the grilled bars of the gate, in a tiny room at the stair-head which even the priest and his acolytes would fill ; while just without the first line of walls was the grand old Church, associated even then with many centuries of worship, both of primitive British Christians, and of after generations belonging to the Fortress itself.

The whole appendage is so like others we often meet with of the same kind, that one reasonably infers it to have been constructed for the like purpose. At Rochester, the intention of dignifying the entrance on the great staircase appears simply enough. At Castle Rising, where exactly the same feature is found, the purpose is more evident still ; there, the whole flight of stairs, vestibule and all, is inclosed within a lofty covered way, opening with a round archway at the foot, and ornamented with enriched shafts and intersecting arches slanting upwards towards the head, giving access, by entrance to the left, into the keep. The approach into the Keep at Dover appears to have been similarly designed. Possibly, passing under the arch in front of the stair-head, what we know of the spirit of those times might suggest the little space thus gained as likely

to have been enriched, and even slightly fitted with a view to a little oratory, or for the place of a *Bénitoire*, or some such purpose belonging to days when religious acts were sometimes so touchingly and justly thought of as things of common life and of the wayside. Such would have been no unlikely, nor indeed unfitting, appendage to the great inner entrance of a royal and national fortress like this; with a slight prospective view perhaps to a more direct sacred use, in the event of a garrison being by some possible stress shut up within the inner circuit of defence. But this, I think, is all we can reasonably make of the supposed chapel of the Castle Keep.

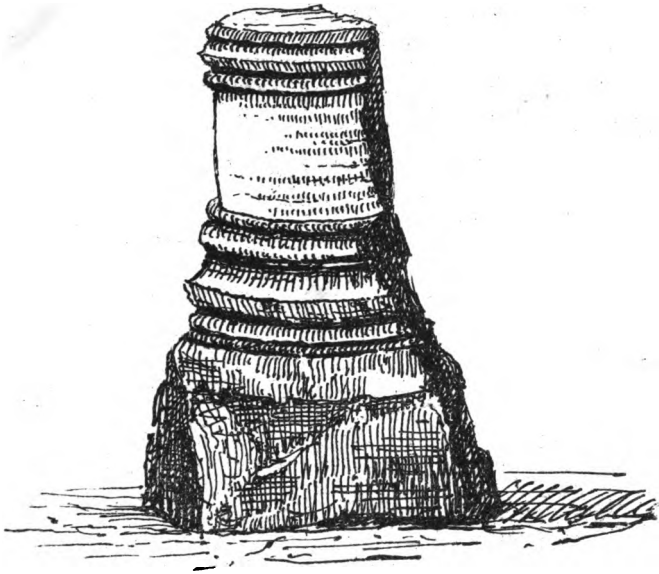
CHAPTER V.

DURING the period we have just sketched, in which the fortress of Dover Castle expanded from little more than an earthwork into the extensive and complex form it still possesses, there have been left few evidences of the history and changes of the old Church within its precincts. Such evidences, or any tokens of them, were diligently searched for, while the walls were being disencumbered of their accumulations of rubbish in order to their restoration. Not a fragment of stone of any consequence escaped scrutiny, all in turn were brought out for investigation, but the result is very nearly represented by the few outlines on the adjoining leaves. They pre-

sent four or five characteristic specimens out of perhaps a score of pieces of masonry, large and small, of the same type and workmanship, and all coinciding with known forms belonging probably to a time somewhat late in the period comprised between Eadbald of Kent and William the Norman. The material is Caen stone, of about the same quality as that described before as used in very small pieces in some parts of the building. But the treatment of the material had by this time considerably advanced. In cubic size the pieces of stone employed were much larger. Instead of fragments roughly shaped at the quarry, and then little more than hewn into the forms required, we have here evidence of the use of tools, shewing much progress in masons' handicraftship, though wrought in a crude, simple manner, very little resembling the process of masons' workmanship now. Some kind of turning-lathe seems to have been the main instrument employed; the chief varieties of constructive ornamentation that were found being such as would be so produced; short columns, dwarfed mullion-shafts, balusters, and other like forms, being the normal cast of such remnants as came to light of this work, with little variety of design, and much uniformity of execution. The three examples given are sufficient to describe the rest; all of them, however, are so truncated and otherwise hacked away, as to make it but a piece of guess-work to divine their original scale, or membership, or place. But the tool marks on the plain surface (indicated as nearly as could be in the etching)

exhibit the process of turning very distinctly, while the cleanness of some of the hollow cutting, and the sharpness of the edges where they here and there remain uninjured, argue the possession of fairly workmanlike tools, and some skill in the handling of them. However vaguely we must estimate the interval, one of considerable length must have passed between the first traces of a Saxon use of Caen stone in this building and the comparatively free skilled employment of it which by this time prevailed.

All the fragments of stonework of this kind were collected from near about one spot, the south-west angle of the tower, between the south transept and nave. This, together with the sharpness and freshness remaining on the wrought face of the fragments, rather suggest their having been parts of some work in the interior of the Church, not far probably from the spot where they were found; something, perhaps, belonging to such a heavy stone screen as might have rested on the foundation under the tower-arch at the head of the nave. They most likely formed part of a work which it was found convenient or necessary to destroy at the next period of the renovation of the interior, otherwise we should not find such a curious instance of the economizing of stone as occurs in fragment No. 2, presenting on one side the unobliterated remains of a Saxon shaft, on the other the centre moulding of one of the vaulting-ribs of the Early English stone roof. Evidently, during the time of that roof being carried up, the pieces and members of some earlier work were



Fragment of Saxon shaft: No. 1. -



Fragment of Saxon shaft: No. 2. -

displaced and lying about, from which the builders selected the best, and worked them into their new masonry, whenever of size and soundness enough to admit of the different cuttings required. It argues some scarcity of means or material, or perhaps (what might well be an example to some modern habits of Church building) an unwillingness to cast out to meaner condition what had long pertained to the fabric's sacred use.

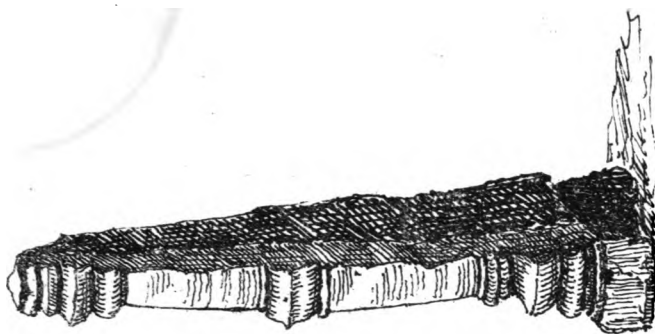
Another curious example is that of a fragment of stone sculptured on both faces, found among the rubble not far from the site of those just described. The fragment is too small, (the etching would be about an inch and a-half to the foot,) and the forms too disconnected, on either side, for any feasible conjecture to be formed as to what the whole might have been. The chief thing I would remark as probable about it, is the broad difference in age and execution between the two sculpturings; that on the left being of earlier character, with a figure of what is commonly understood to be Saxon symbolism; that on the right shewing more careful and artificial design and superior execution. Indeed, both the forms and workmanship on the hard material in the latter case are precisely similar to a well-known and beautifully preserved monument of Norman work, the carved sepulchral slab of black marble under which once more rest the remains of Gundreda*, daughter of William the Norman.

* The history of this burial-place is curiously eventful. The body of Gundreda was interred in great state, beneath this elabo-

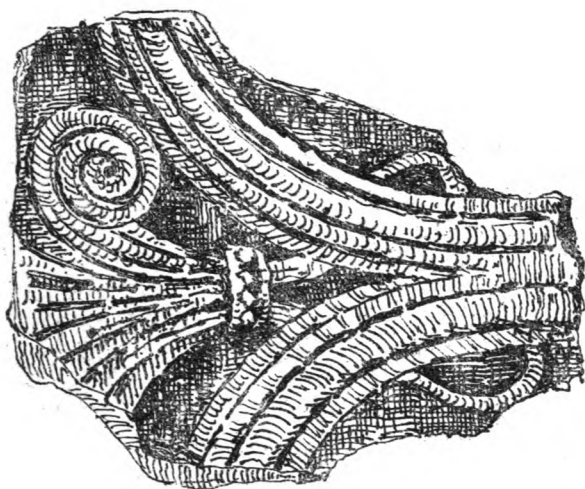
If the date thus suggested by this later sculpture be a right one, it will also harmonize with a few other traces of plainer Norman masonry that were found scattered about the Church. They were few and small, and rather roughly executed ; short pieces of chevron, cable, and embattled mouldings, a few small capitals of the plain scalloped and channelled type, and other bits of what might have been monumental or mural ornament. But they were very inconsiderable, and scarcely to be remarked, except that we might omit no remaining trace of work done here by any generation in its day. And it would seem that the Norman builders who spread their churches in such incredible numbers and richness over the face of this land, were not entirely without witness in these even then ancient walls ; and they seem to say that the masters of the new Fortress were fain to bestow some care and beautifying on the Fortress Church which had preceded them by nearly seven hundred years.

These scanty gleanings are all the evidence we have of the condition and fortunes of the Church

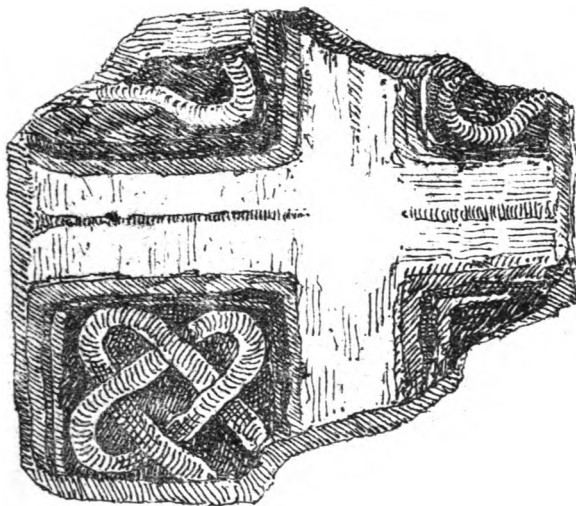
rately carved and inscribed slab, in the chapter-house of Southover Priory, in Sussex ; from the Priory, when suppressed, the slab was carried, for fear of the Puritans' wrath, to the village church of Isfield ; in 1775 it was restored, first as a vestry table, then on a stucco tomb, in the vestry of Southover Church ; long after, while excavating for the Brighton and Hastings Railway through the Priory ruins, the workmen came upon the cyst itself, containing its recognised jewelled remains ; and finally, these remains, after three centuries of separation, were once more laid under their own tomb, in a little mortuary chapel built for the purpose, and attached to Southover parish church, 1847.



*Fragment of Saxon shaft.
No. 3.*



Stone fragment carved on both faces.



during the greater part of Anglo-Saxon and Norman times, from the primitive days of Eadbald's successors in Kent, to the complete development of that feudal system which built up for a while the power of the Norman kings, and made Dover Castle its frontier stronghold in the realm.

CHAPTER VI.

HAVING followed the foundation and progress of the Castle through its early stages, and up to the completion of its complex system of works, even as they continue to this time, I shall only be concerned to add to its history as a fortress some few details that have marked it especially with its peculiar and national character. Its chronicles are extremely dry and cumbrous, while the labours of some who have tried to abridge them, and to extract the pith from the heterogeneous mass, have made no small confusion of persons, dates, and things, particularly during the Norman reigns. One learns, however, to be content with such matters as one finds them, and even to prefer their quaint records, with all their faults, to such weak, wordy paragraphs as those in which Hume has written his parallel account (history it would be a farce to call it) of those times.

Except for a tradition of King Stephen's death at Dover, and "probably" in the Constable's Tower, there is no noticeable record of the first Royal founders in connection with their Castle, till the visit

of Henry II., in 1158. Commencing with the incongruous seeming appointment, in modern eyes, of Odo, Bishop of Bayeux, a succession of kinsmen and personal friends of the sovereign had represented him, and filled the office of Constable of the Castle, as a chief post of military service and reward. And when the death of Geoffrey tempted Henry II. to lay claim to the territory of Nantz, he repaired to his castle at Dover to assemble his forces, and proceed to substantiate his claim in Brittany by the then constant appeal to war.

The next visit was in the person of Richard Cœur de Lion, who is said to have here equipped and fitted for the Crusade a fleet of not less than a hundred and eighty sail of all kinds, and to have crossed with them by the passage to Gravelines, on his way to the Holy Land.

Much as he was abroad, and frequently having to pass between England and Normandy, we have no direct mention of King John at the Castle, though his final degradation in doing homage to Pandolf the Pope's legate is said upon some authority to have taken place in one of the churches of Dover. But the safety and honour of the Castle was indebted to his mission of one remarkable man at the latter part of his reign, Sir Stephen de Pencestre, a noble servant of an evil master, and deservedly honoured in the annals of the Castle. The troublous days of this miserable prince had nearly closed ; his barons, in desperation of any other help for their oppression and the kingdom's disorders, had openly negotiated

with Philip of France ; and they had received Louis the Dauphin into the country as pretender to the throne. The foreign forces and the chief of John's nobility had renounced him ; one of the very few places which remained loyal to his crown was Dover Castle, under the Constablership of Sir Hubert de Burgh, and this was now closely invested by the French forces, under command of the Dauphin in person. The garrison was sorely reduced ; so thinned in numbers they could with difficulty partially man the walls ; in knowledge of which the popular plea for surrender had been repeatedly pressed on the Constable, and as often peremptorily rejected, as became so old and high-spirited a servant of the Crown. Meantime the King despatched Sir Stephen de Pencestre on a kind of forlorn hope of relief. The skilful soldier ascertained his country well ; and while the Dauphin was occupying his whole force on the western or town steep of the Castle, he contrived to avail himself of the cover of the eastern hills, and approached by the dip of land leading up from the low cliff under the east ramparts to Avranches Tower. There, in the recessed angle of the embankment, used to open upon the fosse a sally-port, (whose gallery might still have been traced some time ago,) communicating with Earl Godwin's Tower ; by covertly reaching which masked entry Sir Stephen threw into the garrison his relieving force of some four hundred men-at-arms, with heavy cross-bows and other implements of defence ; a glad surprise to the gallant Hubert de Burgh, and an unexpected

vindication of his resolutely holding his post. This turned the fortunes of the siege, and eventually of the course of the war. The Dauphin beaten off, and being compelled to retire awhile to bring over reinforcements from France, the quick genius of Sir Stephen de Pencestre planned, and completed before the French reinforcements came, that large earth-work with its souterrains and approaches which commands the present road on that side, and stretches due north-west from the Norfolk Towers; thus effectually checking any future approach of besiegers by the lately abandoned lines. On his return, the Dauphin drew off towards London, where the news of the fatal rout at Lincoln, and the general return of the malcontent barons to their duty, brought a forced close upon his campaign, and made him seek any decent terms on which to secure his personal safety and the retreat of his forces to the French coast.

CHAPTER VII.

MEANWHILE, the accession of the child Henry III. after the sudden death of King John, and the long protectorate of the kingdom, found higher duties and advancement for the loyal Constable of Dover. On the death of the Earl of Pembroke, the protector's government, though nominally shared by the Bishop of Winchester, was virtually confided to Hubert de Burgh during the early years of the King's minority. How long he combined his more

pressing cares of state with the duties of his office as Constable of the Castle it would be difficult to decide. Indeed, for what term the Constables held their office, or what determined the time of their successive appointments, appears but obscurely from the lists that record their names. During the reign of Henry III. alone are registered by name no less than thirty-four Constables of the Castle ; making it seem as if either the office had become one of scarce more than yearly tenure, or as if the names of lieutenant-governors, and perhaps even marshals, had become mixed up in the catalogue with those of the Constables themselves. The administration of Hubert de Burgh, of whatever duration, was as marked in internal policy as it had been in events of war ; for he brought about a change in the whole system of occupation and defence, which put an end to that which had been hitherto maintained by the Confederate Knights. He conceived that the system depending on such continual change was vicious in itself, besides its excessive inconvenience ; that there was great risk in such important garrison duties being successively trusted to new and untried men. And so, after the experience of the late siege, he drew up a new scheme for converting the personal service of the Knights and their retainers into a proportionate money payment, according to the number of men-at-arms chargeable on each estate ; that, from the moneys thence accruing, a permanent force of stipendiaries might be organized and kept in pay, for fixed and constant service as the Castle

garrison. To this he obtained the King's assent ; and, putting it in immediate force, he founded upon it a new kind of military service different from that of past Norman reigns, and indicative of other changes which were fast coming over the feudal times.

Hubert de Burgh passed a long, stormy career amidst conflicting interests and parties of the State ; and we hear little more of his official administration at the Castle. As Chief Justiciary of the kingdom, and virtually Regent during Henry's youth, married in the King's presence to Margaret of Scotland, raised to the style and rank of Earl of Kent, loaded with estates and honours bestowed in continual succession, his power and position almost insured an envy that could scarce fail to work his ruin. Moreover, whatever his faults, he strove long to hold an impartial balance between the King and his rapacious, turbulent barons, by which he laid up store of trouble for himself in coming years from the weakness of the one and the hatred of the others. It was no long time, indeed, before they began together to precipitate his fall. Suspicions, charges, persecutions, gathered unrelentingly round him. As if he had never done a loyal deed or fulfilled a faithful trust, he was summarily deprived of every office, emolument, or post, while threatened with beggary by demands of restitution for malversation of public money. This was probably the time of his formal dismissal from the Constablership of Dover Castle, as from so many other honours he had held. The

persecution became so sharp that his life was many times in jeopardy; it was scarcely protected even by the sanctuary of the altar, where he was thrice nearly slain, and whence he finally escaped in disguise, and fled into Wales. He lingered out a few closing years in unmolested obscurity, and died in the twenty-seventh year of Henry III.; the power and usefulness of his later life having been entirely wrecked, like many others of that time, through the disorders of a weak sovereign's reign.

PART III.

The Early English Times.

CHAPTER I.

AFTER passing the name of Hubert de Burgh, we enter another period of history both of Church and Fortress. And first we encounter the unintelligibly long list before alluded to of no less than thirty-nine persons purporting to have filled the office of Constable of Dover, up to the appointment of Edward Prince of Wales, shortly before his accession as Edward I. In his person the office seems to have had something of the honorary character which it has in a Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports now; for he is said to have nominated as his deputy the Sheriff of Kent, and to have made Sir Stephen de Pencestre his acting Constable in the Castle; shortly afterwards resigning the office absolutely in his favour.

It appears not quite proved whether this Sir Stephen de Pencestre is to be identified with the knight of the same style and title who, some fifty years before, threw his timely relief into the hard-pressed garrison during the Dauphin's siege. Notwithstanding, however, the apparent length of interval, he is more likely than not to be the same person formerly spoken of, for he is recorded to have been twice Constable of the Castle; and the chronology of its old archives is so vaguely kept, that

little can be depended upon from their comparative dates.

About the character of the man there is less uncertainty. He was one of those who leave a mark upon the times they live in, as notable a man in the Constable's Hall as when, in former days, he led his four hundred comrades under Godwin's Tower to raise the Dauphin's siege; the energy of his early rescue of the fortress surviving in his character for its after government and welfare. What a good soldier is now, he was then; a man of letters, industry, and skill, of personal thought for all the interests intrusted to him, anxious for the honour of his command, but as careful for the least of his men. He was one who, in rude times, did his best with rude natures, trying to hold in even balance the requirements of kindness, discipline, and good service. Two chief objects he accomplished in his time were preserved in curious records, one of which remains in partial preservation to this day.

The lapse of seven Norman reigns had been time enough, one might be sure, to set up many abuses in the feudal service of the Castle, especially among such rapacious retainers as came to authority there from a Norman Court. Grants of land were accumulated and undervalued, knights' fees disproportioned to the quota of men furnished, and the duty at the Castle was in proportion disloyally fulfilled. The Constable, therefore, made full inquiry into the number and extent of all lands so held from the Crown, into their nature and condition; into the real

value of the fees, and their actual number, as first assigned, and then belonging, to each knight. By this means he established a just and practical estimate of what each knight was bound to furnish, in personal service, money, or men-at-arms, for the safe custody and maintenance of the Fortress. All this he collected and registered for his own use, and left on record among the ancient muniments of his successors in office ; and the book containing it seems to have been known as still existing some time in Queen Elizabeth's reign ; probably as curious a relic in its way as almost any chapter of the Domesday Book.

Perhaps one of the most curious documents remaining of those times is an imperfect fragment of the STATUTES OF DOVER CASTLE, as in force during the constableness of Sir Stephen de Pencestre, especially considering the quaint picture they hold up of the habits both of military and ecclesiastical government within the Castle jurisdiction at that period. The document itself (so much as remains of it) is still, I believe, preserved among the Surrenden manuscripts. It is in old Norman French, with many strange words and abbreviations, and ending abruptly, as if the copyist had suddenly broken off from his work. I regret that I cannot now present the fragment in its original tongue ; though most readers would probably prefer a translation, so far, at least, as an ordinary acquaintance with French will have enabled one to construe such obscure expressions. As an illustration generally of the men and manners it refers to, and the antique administration of this

Constable particularly, the fragment may best be left to set forth its own tale.

CHAPTER II.

Statutes of Dover Castle,

Promulged in the reign of HENRY III., and in due course declared in the time of SIR STEPHEN DE PEN-CESTRE, Constable of the Castle at Dover.

I. AT sunset, the bridge shall be drawn, and the gates shut. Afterwards the guard shall be mounted by twenty warders on the Castle walls.

II. Any warder found outside the walls, or otherwise off his guard, shall be put in the Donjon prison, and punished besides in body and goods at the Constable's discretion ; since for that watch the Castle was trusted to him, not to be surprised through his default.

III. After the last mount, two serjeants shall turn out of their houses^a, to serve as chief guards. They shall make continual rounds within the Castle, to visit the warders on the walls, and see that they right loyally

^a "Hostels;" a representation of such a house in the Castle would now be a curiosity in its way.

keep their watch without going to sleep, by reason that they have the Constable's leave to sleep as much as they like in the day-time.

IV. It is established by ancient rule, that if a chief guard discover a warder asleep, he shall take something from him as he lies, or carry away his staff, or cut a piece out of part of his clothes, to witness against him in case the warder should deny having been asleep, and he shall lose his day's wage, viz. jjd.

V. And if it happen that the serjeant will not make such caption, for pity's sake, or even for life's sake, then he shall be brought up before the Constable, and be sentenced to prison *dur et fort*, after which he shall be led to the great gate in presence of the garrison, and there expelled the Castle; besides, he shall lose his wage, and forfeit all his chattels found within the Castle walls.

VI. Either serjeant or warder using vile words shall be brought before the Constable, who shall have the thing considered, and the blame fairly looked into. And he who had been in the wrong shall lose his day's wage, if the Constable likes.

VII. If a serjeant or warder strike another with the flat hand, he shall be liable to penal-

ties (*amendes*) as high as five shillings, and shall also for the rest be held at the mercy of the court. If he hit with his fist, he shall be liable to penalties as high as ten shillings, and be (*obliterated*.)

VIII. And because the Castle is out of the common jurisdiction, it is ordained, that at every quarter of the year shall the whole garrison be mustered in presence of the Constable, and any shall then before him be addressed and reprehended, who may be accused of any notable crime, which ought of right by Holy Church to be dealt with. And if the Constable find himself in any perplexity thereupon, he may take counsel of some parson (*perdosme*) of Holy Church, who shall give him advice what to do in any such case.

IX. There shall be one serjeant and one guard, elected in full garrison assembled, who shall be sworn to leal keeping of that light in Holy Church, which is not burning inside the chauncel.

X. And because all priests are held obliged on their consciences to keep leal watch and guard over the chauncel lights,—(*the passage following is very obscure*,)—if any one knows of their doing other than they ought, he shall report or excuse them before the Constable,

unless indeed they might be willing to inflict penance on themselves. (*passage effaced.*)

XI. Reliques are appointed to be shewn, and such especially as are of the true cross (*verraie croies*) shall be brought out every Friday, and placed on the high altar, from the hour of ringing prime, to the end of high mass.

XII. They shall be open to all who wish to visit them, for the honour of God, and the benefit of the chapel. Meantime one of the priests shall stop by the reliques, or a clerk, who shall be vested in surplice (*surpliz*); these may shew and explain the reliques, and pronounce (*padoune*) to those who desire it.

XIII. At all great feasts of the year, scilt^t of our Lord, and our Lady, of St. John, of SS. Peter and Paul, and of All Saints, (*tous les seyns*), and such as are (*dubbles*) and solemn, shall (*nonné, nocturn?*) be sung. And on the vigils (*veillez*) shall be grand celebration (?) (*seynsy*); and afterwards, at the procession and sequence, at matins and vespers, shall be a Te Deum, Laud, and Gloria in Excelsis.

XIV. At Christmas, Easter, Ascension, Pentecost, and the feasts of Our Lady, as well also at all chief feasts, shall all the peals, great and small, be rung; and once all to-

gether, for the sake of the greater ^b (*greindre*) solemnity.

XV. Item, after the same manner it is ordered, that if a knight, or lady, or a chaplain in the said Castle die, the commendation shall be made by all the priests (*de leys*?), who shall be vested in (*chapes*, copes? *de goer*).

XVI. And at the burial, in like manner as at mass, shall a deacon and a sub-deacon in

Here the manuscript suddenly breaks off, as if the copyist had left his work incomplete, or the rest of his pages had disappeared, a fate that has befallen many of the Castle documents since, as barrow loads of old parchments carried off from the Treasurer's Tower would testify. The last spoliation (I have heard), at the emptying of the tower, might have supplied tailors' measures in the town for the rest of the century.

However, even this remnant of Plantagenet statutes is curious and illustrative in many respects, and no doubt might help to bring out many peculiar associations of the old Fortress in those times if it was feasible, or belonged to our subject to enter into them. One little point in the arrangement of the old

^b The running of Norman French into English words is odd enough; but it had even a more grotesque effect upon Latin, as appears by the following entry in an old repairing account of this period:—"Item, Uno homini et garconi suo, ii^s. iiiii^d."

Church, which at first was found very perplexing, the Statutes explain in a very distinct and satisfactory manner. In clearing the inner face of the whole western gable, and after opening the low Norman doorway close to the north wall, there appeared the small round-headed opening, which is close to the right jamb as you enter the building. It was difficult to divine the meaning of such an aperture, placed like no other window, having about the size and appearance of a buttery hatch, deprived of any light by the adjacent Pharos, and useless for any purpose for which a window would commonly be made. The arrangement was too peculiar not to have had some particular intention? and what might that intention be? The old Statute No. 9, providing for "leal keeping of the lights not within the chauncel," tells the tale. It was the military lychnoscope. Placed just at an average head-level for persons passing to and from the lower chamber of the Pharos, then serving as a guard-room, it was exactly the means by which the serjeant and guard, elected for the purpose, might, without too much distraction from other duties or pastimes, keep an eye upon the lights burning within that part of the Church depending on their care. The little window has been restored in its old position; but without this explanation few persons passing the west door would take it to be the curious remnant it really is of joint Church and military discipline in the days of our Plantagenet kings.

CHAPTER III.

WE come now to the period of the last works of any importance carried out in the old Church ; the reproduction of which has formed a main feature in the present restoration. It was at some late period probably of the reign of Henry III. that the Early English characters were grafted on the architecture of the interior, which constituted its chief beauty in those days, as they do in its existing condition now. It is not unlikely too that these works were executed under the Constablenesship of Sir Stephen de Pencestre, in whose time we have seen how strong the interest was in the minds of those belonging to it, both for the Castle itself, and the Church within its precincts.

About this period, too, there seems to have been a wide-spread feeling through all this part of the country for church extending and beautifying ; and its traces very often recur. Their examples are mostly of one type, in style, proportion, and liberality of material and workmanship. It looks as if some earnest and wealthy layman, or some powerful ecclesiastic, like the Abbot of St. Radigunds, for instance, had devoted largely of both time and means to accomplish such works as the beautiful, though never finished, chancel of Hythe Church, the north chantry of the parish church at Alkham, the little chancel at Cheriton, the religious house of Swanton St. John's, &c. : all of which, in their several degrees, bear witness to the zeal with which the new

and beautiful Early English type of building was welcomed and employed in this part of Kent.

To these, in no undistinguished place, we must add the Church in Dover Castle. Sir Stephen de Pencestre (if we at all rightly suppose him to have been interested in the matter) caught the example about him, and caused to be executed, in concert with his canons, a whole series of works, whose remnants were always obvious in the interior. These were the pointed arches leading into the north and south transepts, the delicate lancet windows in the chancel side walls, the double, or perhaps triple, lancet-lights (some of whose marks remained) in the eastern gable, the single sedile in the south wall of the chancel, the vaulted roofs of combined chalk and stone over the tower space and chancel, and here and there a transept light.

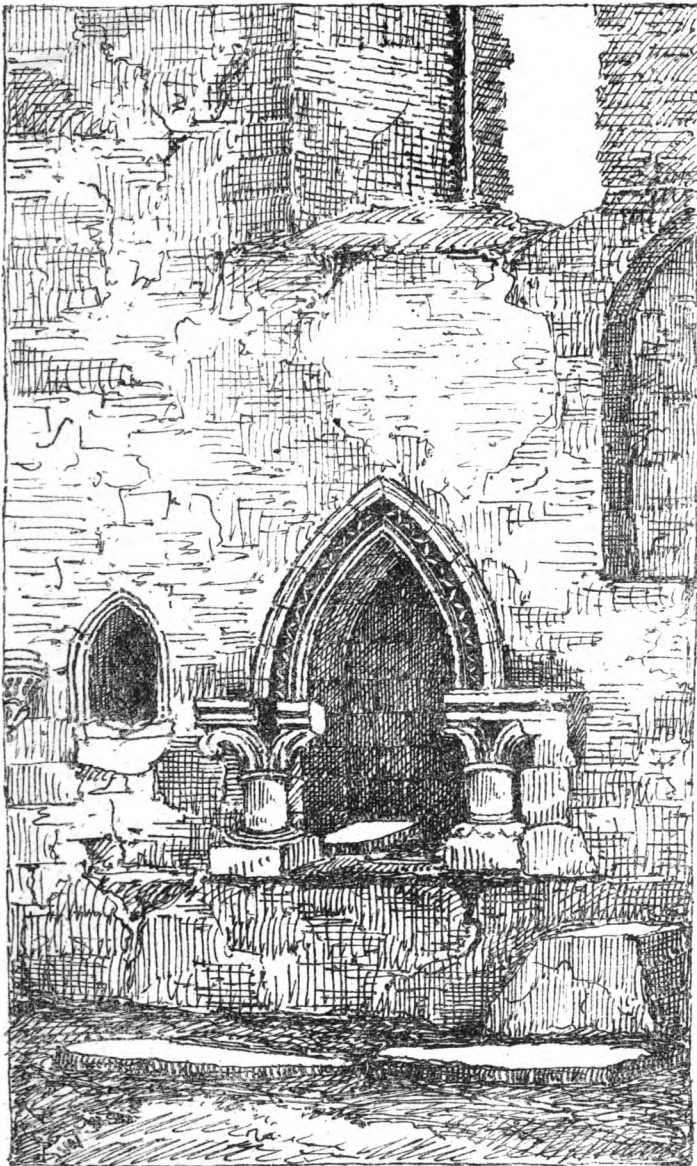
These works had a peculiar character in two ways. They did not extend westward of the nave-arch, but were confined to the upper or, so to say, collegiate portion of the Church. And they formed a kind of internal shell to the original mass of the fabric; not displacing, hardly interfering with, any portion of the older structure, but undersetting it with the light graceful lines and delicate ornamentation of a church of the middle of the thirteenth century. The great tower-arches east and west were left unaltered; those north and south, if originally of the same form (which we had no means of ascertaining during the restoration), were entirely changed into the four-centred Early English arch, nearly

equilateral, springing from imposts of about the original height, the archivolt rising to nearly the pitch of the transept roof,—very solid, and even in thickness with the tower wall,—with a simple soffit-moulding on the edge, and an attached shaft at each angle of the jamb from impost to ground line. In the four angles of the tower, and of the chancel in like manner, nearly detached circular shafts, more massive, were carried up from the basement to the impost level, and from them sprang the vaulting-ribs, carrying the light chalk groining which superseded the upper chamber floor of the tower, and the old roof of the chancel, as they had most likely been originally constructed. Two beautiful features were thus added to the interior. There were no marks of them except in the tower and chancel; and yet one hardly understands how their designers should have stopped short of carrying them through the rest of the Church. It might have been intended perhaps in the course of time to have uniformly completed the work, and the intention came to nought: just as we see that a magnificent design came to a sudden and untimely end, as strikingly shewn in the example of that noble chancel at Hythe.

The sedile on the upper step of the sacarium, with sufficient space under its arch for two seats, was another characteristic feature inserted in the interior by its Early English benefactors. It presents a well-known variety of the dog-tooth ornament; not running as usual along the hollow of

a cutting, but standing out at an incline on the upper edge of its moulding, exhibiting an advanced stage in the reign of Henry III. The annexed etching shews its appearance as it had stood the buffeting of wind and weather in the long roofless and windowless chancel to which it belonged; in spite of all which it remains now pretty nearly identical with what it was when first executed.

In looking up at the groined roof of the chancel there is one thing to be remarked, not only as peculiar, but as shewing no small skill in contrivance. Generally the vaulting-ribs of a groined roof require to be very exact in their curves; as the true bearing of such a roof must of course depend on the geometrical accuracy with which each separate segment of the work is set out. But in this case rule and compass were at a discount. As the walls presented no two parallel lines, and no really right angles, the more accurately curved each stone of the groining had been wrought, the less it would have fitted to its place. And the ingenuity and care with which this difficulty has been overcome is well worth the visitor's remarking. The setting out of these pieces of masonry has been so intelligently done, that the really incorrect details of this piece of work come to settle themselves at last into the right place. A mere casual glance detects nothing out of position, and the general effect satisfies the eye. Looking more attentively, however, you see how the vaulting-ribs start at first truly from their centre, then deflect a little as they fall, then swell or contract slightly in



*The Chancel Sedile,
as it remained, nearly uninjured.*

their mouldings according as they require to be humoured in their direction, till finally they rest in safety on the capping of the angle shaft. And so this style of roof, of most delicate construction, has been adapted to these rough and irregular walls: perpetuating a rare and happy example of the mass of a primitive Christian monument being preserved while receiving the most beautiful additions which better knowledge and science could bestow upon it: thus exhibiting the just march of energy and reverence together.

One cannot help remarking how well it had been if one could have traced more of this spirit in a great many boasted days of mediæval architecture; days when *ignorances were developed*, and *solecisms committed*, oftentimes equal in abomination to almost any churchwardenism of the nineteenth century. One cannot cease to wonder at them, as when standing, for instance, before the west front of Castle Acre Priory, where its once noble Norman elevation, gorgeous with best workmanship, has been hewn away to make room for a monstrous gap called a window, of Perpendicular style, in grating discord with the rest of the frontal; or where, to make even a worse excavation of the fifteenth century, one bemoans the complete demolition of the once exquisite eastern gable of MELROSE ABBEY! These are but two examples out of a crowd, that meet the watchful observer everywhere; shewing how conceit and vanity can assert themselves under all professions, and at all times; while the anchorage of deep principles is

the only holding-ground on any subject, and for any minds. So there is some useful lesson in even marking the juxtaposition (with the care and thoughtfulness that placed them together) of a venerable piece of Early English vaulting and a Roman-British arch.

CHAPTER IV.

THERE is one more curious work to be noticed, most likely executed at, or soon after, this same time, which the visitor will probably notice occupying its singular position at the south-east angle of the nave, without any now ostensible reason or use.

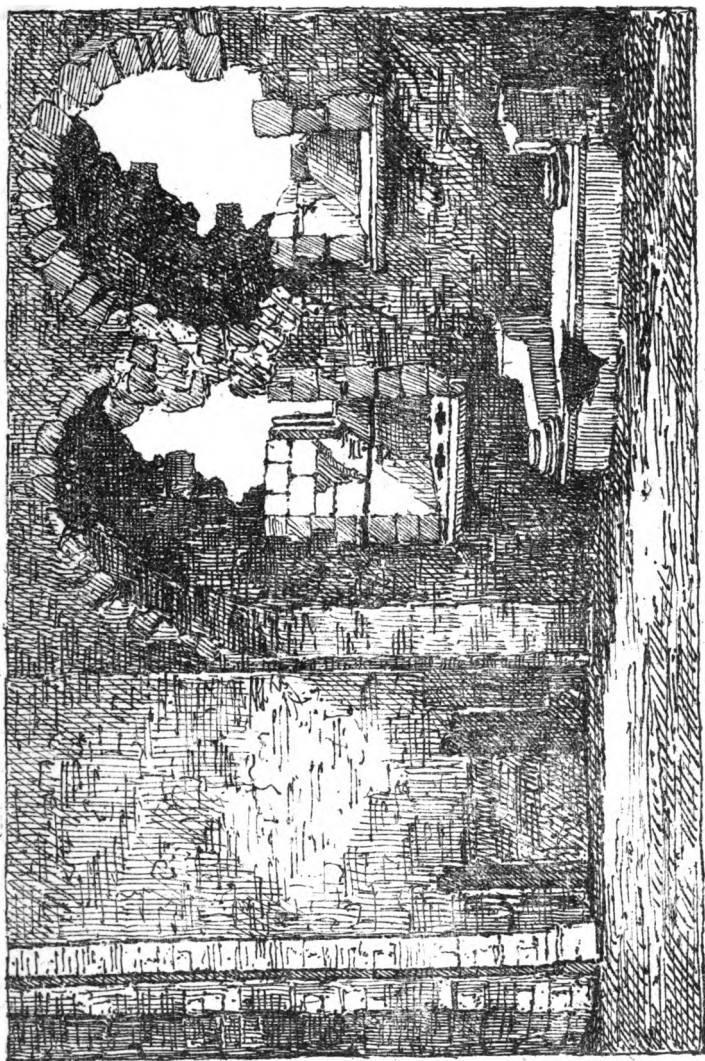
During most of the latter condition of the fabric, all this little group had been buried under the accumulation of earth, which rose above the crown of the arched canopy as now restored. On first uncovering the wall, there appeared nothing but a rough rubble face, and just the edge of a single stone slab, flush with it, about eighteen inches above the ground line. The look of this stone, and the style of the champfer of its edge just visible, at once suggested the seat of a long sedile; though almost every one else rejected the idea, both from the anomaly of the position, and the lack of any imaginable object for it, and the presumed fact that, as there had been no altar, there could have been no sedile. One cannot, however, explore the nooks and corners of many old English churches without finding now and then a piscina in a position so anomalous as to defy any

guess at where, or of what kind, could have been any serviceable altar near it. In this case the puzzle very soon explains itself. The etching on the other side shews what we came to, as we gradually pared away the rubble with which the wall had been here very thickly filled up. First, sure enough, came out the broad, capacious stone seat, enough for priest, and deacon, and almost sub-deacon too, with the elbows carved in a kind of dark Bethersden stone, and the base of an Early English shaft of the same material, which had probably carried a form of canopy similar to that which replaces it. Eastward of the sedile appeared the hollows of a double piscina, rather elegantly designed, after the type of a similar arrangement in the chancel of Hythe Church; also the marks above of aumbrye shelves, which were surmounted again by two tiny lancet windows of the best Early English form, throwing their light eastward on the right abutment of the great nave-arch, where was just surface sufficient to support an altar of small dimensions. The channelling on this surface, as indicated in the drawing, shewed plainly enough where some fixture of the position, height, and dimensions of an altar had evidently been secured; leaving no reasonable doubt that this had been a spot dedicated to some peculiar kind of altar service, with all the appurtenances required for its celebration, even more complete than at the subordinate chapels in the transepts of the Church.

Of this very peculiar arrangement one naturally supposed there must be some peculiar account to be

given ; and a hint of its probable explanation was not far to seek. The reader no doubt will recur immediately to the old statutes of Sir Stephen de Pencestre, to the one numbered IX. in the collection before given, which speaks of the election of "one serjeant and one guard, who shall be sworn to leal keeping of that light in Holy Church, which is not burning in the chauncel." The provision of this statute arises clearly out of what is mentioned in the next about "all priests being held obliged in conscience to keep leal watch and guard over the chauncel lights;" and provides for the maintenance and service of an altar, with which the little collegiate body of the Church were not concerned, but which was committed to the military guardians of it, reverently elected and put in charge. It suggests the fact of a separate and independent military service, held expressly for the garrison, in the nave, which would then be entered probably by the door on the north side, whose beautiful Early English features (discovered in course of the excavations) mark it also as a separate work of this same period. It is also not improbable that this space was still parted off by the screen we have supposed to have stretched across the nave-arch.

And this suggestion does not depend merely on inference from these facts of the interior architecture ; for there is an old record, which has found its way into Hasted's History of Kent, of a distinct provision for the regular maintenance of such a service. It would be a curious passage in the old Castle



*Site of the Sacraminum in the Naue, Straßburg
for the Military Service, just removed.
as it appeared when first removed.*

archives if we could learn the origin of such a provision ; how these garrison chaplains (as they may be called) came to be distinguished from the ancient canons of the Church, and their services grew into an institution apart from the older and regular capitular ministrations. In default of any such evidence, which might perhaps illustrate capitular manners and customs in earlier mediæval days, we have the plainly intimated fact, that it did somehow become expedient or necessary to provide a special order of military service for the Castle garrison, independently of certain other duties belonging to the collegiate part of the Church, and the authorities charged with their fulfilment. It seems that such services were to be so separate, and depending on so regular a succession of ecclesiastics, that they had their separate spheres of duty, with endowments for their own particular maintenance ; that there was besides a special sacarium set apart for the soldiers' chaplain, in the body of the Church, where he might be attended by the military force of the Castle, in such times and ways as the military authorities, according to the quaint manner of their statutes, should determine ; leaving the High Altar and north and south chantries to their own purpose. The very lights before the military Altar were to be watched, through the little lychnoscope at the west door, by a military guard appointed for the purpose, and "elected in full garrison assembled," as if to mark a kind of honour and value of the charge.

So that the restoration of this ancient fabric, and

its special re-dedication as the Garrison Church for troops henceforward quartered in the Castle, is a curiously close restoring of it, after many long days of waste and change, to one great feature in its original dedication. The Government, through the late Lord Herbert of Lea, have exactly revived, for the troops in the service of the country in these days, *an enlightened provision made for their military predecessors some seven or eight centuries ago*. An enlightened provision it certainly was, considering the age to which it belonged, and the circumstances under which it was fulfilled. There are few more interesting little episodes in the history of any church, than what we infer must have belonged to this corner of the nave of St. Mary in the Castle, where the memorials, now replaced, of the Early English Altar carry our thoughts back to a religion of rough natures, in rude times, of which we must often be glad to think how much was at least real, though different from our own; and which will finally exhibit its bond of communion with that of their later brethren now, who, as soldiers of Christ, worship the same God, in their true and primitive ritual, on the same holy ground!

CHAPTER V.

AT the same time it would be a great mistake to suppose that this fabric was ever regarded, or used, as a mere appendage to the Fortress, as a kind of

military chapel for the garrison from time to time. The late Secretary for War better understood its history when he advised and set on foot its restoration, and provided for the preservation of its proper character, like that of any other ancient Church of the land.

The primitive consecration of this Church no doubt was for a purely pastoral purpose, reaching back, in antiquity, much beyond the earliest trace of the parochial system in England. When it passed into the hands of the second Christian king in Kent, and received a royal endowment from him, it took something of the collegiate form, and remained under the administration of its canons till the beginning of the eighth century, when they were removed to another college, the Seculars of St. Martin, whose church ruins still overhang the western boundary of the old Dover market-place. This, indeed, had been a great change from the times when, as a Martyrs' Memorial Church, (if we have rightly traced its original foundation,) it was probably the single centre of Christianity which the people had near them here; and, by another change in turn, it seems again to have reverted to something like its former use. The capitular or collegiate system being taken away from it, its spiritual charge appears to have been committed to three ecclesiastics, having functions assigned them with as much official oddity as the parliamentary wisdom of a modern church building act could make them now. Hasted goes into some minute particulars respecting them, though

without naming the authority on which he states them. The soldiers, he says, had their service at nine in the morning, under the chaplain pastorally acting for them ; at the following hour, ten, the lieutenants, marshalmen, and petty officers met their chaplain—a second in grade—for a similar service at another chantry, which it is difficult to identify under the name given it ; while, at the High Altar, for the Governor and his officials, and persons of state within the Castle, there was a third service, by the chief chaplain, at high noon. Though they continued to be called chaplains, always remaining three in number, they were allowed to wear the vestments and take the position of canons, in consideration of their holding the same office which such an order had formerly filled.

We could not tell the exact tenure of their preferment, nor the jurisdiction under which they held it, unless we could have seen some of the official memoranda of the suffragan bishops of Dover, where traces of it no doubt might have been found. Those who are interested in the Church history of their old town may perhaps like to be reminded, or informed, that for a long time there was a succession of such prelates (not peers in Parliament one need not say) as SUFFRAGAN BISHOPS of DOVER. During Romish times they bore the absurd designations derived from foreign titles of imaginary sees ; though they simply fulfilled that pastoral work of the diocese of Canterbury, to which the Archbishops in person could not attend. They began in Saxon

times; and so continued, with slight intermission, to the time of Archbishop Warham. At the Reformation, the Popish practice of using mythical foreign titles was abolished by authority; and those consecrated in future were directed to be entitled "Bishops Suffragan of Dover." Of these there succeeded,—

RICHARD YNGWORTH, consecrated in 1537.

RICHARD STEDE, held his episcopate during the troubles of Queen Mary's reign.

RICHARD ROGERS, consecrated in 1569; held a long episcopate until Archbishop Whitgift's time; bringing the days of the BISHOPS SUFFRAGAN OF DOVER down to the *beginning of the seventeenth century*.

The Church, however, must at all times have had its own degree of parochial character. It is true that one of the statutes of Sir Stephen de Pencestre implies some default of the common ecclesiastical or civil jurisdiction; but, by all immemorial law, in virtue of its consecration, it could never have been other than subject to the visitatorial jurisdiction of the ordinary of the diocese. And although the Castle is now called an "extra parochial" place, there is evidence of its having been treated in the true and full sense as a parish, and the Church in like manner as a parish church; for men styled themselves, in legal documents of the sixteenth century, as "of the parish of the Blessed Mary within the Castle at Dover." Besides which, tithes, or some legal charge in lieu of tithes, were paid to the chaplains as representing parochial Curates, as witnessed by a posthumous

payment recorded in the Prerogative Rolls at Canterbury,—a kind of conscience money,—an equivalent for “unpaid tythes,” ordered by will to be refunded “to the high altar of our Ladye’s Church within Dover Castle,” in 1519.

Then, again, the reverence due to the Martyrs’ Church was ever kept solemn and undisturbed by the burial and memorial of many a distinguished person within its walls. The statutes so often mentioned, by the solemnities they provided, imply, what there remained much material evidence to shew, that the floor and precincts of the Church have been the resting-place of honoured dead for ages. Indications of early stone and chalk kysts were found at various depths under the too often disturbed ground. One massive lead coffin, of mediæval form, was uncovered during the restoration on the north side of the chancel, so near the surface as to indicate only a temporary resting-place. It seemed empty; and, so far as I am aware, was only allowed to be simply re-interred, and lowered to a depth of decent security.

I am induced to mention a parallel case, met with during the re-building of St. Mary’s parish church, in hope of some one perhaps being able to throw light upon a problem of identity which puzzled every one cognizant of it at the time. While examining the floor with a view to the future security of the renewed building, we came upon a curiously coloured spot of earth, on the left side of the nave, where the east gable, or chancel-arch, of the original

little church had been, and about two feet below the original ground-line. This proved to be the pulverized remains of an oaken covering, within which—bedded in the oak dust—reposed a small shapely leaden coffin, trefoil-headed, measuring 4 ft. 8 in. in length, by 18 in. across the shoulders. The soldering was so perished that the lid was loosened at the sides, and its raising disclosed a military-looking figure in extraordinary preservation; the short brown hair, whisker, moustache, and beard were perfect; there was even the integument and muscular fibre of the face and hands remaining, preserved by a costly embalming, such as one only reads of in regal or similarly distinguished interments. The aromatic condiments retained all their power; a tiny portion being put on a trowel and lighted, spread a delicate perfume through half the body of the church. The condiments had been used in lavish quantity; the head (sawn asunder for the purpose) was filled with them, and they seemed to saturate the body, as well as fold after fold of broad fine linen in which it was swathed; the linen remaining complete in texture, though in substance black and attenuated as tinder. Though of so small a stature, there had been no deformity in this person; it was a soldierly figure, and fairly proportioned form. There was no trace of masonry, or even a grave, round the spot. The leaden kyst, with its oaken case, had been merely laid down within two feet of the old floor level; by the altar, or altar steps, if in days when St. Mary's stood in

its small primitive condition ; near the font, if in later times ; from whence it had clearly been intended to be removed, and elsewhere laid in greater state.

Who could this have been ? whence brought ? and whither destined ? Whose body was marked with so rare and costly a sepulture, evidently never intended to have remained here, but to have been carried to some other resting-place at a day which never arrived ? I will not attempt to mention the many guesses that have been made ; none of them as yet with enough evidence to support them.

The memorials belonging to the Castle Church extend over a great length of time ; from the days of such obsequies as are alluded to in the Norman statutes—of constables and lieutenants of the Castle—of dignitaries and mitred ecclesiastics of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries—down to clerks of the Castle, and good burgesses of Dover making special bequests to this Church, which latter are among the last burials recorded here, towards the middle of the seventeenth century.

In all respects therefore, from time immemorial, while maintaining its later and collateral purpose for the religious use of the garrison of the Fortress, this ancient Church seems never to have ceased to preserve its directly pastoral and parochial character. We find it treated as such by common tradition, and common use, and in documents referring to it. So that the pecuniary vote of the House of Commons for its restoration has simply restored one of its most venerable fabrics to the Church of this country,

and not merely added what is called a military chapel to the barrack accommodations of the Castle. In this light the Government authorities have finally recognised it, and have so completed the restoration ; for which all those have reason to be thankful who prize the memorials of the Church of this land in its primitive days, valuable for their own sake, and as belonging to the last primitive Church (which the Church of England is) remaining integrally the same as when left by the first founders of the Faith.

PART IV.

The Later Times.

CHAPTER I.

RETRACING our steps a little now, we have only to note briefly that the history of the Castle, from the point at which we left it in the days of Hubert de Burgh and Sir Stephen de Pencestre, subsides into details of minor importance, whether regarded as a national fortress or a place of archæological interest. After the wars of Henry III., nothing is mentioned again about it of like critical interest with its siege by the Dauphin of France, though it was long respected as the Channel stronghold, and was visited from time to time both by kings and nobles, in their passage to and from the Continent. Such visits, perhaps, were not mere matters of state, but often of thankful refuge too, in days when there was no meeting of steamer and locomotive at the pier side, reducing the transit from Calais to London to a matter of four hours.

King Edward I. was a frequent and familiar visitor at this Castle. It was from here that he endeavoured to stir up some of the southerners of France to a crusade against the Moors in Spain, and afterwards negotiated with Philip of France as to his feudal rights over certain foreign territories formerly claimed

by his father. From here he embarked to be present at the ensuing treaty of Amiens; and here he assembled a magnificent court of ecclesiastics and temporal nobles, to join the Congress for settling the peace of Spain; he returned here again, after long absence, in the last year of the thirteenth century; after which it seems he did not leave the Castle, until his bishops and barons, whom he had left in Picardy, had finally settled all the interests of his continental treaty.

It seems the ill-fated Edward II. was at Dover Castle when he indulged in the act of folly which cost him the peace of his reign, in recalling his early friend Peter de Gaveston from exile, and making him the minion of a favour which led to the destruction of both. After his marriage with Isabella of France, he returned to Dover, and received the Queen-bride with her retinue at the Castle, and there made all the appointments for their coronation, to be celebrated two Sundays after at Westminster. Not long afterwards we hear of him at the royal Fortress again, assembling his court to be present at the coronation of Philip of Navarre; and it is a singular example of the temper of the times, that we find him using the same occasion to promote a Christian mission to the Eastern infidels, embarking the missionaries at this port, and giving them credentials to all foreign potentates along their route, containing urgent requests to speed their journey and help their mission. After other passages across the Channel, it seems the last time the King came

to the coast was in 1325, when the Queen proceeded alone on her errand to France, and the King, from sudden illness, took up his abode not at the Castle, but at Langdon Abbey.

Through the confusion of dates which obscures so many intervals of the Castle annals, one has to make the best of one's way; but it seems the royal visits next on record must have been those of Edward III., firstly to do customary homage for his provincial lordships in France, and afterwards to negotiate conditions of treaty in lieu of future personal homage. It is definitely asserted that secret information of the intended treason of the Governor of Calais hurried Edward III. to the coast; that with a very small force hastily summoned to the Castle he crossed the Channel at night, in time to disconcert the whole scheme for the surrender of the then English frontier town of Calais. The chroniclers have placed this ten years too soon, for it was not till 1347 that Queen Philippa lodged at the Castle, probably, and crossed from Dover to Edward's camp before Calais, at the close of its memorable siege. This King paid other visits to the Castle on business of foreign policy from time to time during the latter part of his reign.

These reigns of the three Edwards seem to have been those in which the Castle at Dover was most frequently distinguished by royal presence; the notices of such events afterwards are fewer and farther between. They occur chiefly in connection with the campaigns of Henry V. in France. After the battle

of Azincour, Henry drew his forces to the coast, and crossed in early winter from Calais to Dover, and there, in the following year, he directed his Constable, the Earl of Warwick, to receive the Archbishop of Rheims and others, on the part of the King of France, in such form of state as the apartments of the old Keep afforded. Five years afterwards, the most considerable expedition made by Henry was mustered at Dover, after his marriage with the Princess Catherine, and with a view of enforcing the terms of the treaty of Troyes. Then from the Castle heights he looked upon the assembling of some five hundred sail, for the transport of twenty-five thousand troops levied on all hands, and nearly four thousand horse, with which he was speedily at Paris; and, in junction with the forces of the former campaign, overran most of the country as far as the Loire,—his last flush of success, from which he never returned to his Channel shore again.

A weak government with only a semblance of sovereignty, leaving feudal tumult and ambition to work its own way, was now drawing to a close the English power on the Continent; and the wars of the Roses soon exhausted the energies of the nation in the long struggle that ensued between the adherents of Lancaster and York. Accordingly, except for the mention of an act of policy of Edward IV. in strengthening his frontier fortress of Dover, at an expenditure (in those times considerable) of about £10,000, we hear nothing more of kings or their expeditions at Dover Castle until

these civil paroxysms came to an end at the accession of Henry VII. His abortive attempt on France, deserted by the Emperor Maximilian, brought him with a large force to Dover in the autumn of 1492 ; but his operations went no farther than an appearance before Calais and Boulogne, and after a conference of ministers at Etaples, settled on a pecuniary basis, he returned to Dover Castle before the close of the year.

During the reign of Henry VIII. there appear to have been divers notices in statutes, state papers, parliamentary accounts, &c., of the value of this fortress, and the importance of maintaining it in an efficient condition ; but it never seems to have held its place again, as in former times. Perhaps it may be reckoned the last of the many occasions on which the kings of England had visited their Fortress in courtly state, or in arms, when Henry VIII. and the Queen came hastily there in May, 1520, to receive the Emperor Charles soon after the Electors had raised him to his Imperial throne. For once, the royal apartments at the Castle contained more than perhaps at any other time of the fortunes of Europe, while they had for guests Henry, Charles, and the minister who did much to rule them both, Cardinal Wolsey. Five days they passed here in the skilled game of diplomacy, the chief encounter of wits being between the Emperor and the Cardinal, each thinking to advance his own ascendancy in European interests. Before the last of the month Charles departed on his route to the Low Countries ; and the King, with

his Queen and a splendid court, embarked in state for Calais, in preparation for the magnificent interview between France and England, which made the meadows between Guisnes and Ardres so picturesquely memorable in history as the "Field of the Cloth of Gold."

There is a detailed notice of the small subsidiary forts built by order of Henry VIII. at Sandgate, Dover, Deal, and Walmer; and nothing afterwards of any importance, until Lambarde mentions certain considerable sums of money expended by Charles I. both on the apartments and defences of the Castle, and the reception there of Henrietta Maria of France, on her bridal-coming to England, in brighter days of youth and promise. From hence the King conducted her at once to Canterbury, where she lodged as a bride—under perhaps the darkest omen such a marriage could well have had—amidst the deserted and desecrated precincts of St. Augustine's Abbey.

CHAPTER II.

THE next episode in its failing history is one which brings the Castle before us more nearly in its extreme modern aspect, shorn of its ancient honours, no longer of much moment even as a national fortress, and becoming an obscure adventurer's prize, without so much as the dignity of a siege.

The daring enterprize of the Duc de Guise, which

years before had wrested Calais from the English hold, had not been forgotten on this coast. We had to pass without notice just now the reign of Queen Mary, seeing that the reconstruction of a small tower next the Constable's during this reign, called for that reason Queen Mary's Tower, is the only thing associating her name with the Castle. But her hapless campaign against France, in 1558, must have produced some stirring days for Dover; as when her ten thousand levies were embarked for the Low Countries, or intelligence came of the rout of St. Quentin, or the people heard one fine morning of the capitulation of Calais.

The discovery of Coligny's papers in which he suggested the scheme by which Calais might be successfully attacked, the close investment of the fortress, and the precipitate assault of the Duc de Guise, having all ended in suddenly carrying the place by a *coup de guerre*, half Europe had been astonished by the reduction in two nights of that famed stronghold, which the English had held, and regarded as impregnable, ever since its long siege and capture by Edward III.

As this celebrated military exploit had almost in a moment wrested its most cherished foreign appanage from the English Crown, so it seems to have occurred to a citizen of Dover, at the outbreak of the Great Rebellion, that a like glory might be acquired on a small scale, by seizing the royal Fortress opposite Calais from the servants of the King. There seems to have been some unaccount-

ably favouring opportunity. Most people's energies and attention were directed to the beginning of the Civil War at Portsmouth, which was just then invested by an insurgent force in the name of the Parliament, while the King and his Government were as yet only prepared to resist by a proclamation of its treason. It seems there was a leader of the Republican party in Dover, one Drake, a man of some substance and weight among his own mercantile class, who conceived a plan for the seizure of the Castle, and for being the first to hoist the Parliamentary flag on this royal Keep in the county of Kent. Times had greatly changed there even within the last century; for the garrison was, even in these disturbed days, a mere nominal force, and Drake had to deal with scarcely more than a score of men-at-arms. Of this he seems to have been well informed, for he banded together with him no more than ten fellow-republicans of the town, and appointed a rendezvous on the shore at midnight to put his scheme in execution. They are said to have made their approach by scaling some crags in the cliff overhanging the sea, which must mean that they took the old line of Sir Stephen de Pencestre's stolen march, and went along the hollow between the Ashford Towers and the opposite hill, till they found the easiest point for the use of their rope ladders. By these they got secretly within the first lines of defence, then overpowered the few solitary guards they encountered, obtained admission at the great gate of the Keep yard, through the

warder's panic of fear at the name of a Parliamentary warrant—ejected, while still favoured by the darkness, the remaining handful of men-at-arms, and so remained masters of the position, until reinforced by others from the town and neighbourhood, who were ready to strike in with any such success for the insurgent cause.

Reinforcements seem to have been ready at hand ; some indeed to have been sent, others volunteered, from no farther off than Canterbury ; and they threw themselves within the old Castle walls with such speed and effect, as to bid defiance to the few loyal gentlemen of the country side, who assembled with such force as they could hastily muster against the commercial commandant, and the self-appointed garrison of insurgent quasi-soldiers with him. Under the advice of Sir Richard Hales and his brother Justices, the Crown troops, or rather volunteers, suddenly levied under a few county gentlemen, first secured the several lesser forts and beach batteries on the coast, from whence they carried off every available gun for which they could find means of transport. For these they threw up a few hasty earth-works on the high land outside the northern spur of Sir Stephen de Pencestre's construction, and opened their fire upon that side of the Castle defences. Their force and munitions of war, however, were quite unequal to the task before them, for after a few days' firing, without making an impression on any part of the works attacked, they were obliged to evacuate their position on the approach of one of the

Parliamentary colonels with sufficiently superior numbers, who at once seized it, together with most of its material hastily abandoned to its fate. This ended the attempt to recover his ancient and royal Castle for the King, and no more was ventured again. And so the daring act of Drake and his little band of assailants accomplished that which had hitherto failed in any ordinary assault of war,—which had twice cost the repulsed efforts of the Dauphin, and his best forces, of France,—and which, up to this time, had not taken from these heights their rightful claim upon the boasted motto of their county, “INVICTA!”

There are no traces to connect the history of the Castle any farther with that of Cromwell's Protectorate, unless, indeed, the taking of Dunkerque was a time when he, or his forces, might have been associated more immediately with Dover, as in older days of continental campaigning. Some policy of acquisition, or success in arms, on the Continent, had been a favourite object of Cromwell's later years; indeed, had he lived longer, he would probably have embarked in a vast scheme for the conquest and dismemberment of the Low Countries, one of the points in which Napoleon I. came afterwards to describe and print a comparison between Cromwell and himself^a. So important an event, therefore, as the delivery of Dunkerque by allied treaty into his hands,

^a In a curious pamphlet described by Bourrienne, and fiercely ordered to be suppressed by the First Consul, though written by himself, entitled *César, Cromwell, et Bonaparte*.

might possibly have brought the Protector to the historic spot, where kings before him had presided over many such events in their day; though his letters respecting them to Admiral Blake and others, at this time, rather exhibit the confusion and gloom of thought that shortly preceded his death.

CHAPTER III.

THERE can be little doubt of the condition of the old Church during these times. The interregnum of the State could hardly have failed to produce a corresponding interregnum of desolation and desertion both in the fabric and services here. Nevertheless, until this time, the spirit of thoughtful care and preservation, that had so long watched over the Martyrs' Memorial in olden days, does not seem to have been quite extinct. There were several traces about it of the transition stage between Tudor times and the long after subsidence of all church architectural taste and knowledge. Not that much was done in the Church, which had not better perhaps have been either differently done, or left undone; nevertheless, it shewed a certain amount of interest in it still surviving during the reigns of Elizabeth and James I.

There is another curious example of the use and offices of an ancient church, similarly placed, continuing during this period,—and with curious provisions for its celebration,—which may be traced inside the

walls of the stately old royal castle of Ludlow. In the midst of the inner castle yard is the most perfectly original example in the kingdom of the round or nave member of one of the little memorial churches of the Knights Templars. This round portion used to appear quite isolated, till I was permitted one summer by Lord Powis to explore the ground for the limits of the little sacarium, or chancel, as it must have been originally built by the Templars. This I found with no great trouble, and laid open in its small square form, eastward of the great arch ; where the visitor may still see it in exact conformity with other known examples^b. But what the visitor may also observe is, that the chancel, formerly so called, had been a lengthy space, between two thin walls reaching from the diameter of the round nave to the inclosing wall of the castle yard. Contemporarily with the building of these it seems the north window of the nave had been knocked out of its Norman size and shape into a flat arched doorway, and a similar opening had been made at the same level in the opposite wall of the royal apartments, with an evident view of connecting the two by some kind of gangway, giving covered access from the state quarter of the castle to the church. This intention is farther explained by observing from the inside

^b Identical, for instance, even to a few inches, with the figure of the Templars' Church on the western heights of Dover, which, following up this description, was cleared out and developed in 1854 by order of Colonel Grant, R.A., then in command at Arch-cliff Fort.

that, level with the sill of this forced doorway, a strong floor was at some time laid, covering most of the circle of the building, and coming to a front opposite the impost of the rich eastern arch. So that the sum of these arrangements,—the latter being clearly due to about Elizabethan times,—amounted to this. The pseudo-chancel inclosure, thinly built, and joined eastwards to the old Templars' Church, served for the ordinary course of offices in the castle chapel, for the officials, retainers, and others thereto belonging; meanwhile the great occupiers, of whatever kind or degree, neither descended into the courtyard, nor into the body of the chapel, but came direct from the state rooms, by their own passage, upon the platform in the round building, and there joined, or rather looked down upon, the celebration of Divine Service. So the being turned into just a gallery of the closing sixteenth century was the last office fulfilled by this little memorial church of the Holy Sepulchre, within the royal walls at Ludlow!

By reason of its very size, the Church of St. Mary-at-the-Castle was secure from this indignity; though the former condition of the walls at the western end gave me the impression of their having at some time carried the west gallery, which befel most provincial churches about this period. Certainly, on the sides most exposed to weather, it received the usual alterations and additions characteristic of the time; large square openings replacing the ancient windows, with two or three lights, as the case might be; meanly

formed, and included within the square hood-moulding, which marks most of our moribund architecture in the Stuart reigns. These were to be traced in the south side of the chancel and the southern transept, and among the rubble which had finally extinguished the little Early English military side chapel by the southern nave piers. So far the Martyrs' Church continued its course *pari passu* with most others in the land. Like them, it was cared for in disturbed and anxious times, so far as men knew how ; its very disfigurements were done, after a manner, in good faith ; evincing, like many contemporary works, a certain spirit of attachment to sacred things and places, which no spiritual or political shocks have ever been able quite to crush out of the English mind, and which was even then striving, as best it might, to hold its own against the strong tide of bitter opinions and temper of misrule approaching.

Of the general sweep of Church temporalities under Henry VIII. those belonging to Dover came in for their full share ; but, while the priory of St. Martin, the great hospice of the Maison Dieu, and other foundations of less note,—including the parish church of St. Mary-the-Virgin,—were left to simple destitution in the general sack of such revenues by the Crown, it fared not quite so ill with the foundation of St. Alban's date, the Church of St. Mary-at-the-Castle. This was treated as in some sort a dependency of the Crown. Of the three chaplains who represented all that remained of the collegiate body as founded by Eadbald, *one* was suf-

ferred to continue in office after the Reformation. This solitary chaplain appears to have remained on something like the same tenure as heretofore ; except that he was probably subsidized like any other official of the Castle, instead of holding his post as an ancient spiritual and territorial right. He seems to have still resided on the spot ; to have had pastoral charge of the garrison, officials, and others regularly or occasionally resident in the Fortress ; to be still, in virtual effect, what his predecessors of old had been styled, "**The Parson of the parochial Church within the Castle.**"

And so continued this remnant of far antiquity through the last days of the Suffragan Bishops of Dover, and the changeful period soon after succeeding, down to the abeyance of the Church and monarchy of England, and the brief reign of the buff and bandelier soldier-ministers of Cromwell's Commonwealth.

CHAPTER IV.

WE find but little more of interest to be said, as expressly associated with the Castle, after arriving at the time of the Restoration under Charles II. The circumstances of his landing at Dover amidst every kind of demonstration of duty and joy, and his progress to London through almost continuous ranks of a national jubilee, are well known ; and probably the port of Dover had never seen so joyous an assemblage on its quays. But it was hardly

a time to have detained the King in the royal stronghold of his ancestors; and the grim old Norman Keep was no likely place for the taste of a monarch, hastening from the lightsome life of even his continental exile, to the exuberant revelries with which his capital awaited him.

From this time the records of the Castle begin to sink down into their most dry and modernized form. They pass gradually into their phase of the nineteenth century,—a process whose fitful course it is no further the object of these few pages to pursue. It may be as well perhaps, for the interest of the general reader, to leave it as it stands, and draw no more nearly together the memories of the grand old fortress of the Normans with its sufferings in latter days under Ordnance administration, and occasional past raids (in somewhat less enlightened times than these) of certain official engineers, who both destructively and constructively have left their marks behind them.

It may help out our few reminiscences, however, and present at one glance the several lesser points of historical interest attaching to the Castle, if I subjoin a short selection of chief names of those who have held the office of Constable from time to time, continuing to the change when that old title became popularly merged in that of Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports. The names or descriptions will be enough of themselves to suggest the links of connection the old Castle has had with divers persons or events of past importance in the land—

a kind of knowledge which will always contribute one of the principal charms surrounding the ancient relics of any former days.

The following list is not intended to give the reader the impression that the personages whose names appear on it were necessarily connected by personal residence, more or less, with the Castle. It is difficult, as I have said, to understand sometimes even the enumeration and sequence of the Constables of Dover, as given by the several authorities who have collected them. But, without taking it to mean more than it is worth, the occurrence of the name may at all events be understood to imply that its possessor held, with the title and dignity of Constable, the command in chief of the Castle and its forces under the Crown; the control, and no small share, of the revenues belonging to it; and possession, whenever he chose to occupy them, of the state apartments above the gateway overlooking the valley, and called immemorially the Constable's Tower.

CHAPTER V.

A Selection from the Roll of Constables of Dover Castle.

TRADITION has preserved two well-known names as lords of the Castle while still an Anglo-Saxon fortress, to whom the Norman title of Constable must not be applied :—

GODWYN, Earl of Kent, till within the last twelve years of Edward the Confessor.

HAROLD, during these intervening years, till he perished at the battle of Hastings.

From hence begins the roll of Constables proper ; inaugurated by William the Norman with the name of

ODO, Bishop of Bayeux, his half-brother and companion-at-arms.

EUSTACE, Earl of Boulogne ; said to have been buried in Faversham Abbey, founded by his father King Stephen.

JAMES DE FYENNES, last hereditary Constable. Geoffrey, Archbishop of York elect, being his prisoner in Dover Castle by order of the Pope's legate, it roused one of England's stalwart protests (never wanting) in the form of the Earl of Cornwall's expedition, with other great barons, and even bishops, to release him.

WILLIAM LONGSWORD, Earl of Salisbury. One of the many alleged refuges of his mother, Fair Rosamond, is the Norman fort of Westenhanger, near Hythe.

HUBERT DE BURGH.

HUMPHRY DE BOHUN, Earl of Hereford. He was at the head of another powerful protest, forwarded at this time to Rome, against the Papal power, and menacing an appeal to arms.

EDWARD, PRINCE OF WALES, afterwards Edward I.

STEPHEN DE PENCESTRE.

EDMUND PLANTAGENET, son of Edward I.

LORD BURGHESHER, whose arms remain over Colton Gate.

SIR JOHN BEAUCHAMP, son of Guy, Earl of Warwick ; one of the first Knights of the Garter.

WILLIAM DE LATIMER, the first named Governor of Calais.

HENRY PLANTAGENET, Prince of Wales, afterwards Henry V.

RICHARD NEVILLE, commonly called the stout Earl of Warwick ; till he renounced the cause of Edward IV., and fell for Henry VI.

RICHARD, DUKE OF GLOUCESTER, afterwards Richard III.

HENRY, DUKE OF YORK ; afterwards Henry VIII.

GEORGE, VISCOUNT ROCHFORD, brother of the unhappy Anne Boleyn.

WILLIAM, LORD COBHAM ; imprisoned by Queen Mary for partizanship with the Queen of Scots.

EDWARD, LORD ZOUCHE ; one of the English party sent into Scotland to oppose, and afterwards appointed to try, Mary Queen of Scots.

GEORGE VILLIERS, the notorious Duke of Buckingham.

{ JOHN DESBOROUGH, Parliamentary general.

{ COLONEL FEETWOOD, commanding the fanatic forces which mainly resisted the designs for Cromwell's establishment as monarch without the name.

{ JOHN LAMBERT ; thanked and pensioned by the House for his successful services to the Parliament.

These three names probably formed one continual Parliamentary commission for administering the affairs of the Castle during the Interregnum.

ROBERT BLAKE, Parliamentarian Admiral. He does not appear to have been recognised as Constable ; but for his services in crippling Prince Rupert, in reducing Guernsey and Jersey, and defeating the Dutch admirals in force near the straits of Dover, he was named by the Parliament Warden of the Cinque Ports.

JAMES, DUKE OF YORK, afterwards James II. ; appointed at the Restoration.

GEORGE, EARL OF WINCHELSEA ; sometime comrade of General Monk ; adviser of James II. ; but, on his abdication, an adherent of William III.

GEORGE OF DENMARK, Prince Consort of Queen Anne.

JAMES, DUKE OF ORMOND ; attainted for high treason under the government of George II.

FREDERICK, LORD NORTH, afterwards Earl of Guilford ; leader of the Ministry during the heavy times of the American war of independence ; sometime Chancellor of Oxford University.

The Right Hon. WILLIAM PITT. By this time the official residence of the Constable, or Lord Warden, had become entirely transferred to the little fort of Walmer Castle, where, in a small closet overlooking the sea, many an interview of national moment used to pass between Lord Nelson, from his fleet in the Downs, and this Premier of England.

CHAPTER VI.

THE remainder of the history of the ancient Church, following in the Stuart times, might be nearly epitomized by the passing notice Leland bestows upon it in the following passage of his "Itinerary":—"The strong and famose Castel of Dovar stondeth on the Toppe of a Hille almost a Quarter of a Myle of fro the Towne, on the lyft side; and withyn the Castel ys a Chapel, yn the sides wherof appere sum greate *Briton* Brykes." This is all the account he gives of the condition of either Castle or Church in according them a place in his descriptive route. Soon afterwards, following the last alterations, which must have been made in the times of Elizabeth or James I., most of the ancient work of the interior was evidently allowed to go fast to decay; and what did not perish was simply walled up where it stood. There were many marks left of violence perpetrated under the name of iconoclastic wrath; and to the same kind of bitterness, combined with the excessive ignorance of ordinary Church officers in that and the next century, was probably due the covering every

* It seems also, by the same "Itinerary," that the consort Roman beacon was still standing as a tower, in Leland's time, where the foundations now appear on the western heights. He says, "On the toppe of the hye Clive between the Towne and the Peere, remayneth yet abowt a flyte shot up into the land fro the very Brymme of the Se clyffe, a Ruine of a Towr, the which has bene a Pharos or a Mark to shyppes on the Se, and therby was a place of Templarys."

old feature in the walls under a thick uniform coating of rubble and plaster. So that the aspect of the Church became really little more, in brief process of time, than that of so many "wauls, yn the sides wherof appered sum grate Briton Brykes."

Nevertheless, the spiritual fabric of so many centuries' foundation was not yet quite broken up. The chaplains, as such, had long disappeared; but the one who remained, who had been set aside at the great Rebellion, became reinstated afterwards at the Restoration; and the ancient office survived for awhile in that of a priest still responsible for the duties of the Church as of old, and thenceforth called the Castle Chaplain. The office indeed subsided into little more than a nominal one, in any pastoral sense; while the spiritual person who held it scarcely differed from any subordinate officer of a government department. And under this aspect the Church of St. Mary-at-the-Castle lingered out its last days during the reigns of James II. and William III.

There is reason to believe that some celebration of Divine Service was maintained in the Church until quite the close of the seventeenth century; whether in any regular course, or by its own regularly constituted minister, there remains no evidence to make out. But those services must have been the last. With the beginning of the eighteenth century came the deserted, dismantled condition of the fabric; though I confess myself unable to imagine how, in the course of a century and a half, so complete a wreck could have been made of so

strong and solid a building. One can only suppose there must have been some very determined purpose in suppressing the service, and making a ruin of the Church. Indeed, circumstantial evidence is strong that destruction must have been carried on in some regular and purpose-like manner. The roofs over the nave and transepts might have perished perhaps without leaving much of their poorer material behind; but the fine groined stone roofs over the tower space and chancel were not so easily to be disposed of; and as there was hardly a fragment of them anywhere turned up during all our excavations, they must have been pulled to pieces and carried bodily away^d. The roofs once gone, ruin would of course go on at an accelerated rate; but quantities of earth and rubble must have been thrown into the interior to account for its being choked up to a uniform depth of nine feet throughout. The bell-chamber of the tower of course shared the fate of the groined roof below; and the bells, made so much of in olden days, were transferred by a Government order to Portsmouth—an order which local tradition says was never executed; for that the bells in question were placed in the church tower of St. Margaret's at Cliffe, giving rise to a popular saying among the people of the country side, that, though the places are over a hundred

^d So also suffered the grand old windows of the Maison Dieu Refectory-hall, when made a victualling-office, some of whose mullions and tracery could I think be still pointed out in stray nooks and corners of the town.

miles apart, "Portsmouth bells can be heard at St. Margaret's." The Communion plate was better cared for; and was handed over, with a memorandum of trust, to the keeping of the Church officers of St. James'; by whose successors those vessels were carefully restored, upon the re-dedication of the Church, for the service of their original Altar.

Finally, every original approach to the Church having been sunk under the latter accumulation of soil, a means of entry was extemporized by a rough archway knocked through the gable end of the north transept, in which was fixed a pair of wide barn doors; thus adapting and employing the inclosure for a spacious out-door barrack store. It became, in short, a garrison fuel depôt; where, under some ten or twelve feet depth of coals, the few visible features of the fabric might be sought out now and then like so many fossil remains; a kind of geological bed where the last representative of the race of chaplains, having for his occasional charge a few debtors in the Castle prison, little supposed that the scene of his predecessors' labours for so many centuries was laid.

Conclusion.

IT now only remains to record, in a few closing words, the process of recovery by which this fabric has been brought back to its primitive dignity and use.

So long ago as 1844, when St. Mary's parish Church was re-built, the architects, with myself, made a concerted effort to approach the Government authorities on the subject of the old Castle Church ; but without effect. Equally unavailing were various other attempts from time to time to draw the attention of officials, and of the public, in that direction ; and there can be no doubt of the many phases of possible and probable destination through which the old Church passed and re-passed for some intervening years.

At the same time a better spirit was gaining ground ; the evidences of which, abounding elsewhere, appeared also in many works both of repair and construction latterly carried out at the Castle, proving on the part of the authorities a far different tone of taste and knowledge from that of previous times. A more favourable juncture seemed to have come round for considering the case of any interesting relic of antiquity. Provision had already been made for better celebrating Divine Service for the moiety of the garrison on the western heights. The same want was apparent for those occupying the Castle ; the Church of past ages in the precincts

attested its own paramount claim; and the good will of many intelligent archæologists was warmly enlisted on its behalf; so that the vote was at length without difficulty proposed and carried in the House of Commons, to expend a sufficient sum for restoring it completely for its ancient sacred use.

The work was commenced in 1860, and finished, by stages often unavoidably delayed, in 1862. The question of its re-consecration was carefully considered; but the law is laid down to be that, where the main walls of a church remain, and the lines of foundation are not materially altered, and the site of the altar is not removed, no re-consecration should take place; which ruled therefore that so it must be in this instance. But its virtual sanctifying anew to its old religious use, during a century and a-half in abeyance, was made a solemn episcopal act. In virtue of a commission from the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Right Rev. the BISHOP OF SIERRA LEONE came, and, with a body of neighbouring clergy and an overflowing congregation, formally inaugurated the restoring of Divine Service within these walls, re-dedicating them as the ancient Church of St. Mary-at-the-Castle, to the worship of GOD in the Services and Sacraments of the Church of England,—both which, at the Altar and the Font, were once more celebrated on that opening day. There was something unusually touching as well in those services as in their celebrant. The words and forms of that solemn ceremonial were identical, many of them, with those first offered on that sacred spot above fifteen hundred years before; and the dedication of

that Church in its first age of trial and suffering was most fitly repeated by a bishop whose own sphere of Christian mission is but too well known, on the lone shores of Africa, as a willing conflict with hardship, danger, and death !

Thus we complete a long chain of historical and religious associations ;—so long and continuous that their parallel would not be often to be met with, even in spots of far wider interest and fame. We have traced them, not in any minute detail, but in their distinct places of succession. We find before us in this Fortress links of connection with many a brilliant or critical period of England's history, in Stuart, Tudor, and Plantagenet times,—with the beautiful science and art of the Early English reigns—with the feudal power and baronial display of Norman courts and kings—with the ruder life and state of royal Saxons and their stalwart race. Above all, close by a relic of imperial Rome we have one primitive mark of a Spiritual Empire destined to supplant that of every temporal power ; one “ holy and beautiful House where our first fathers have worshipped ;” one Sanctuary raised in the primitive days of British Christianity,—remaining yet “ as an ensign set on an hill,”—an ever-abiding witness of the truth of that Church for which British martyrs lived and died !

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