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C O R R I G E N D A E T A D D E N D A .

Page 4, note 1—for “XScriptt.” read “X Scriptt.”

Page 9, note *—for “hemicydiis” read “hemicyclia.” For this very ingenious correction of a manifestly corrupt passage I have to thank my friend, Mr. James Parker, of Oxford.

Page 12, note 1.—In the Plan of the Abbey taken since my last visit to Waltham, the site of the building in which these capitals occur, is shown at some distance north-east from the Church. The building must have been one of those vaulted sub-structures which are found almost everywhere, under, very probably, the Abbot's house.”

Page 18, line 10 from bottom—for “north transept” read “south transept.”

Page 24.—The Plan of the Abbey shows the eastern limb, with at least five bays, but the extreme east end seems not to have been found. The piers look in the Plan like a continuation of the Romanesque of the nave, but the sections of the nave piers and some other details are so indefinitely given, that I cannot build much upon this evidence.

Page 27, line 5—for “the third” read “the fourth.”

Page 29, line 3—for “wall” read “aisle.”

Page 32, line 6—for “exclusively” read “exclusive.”

Page 56, line 10—for “apperent” read “apparent.”

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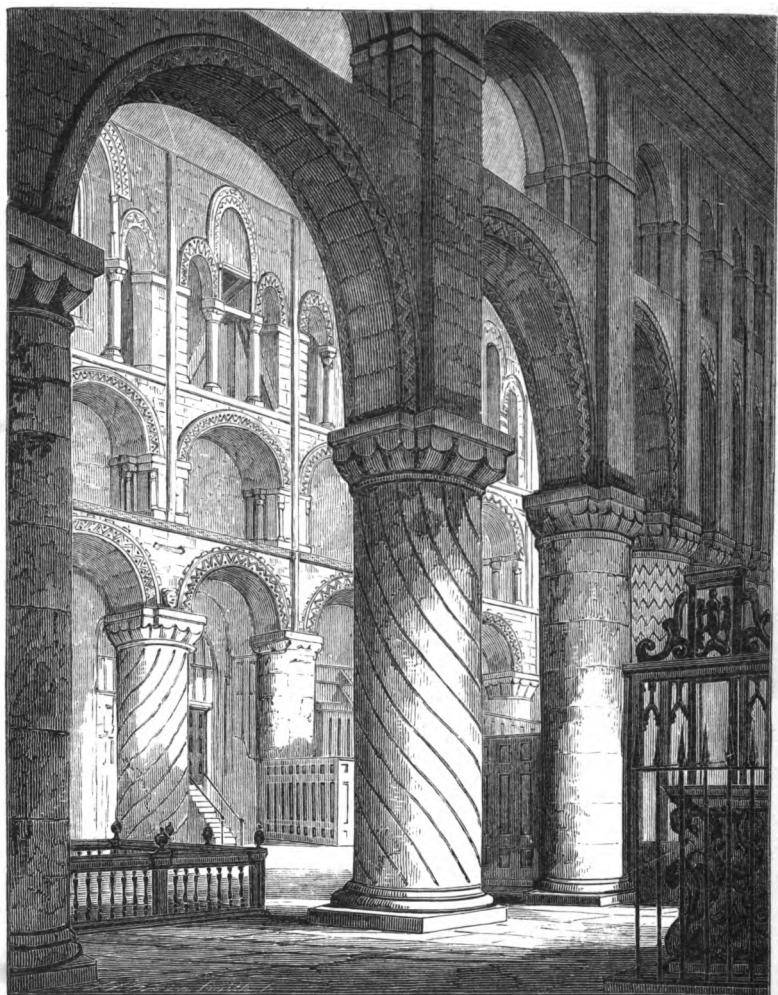
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INTERIOR OF WALTHAM ABBEY CHURCH,—N.E. VIEW.

TRANSACTIONS

OF

The Essex Archæological Society.

THE ARCHITECTURE AND EARLY HISTORY OF WALTHAM ABBEY CHURCH.

BY EDWARD A. FREEMAN.

THE impressions conveyed by the first glimpse of Waltham Abbey will probably be found disappointing. The visitor who has heard of the building as one of the finest specimens of our national Romanesque, and as closely connected with some of the greatest events in English history, will find little in the first view of its exterior which he will think worthy of its reputation. Changes since its first erection, barbarous mutilations and hardly less barbarous additions, have entirely destroyed its character as seen from without. And even within, both mediæval alterations of the strangest kind, and the accumulated enormities of more recent days, have gone far to ruin the general effect of the original building. The nave of the Romanesque Church is all that remains; the addition of a large Decorated chapel to the south, and of a Debased tower to the west, the destruction of the eastern portion of the church and of the whole conventual buildings, have between them converted the once splendid church of Waltham into a patched and mutilated fragment. Still a large portion of the original interior remains untouched; an interior deserving attentive study, as one of the noblest specimens of northern Romanesque, and invested with a yet higher interest if we may regard it as called into being by the taste and bounty of the last of our native Kings.

The early history of Waltham Abbey presents to us two great questions. Is the existing building really the work of Harold? Was it really the burying-place of Harold?

Of these two questions the latter is a purely historical one, which we will for the present postpone. The former can only be answered by a very attentive comparison of architectural and of documentary evidence. That Harold built a church at Waltham is certain; and we may add that it is equally certain that a church built by him must have been in some form or other of Romanesque. We have, moreover, a church before our eyes whose style shows that it cannot be later than the twelfth century, but which, at first sight, we should hardly have referred to the eleventh. We have then two problems to solve: Will architectural evidence allow us to place the existing building so early as the days of Harold? Will documentary evidence allow us to imagine any subsequent re-building between the days of Harold and the conclusion of the twelfth century?

After most carefully weighing all the evidence of both kinds, after balancing difficulties on one side against difficulties on the other, I have come, though not without doubt and hesitation, to the conclusion that we must answer "Yes" to the former question, and "No" to the latter. That is, I believe that the balance of evidence inclines to the opinion that the Romanesque portions of the present church are really portions of the original church built by King Harold.

To set forth the case more clearly, I will, first of all, bring forward all the documentary evidence I can find which seems at all to bear upon the question; I will then describe the Romanesque portion of the building as it stands at present. We shall then be in a position to put the arguments, documentary and architectural, together, and to see to what conclusions we are led by their united force.

EARLY DOCUMENTARY HISTORY.

The most detailed account which we have of the early history of Waltham is to be found in the two local histories first published by M. Francisque Michel, in the second volume of his "*Chroniques Anglo-Normandes*." They are headed respectively "*Vita Haroldi*," and "*De Inventione*

Sanctæ Crucis Walthamensis." I may seem to be propounding a sort of paradox when I say that I attribute very great authority on our present question to the former, while at the same time, in a historical point of view, I look upon it as a mere romance. A little consideration, however, will show that what may be a mere romance as regards the history of England may be of the highest value as regards the history of Waltham. It is a piece of local hagiography. Harold appears not merely as the patriot King and the munificent founder, but as becoming an actual saint. He escapes from Hastings, and leads a long life of piety and mortification. This of course is mere romance. The English would naturally, for a while, be unwilling to believe in the death of their hero. Rumours that Harold had escaped and would one day again appear to lead them, would be rife in the Camp of Refuge and within the walls of Exeter. Numberless parallels will at once occur. A tale then of Harold's escape would naturally arise. But, if Harold had escaped, why did he not join the patriot bands of Hereward and Waltheof? Why did not the Holy Rood of Waltham again resound as the battle-cry of another Senlac? Harold living, and not in arms against the invader, could be explained in no other way than that he had betaken himself to a life of penitence, that by prayer and scourge and fasting he was expiating the one sin of his life, his fatal oath to the Norman. In the first years of the Conquest the tale would be that Harold was again to appear in arms; as hope died away, it would gradually assume the form which we find in our Waltham legend. On such a form local piety would of course eagerly seize. It was something to be founded by the last native King; it was something greater to be founded by one enrolled in the higher rank of eremites and saints.

This of course is mere romance. No fact in history is better attested than that Harold died beneath his standard upon the Hill of Senlac. But the romance is a Waltham romance: it is written to extol the glories of Waltham and its founder. Such a legend would doubtless be scrupulously accurate on all local points. The local colouring and description would be carefully preserved. A Waltham author, writing mainly for Waltham readers, would not venture to depict Waltham as other than it really stood

before their eyes. While, therefore, I do not admit the "Vitæ Haroldi" as any evidence at all to prove that Harold really escaped from Senlac, I regard it as most important evidence on all points of local description and local history.

The book was written after 1205, in which year the author professes to have visited Rouen.* He therefore long survived the latest date to which the Romanesque work at Waltham could possibly be referred. His testimony is therefore of great importance as to the question whether any rebuilding took place between the days of Harold and the latest possible date for a Romanesque building.

The "Liber de Inventione Sanctæ Crucis" is of earlier date. M. Michel, in his Preface, tells us that we learn from the work itself that the author was made Canon of Waltham by Adeliza, the second wife of Henry I. I do not find this in the book, but it is clear that he wrote about that time, and, as M. Michel has omitted several chapters at the beginning, the statement he quotes may probably be contained in one of them. Allowing for a few miraculous narratives, I see no reason why we may not accept this tract as authentic history. The writer gives a minute account of the history of Waltham down to his own time. He emphatically denies † the story of Harold's escape, and of his burial anywhere but at Waltham. This is of importance, as showing that the story of Harold's penitence at Chester is of early date.‡

The first origin of the Waltham foundation goes back, on the authority of the local narrative, to the days of Cnut. Harold, it appears, was not the first founder, but rather "an especial benefactor of the same." According to the "De Inventione," a miraculous crucifix was found at a place called Montacute, and removed to Waltham. This is the

* He there saw the tree under which Harold was said to have sworn, and which had ever since lost its bark. His visit was 140 years after the event—"in anni circiter centesimi quadragiesimi spacium," (p. 185.), which brings it to 1205. Ordericus Vitalis (p. 493 Duchesne) also makes Harold swear at Rouen; but, according to the Bayeux Tapestry and Wace (see Taylor's Wace, p. 85) he swore at Bayeux, while William of Poitiers (p. 19 Duchesne) lays the scene at Bonneville.

† Quicquid fabulenter homines quod in rupe manserit Doroberniæ, et *nuper* defunctus sepultus sit Cestriæ, pro certo quiescit Walthamie.—p. 250.

‡ It is mentioned also by Giraldus Cambrensis (Itin. Camb. Lib. ii. cap. xi. p. 874: Camden). Æthelred of Riveaux (XScriptt. col. 394) also speaks of it doubtfully, without mentioning Chester. This last author is quoted by the writer of the "Vita Haroldi," p. 209.

Holy Rood of Waltham, which gave its name to the church, and which became the centre of the whole web of history and legend. The owner of the lordship was then one Thoni "le Prude,"* whom, I think, we may fairly identify with the courtier of Harthacnut, "Tovius Pruda cognomento,"† whose wedding-feast proved fatal to that jovial monarch. Florence of Worcester calls his Tovius "magnæ vir potentiæ," and our Waltham chronicler greatly extols the wealth, wisdom, piety, and court favour of his Thoni.‡ By his wisdom, he had acquired large possessions, in addition to his hereditary estate. But his son Æthelstan degenerated from his father's virtues, and lost a great part of his wealth, including Waltham. What Æthelstan lost, the Crown, by whatever means, gained, as we find Waltham a royal possession, granted by Eadward the Confessor to his brother-in-law. So says our local writer;§ so also says the more sure testimony of Eadward's charter confirming Harold's foundation.|| May I be allowed to suggest that this loss of property may have been connected with the opposition to the election of Eadward as King, which, if one may believe Malmesbury, brought ruin upon several persons?¶ This opposition seems to have been the work of a Danish party in the interest of Svend Estrithson,** in which the son of Thoni, who was doubtless of Danish descent, may well have been implicated.

Thoni made a foundation for two priests and other clerks. So says the "De Inventione."†† The same foundation is also mentioned by the biographer of Harold, but without introducing the name of Thoni. He speaks very contemptuously‡‡ both of the buildings and the revenues of his infant foundation. The writer of the "De Inventione"

* Chron. Anglo-Norm., ii. 224.

† Flor. Wig. A. 1042.

‡ "Amplas enim sibi conquistierat possessiones Thoni, præter hereditatem propriam, cum inditâ ei sapientiâ quâ præcipuus erat inter primos terræ, tum quia in consiliis Domini Regis primus prodesse poterat vel obesse quibus volebat, tum quia Domini Regis gratiam, qui multa ei de suo proprio contulerat, habere meruit. Sed degenerans a patris astutiâ et sapientiâ filius multa ex his perdidit et inter cetera Waltham."—p. 227.

§ Ibid.

|| Cod. Dipl. iv., 154.

¶ W. Malmsh., lib. ii., p. 297.

** See Archæological Journal, xi., 340.

†† "Presbyteros duos instituit cum reliquis clericis, Deo ministraturos in ecclesiâ.—p. 226.

‡‡ Custodiæ siquidem oratorii crucis adorandæ duo tantum clerici tam brevibus stipendiis quam tectis contenti humilibus videbantur inservire. p. 160.

speaks in quite a different tone.* He, of course, as a general historian of Waltham, was bound to magnify Thoni and Harold alike, while the special biographer of Harold would willingly sacrifice the reputation of Thoni to that of his own hero. This foundation of Thoni is also, I suppose, that mentioned in King Eadward's charter,† though I do not know enough of the local geography to be able to identify the position of Northland; and, certainly, there is something odd in the use of the word "antiquitus" as applied to so recent a foundation.

Thoni, then, being probably dead, and his son Æthelstan‡ not walking in his ways of wisdom, Harold, the son of Godwine, became the temporal lord of Waltham, and also its great ecclesiastical benefactor. He increased the numbers of the small foundation of Thoni, and built a church, which, in his own time at least, was looked upon with great admiration. His foundation, though vaguely called Monasterium in the Charter, was undoubtedly for secular priests. This is distinctly stated by all the writers who record the change in the foundation in 1177,|| as well as by our Waltham chroniclers. It does not seem quite clear whether the College consisted of a Dean and twelve Canons,§ or of twelve Canons, including the Dean.¶ Each Canon had his distinct Prebend. The first Dean was named Ulfwine (Wlwinus), and among the Canons, filling apparently some such office as Chancellor, was one Ailard, or Adelard, a German by birth. This is a fact well worthy of notice. It shows that though Harold and his family were such sturdy supporters of the national cause against Eadward's Norman favourites, yet the great Earl was quite capable of recognizing and rewarding merit in a

* "Non destitit toto tempore vitæ suæ eam auro et argento ornamentis quoque pretiosis indesinenter, ornare." p. 226.

† Primum concedens (Haroldus) ei (monasterio) terram quæ vocatur Northlande, unde ecclesiam villæ antiquitus dotatam invenit.

‡ This Æthelstan, the writer tells us, was "pater Esegari, qui stalre inventus est in Angliæ conquestione a Normannis." Esgar Staller appears in Domesday as holding lands T. R. E.; but another "Stallere" of King Harold, Eadnoth, appears in the Saxon Chronicle, A. 1067.

|| Hoveden, Scriptt. p. Bed. 320. Rad. de Dic. col. 596. Rog. de Wend. ii.; 387.

§ Duobus igitur prædictis clericis quos instituerat Thoni le Prude in ecclesiâ Walthamensi, vir ille strenuus comes Haraldus undecim sociavit alios viros. * * * * His autem duodecim clericis perhibetur comes ille Wlwinum decanum præficesse.—De Inv., 229.

¶ Binarium clericorum numerus, scilicet infamis, in mysticum senatûs apostolici duodenarium convalescet.—Vit. Har., 161.

stranger. This Adelard, according to the "De Inventione,"* was a native of Liege, who had studied at Utrecht. He seems, by the favour of his own Sovereign, to have wrought a reform in many churches in his own country, and, on the strength of this reputation, Harold selected him to legislate for the new society at Waltham. The "Rex Theutonicorum," under whom he acted in Germany, must have been Henry III., as Henry IV. was not, at the date of the foundation of Waltham, either of an age or a disposition to figure as an ecclesiastical reformer. It is odd, however, that, in this case, the writer should not have allowed him his title of Emperor. It is not an unnatural conjecture that this Adelard may have come to England in the train of the Ætheling Eadward, in 1057. The biographer of Harold has a much more marvellous story.† The Earl, after his Welsh campaign, was smitten with a "paralysis" which King Eadward's court physicians could not cure. The report of his illness reached the ears of the Emperor in Germany, who, as a friend and kinsman of King Eadward, sends his own physician to undertake the healing of his favourite and brother-in-law. This physician is no other than this same Adelard, or Ailard, who, in this version of the story, is converted from a "soul-curer" into a "body-curer." He figures, however, as a modest and devout personage. Harold's disease is beyond his skill also, and he recommends an application to the Holy Rood of Waltham. By its means, of course, the paralysis is soon got rid of, and Harold is restored in good health to King Eadward and the English people. In sign of his gratitude, he enlarges the old foundation of Waltham, and appoints Ailard to the management of its educational department.‡

All this is mere legend, and might be rejected, on purely chronological grounds, by the most devout believer in the virtues of Waltham's Holy Rood. The Welsh wars in which, according to our biographer, Wales was "subacta, immo ad internecionem per Haroldum pene deleta"§ must

* p. 229.

† p. 156 et seqq.

‡ Scholas ibidem institui sub regimine magistri Ailardi * * * satagebat. p. 161.

§ p. 155.

mean the final campaign of 1063. But then, as we shall presently show, Waltham was already founded. The sovereign, again, who sends Ailard is called "Aleman-norum Imperator, qui Regi Anglorum affinitate proximus, dilectione et amicitia erat conjunctissimus."* Now in 1063 there was, in strictness, no Emperor of the West reigning; and, though the chronicler might easily have carelessly applied the title of "Imperator" to a mere King, yet it is clear that the description given in no wise answers to the boyhood of Henry IV. The writer evidently means Henry III., who had some diplomatic intercourse with Eadward, and whose kinswoman Agatha had married Eadward's nephew Eadward Ætheling, though the amount both of friendship and affinity is strangely exaggerated. But Henry III. died in 1056,† long before Harold's great Welsh campaign. The tale is evidently a myth, a strange perversion of the probably real relation of Ailard both to the Emperor and to Harold, which we find in the other narrative.

I know not on what authority it is that Mr. Poole, in his "History of Ecclesiastical Architecture in England,"‡ tells us that Eadward granted his lands at Waltham to Harold "on condition" of his founding a monastery there. I can find nothing of the sort, either in the Waltham books or in Eadward's own charter. The foundation of the College is everywhere described as the spontaneous act of the great Earl's own piety and munificence; qualities for which he had a high reputation at Waltham, whatever might be the opinion at Wells. The society was well endowed with lands, and the church richly stocked with precious ornaments. The identification of the former I must leave to the local antiquary; that of the latter I fear that the Norman and the Tudor have between them rendered impossible. It is only with the fabric of the Church itself that I am at all concerned.

That Harold built a church for his new foundation is certain. The words of the charter "*Monasterium ad laudem Domini nostri Jesu Christi et sanctæ Crucis*

* p. 157.

† *Herm. Contr. in anno. Struvii Scriptt. Germ.*, p. 298. *Otto Fris.*, lib. vi., c. 33. *Chron. Sax. in anno*, where he is called *Cona*.

‡ p. 91.

construxit," would not alone be absolutely conclusive, as they *might* only imply the addition of collegiate buildings to an existing church. But this construction would seem rather forced, and the two Waltham chroniclers leave no doubt on the subject. Their descriptions are so important that I must quote them at length.

The biographer of Harold says:—

"At vir magnificus locum et loci cultum omnimodis cupiens cum suis cultoribus sublimare, novam ibi basilicam fabricare * * * proponit. * * * Nec paulo segnius quod mente conceperat rerum pergebat effectibus parturire. Jaciuntur festinato ecclesiæ amplioris fundamenta, surgunt parietes, columnæ sublimes distantes ab invicem, parietes arcuum aut testudinum emicidiis * mutuis fœderantur, culmen impositum aeris ab introgressis plumbei objective laminis variam secludit intemperiem."†

This is not very easy to construe, but at any rate it shows that Harold built a church with pillars and arches. The earlier writer of the "De Inventione" is still more explicit :

"Venusto enim admodum opere, ecclesiam a fundamentis constructam, laminis æreis, auro undique superducto, capita columnarum et vases flexurasque arcuum ornare fecit mira distinctione."‡

The author then proceeds to describe the splendid furniture of the building, and adds that when Harold had built the church—"Quam cum construxisset ecclesiam, miro tabulatu et latomorum studio diligenter fabricatam;"§ he provided for its consecration. This ceremony the writer describes in detail, with a list of all the temporal and spiritual dignitaries present, which may enable us to fix an approximate date, though there are some difficulties about it. And in looking through this matter, I have to return my thanks to two authors of the same name and the same tastes, though with an interval of several centuries between them, Thomas Stubbs the Dominican, the biographer of the Archbishops of York, and my learned friend Mr. William Stubbs of Trinity College, whose "Episcopal Succession in England" has

* "Hemicydiis" ?

† p. 161.

‡ 232

§ 234.

just been given to the world. The church was consecrated by Kinsige, whom the author calls Ginsi, Archbishop of York, "quia tunc vacabat sedes Cantuariæ." This probably means because Stigand was not looked upon as a canonical Archbishop, which was the reason* why St. Wulfstan was consecrated by Kinsige's successor, Ealdred, and also doubtless why, on Harold's election as King, the ceremony of his regal consecration was performed by the same prelate.† Now Kinsige died in December 1060,‡ which fixes the consecration of Waltham Church to that year at the latest. The Earls mentioned as present are Harold's own brothers Tostig, Gyrth, and Leofwine, and Ælfgar of Mercia. Among inferior dignitaries we are glad to recognize Esegar,§ the descendant of the former lord of the place, who must have looked on the ceremony with mingled feelings. But the mention of Earl Ælfgar is important. Had Harold's own family alone been present, we should have lost part of our evidence. But here we have Ælfgar, the head of the rival house, which shows that Harold wished to gather together all the chiefs of Church and State, and which also enables us to fix the date to some time later than the death of Ælfgar's father, Leofric. That event took place in 1057,|| which fixes our Waltham ceremony to the years 1057-60. The Bishops enumerated allow us to come a little nearer. The writer gives their names, but says he cannot remember their several sees,¶ which is prudent, as in the only one which he does mention, he makes a mistake. By Mr. Stubbs' help I make out the list thus:—Herman of Exeter, (consecrated 1045), Leofric of Exeter (1046), Æthelmar of Elmham (1047), Norman William of London (1051), Wulfwi of Dorchester (1053), Leofwine of Coventry (1053), Æthelwine of Durham (1056), Æthelric of Selsey (1058). There is also a Bishop "Ailnothus" or Æthelnoth, whom I cannot identify. Thus far all would be quite plain, and we should be inclined to fix the date in 1059 ;

* Flor. Wig., Anno 1062.

† Flor. Wig., Anno 1066.

‡ Do. 1060, T. Stubbs, col. 1700. W. Stubbs, p. 20.

§ Esegarus regis procurator aulae, qui et Anglicè dictus *Stallere*, i.e., Regni vexillifer.—De Inv., 234.

|| Chron. Sax. in anno.

¶ Sedium eorum discretionem non mente tenemus, p. 234.

but unluckily two more Prelates, both foreigners by the way, are added, who serve only to perplex our chronology. These are Gisa, whom our author calls "Cirecestrensis," but who was really Bishop of Wells.* Now Walter and Gisa were only consecrated at Rome, after the death of Archbishop Kinsige, in 1061.† Gisa seems indeed to have been nominated to his Bishoprick in 1060, while Kinsige was still alive,‡ but Walter only succeeded to Hereford on the promotion of Ealdred, Kinsige's successor.§ It is therefore impossible that Walter and Gisa could have been present as Bishops, or Walter even as a Bishop elect, at any ceremony performed by Kinsige. But Walter was Chaplain to King Eadward and Gisa to Queen Eadgyth,|| both of whom were present.¶ They would therefore naturally be present also, and their promotion to Bishopricks so soon after might easily cause them to be carelessly added to the list of those who were actually present as Bishops.

We may therefore, I think, fairly fix the date of the consecration of Harold's church to the year 1059 or 1060. The confirmation charter bears date 1062. It is signed by all the Bishops mentioned as present at the consecration, as also by the Archbishops Stigand and Ealdred, and by Ælfwold, Bishop of Sherborne,** whose name should therefore probably be substituted for the mysterious Æthelnoth in the other list. Among the secular dignitaries Ælfgar signs and so does Esegar. Harold himself uses the very practical form, "*Ego Haroldus Comes operando consolido.*"

Harold then built a church; but that fact of course does not prove that the existing church is of his building, as his erection might have been replaced by another. But the present church, by all the laws of architectural science, cannot possibly be later than the twelfth century. If Harold's church was replaced by another, it must of course have been during that period, and the time when we should most naturally look for such a change

* Chron. Sax., A. 1060.

† Flor. Wig., A. 1061

‡ I infer this from the arrangement in Florence, A. 1060.

§ T. Stubbs, col. 1701.

|| Flor. Wig., A. 1060.

¶ De Inv., p. 233, et seqq.

** Mr. W. Stubbs (p. 20) kills Ælfwold in 1058. This must be on the authority of a legend in William of Malmesbury (De Gest. Pont. lib. ii.; Scriptt. post Bed., p. 142), but it is clear from the charter that he was living in 1062.

would be when Henry II. entirely re-modelled the foundation, substituting Monks for the secular Canons established by Harold. This was, as I have already said, in 1177.* But we may observe in passing that, if the architecture looks too much advanced for 1060, it does not look advanced enough for 1177. And neither of our authors hints at any re-building between the days of Harold and his own. The author of the "Vita", who, it will be remembered, wrote not earlier than 1205, does not drop a word implying that Harold's church, which he so elaborately describes, was other than the church which he had before his own eyes. He mentions the change of foundation under Henry II. as something which had happened within his own memory.† Moreover he is by no means disposed to depreciate the Angevin King, whom he may have persuaded himself into looking upon as an Englishman through his maternal grandmother. He applauds the change of foundation as a great reform; he tells us of buildings erected by Henry,‡ but hints not a word of a new church. Had so great a change taken place under his own eyes, he could hardly have failed to record it. For the addition of domestic buildings by Henry II. would be absolutely necessary and might be taken for granted. The dormitory, refectory, and many other portions of a monastic establishment would not have been wanted while the church was in the hands of secular Canons, and would now have to be added for the first time. We might therefore have assumed that "Henricus officinis regularibus venustissime decoravit;§ but the author who recorded that fact would hardly have omitted the far more important one of the re-building of the church, had such an event taken place in his own lifetime. Similarly the || silence of the author "De

* See above, p. 6.

† Statum vero ecclesiæ Walthamensis per diuæ recordationis Regem Henricum secundum in optimum nostris modo temporibus gradum videmus reformatum. p. 164.

‡ Since my last visit to Waltham, some discoveries have been made of remains of conventual buildings, including some elegant vaulting shafts and capitals, which might well be of the time of Henry II., and form a marked contrast to the Romanesque of the nave.

§ p. 165.

|| One difficult passage in the *De Inventione* does seem to imply some alteration in the church. Describing Harold's burial at Waltham, the writer says, "Cujus corporis translationi, quum sic se habebat status ecclesiæ fabricandi vel devotio fratrum reverentiam corpori exhibentium, nunc extreme memini me tertio affuisse."

This is anything but clear; it probably refers to some small change required by the erection of the tomb, which, as the tomb was near the high altar, could not affect the nave, with which we are now concerned.

Invention" may be taken as evidence that no such re-building took place during the earlier period coming within his memory.

We know then from documentary evidence that Harold built a church at Waltham; we have no documentary evidence to show that his church was re-built, we have indeed strong negative evidence to the contrary. We will now turn from documentary to architectural evidence, and see what we have actually standing on the spot which could possibly be attributed to the age either of Harold or of Henry II.

ARCHITECTURAL DESCRIPTION OF THE ROMANESQUE CHURCH.

The present church consists of the nave of the original Romanesque building, of which the choir, transepts, and central tower have been destroyed. A large chapel was added to the south side in the fourteenth century, and a western tower in the sixteenth. These, together with some smaller alterations, we will pass by for the present, and confine ourselves to the consideration of the original building.

This was a Norman cruciform church, with at least preparations for three towers, though the two western ones were probably never completed. The nave is of moderate length and great proportionate height; the transept is short; the extent of the eastern limb could only be ascertained by excavations, and it is much to be desired that the process which has been so successfully carried out at Leominster, may be applied here also.

Interior of the Nave.—The nave consists of seven bays, its length is about 120 feet, its width from the centre of the pillars about 30; the height, to judge from the eye, I should say cannot be far off 60. Exclusive of the western bay on each side, which, as I hope presently to show, were designed to open into towers, the remaining six form a system of three pairs, each pair being divided by a pilaster and attached shaft set in front of the pier and running up the full height. The subordinate bays are merely divided by a shaft corbelled off at the base of the triforium, leaving the pier free. In minutely examining the

building, it will be observed that, while the general design and proportion is the same throughout the whole nave, some slight differences of detail may be observed in the different bays; such slight differences, I mean, as the presence or absence of a billet in a label, as the form—round, octagonal, or clustered—of a decorative shaft, or again whether the centre arch of the clerestory triplet springs from the same shaft as the side ones, or from a smaller one placed upon its capital. Did these mark any increase in ornament or finish—or indeed the reverse—from east to west, one might attribute the diversity to the gradual erection of so large a building; but nothing systematic of this sort can be recognized, further than that the two bays in a pair mostly agree together. The eastern pair, for instance, have a plainer triforium and a richer clerestory than that adjoining them. The differences may probably be attributed to the different workmen employed on different portions, one general design being enjoined throughout, but considerable scope being given for the exercise of private judgement in smaller points of detail.

The piers are of the distinctively English form, vast round masses, but making a somewhat nearer approach to columnar character than those at Leominster, Malmesbury, Southwell, and elsewhere. They are conspicuously higher in proportion than those examples, and, instead of a mere round impost, they are furnished with a genuine capital, with a square abacus broken into four. The pilasters of the alternate bays are attached to their faces, without any further interruption. The central pier of the two eastern pairs on each side is enriched with what may be called fluting, the lines in the eastern pair being twisted, while those in the western are of a zig-zag form. In this respect, as well as in their height, which rises above the ordinary proportions, without attaining the extravagant elevation of Gloucester and Tewkesbury, these piers may be compared to those of Durham Cathedral. The arches themselves are of two orders; they preserve the square section in its purity, but admit a small amount of surface moulding, in the form of a plain chevron on the outer order (which looks quite as if it had been worked with the axe) and a somewhat richer one on the inner order and its soffit. In the second arch from the east on the south side

the inner order towards the aisle is set on a slope, which however seems a later alteration, as the upper part of the column has also been converted into an octagonal form.

The triforium is well and boldly developed, but the height of the piers precludes it from possessing the full importance which it does in some other Norman examples, as, for instance in St. Bartholomew's in London. It consists of a single bold arch, with a vast broad soffit, and a small bead on the angle, the only deviation from the purity of the square section. Its single order is channelled with a light chevron, and in most of the bays there is a billet in the label. It rises from small shafts, a central one being attached to the inner soffit; this must have been purely decorative, as the arch seems never to have been divided, like Southwell or the Abbaye aux Hommes at Caen.

The clerestory follows the ordinary Norman arrangement, a triplet of arches, of which the taller central one forms the rear-arch of the window, while the smaller ones open into the usual passages in the wall. The chevron occurs here also in a rather richer form, more approximating to the later style.

The whole elevation is peculiarly well managed and effective, and it indeed comes very near to realizing the perfection of the Romanesque ideal. The want of reality in its sham triforium may be considered as a fault, but it does not affect the general character, unless in the bareness which it shares with all triforia not subdivided by smaller arches. The horizontal and vertical lines are kept in such a mutual check that neither is allowed to interfere with the genuine expression of mere rest and solidity. In point of ornament it occupies a mean between the utter plainness of Leominster and the lavish gorgeousness of St. David's. In the former the lack of ornament, with which the round-arched construction, and that alone, can afford entirely to dispense, is not to be imputed as a fault, but Waltham far exceeds it in harmonious composition, Leominster being too horizontal and hardly marking the division into bays at all. St. David's is, in fact, except in the use of the round arch, almost as much Gothic as Romanesque, but it is instructive to mark the utter contrast between two buildings employing the same architectural construction. Indeed, as a pure

specimen of Romanesque, with all its small amount of enrichment confined to surface ornament, Waltham is more valuable even than the later and grander naves of Ely and Peterborough, where the mouldings approximate somewhat more to the next style.

The Aisles.—The aisles are of the full height of the two lower stages, so that the triforium, effective as it is in appearance, must be considered as, in point of fact, somewhat of a sham. The arrangement is somewhat the same at Leominster; but there the triforium range is simply blank, the arches never having gone through the wall, while here we have two ranges of open arches, the effect of which, when viewed from some height above the ground (a process for which the too numerous galleries afford excellent opportunities), is very singular and striking. The view in the aisle itself is still more remarkably so, and is very far from easy to describe; the back of the triforium arch rises from a sort of enormous stilt placed upon the pier, while the pier-arch itself is merely recessed as a secondary order in a sort of bridge across it. It rather recalls the arrangement in Oxford Cathedral and in some parts of Romsey Abbey.

The aisles have certainly never been vaulted; indeed any intention of vaulting could never have been carried out consistently with the existing and evidently original arrangements. Shafts are attached to the back of all the piers, except those in the eastern pair; they were probably designed to carry large arches spanning the aisles, a substitute for vaulting occasionally found. They exist at Towyn, in Merionethshire, and evidently did exist in the better known church of St. Peter, Northampton.

The north aisle is conspicuously narrower than the south.

Western Towers.—I said that the Norman church was probably designed to have three towers, but that possibly the two western ones were never finished. My evidence for this belief is grounded on the appearances presented, both within and without, by the seventh bay to the west, which remains independent of the arrangement of the bays into three pairs. Within, the pier which separates it is far wider than any other, even of

the principal piers ; in like manner, in the south aisle this point is marked externally by a larger pilaster than any in the range, a double one, in fact, just calculated to be the commencement of the flat angle-turrets of a Norman tower. Neither here nor in the clerestory is there any sign of there ever having been a window in this bay, but in the clerestory palpable breaks and changes in the thickness of the masonry appear without, as if something had been destroyed or left unfinished. The arches across the aisle, I grant, do not exist ; on the south side the wall seems to have been altered, and indeed thinned, during the Decorated repairs which we shall have afterwards to describe, but on the north there may be discerned against the pier a preparation for something much more than the ordinary buttress-arch across the aisle ; and though the shafts or pilasters against the aisle wall do not exist, there are certain signs in the arrangement of the strings, which look like preparations for their reception. A modern monument interferes just at this point, but the Norman string reappears to the west of it at a point much lower than that continued from the abacus of the windows and exactly ranging with that of the respond attached to the pier opposite. The removal of the arches themselves was a process most likely to occur in one of the changes which we shall presently have to recount. On the whole I feel very little doubt that the Norman church at Waltham was at least designed to be furnished with western towers, though they have left even smaller traces behind them than the eastern pair which I flatter myself that I discovered to have formed a part of the Early English design at Llandaff.*

Exterior of Nave and Aisles.—The Norman arrangements of the exterior survive only in a very fragmentary state. In the clerestory the windows are ranged between flat pilasters supporting a corbel-table. They exhibit the same sort of minute differences which are observable in the internal architecture. In the north aisle, what with later alterations, still later plastering, and the overgrowth of bushes and ivy, but little can be made out beyond a few fragments of internal strings, sufficient

* See Llandaff Cathedral, p. 66.

however to fix the height of that which ran below the windows, and of that from which the abaci of their jamb-shafts were continued. On the south side more extensive traces remain; we can here discern the Norman masonry, which is very good, far better indeed than that of the later styles in this very church. The whole elevation of two bays remains perfect, and a third very important one is comparatively untouched. The arrangement was the usual one of round-headed windows between flat pilasters: the windows are remarkable for their very small internal splay; they have jamb-shafts, and a chevron and bead in the arch like those in the triforium. There is also a chevron on the external strings. The middle bay on the south side was occupied by a Norman doorway, now concealed and partly destroyed by an ugly modern porch. This is one of the most remarkable features of the church, as its size and proportions widely differ from what we are accustomed to elsewhere. It must in fact have been a most stately and magnificent portal, its height very nearly equalling that of the pier-arches. Within it is of three orders, of which the central one has a double chevron, while the inner and outer ones are left quite plain; externally the arch is obliterated, and the jamb-shafts, which evidently existed, are quite destroyed; there are traces of some smaller ones of scarcely any projection attached to the soffit, slightly resembling some of the Welsh and Irish doorways.

Choir, Transepts, &c.—Of the destroyed portion of the church there remain only the western arch of the lantern—which remains perfect, though blocked—the respond and springing of the northern arch, and the greater part of the west wall of the north transept. The preservation of this last, even in its present shattered state, is clearly owing to the chapel erected to the west of it being parochial property, which was therefore spared at the Dissolution. This very wall shows us that the destroyers carried off nearly every particle of stone they possibly could without interfering with the portion of the church which was allowed to survive.

The lantern arches are very bold and noble features, and are remarkable for a greater degree of ornament

than we usually find in such portions of so great a church. The rule that more ornament is generally found in small than in large Romanesque churches especially applies to lantern arches. Probably no cathedral or abbey can present anything at all comparable to the two arches under the tower at Iffley or to the western arch of St. Peter's, Northampton. This at Waltham is of course very far from rivalling those gorgeous examples, but it still affords a conspicuous contrast to the extreme plainness of Leominster or even of Malmesbury. In this respect Waltham makes a slight approximation to the church which in most respects is its exact opposite, St. David's. Like that and Malmesbury, the arch rises from shafts instead of the flat pilasters of Leominster or the corbels of St. Bartholomew's. As a small portion of the northern arch does exist, one is tempted to regret that it does not remain in its full perfection, like the magnificent fragment which greets the eye on approaching the glorious Abbey of Malmesbury.

The transept was short, projecting only one bay, though that rather a long one, beyond the aisle. It had no western aisle, and apparently followed the usual arrangement of three ranges of windows corresponding with the arcade, triforium, and clerestory. Owing to the existence of the great southern chapel, the destruction has been far less complete on that side than on the north. On the north, nothing remains except the southern jamb of the arch between the aisles and transept, the wall having been rebuilt, and an inserted lancet window, apparently taken from some other part of the church. On the south side the arch itself remains perfect, blocked only with brickwork, seemingly at a more recent date. This is a very important fragment. It is of more finished workmanship, and has mouldings far more decidedly affecting the section than any other portion of the church. The blank arch over it ranging with the triforium has indeed the common square section and chevron, but the masonry between them is of unusually fine ashlar, and the string of greater richness. The window also which remains in the lowest range of the transept, though preserving the same proportions as those in the aisle, together with their distinctive lack of splay, presents

the same advanced character in its jamb mouldings as the arch between the aisle and the transept.

We have now to put together our combined documentary and architectural evidence. We have seen that the documentary evidence alone is all but decisive in favour of the church at present existing being that built by Harold. In a somewhat minute account of the fortunes of the foundation, we find not a word implying, hardly a word allowing the possibility, that the church raised by Harold was other than the church which the writers had before their eyes. They detail the wrongs inflicted on the society by the two first Norman Kings ; no one can attribute the re-building to their times. One author writes under the patronage of the Queen of Henry I. ; she was herself a benefactress to the College, but not a word do we find of her re-building, enlarging, or completing the work of Harold. The other writer extols Henry II. almost to a level with Harold himself ; he praises his reforms ; he mentions his addition of domestic buildings ; but nothing is said as to the fabric of the church. The biographer of Harold, in describing Harold's church, does not directly say that it was standing in 1205 ; but the reason clearly is that he takes it so certainly for granted that he does not think it necessary to make any direct assertion about it. In the face of all this, it would require some very strong architectural evidence indeed to establish the fact of a re-building at any date between 1066 and 1205.

Such evidence I confess I do not find. I see at Waltham an early Norman church, which one would doubtless at first sight place after the Conquest, but which I see no improbability, backed as we are by such strong historical arguments, in placing a few years before. Certainly most of the early Norman buildings which remain are much less ornamented than this of Waltham ; but the ornament at Waltham, though of a very effective kind, is still simple and almost rude ; everywhere, except a few details in the transepts, it is quite of the early Norman school ; there is something totally different from the elaboration of ornament, the almost elegance of detail, which might be expected in a building bearing

the date of 1177. Taking architectural evidence alone, it is, I certainly think, a lesser difficulty to attribute it to Harold than to attribute it to Henry II.

But, besides this, there is one feature in the detail of Waltham Church which certainly seems singularly to agree with the description given of that built by Harold. I have already* quoted the account of the church given by the writer "De Inventione," in which he mentions the pillars and arches being adorned with plates of gilt brass. Now one of the distinguishing details at Waltham is the peculiar fluting of the pillars, another is the chevron ornament on the arches. Both these are cut deep and with a sort of squareness quite unlike a common chevron. They are just the sort of thing to be filled up in the way which the writer may very possibly mean, and I have heard that more prying eyes than my own have actually seen traces of the fastenings. Here again we have another strong corroborative argument in favour of the identity of Harold's church with that now existing.

Against all this there is really nothing to set except an unwillingness to acknowledge that so grand a fabric could have been erected during the "Saxon period." Undoubtedly most of the few structures which still exist of an earlier date than the Conquest are far enough indeed from the architectural splendour of Waltham. And, no wonder; they are but mutilated fragments of obscure parish churches or of monasteries of the most insignificant kind, which doubtless owe their preservation to their very poverty and obscurity. No Old English cathedral or great abbey is in existence. But in truth there is here no question at all of "Anglo-Saxon" or "Norman" architecture. By whomsoever built, Waltham Abbey is undoubtedly a Norman building. Small as are the remains of our Anglo-Saxon buildings, there is enough to show that Anglo-Saxon and Norman are two distinct styles,† two separate branches of the great Romanesque family, two independent imitations of the common Roman models. As in most periods of transition, the old and the new style for a time

* See p. 12.

† See the Chapter on Anglo-Saxon Architecture, in my History of Architecture.

existed side by side. The Norman style, by far the richer and more advanced of the two, was employed in the great cathedrals and abbeys, while the Anglo-Saxon still lingered on in obscure parochial churches. Hence, to the confusion of the merely chronological antiquary, we find Norman buildings before, and Anglo-Saxon buildings after, the mystic year 1066. King Eadward, we are distinctly told by William of Malmesbury, built Westminster Abbey in a style of his own introduction, identical with that of William's own day.* Meanwhile, Earl Odda, though seemingly himself a Frenchman,† built the church of Deerhurst in the old style of the country. Later still, after the Conquest, the Danes of Lincoln, expelled by the Normans from the upper city, built the churches of St. Peter-at-Gowts and St. Mary-le-Wigford, in the old native style, while the Norman Cathedral was rising above their heads. That is to say, Eadward, in raising the church which was to be one great memorial of his reign, introduced the last improvements which he had seen or heard of in his own beloved Normandy. Earl Odda probably gave the nuns of Deerhurst a benefaction and let them build as they thought good, while the poor Lincoln emigrants were of course driven to build in a comparatively plain and simple manner. If we simply remember that Anglo-Saxon and Norman are two distinct forms of Romanesque, and that they were used simultaneously in England during a considerable portion of the eleventh century, every difficulty vanishes.

That Waltham was a church, in its own age and country, of unparalleled magnificence, is what we can readily believe. It is rather what we should naturally look for under the circumstances. Its founder was the first man in the kingdom. The Earl of the West-Saxons ruled over well nigh a third of England, including its greatest cities and some of its most fertile districts. From Kent to Cornwall Harold was virtually sovereign. As the prime favourite and chief minister of Eadward, he might almost pass for lieutenant

* "In eadem ecclesiâ die Theophaniæ sepultus est, quam ipse illo compositionis genere primus in Anglâ edificaverat quod nunc pene cuncti sumptuosè æmulantur expensâ." i. 385 Hist. Soc. Ed. See also Matthew Paris, A. 1066, who distinctly says, "novo compositionis genere."

† See Lappenberg ii., 251, note.

of the whole realm. His private wealth was enormous. He had at his call whatever the art of England or of Europe could supply. And stout-hearted Englishman as he was, Harold was not the man to look with envy on improvements introduced from other lands. He put a stranger from Liege into a high office in the government of his new foundation. He would not scruple to employ strangers from Rouen in the erection of its material fabric. If Harold chose to produce a building surpassing everything before seen in England, the means were in his power. And he had every reason to do so. He was the favourite of the English people, the candidate for the English crown. But he had to secure the favour of his weak and devout brother-in-law. He had to secure the favour of a priesthood which was at least less devoted to him than other classes of the nation. He had to atone for the real or imaginary crimes of his father; if not for the doubtful death of Ælfred, at any rate for the hydes of churchland which, as even the Chronicle witnesses,* Godwine had not scrupled to turn to his own use. He may even, if we trust the Norman Survey,† and the testimony of the stranger Gisa,‡ have had sins of his own of the like sort to wipe out. At any rate, nothing could be more likely to fix the affections of the King and the Clergy than the establishment of a wealthy and magnificent foundation, and the erection with unparalleled speed of a church of unparalleled splendour. Harold had every motive to make Waltham the very glory of England, second not even to his royal brother's fabric at Westminster. We cannot tell how far a politic munificence may have gone to win the dying bequest of the Confessor for Harold rather than for William or Eadgar, or how many priestly votes in the Witenagemot may have been given for the founder of Waltham which might have been refused to the conqueror of Gruffydd. In any case Waltham must have made a deep impression on the national mind. Its local worship became the worship of the English people. The Holy Rood of Waltham, the Rood in whose honour Harold

* A. 1053.

† See Ellis, Introduction to Domesday i. 313, ii. 182.

‡ See Can. Well. ap. Ang. Sax. i. 559. Also Gisa's own version in Hunter's Ecclesiastical Documents, 16, 17.

had reared his stately temple, the Rood which vouchsafed to him its supernatural warning* before he marched to meet the invader, became the rallying-point of England, the war-cry which she opposed to the "Ha Rou" and the "God help us" of her foes.

On the whole then I have little or no doubt that in the nave of Waltham Abbey we have a genuine portion of the great work of our last national prince. Of the extent or character of Harold's work to the east, and how far it may have survived till the Dissolution, we can speak only from conjecture. The analogy of other large Norman churches would lead us to expect a short eastern limb with an apse as the original arrangement; but it by no means follows that this arrangement remained undisturbed till the fall of the Abbey. The thirteenth century was the time when the insular custom of the square east end finally triumphed over the common apsidal tradition of Christendom. Numberless Norman choirs were rebuilt or marvellously transformed during its course; the bold curve of the old tribune everywhere gave way either to the single vast east window, the glory of Ely and Lincoln, or to the endless succession of small eastern chapels as at Westminster and St. Albans. Now it would have been hardly creditable for the monks of the still youthful Abbey to have done absolutely nothing during so remarkable a period of architectural change. Did they sit altogether still, praying in Harold's choir and dining in Henry's refectory, but leaving no sort of memorial of their own selves wrought by the hands of the craftsman? That they did nothing in the existing portion of the church, our own eyes suffice to tell us; but this renders it only the more likely that the thirteenth century was the time of considerable alterations in the eastern, the more strictly monastic, part.

We are thus led, almost by a chain of *à priori* evidence, to the fact recorded by Matthew Paris in the year 1242,† which so terribly puzzled good Thomas Fuller.‡

"Eodem anno, scilicet in crastino Sancti Michaelis, dedicata est ecclesia conventualis Canonicorum de Waltham,

* De Inventione, p. 245. Vita Haroldi, p. 191.

† P. 576, ed 1589.

‡ Fuller's Cambridge and Waltham Abbey, p. 279, ed. 1840.

ab Episcopo Norwicensi Willielmo, sollenniter valde, assistentibus aliis plurimis Episcopis, Prælatiis, et Mag-natibus venerabilibus."

We are not to suppose, with Fuller, that the original church had stood well nigh two centuries undedicated, nor yet that the thirteenth century had begun to look upon the benediction of Kinsige as mythical or worn out by age. Some change had taken place in the eastern portion—in that which was more emphatically "*Ecclesia Conventualis Canonorum de Waltham*"—which had involved a change in the site of the high altar, and therefore a reconsecration of the church.

DECORATED CHANGES.

Of this change however changes more sweeping still have removed every trace. But between the days of Henry II. and of Henry VIII. other alterations took place at Waltham Abbey which have left very speaking witnesses behind them in the existing fabric. A complete remodelling of the whole nave was designed, and partly carried into effect, during the duration of the Decorated style. Had it been completed, the whole internal effect of the church would have been entirely altered. This most undesirable event was however happily averted, and the work of this period is now mainly to be traced in the more honourable form of two important and beautiful additions, which, it so happens, are, of those parts of the church which have not been utterly destroyed, precisely those which have suffered most from more recent changes. These are the west front and the south chapel.

South Chapel.—The chapel attached to the west side of the south transept I cannot but consider as having been originally an injudicious addition. It must have gone far to destroy that cruciform effect which depends so much upon the bold and solitary projection of the transepts, and it must have also destroyed the general effect of the aisle and clerestory ranges. Now that, by the loss of the eastern portion and the addition of the western tower, the church has assumed an altogether different outline, the case is widely different, and the building, with its high roof, is readily accepted as a picturesque adjunct to the main fabric. In itself it must have been a most beautiful

specimen of its style, but few ancient structures have been more sedulously disfigured. In its position we may compare it with the great southern addition at Leominster, which constitutes the present practical parish church, with the chapel between the porch and south transept at Wedmore, Somerset, and with the building which once stretched between the north porch and north transept at Romsey. It differs from the two first, and apparently agreed with the last, in ranging* continuously with the transept front, while the additions at Leominster and Wedmore project to the south of it. It was simply built up against the transept, blocking up its windows, and apparently without any communication with it, even so much as a doorway, while at Leominster there were at least doorways, and at Wedmore the chapel opens into the transept by a regular arcade. At Waltham, more than all, the addition was a mere chapel, while at Romsey and Leominster it constituted an important portion, if not the whole, of the parochial accommodation.

The architecture of the chapel seems more advanced than that of the west front; in its labels and some other of its details it almost begins to verge on Perpendicular. Its masonry exhibits flint and other materials in courses, so as to produce a polychromatic effect, but not developed into actual flint panelling. The building itself may be described as consisting of two bays, each of which is again subdivided into two smaller ones, in a manner analogous to the primary and secondary piers in the interior of the nave. The primary buttresses, with which ranges a diagonal one at the south-west angle, are of considerable projection, with pedimented set-offs and slopes; in their general effect they rather resemble some of the Early English ones at Lichfield and Stafford, but the difference is characteristic, the pediments here being formed by the heads of ogee niches which occupy the lower stages of each of the buttresses great and small. The secondary ones project very little, and in fact rise no higher than the string beneath the windows, the upper part being rather to be considered as the elongated shaft of the pinnacle running through the elaborate cornice of the chapel. Each

* It does project infinitesimally, but not so as to produce anything like the marked effect of the other two examples.

of the four bays contained a window, the jambs of which remain inside with light shafts and mouldings of later character than the Decorated of the west front. The windows themselves have given way, three to hideous square windows, the third to an external doorway. The whole is thoroughly modernized and disfigured within and without, the consequence, unnecessary as one might have thought it, of the building having been converted into a school.

At the west end, near the ground, is a pretty little Decorated window, now bricked up, enriched with three rows of ball-flower. It has externally very slender shafts with flowered capitals. Above it is a large square-headed window, above which rises a sham piece of wall, masking the west end of the chapel and blocking one of the pinnacles. The window has internally the rare and beautiful arrangement of a double plane of tracery.

The chapel is connected with the south aisle by a single broad arch, of poor and ordinary architecture, a sad contrast to the glorious Romanesque work of the nave. As the chapel stands on a crypt, which raises it considerably above the level of the aisle, this arch is a mere aperture in the wall, its responds not coming down to the ground, but having their bases and stopped chamfer at a considerable height. The crypt itself is a capacious one, of two wide bays of quadripartite vaulting, with small external windows and an external doorway.

West Front.—That most important feature of a great church, its western front, left unfinished, as it would seem, by the Norman architects, was brought to perfection by those of the Decorated period after a manner altogether different from the original design. The intention of building western towers was relinquished, and a front of some richness and elegance without towers was substituted. And though it has been ruthlessly smothered by the addition of the western tower, we can happily still make out its most important features.

The new front consisted of the terminations of the nave and aisles, with two turrets flanking the nave gable and two others the terminations of the aisles. The central portion has been almost entirely destroyed by the tower. The lower stage still retains, within the tower, a

magnificent western doorway. It somewhat resembles some of the Northamptonshire examples, as Raunds, Rushden, and Higham Ferrers, where the great portal is set in a sort of shallow porch, with little or no projection beyond the thickness of the wall. Here the space between the two, though vaulted as usual, is set on a slope, so as to make it more part of the jamb, and to identify the inner and outer openings more closely than where there is a genuine piece of wall, however short, between them. The outer opening has shafts with rich flowered capitals, the jamb is rich with ball-flower and other ornaments, and the whole is surrounded by a canopy with elaborate crockets and finials. On each side are the beginnings of carved work destroyed by the tower and the fragments of a rich basement. Pieces of diaper panelled work built up into various parts of the tower, attest the great magnificence of at least the central part of the composition. Of the upper portions, the great western window and whatever design may have occupied the gable, no trace whatever remains; an awkward Perpendicular insertion and some Norman fragments may be made out by ascending the belfry; but both from the analogy of the case, and from the string below the window, which still exists within, one can hardly doubt that some fine composition of Decorated tracery did really occupy the centre of the front. The turrets were polygonal, of an irregular form, and panelled in their upper portion; the lower seems to have had a square projection; at their finish we are left to guess.

The turrets terminating the aisles are more perfect. From two boldly projecting buttresses, pedimented and niched, rises an octagonal panelled turret, diminishing in stages, but whose upper portion is lost. The change from the square to the octagonal form is most ingeniously made by corbelling off the intermediate sides with foil arches, which the bases remaining below show to have acted as canopies for statues. The arches are of a peculiar cinquefoil form, the intermediate foils being extremely small. The whole composition of these turrets is excellent.

The termination of the aisle is carried up as a masking wall to some height above the roof, a clear violation of reality, if it was meant to continue so. But it has occurred to me that it may possibly have been designed

to raise the aisle walls throughout to this height, by extending this blank wall till it met the blank termination of the southern wall. Two circumstances fall in with this view. Two small circular windows, with a curious kind of foliation, approaching, but not entirely resembling, the spiked form, are inserted in the upper part of the aisle-terminations. These barely open into the present aisles, the roof hardly saving their rear-arches. One might easily imagine that a second row, perhaps of circular ones throughout, was intended to be added to the aisle. Such a range would of course, as indeed is sometimes the case, have entirely concealed the clerestory from external view. With this harmonizes the extreme external plainness of the alterations which, as we shall presently see, were made at this time in the clerestory, as if they were designed wholly for internal effect. On the other hand it should be mentioned that no signs of unfinished work appear on the east face of the masking wall; indeed the occurrence of a small buttress to the west of the turret looks the other way. These turrets are connected with those of the nave by a rich parapet, with two rows of foliated quatrefoils, the upper one of them pierced.

Below the circular window there is, on the south side, a two-light window and a doorway. The doorway is plain compared with the great western portal; having mere moulded jambs and a scroll for its label. The window has foil tracery of a curious description, exactly analogous to the round window and the peculiar foil arch used in the turrets; the use of the wave-moulding in the mullions and tracery gives it a great effect of heaviness. Within it has a segmental rear-arch rising from shafts. A similar window has been inserted, at a rather lower elevation, in the adjoining bay of the aisle, which, as I before said, appears to have had no Norman window. The Decorated architects do not seem to have meddled externally with the three remaining bays west of the added chapel, but on the north side they clearly inserted many windows, which have since been destroyed.

The termination of the north aisle has, strange to say, neither window nor doorway below the circular window in its upper portion. A large round turret, projecting

both within and without, and leading to the roof, prevents the existence of either. This turret finishes without below the circular window, and originally did so within, but the turret has been internally carried up in lath and plaster so as entirely to conceal the round window in an external view, whereas it was evidently meant to be visible from at least the eastern portions of the aisle. The turret itself is lighted with cross eylet holes.

We may remark that, as the western responds of the seventh arch have disappeared within, the Decorated front must have been built within the line of the Norman one, possibly to avoid its foundations.

Changes in the Nave.—A very important change was commenced in the interior of the nave some time during the duration of Gothic architecture, but in a manner so absolutely devoid of detail that, taken alone, it might be attributed to almost any stage, but general probability, the circumstance mentioned in the last paragraph, and another which will presently appear, combine to make it pretty certain that one of the most barbarous transmutations on record proceeded from the very same hands which added the west front and the southern chapel.

This was no other than a plan of converting the whole interior of the nave from a composition of three stages into one of two. It will be remembered that, from the height of the aisles and their want of vaulting, this would have been easily done in the original design, but it was quite another thing to cut away the Norman pier-arches, and convert those of the triforium into pointed ones. Even this would have been somewhat less offensive, had it been cloaked in any way with the shafts and other details of the new style; but no—all that was done was simply so to cut away and to point, leaving the original shafts attached to the masses of wall, those which had belonged to the pier-arches of course supporting nothing. So far from inserting mouldings of their own style, where they had to fill up a small part of the Norman pier-arch, they did it so as to bring the whole to the same straight square angle. The form of pier thus produced would have been a Norman column, with a stilt of its own height set on its capital, and with shafts attached to its upper portion supporting a plain segmental pointed arch of three chamfers.

Happily this bungling and barbarous business was very far from being brought to perfection. The two westernmost bays on each side were so treated throughout, and a third triforium arch on the north side was pointed, but the pier-arch was not cut away. The work may have stopped on account of the dangerous state to which it is clear that the alteration reduced one of the pier-arches on the north side, which seems to have been supported by props and cramps ever since. Or it may not be an excess of charity to suppose that the innovators became conscious of the hideousness of their own design, as they advanced to the further barbarism of thus maltreating a distinct column, instead of a mere mass of wall with attached shafts. Either motive has had the same desirable effect, that of sparing to us the remainder of this glorious nave in its integrity.

These changes were not the legitimate substitution—legitimate according to the feelings of mediæval builders—of good work in the fashionable style of the day for good work in one which had become antiquated. It was the deliberate mutilation of a pure, perfect, harmonious, and beautiful design, to produce one which could not fail to be lame, imperfect, incongruous, and hideous in the highest degree. Norman proportion was destroyed, and Gothic proportion not substituted; Norman ornaments were obliterated, and no Gothic ornaments supplied in their stead. In the clerestory windows this is still more conspicuous; all that was done was to substitute a perfectly plain pointed arch for a highly enriched round one. In the single western bay—that against the tower—where there was no window in the clerestory range, the innovators did venture to deviate a little from the utter baldness of the remainder. They here inserted a triforium-opening of two arches divided by a mullion. The wave-moulding of the jambs fixes the date, connects the whole of this barbarous bungling with the addition of the beautiful west front, and proclaims aloud that about the most tasteless and ill-advised proceeding that ever architect attempted, was not the work of the days when Gothic architecture still lagged on in imperfection under the hands of Poore and Northwold, not of the days when it

had become "base" and "detestable" in the nave of Winchester and the lantern of St. Ouen's, but that it was an achievement of the bright and palmy times of all, that it exhibited the taste and skill of "those early days of late Middle-Pointed," which, we are taught, possessed an almost exclusively monopoly of æsthetic and mechanical perfection.

LATER CHANGES.

In good Perpendicular times nothing of any consequence appears to have been done to the existing portion of the Church. A window or two in the north aisle appears to exhaust the whole work of this period. This does not however prove entire idleness on the part of the builders of that day. Much may probably have been done in the eastern portions now destroyed, in the adornment of those minor and sepulchral chapels, to which so much attention was ordinarily devoted at this time. Again, of the upper stages of the central tower, a portion frequently recast in Perpendicular times, we have no vestiges to attest whether the original Norman fabric retained its own massive stateliness till its entire destruction, or whether it was destined to give way to some lighter and more gorgeous erection which has left still fewer traces to record its existence. From any general remodelling of the nave, a process so unfortunately commenced at Gloucester, so successfully consummated at Winchester, the ill luck of their predecessors may well have kept back the architects of this period. In any case the next important fact which we have to record in the architectural history of Waltham Abbey brings us at once to the period when pure destruction began to be substituted for reconstruction in the case of our great ecclesiastical edifices.

The dissolution of the monastery vested that portion of the church which was the property of the conventual society, in the hands of the King and his grantees; the right of the parish to the nave of the church remaining of course unaffected. This is a subject on which I have already touched more than once in treating of other similar cases. At Waltham apparently no such benefactor arose as at Dorchester, Tewkesbury, and Romsey; the

lust of destruction was not even satisfied with mere dismantling, as at Howden and Monkton; a few cart-loads of stone proved temptation enough to ensure the entire demolition of a structure venerable alike as a glorious monument of ancient art, and as the creation and resting-place of the last of our truly national princes. The exact extent of this destruction I have already indicated; the choir, transepts, presbytery, and their adjuncts were levelled with the ground; the accidental presence of the added Decorated chapel alone preserved to us a small fragment of the south transept which doubtless would otherwise have perished.

Some short time afterwards an attempt was made to supply a small portion of this irreparable loss, which was doubtless prompted by the best intentions, but of which it is impossible to praise more than the intention. The central tower being the only one in the church, its destruction left the remaining portion of the building entirely deprived of a belfry. In the year 1556 this loss was in a manner counterbalanced by the erection of the existing western tower. Unhappily, instead of erecting a detached campanile, the new tower was built right against the splendid west front, entirely destroying its proportions, and ruthlessly smothering its enrichments, as is most conspicuously shown in the case of the arcade and canopy work on each side of the west doorway. The tower itself does not call for much comment, the more so, as its upper portion has been rebuilt in a still later style or absence of style. Where there is any original work, it is of course in the Debased Perpendicular of the day, but extensive fragments of earlier and better work have been used up again. Besides some beautiful pieces of panelling and diaper-work built up irregularly in the walls, two more important fragments remain. The doorway which now forms the outer western entrance must have been removed from some part of the destroyed eastern portion, and seems to agree better with the southern chapel than with the west front. It is of three orders, with very slender shafts with floriated capitals, and much rich floriated work in the jambs. The window above seems rather to belong to the west front, having

a more decided shaft. Its original tracery has not been preserved.

THE BURIAL OF HAROLD.

We have thus gone through both the history of the foundation and the architectural detail of the existing church, and the result has been, I trust, to establish beyond reasonable doubt that the Romanesque work still standing at Waltham is really the erection of the royal son of Godwine. The question now follows, is Waltham entitled to be looked upon as the burying-place of King Harold, as well as his building?

That Waltham always professed to be the burying-place of Harold, that a tomb called by his name was shown in the Abbey down to the Dissolution, and that fragments of it remained even when Fuller wrote his history, are facts which cannot be called in question. But whether the claim was a just one is open to a good deal of discussion. The statements of our original authorities are strangely contradictory.

First of all, the most truly English writers, those contemporary or nearly so, observe the same melancholy silence as on so many more important points. England and her King had fallen, and they cared not to dwell on the details of sorrow. Not a word as to Harold's burial is to be found in the Saxon Chronicle, not a word in our English-hearted Florence. The English biographer of Eadward, whose precious work has just been given to the world by the Master of the Rolls, does not even tell us in direct terms that Harold ever died or ever reigned; from him we ask in vain for the burying-place of the second Judas Maccabæus, the hero who in virtue both of body and mind excelled all men.* As the lips whose guidance we should unhesitatingly accept are thus closed against us, we are driven to put together the best account we can from the statements of hostile, later, and inferior writers. Among these we find three distinct and contradictory statements.

First, Harold escaped from Hastings, and died long after at Chester or elsewhere.

* *Virtute enim corporis et animi in populo præstabat ut alter Judas Machabæus*, p. 408.



*E. Little del.
Waltham Abbey.*

"West Jith" 54 Hutton Garden.

Carved Stone from Abbey ruins.

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Second, He was buried on the sea-shore.

Third, He was buried at Waltham.

The first wretched fable we have already cast aside. Florence tells us the true tale, in words speaking straight from the heart of England's grief—"Heu, ipsemet cecidit crepusculi tempore." The son of Godwine died, as such King and hero should die, helm on head and battle-axe in hand, striking the last blow for his crown and people, with the Holy Rood of Waltham the last cry rising from his lips and ringing in his ears. Disabled by the Norman arrow, cut down by the Norman sword, he died beneath the standard of England, side by side with his brothers in blood and valour. What then was the fate of the lifeless relics which alone came into the power of the Conqueror?

The contemporary Norman evidence seems certainly in favour of the belief that Harold was buried on the sea-shore. William of Poitou thus tells the tale.

"Ipse carens omni decore quibusdam signis, nequaquam facie, recognitus est, et in castra Ducis delatus, qui tumulandum eum Guillelmo agnomine Maletto concessit, non matri pro corpore dilectæ prolis auri par pondus offerenti. Scivit enim non decere tali commercio aurum accipi. Æstimavit indignum fore ad matris libitum sepeliri, cujus ob nimiam cupiditatem insepulti remanerent innumerabiles. Dictum est illudendo, oportere situm esse custodem litoris et pelagi, quæ cum armis ante vesanus insedit."* Then follows a good deal of abuse of Harold.

The account of Ordericus Vitalis, † follows the statement of William of Poitou, and to some extent in the same words.

Exactly the same is the narrative of Bishop Guy of Amiens in the *Carmen de Bello Hastingsensi*.

Heraldi corpus collegit dilaceratum,
Collectum texit sindore purpureâ ;
Detulit et secum repetens sua castra marina,
Expleat ut solitas funeris exsequias.
Heraldi mater, nimio constricta dolore,
Misit adusque Ducem, postulat et precibus,
Orbatæ miseræ natis tribus, et viduatæ,
Pro tribus unius reddat ut ossa sibi ;

* Duchesne, p. 204.

† Ibid, p. 502.

Si placet, aut corpus puro præponderet auro.
 Sed Dux iratus prorsus utrumque negat :
 Jurans quod potius præsentis littora portus
 Illi committet aggere sub lapidum.
 Ergo velut fuerat testatus, rupis in alto,
 Præcepit claudi vertice corpus humi,
 Extemplo quidam, partim Normannus et Anglus,
 Compater Heraldî, jussa libenter agit ;
 Corpus enim Regis cito sustulit et sepelivit,
 Imponens lapidem, scripsit et in titulo.
 ' Per mandata Ducis, Rex hic, Heraldæ quiescis,
 Ut custos maneat litoris et pelagi.'*

It is certainly hard to escape this strong contemporary evidence, or to deny that Harold's body really was buried somewhere on the shore of Sussex. Yet the evidence for his burial at Waltham is by no means to be altogether cast aside.

William of Malmesbury distinctly asserts that Githa offered William a large sum for the body, that William gave it her without ransom and that she buried it at Waltham. †

Wace in the "Roman de Rou" ‡ says

Li Reis Heraut fu emportez,
 E à Varham fu enterrez,
 Mais jo ne sai ki l'importa,
 Ne jo ne sai k' l'enterra.

Of the other Norman metrical writers, ¶ Benoit agrees with William of Poitou, the continuator of Wace's Brut, and the author of the "Estoire de Seint Ædward le Rei" agree with Malmesbury.

Of our two Waltham books, the "De Inventione" contains the well known tale which I need not tell again in detail, how the Waltham Canons, Osegod and Ailric went to watch the battle, how they begged the body, how William granted their prayer, how they found the disfigured corpse by the aid of Eadgyth Swanneshals, and gave it worthy sepulture at Waltham. || The biographer of Harold is driven to a very lame device indeed. He had to reconcile his beloved fiction of Harold's escape with the traditions of his Abbey which boasted

* Vv., 572-92.

† Lib. iii., § 247.

‡ V. 14,092.

¶ See Taylor's Wace, p. 302.

|| P. 246-50.

of Harold's tomb. He is therefore driven to suppose that Eadgyth found, and that the Chapter of Waltham buried—a wrong body, an intruding, supposititious carcase, which down to his own time had usurped the sepulchral honours of the Last of the Saxon Kings. Now this kind of stuff is simply abominable. It is neither history, nor romance, nor criticism, nor anything else, but simply a cock-and-bull story of the poorest kind.

To reconcile the details of the story in the "De Inventione" with the narrative of William of Poitou and the Carmen is quite impossible. The mission of Osegod and Ailric, and the intervention of Eadgyth, at once become mythical. Pure invention they probably are not, the story has that local and personal circumstantiality which seems to imply some groundwork of truth. Indeed the fact mentioned by William of Poitou, that Harold was "*quibusdam signis, nequaquam facie, recognitus*," curiously enough agrees with the Waltham tale of Eadgyth. But that tale as a whole cannot stand; the search and discovery by Eadgyth and the two Canons clearly did not lead to an immediate burial at Waltham. But that Harold was, after all, really buried in his own Minster I am strongly inclined to believe. If he was not, how did the tale arise? A tomb of Harold was one which there was very little temptation to forge. Harold was not an acknowledged saint, whose burial-place would be a profitable place of pilgrimage. The only writer who shows any disposition to canonize him distinctly removes his sepulchre from Waltham. In the days of the Conquest any attempt of the kind would have been put down with a strong hand. When the tomb of Waltheof at Croyland became the scene of miracle and pilgrimage, the Conqueror acted as vigorously as the more recent French potentate—

"De par le Roi, defense à Dieu
De faire miracle en ce lieu."

An imaginary tomb of Harold could only have been set up from motives strongly tinged with political feeling, which would have at once kindled the wrath of the Norman government. In later times, when Norman fiction had had its own way, when Harold's name had been effectually branded as perjurer and usurper, such

a fabrication would have been still less likely. But we need not inquire into this, as Malmesbury shows that it was currently believed in the first half of the twelfth century that Harold was buried at Waltham. For I need not say that Malmesbury does not write in the interests of Waltham or of England. He is a thoroughly independent witness; so, I may add, are Wace and his brother minstrels. So early and so extensive a fabrication as their narratives would imply seems to me quite out of the question.

The most probable solution seems to be that Harold was first, by William's order, buried under a cairn—"aggere sub lapidum"—on the shore of Sussex, and was afterwards more solemnly interred in the Minster at Waltham. The original order fell in alike with the passion and with the policy of the Conqueror; it suited him to brand the perjurer, the excommunicate, the despiser of the holy relics, with every possible mark of ignominy. But a season did come when William might well be disposed to yield to gentler counsels. At the end of the year 1066 William seemed for a moment to be not merely *Rex Angliæ*, but *Rex Anglorum*. The greater part of the land was indeed still unconquered but he had received the submission of the leading men of every district, he had been acknowledged King, he had been crowned and anointed in the same temple and by the same hands as Harold himself. Moreover the incongruous nature of his position had not yet fully displayed itself. William, a man utterly relentless and unscrupulous, but by no means a lover of oppression for oppression's sake, seems at this time to have sincerely endeavoured to make his government as satisfactory as might be to his English subjects. It would fall in with his policy at this particular moment to yield to any petition from the fraternity at Waltham, and to allow the remains of the English hero to be removed from their ignoble South-Saxon resting-place to a more fitting abode within his own glorious Minster.

By this supposition we can pretty well account for all the reports. William of Poitou and Bishop Guy, narrating the fight of Senlac, record that burial of Harold which formed part of their story; a subsequent translation had no interest for them. The Waltham writers, on the other

hand, naturally dwell solely on that interment which formed part of their own local history. The cairn-burial they would naturally seek to slur over and throw out of memory. In a very short time it would be forgotten; the date of the funeral at Waltham would be shifted back two or three months, and would be held to have immediately succeeded the battle. Writers of the next generation, like Malmesbury, would naturally think most of that interment which had left a palpable witness before their own eyes, and would have no temptation to dwell on the hurried ceremony which immediately succeeded the battle.

From all this, as I have already said, it necessarily follows that the well-known tale in the "De Inventione," which has formed the groundwork of so much both of romance and art, cannot be accepted as a literal fact. But, as I before said, there is something about the story which certainly leads us to the belief that Osegod, Ailric, and Eadgyth, and the parts attributed to them, are not purely imaginary. They may, for instance, have found the body previously to the first hasty burial. And it does not seem likely that clerical biographers would go out of their way to invent an imaginary concubine for their hero. For the Eadgyth of the Waltham story is plainly Harold's concubine, though monastic delicacy is certainly a little puzzled to express the exact relation.* I mention this, because of an odd misconception which has arisen on this subject among some writers of reputation. Both Mr. Thorpe† and Dr. Bruce identify this Eadgyth with Eadgyth or Ealdgyth, the wife of Harold, daughter of Ælfgar, granddaughter of Leofric, widow of Gruffydd, and

* "Placuit . . . mulierem quam ante sumptum regimen Anglorum dilexerat, Editham cognomento Swanneahala, quod Gallicè sonat *Collum Cygni*, secum adducere; quæ domini Regis quandoque cubicularia, secretiora in eo signa noverat cæteris amplius." De Inv. p. 249.

"Quandam sagacis animi feminam nomine Editham, . . . hæc enim præ cæteris femina commodius videbatur, ad hoc destinanda quæ inter millia mortuorum illius quem inquirebat eo quoque facilius decerneret eo quod benevolentius tractaret exuvias, quo eum arctius amaverat et plenius noverat, utpote quam thalami ipsius secretis liberius interfuisse constaret." Vit. Har. p. 210.

For the "Cubicularia" of the Waltham writer, compare Sir John Maundeville, cap. ix.

"And Abraham hadde another sone Ymael, that he gat upon Agar his Chambrere."

Another concubine (or the same) of Harold's occurs in Domesday. See Ellis, i. 316, ii. 81.

† Lappenberg, ii. 302. Mr. Thorpe has corrected the error in the Addenda to the third volume.

sister of Eadwine and Morkere.* This they do on the supposed authority of Sir Henry Ellis. But Sir Henry Ellis† says nothing of the kind. He identifies Queen Ealdgyth with the *Eddeva Pulcra* of Domesday, but he in no way, but quite the contrary, identifies Queen Ealdgyth with the Eadgyth of the Waltham tale. The Eadgyth described in the Waltham books is most palpably not Harold's wife; and moreover Harold's wife was not there—she was sent to Chester by her brothers.‡ Any one however who is specially anxious for Harold's private character might easily infer from the words, "*quam ante sumptum Anglorum regimen dilexerat*," that the position of Eadgyth Swanneshals as "*cubicularia*" had come to an end on Harold's marriage with the daughter of Ælfgar.

To sum up the whole. We have, I hope, satisfactorily shown that Harold built a church at Waltham, that its nave forms the church now standing, and that the tomb which was shown as Harold's was really his, his body having been removed thither, probably about the time of William's coronation, from its original burying place on the shore near Hastings. As the only great church in England of so early date, as one so closely connected with the mightiest historical events, we may safely pronounce the combined historical and artistic interest of Waltham Abbey to be absolutely unique among English buildings. Long may it abide, with its disfigurements swept away, with its dangerous portions strengthened, with its fallen portions, if so be, rebuilt, but still left as a genuine monument of the eleventh century and not of the nineteenth, safe from that worse foe than Norman or Tudor or Puritan, from the ruthless and irreparable destruction of the "restorer."

* Bayeux Tapestry, p. 152.

† Introduction to Domesday, ii. 79.

‡ Cujus [Haroldi] morte audita, Comites Edwinus et Morkarus, qui se cum suis certamini subtraxere, Londoniam venerunt, et sororem suam Aldgitham Reginam sumptam ad Civitatem Legionum misere. Fl. Wig. a. 1066.

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NOTES UPON SOME PLANS AND DRAWINGS
ILLUSTRATIVE OF THE ANTIQUITIES OF THE
ABBAY AND TOWN OF WALTHAM ABBEY.

TO THE HON. SECRETARY OF THE ESSEX ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY.

DEAR SIR. — In compliance with your request I proceed to give some notes on the plans and drawings, illustrative of the antiquities of the Abbey and Town of Waltham Abbey, which I have already forwarded to you.

The large Plan represents not only the ground plan of the existing nave of the Abbey Church and such parts of the domestic buildings as still exist, but it also represents the foundations of part of the destroyed choir of the Church, and indications of the Abbey buildings which have from time to time come to light. The full description which Mr. Freeman has given of the nave of the Church will render unnecessary any general description of it here, beyond the references which are given on the margin of the plan; I will therefore confine myself to a few notes on portions of the buildings which it did not fall within Mr. Freeman's plan to describe; only remarking that I do not think the excellent carved work on each side of the west entrance* is destroyed, but only hidden by the tower, as the portions now exposed were; I am informed by the mason who opened this work and repaired the west front, that so much of the inner part of the tower might be removed without detriment to its stability as would allow the hidden work to be seen.

The Church is 54 feet wide inside, the north aisle

* Described at p. 28.

being 11 feet 8, the nave 30 feet, the south aisle 12 feet 4; and from the centre of the lantern piers to the west wall is 108 feet, just twice the width; and the south entrance just divides the length.

By ascending the turret stairs to the roof, there may be seen within the slope of the roof two stones of a round arch with the chevron moulding, remaining apparently in their original position in the west wall, above the clerestory range, and visible from the nave before the Church was ceiled; if this portion of an arch indicates the position of a Norman light in the original west front, there must have been two in this range, as this arch is considerably wide of the centre of the wall.

In the aisles there are indications that they were spanned by arches.* Above the capital of the pier (*a*) in the north aisle, part of the spanning arch is left 10 or 12 inches high; similar indications appear, though in a less degree, upon all the capitals on this side; the arches seem to have been hacked down only so much as not to be discernible from the aisle. The centres of the pilasters above the capitals of the massive piers are rough and broken to the height of the lower stage of the nave wall, or to what would be the floor of the triforium, the broken parts projecting beyond the face of the work; and on the walls of the south aisle the same unevenness is observable, which was hidden by plaster coloured to represent the lines of masonry; this colouring is still to be seen on the removal of the outer coats of whitewash. Circular windows intended to light the triforium, though now blocked, are discernible in the south wall. In the chevron moulding of the Norman windows, and the noble arch of the south entrance, there are traces of colour; coloured masonry lines also appear on the soffit of this arch, on the splay of the south window, and on the inner face of the south wall; between two of the windows is some bold writing in old English character, surrounded by the coloured lines; at present there is not enough of its whitewash clothing stripped off to leave the inscription legible.

Eastward of the south entrance (*d*) all the Norman windows to the aisle have been blocked, and a large plain

* As conjectured by Mr. Freeman, see p. 16.

pointed arch (*f*) turned between the south Chapel and the Church; this broad open arch had apparently a wooden screen not quite to the height of the capitals, the cornice and sill of this screen still remain, and perhaps the screen itself may remain under the plaster which covers the partition.

In the second bay in the north aisle is a round-arch doorway (*b*) blocked and plastered, the zigzag moulding of the arch with its columns and capitals correspond in character with the rest of the Norman building; it is rather low, and below the original Norman windows; this door led into a building of which the foundations of two walls at (*c*) were opened in the parsonage garden a few years since; the west wall ran out about 27 feet northward from the Church near to the buttress at the N.W. corner; the longitudinal wall ran parallel with the sides of the Church, of which about 25 or 30 feet were dug up; the Eastern wall was not reached, nor was any opening seen in the foundations, which were concrete as hard as iron, placed on a layer of gravel, the walls of flint.

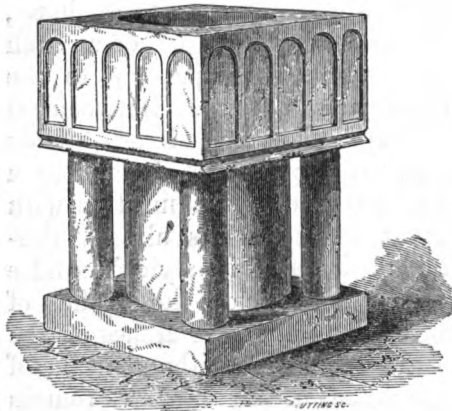
At (*e*) is a blocked pointed arch flush with the wall, the section chamfered, the opening 2 feet 10 inches wide, about 6 feet 6 inches high, the sill, as far as can at present be made out, 2 feet from the floor of the aisle; it is 10½ inches west of the outer face of the wall of the south Chapel, and could not be the entrance thereto from the Church unless by means of a narrow staircase within the wall of the Church which is 4 feet 6 inches thick here; it appears to be a recess, there being no signs of an arch on the opposite face of the wall; its adjacency to the south entrance suggests that it held a stoup. Between (*e*) and (*f*) there is an opening in the aisle wall almost hidden by plaster and woodwork, and the upper part covered by a mural tablet; this, perhaps, was the communication with the Chapel. This Chapel Mr. Freeman has already described as "a most beautiful specimen of its style;" a false ceiling has been introduced a little below the capitals of the small jamb shafts which carry the rear arches of the windows; above is a useless apartment without means of access or light, in which the arches of the four bays remain entire, with the exception here and there of a nose chiselled off the corbels from which the label mouldings

spring. The windows (*k. k. k. k.*) were 7 feet wide with tracery headings. In the west wall is a very large square headed window of three pointed lights with an elaborately traceried head and an inner plane of tracery of the same design, of which I sent you a sketch. The splay of the window between the outer and inner plane of tracery was ornamented with a large conventional leaf pattern, in chocolate on a buff ground; and the same pattern runs round the splays of the four pointed windows in the south wall also. Beneath this square window, close to the buttress at the south west corner is a very beautiful doorway (*g*) now blocked; it was the original exterior entrance to the Chapel, reached by an exterior flight of steps.

On the west face of the south transept wall (*m*) above the ceiling in the south Chapel, and covering its entire width has been an elaborate painting; portions of a great many figures as large as life are still discernible in rich colours and gold.

The lights to the crypt under this Chapel are shown on the ground plan of the Abbey in line (*h. l. l. l. l.*) the original entrance was at (*i*.) but this is now blocked, and the window (*h*) has been converted into one entrance, and the opening (*l*) nearest the south transept into another.

The Font of the Abbey Church has been entirely changed in shape and character, by successive modern



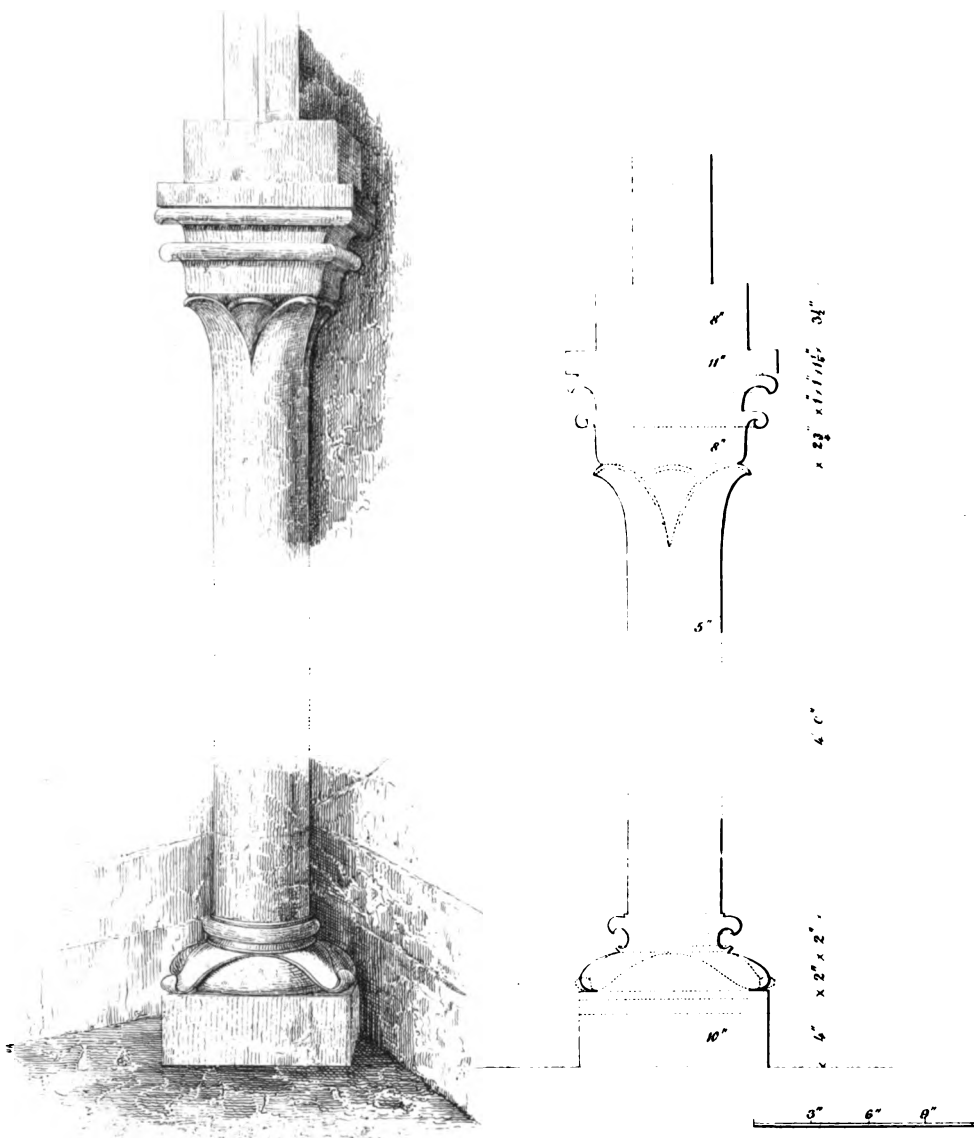
alterations. The accompanying woodcut gives a representation of its original form. It was a square bowl with arcaded sides, the panels sunk about half an inch, and a sharp moulding round the lower edge. It was supported on a central pillar 1 foot 4 inches in diameter, and four angle columns $3\frac{3}{4}$ inches in diameter. Years ago the angles of the bowl were cut away so as to make it

octagonal, and the smaller supporting columns were removed, and the whole font was coated with paint. During the recent restorations of the Church, the bowl was further reduced by the removal of the mutilated arcades, still leaving the shape octagonal; it is now a fine font of polished Purbeck marble, but all trace of its original character is gone, and I therefore consider it not undesirable to preserve this record of what it originally was.

I have learned from a man who worked at it, that about 22 years ago the foundations of the north wall of the Choir (F) were dug up from the wall near the east side of the north transept to the wall (A) these foundations, consisting of rough unhewn stones laid in sand, were ten or twelve feet broad, and six feet deep, the digging of them up afforded a winter's work to the men employed thereat, and the following winter the space in the garden was filled with earth from the forest; the position of these foundations corresponds with the large stones of the opposite wall I saw at (S.) In the wall east of the Choir, and in a line with the north aisle of the Church, is a gateway; the original opening was 7 feet 3 inches; for 18 feet on either side of this gate the wall is not so old as beyond that distance, being built of Roman shaped and other bricks, stones, and lumps of concrete, but the large stones on which it is raised are faced. North of this modern wall is an old wall (A) plastered on its west side extending 86 feet to the angle of the Abbey House (C) of which only the south and part of the west walls remain; the south wall is 2 feet 3 inches thick, 20 feet high, and 110 feet 6 inches from (H) to the eastern wall, a small portion of which is left; this building has been greatly cut about and patched with brick, the arch of the window shown in it is gone, and there is not a vestige of ornamentation excepting a string moulding traceable throughout the entire length of the ruin, and at (H) one side of a pointed arch blocked, having a bold acorn moulding; this opening appears to have been about 8 feet wide. Northward is a stone foundation (D); for 12 or 15 feet it is exposed, when the garden rises 2 feet, concealing its extent eastward; it is parallel with the wall (C) and corresponds there-

with, thus—from (H) to the east end of (C) is 110 feet 6 inches, and from wall raised on (D) to south face of (C) 110 feet 8 inches. Abutting on wall (H) is a stone building (E) without windows, having a doorway at each end, the south one blocked; this room evidently opened into another, as its north wall is not an exterior one, but is faced stone to the same height as the inside of (E) and plastered above as that is; the breakage of the wall at its north east corner shows that that extended further; the wall now standing northwest of (E), though very thick and high, is not a portion of the original building. The inside measurement of (E) is 29 feet 4 inches by 14 feet 8 inches; the ceiling is groined, in the two centres of the groining parts of the ironwork for supporting pendent lights remain. The ribs spring at the angles of the building from one shaft, and at the sides from clusters of three; the bases and capitals of these shafts are very curious; I have sent a restored elevation and section of a shaft, as there is not one sufficiently perfect in itself to give a correct idea, all have been mutilated.

Singularly enough the present number of the "Builder," (March 19, 1859) contains an article on "Earliest Gothic Architecture" with an illustration from the Hall of the Hospital of Angers, in which the bases of the shafts have the same peculiar arrangement of leaves overlapping the moulding to the angles of the plinth as in the examples before us. The Hospital at Angers was founded by Henry II., A.D. 1154, and was consecrated A.D. 1184; and the change of foundation of Waltham Abbey by the same monarch occurred in A.D. 1177, this seems to decide the style of the buildings erected by Henry. The faced stones of the walls in this building rise a little higher than the capitals of the groining shafts; above that the walls and roof are plastered, the plaster appears to have been coloured. In the stones in one compartment of each side wall, and at the south end there are several round holes about 1 inch diameter, and 6 inches deep, all very perfectly bored, seeming to have been made for the insertion of bars, to be removed at pleasure, there being no sign of cement in them. The paving has been removed and the floor is now of earth, and about the level of the



Elevation and Section of Groining Shaft from Building E on plan of the Abbey.

*H. Lutter del.
Waltham Abbey.*

W. Kent del. 54 Hutton Garden.

floor of the Church. I have recently had the assistance of two masons in examining this building, and it is their opinion that there are vaults beneath it.

The Church, the south Chapel, and the building (E), all correspond in their relative proportions of length and breadth, in each case the length is exactly double the width.

North of the Church is the Abbey gateway (J), it is of stone, consisting of two pointed arches, a larger and smaller one, the dripstone of the largest springing from corbels formed of an angel bearing a shield quartered. This gateway and a room over it were in use about fifty years ago, the south wall is still standing, 24 feet high and very thick, its inner face is of Roman shaped bricks 15 inches by $3\frac{1}{2}$; there is a stone pointed-arch doorway in it, leading to the south tower, and round the stone arch of this doorway is another arch turned in alternate broad stones and Roman shaped bricks set edgewise. In the angle, within the gateway, the capital and portions of a circular vaulting shaft, 12 feet high, remain, the necking, bell, and first moulding are circular on plan, and of the character of the square window in South Chapel, but the upper moulding of the capital is octagonal, very slightly hollowed. In Britton's "Beauties of England and Wales" a view of this gateway is given, with groining springing from this capital.

Originally there were two octagonal stone towers flanking the entrance, and projecting considerably before the walls, with loop-holes commanding the gates. One of the towers has been demolished to below the surface of the stream.

The present bridge is of brick with three arches, but there are four bond-stones of a parapet projecting from the stone wall near the south tower (seen on the plan) which seem portions of a single-arch stone bridge, the upper projecting stone is the coping with sloping upper surface crowned with a bold round moulding.

The thick ancient stone wall (B) doubtless continued along the river to the broken south-west face of the tower at (J.)

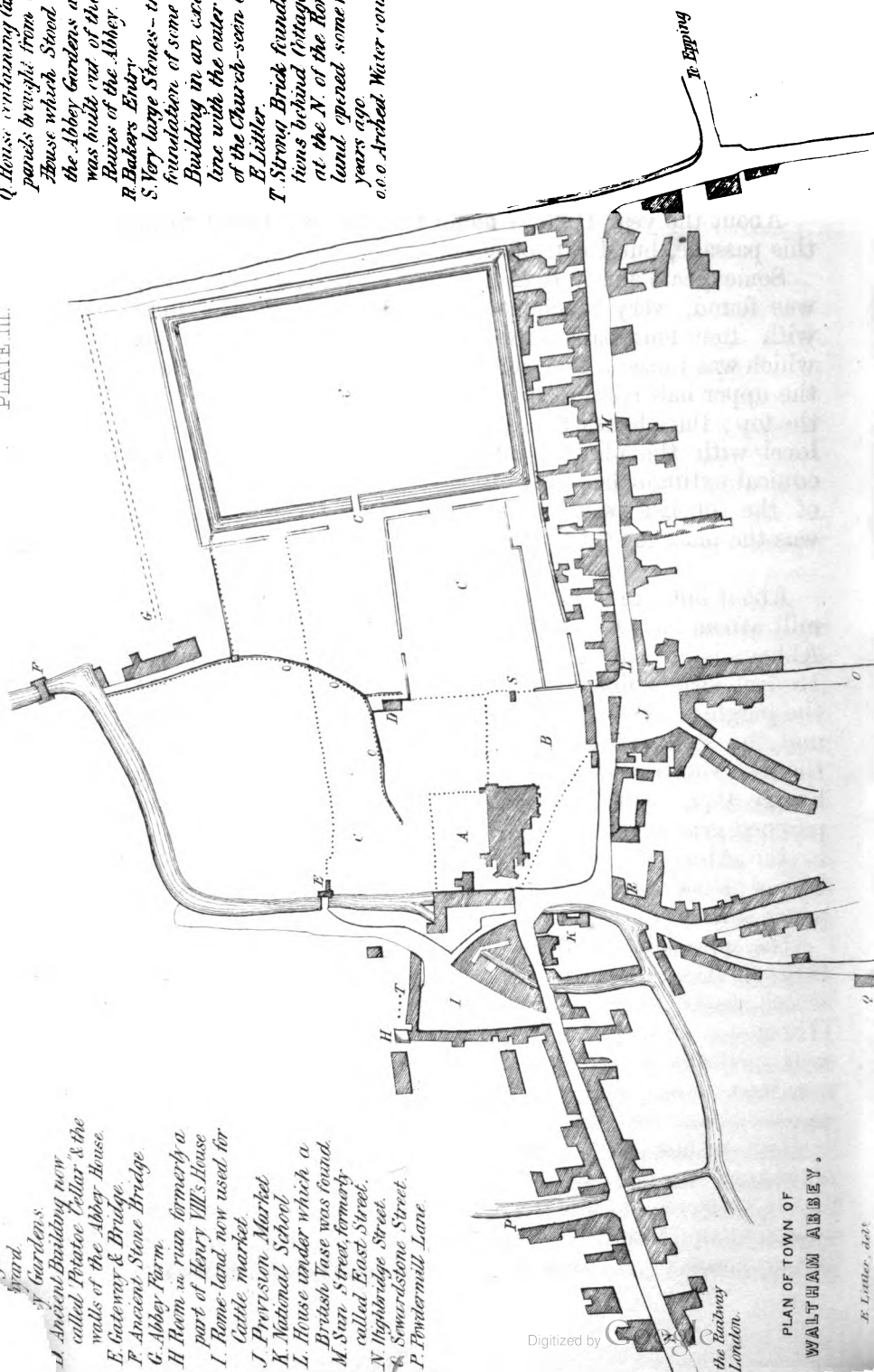
Since sending you the plans some stabling has been

removed, and I find within the angle at (G.) a stone pier 3 feet 6 inches from the inner face of each wall, with ashlar quoins; this pier I conceive to be the S.E. angle of a building that extended towards the Church; the wall (G) runs 100 feet southward from this angle to the transverse wall which is the south boundary of the Abbey grounds; pieces of this south boundary wall mark its course almost in a straight line for about 800 feet. For 15 yards the wall (G) is 20 feet high; it has no sign of a window, but at the north end next the pier mentioned, a space of about 6 feet has been blocked.

There is an ancient tunnel or water-course running various ways under the Abbey grounds; the dotted lines (*o o*) indicate a portion of its course according to the explorations of some gentlemen a few years since; I have, however, now investigated it myself—it is made chiefly of stone, with perpendicular sides, mostly about 4 feet 9 inches high, and arched: the width varies considerably, in some places being as much as 6 feet, and in others not more than 2 feet, the abrupt angles being the narrowest parts of the passage; there is a flow of clear water through it from the corn-mill stream. I entered at the sluice just south of the Abbey Farm (G) on the plan of the town, and traced the passage throughout, excepting one branch running out near the westernmost (*o*), this branch I could not inspect for the depth of water; the main course has eight or ten angular turnings, and several branches, the western angle shown in dotted line (*o o*) on the plan of the Abbey, showed a right-angle, the passage running therefrom almost to the north transept of the Church, then turning westward under the Parsonage, opens in the mill-tail stream, south of the corn mill. The subterranean passage (*n*) was broken into some time since by a workman in the gardens, but was not explored. I find it leads into the main course; (*n*) is 56 feet long, and blocked with brick at its south end, it is without water, the bottom being 12 or 15 inches above the level of (*o o*). The branches referred to, excepting (*n*) and the eastern branch from the sluice to the moat, are all on the north and north-west of the course (*o o*), and throughout the tunnel every here and there are places 6 or 7 feet high,

- gc. *ward.*
of Gardens.
A. Ancient Building now called Priory Cellar & the walls of the Abbey House.
E. Gateway & Bridge.
F. Ancient Stone Bridge.
G. Abbey Farm.
H. Room in ruin formerly a part of Henry VIII's House.
I. Rome-land, now used for Cattle market.
J. Provision Market.
K. National School.
L. House under which a British Vase was found.
M. Swan Street, formerly called East Street.
N. Highbridge Street.
P. Swardstone Lane.
P. Powdermill Lane.

- Q. House containing carved panels brought from the House which stood in the Abbey Gardens and was built out of the-- Ruins of the Abbey.*
R. Bakers Entry.
S. Very large Stones-- the foundation of some Building in an exact line with the outer Wall of the Church--seen by E. Lutter.
T. Strong Brick foundations behind cottages at the N. of the Rome land--opened some few years ago.
o. o. o. Arched Water course.



PLAN OF TOWN OF
 WALTHAM ABBEY.

which, doubtless, formerly opened to the buildings above, but which are now arched with brick or stone fragments from the Abbey; these places indicate the localities and extent of the conventual domestic buildings.

About the year 1820, a metal tankard was found within this passage, but I cannot discover what became of it.

Some years ago in digging at (ff) a curious metal lamp, was found, very much corroded, about 14 inches high, with first four balls supporting a platform or stand, on which was raised a four-sided obelisk cut at half its height, the upper half resting upon four balls, and tapering toward the top; the obelisk had a plinth, from the front of which, level with the plinth, projected a burner, with a small conical extinguisher working with a hinge; the lower half of the obelisk was the reservoir, and the only opening was the place for the wick.

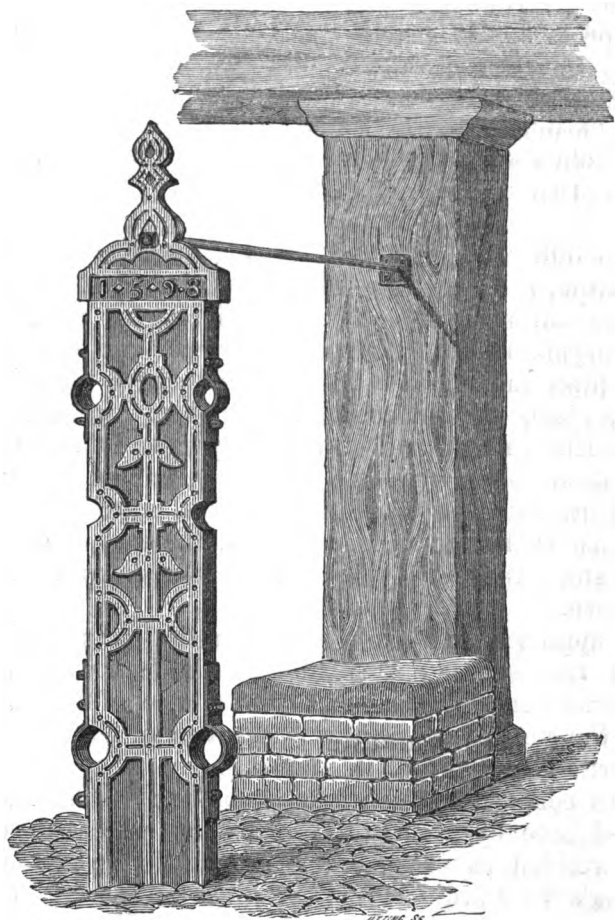
About 300 yards from the Abbey gateway, up the Cornmill stream, at (F) on the Plan of the town of Waltham Abbey, is an ancient stone bridge of one flat arch, about 18 feet span, ribbed, the ribs are broad and chamfered, the joggles cemented with lead; the ribs were turned first, and the stones of the arch laid upon them; three only of the five ribs remain, and of the parapets and faces of the bridge there is not a vestige. In the summer season the parched grass defines the roadway from this bridge leading to the Abbey Farm; in the field on the east side of the bridge stood the old Tythe Barn, taken down about 20 years since.

The approach to the Abbey from the main road was through the space (I) called Romeland, the rents of which, tradition says, belonged to the See of Rome. At (H) on the north-west of this space a room built of brick with portions of a fire-place and chimney-shaft remain in a ruinous condition; this was part of the "small house" possessed here by Henry VIII., and at which he occasionally resided, says Farmer; an original letter of Stephyn Gardyner's to Cardinal Wolsey, given in Sir H. Ellis's Series, is dated from Waltham, where the King was then staying; and it was at a neighbouring house that Cranmer gave expression to those views of Henry's marriage, that

lighted the train which finally destroyed Papal supremacy in England.

In the gardens belonging to the Cottages at (T) parts of some very strong brick foundations were taken up some years ago; these doubtless were connected with the building (H).

In 1853 the old wooden market house was taken down, wherein at (J)* stood the stocks and whipping-post (a view of which is given below), erected 1598, 5 feet



9 inches high, made of oak with iron clasps for hands

* See Plan of Town of Waltham Abbey.

and feet, the seat for the culprit was beside one of the immense oak pillars of the Market house. It is now thirty-five years since the stocks were used, excepting by the school-boys of the parish.

Part of the old pillory also is still in existence; it consists of an upright oak post, 14 feet high, with its fixed lower cross-bar measuring 5 feet 6 inches, and hollowed out for the heads and hands of two individuals; the platform or stand for the perjurer, or unlucky baker who proved faulty in the weight or quality of his bread, is gone. I cannot learn where the pillory was erected, most probably it was in the Market Square; wherever it was, it was certainly a most unenviable position for the sufferers, made, like Bunyan's Pilgrims, "the objects of any man's sport, or malice, or revenge."

In 1846 a very old house, called "Bakers Entry," (R, in the Plan of the Town), near the mill-tail stream, was pulled down; the upper storey projected over a broad public walk, which was arcaded on the side next the road with broad, open-pointed arches of oak, arranged in three pairs standing on a breast-high wall; the pairs were divided by larger piers with corbels supporting three high projecting gables; the southernmost gable, with its pair of arches, returned at a slight angle from the face-line towards the building; a view of the house is given in one of Mr. W. H. Bartlett's illustrated Works. Within the house there was a great deal of wood-carving, and when the place was pulled down there was discovered under the plaster a small oak-framed window of good work; this, with most of the carving, was purchased by dealers from London; still a few pieces remain in the town, and the oaken lintel of a pointed arch doorway, with

In domino ✠ Confido

carved in relief within the spandrels, the letters diminishing in length towards the centre; also, the outer-door of this house, which is strengthened on one side with a stout lattice-work of oak bars is still used at the bake-house erected near the same spot.

The bakery was built in character with the rest of the house, having carved woodwork around, and on the wall

the following lines were painted :—

“Remember man that thou art made of dust :
and in this life thou hast not long to trust :
then lead thy life, while Health to thee is given :
that being dead, thy Soul may go to Heaven.”

The ancient oven was used until the time the place was destroyed. Originally the upper-rooms rose to the roof, they were afterwards ceiled throughout, this ceiling however was done some generations ago. When the ceiling was broken through, there was found on the walls of one compartment of the roof the upper part of a painting, representing a naval engagement, &c. ; and in one of the front gables there was a large wooden wheel with the projecting arm fixed for raising flour from the road beneath. I am inclined to believe that this was the Abbey Bakery.

I have in my possession a small tile found on a beam within the roof of this house, it is two inches long, one and six-tenths of an inch broad, the obverse is impressed with a seal, containing a griffin rampant in a shield, upon a trefoil of pointed arches with tracery in them, the points of the trefoil extend to the outer line of the band in which is the legend

S'IAN SCH AWI

beneath the seal are three numerals **735** marked in with a point ; the tile is bordered with an impressed line ; on the reverse a dog has been sketched, which is now defaced by a fracture.

The seal used on this tile I understand to be Flemish, of the 14th century.



In 1851, in digging a cellar under my house in Sun. Street (L), where the made-ground is three feet deep, in the bog-earth about six feet from the surface a British Vase was found, of a coarse material, containing a great deal of grit, black on the outer and inner surfaces, but pale brown in the fractures ; it is rough and badly shaped, the outline an ogee ; it is $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches high, the

diameter 3 inches, $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch at the neck, and $1\frac{3}{4}$ inch at the mouth; the base is formed by three cuttings leaving the middle slightly projecting, so that the Vase will not stand even.

I sent you an impression of a brass Seal that was found in the grounds of Waltham Abbey, it has a figure of S. Peter with the key, and within a band is the legend **S. PERE DESASIS**, within the inner circle of the band is a chevron moulding. This Seal of the early part of the 14th century, is represented in the accompanying woodcut.



I also sent an impression of a half-figure of the Virgin and Child, from a brass signet ring, very poorly executed, and without a legend; this is of the 15th century, and was found in the Abbey ground.

The impression of the merchant's mark, of which the accompanying cut is a representation, I obtained through the kindness of W. T. Wakefield, Esq., from a ring of silver in good state, which he exhibited at the Society's Meeting at Waltham Abbey; this also was found in the Abbey grounds.



I exhibited some local Tradesmen's tokens at the Waltham Meeting. I here subjoin a list of all which have hitherto occurred, copied from "Tokens issued in the 17th century in England, Wales, and Ireland:" by W. Boyne, F.S.A.

O.—WILLIAM DEANE. AT. THE = The King's Arms.

R.—AT. WALTHAM. ABBEY. 1668 = HIS HALFE PENNY. W. S. D

O.—JOHN. HODGES. = The Grocer's Arms.

R.—AT. WALTHAM. ABBY = I. I. H

O.—JOHN. HODGIS. OF = A Stick of Candles.

R.—WALTHAM. ABBY. 1668 = I. I. H

O.—MIHILL. ROBINSON. IN = The Grocer's Arms.

R.—WALTHAM. ABBIE. = M. S. R.

O.—THOMAS. TYLAR. HIS. HALF. PENNY. (in four lines).

R.—OF. WALTHAM. ABBY. 1668. (in four lines) Heart shaped.

O.—THOMAS. WARRIN = Three Pipes in a triangle.

R.—OF. WALTHAM. ABBY. 1668 = HIS HALF PENY. T. S. W.

I have in my possession a Silver Consular Coin which I received several years ago from a person of this town, now dead, and I believe it was found here; the following description of it is given by a French Author:—

Tête laurée de la liberté? à droite; derrière, A. C. CONSIDI. PAETI (Caii Considii Paeti.) Chaise curule; audessus, une Couronne. Ar. 2 fr.

Also a small thin copper coin recently found here, very much worn; all that is legible is the head and helmet, to the left hand; and the word ROMA.

P.S.—Last week I succeeded in my wish to visit the subterranean passage under the Abbey grounds. This passage has afforded all sorts of wonderful tales to the lovers of the mysterious in this neighbourhood. The belief in its having once extended to Cheshunt Nunnery is very general; but this is at once refuted by the internal evidences of the passage itself; unfortunately the branch which strikes out in that direction, and which my guide declares he pursued for a quarter of a mile, is the one I could not inspect. I am inclined to think that it passed under the corn-mill stream and emptied itself somewhere in the Powder-mill Lane stream, which is level with the mill-tail.

I have already described two Roman coins in my possession; these and a few other coins found in Waltham Abbey* are the only remnants we have of Roman rule in Britain, though doubtless the ancient inhabitants, in their struggles for freedom, met the Imperial eagles in or near this parish—tradition pointing to Nazing Common as the scene of a battle, and Ambresbury Banks as the site of an ancient camp, both being just on the boundary line—we have no other legacy from that famous people; but Saxon Harold's rich bequest still stands a memorial of his munificence, and of his fall on that fatal day to the Anglo-Saxon race, "a day of bitterness, a day of death, a day stained with the blood of the brave."

Fearing that I have taken up too much space by these rambling and very imperfect notes, I sincerely

* Mr. Wakefield, late of this town, possessed several third brass coins of Constantine.

thank you for suggestions which have led me to an investigation of these interesting spots, resulting in so much pleasure to myself,

I remain,

Very truly yours,

EDMUND LITTLER.

Waltham Abbey, March 23rd, 1859.



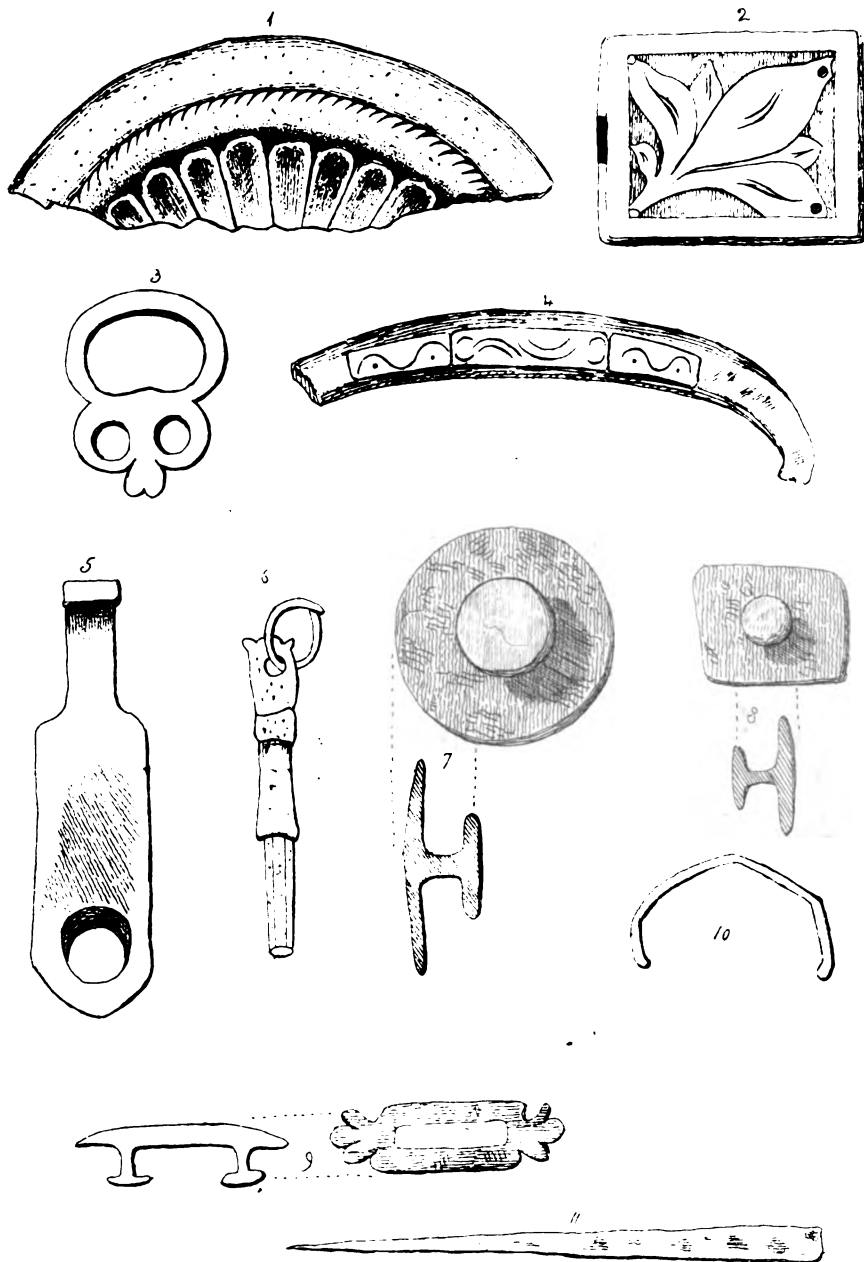
[Silver Seal of ROBERT LE ARCHER.—See Vol. I., p. 201.]

ROMAN ANTIQUITIES, IN BRONZE AND SILVER,
FOUND AT COLCHESTER AND MARKS-TEY,
NOW PRESERVED IN THE COLLECTION OF
JOSEPH MAYER, ESQ., F.S.A., &c., &c., AT LIVER-
POOL.

BY H. W. KING, ESQ.

THE importance of preserving a record of all antiquities discovered from time to time in Essex, and especially of those which have passed out of the county, will be apparent to every member of the Essex Archæological Society. There is, I believe, scarcely any Museum of Antiquities in England which has not been enriched from Colchester and its neighbourhood, and although it is impossible to acquire the objects themselves from such collections, it is essential to know where they are preserved, and, whenever we can, to obtain drawings of them.

Whether as examples of ancient art and manufacture, as illustrations of the manners and habits of past ages, or for the purpose of comparison with objects which may be in future discovered in the county, such a record cannot fail to be of great interest and utility. When, moreover, the exact sites whence antiquities were obtained, and the circumstances under which they were found, can also be ascertained, an additional interest is imparted to them, and their archæological value is enhanced from the facts which may be deduced from the discovery. These considerations, and others which will readily suggest themselves, have induced me to etch for the Journal of the Essex Archæological Society four plates of Roman Antiquities found at Colchester and Marks-Tey, and now preserved in the valuable Museum of that distinguished patron and promoter of

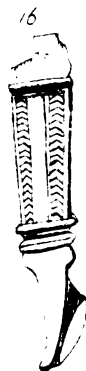
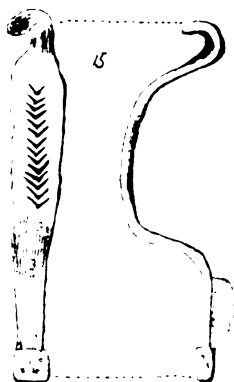
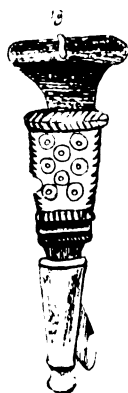
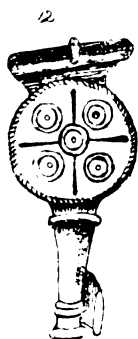


J. Clarke F.R.S.

M. W. King insc.

COLCHESTER.

In the possession of Joseph Mayer Esq F.R.S. & of Liverpool.



L. Clarke Esq.

M. W. Long Esq.

COLCHESTER.

In the possession of Joseph Mayer Esq; FSA &c of Liverpool

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archæological science, Joseph Mayer, Esq., F.S.A., of Liverpool.

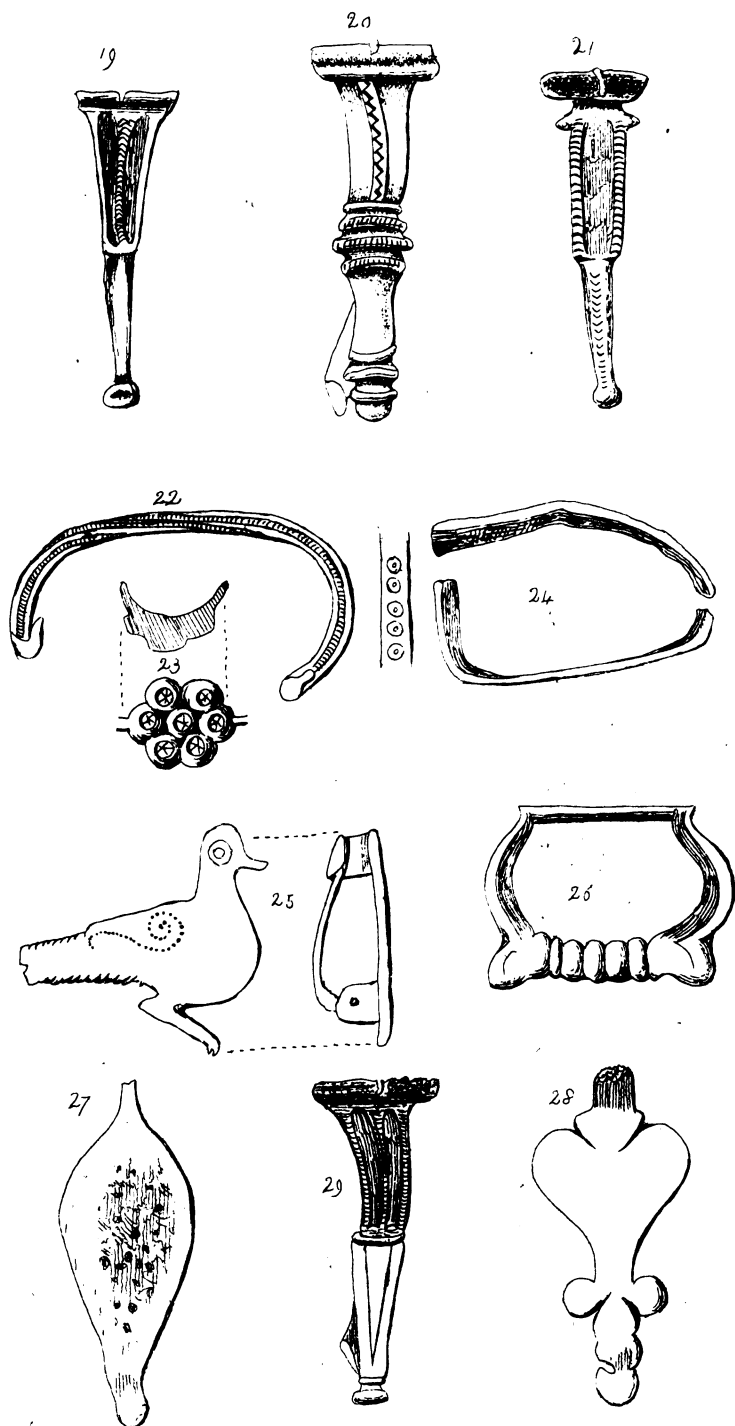
For the beautiful and accurate drawings from the original objects, and the description of each, I am indebted to the kindness of Joseph Clarke, Esq., F.S.A., of Saffron Walden, and particularly to Mr. Mayer for the permission so liberally conceded which enables me to place before the members of our society a faithful representation and description of thirty-five bronze and silver ornaments of Roman art and workmanship. Unfortunately the precise spots where the articles were found, and the circumstances of their discovery have not been ascertained, but that they were found at the places indicated upon the respective plates is well authenticated. The following is a description of each article as they are engraved numerically upon the four consecutive plates :—

COLCHESTER.

1. Part of a round ornament nearly an eight of an inch thick, slightly coppery on the protuberances.
2. Engraved clasp of bronze, the pattern sharply cut in; at one end is an aperture for the reception of the clasp, the other is open with two rivets still remaining, probably for holding a belt.
3. Probably for suspending keys or toilet implements; it is of bronze, having one large and two small apertures.
4. Piece of copper engraved.
5. Flat clava of bronze, patinated, part of a key with the ward broken off.
6. Pendant of bronze for toilet articles, or part of a key.
7. Large round plain stud of bronze, back and section.
8. Back and section of a square stud of bronze.
9. Fibula longa instructa, peculiar double stud of bronze, section and front which shews a facet.
10. Armilla; (?) silver; as it is finished at either end it is more likely to have been an ear-ring.
11. Graphia or stilet of bronze, flattened about half-way, round at point.
12. Thin bronze, five dice ornamentation, made by a centrebit.
13. Fibula of bronze having been silvered; eight dice ornament.
14. Fibula, bronze, has been silvered, though little remains; it has a leaden lock, the pin is of bronze; it is deeply grooved, the middle ridge being the highest.
15. Fibula of nicely patinated bronze; only a hook for the point of the pin.
16. Flat fibula, patinated bronze, shewing rusty at the top.
17. Patinated bronze fibula with a spiral spring.
18. Very similar to the last, No. 17.

MARKS-TEY.

19. Fibula of bronze, deep groove in the upper compartment, has been thickly silvered, some of which remains on the lower part and outer ridge.
 20. Bronze fibula of capital work.
 21. Bronze patinated fibula with deep hollow in upper part.
 22. Laminated ornament, duck's head returns; a child's armilla or hook for a garment, bronze.
 23. Septagonal annulus, evidently part of a finger ring, in bronze, very leaden looking, having been silvered. The cavities probably intended for stones though none remain.
 24. Armilla or bracelet of bronze, dice pattern.
 25. Dove or pigeon, bronze, silvered; silver still remaining, but dead.
 26. Handle in bronze; might have been a swinging handle to a small coffer or buckle.
 27. Bronze belonging to Arcanum.
 28. Belonging to Arcanum; from the upper part it must have hung upon a pivot, but there being no appearance of a hasp it could not have been a clasp.
 29. Fibula in bronze, upper part grooved, with ribs, lower part still bright with silvering.
 30. Piece of patinated thin bronze, apparently from the corner of a box, the side being doubled under.
 31. Bronze tube, slightly conical with striated engraving.
 32. Bronze belonging to Arcanum (?) front side view. This must have swung, but could not have been a hasp as there is no appearance of a staple; probably an ornament.
 33. Engraved sheath of bronze, when found it contained hair; so it now does.
 34. Reverse side of the above.
 35. Female Demi-figure, bronze.
-



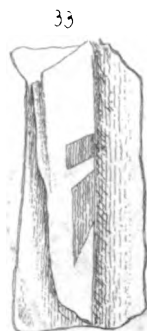
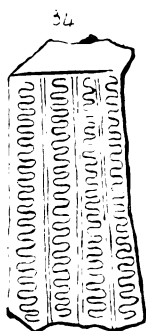
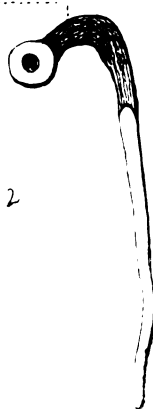
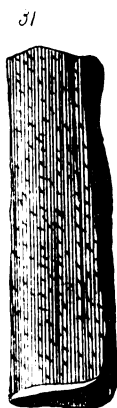
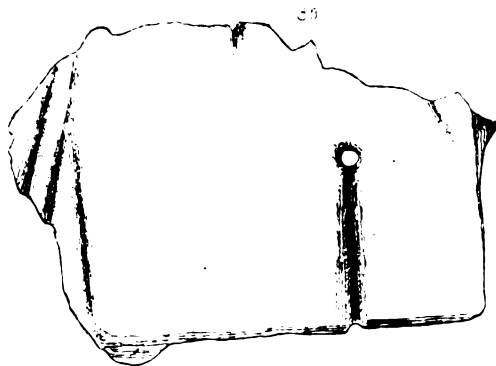
J. Clarke F.S.A. del.

MARKS TEY. ESSEX.

H. W. Long mtd

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J. Clark, F.R.S.

W. H. Sturt

MARKS TEY. ESSEX.

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NOTE ON THE DATE OF THE DEDICATION OF WALTHAM ABBEY CHURCH.

IN comparing the account of the Dedication of Waltham Abbey given in the "*De Inventione S. Crucis Walthamensis*" (*Chroniques Anglo-Normandes*. Rouen, 1836, vol. 1, pp. 232, &c.) with the Foundation Charter of Edward the Confessor (*Kemble's Codex Diplomaticus*, vol. 4, No. 813, and *Monasticon* 6.61) we come upon a difficulty, which if not accounted for may throw a slur upon one of two very valuable evidences.

The Charter bears date A.D. 1062, and is of undoubted authenticity. The Book "*De Inv. S. Cr. W.*" is a composition of the end of the 12th century.

The difficulty consists in this—that the history "*De Inventione, &c.,*" ascribes the office of dedication to Gensior Kinsi, Archbishop of York, who died in 1060, mentioning as witnesses, Giso and Walter, Bishops of Wells and Hereford, who were not consecrated until 1061. The Charter mentions Archbishops Stigand and Ealdred as witnesses, and adds a long list of Bishops and Princes which agrees exactly with the list in the "*De Inventione.*" We may form a conclusion from the following data:—

1. The names of the witnesses (with the exception of Stigand and Ealdred) being the same, and in the same order in both authorities, we need not doubt that the latter took them from the earlier.

2. The foundation Charter is a charter of confirmation by King Edward, of the endowment by Earl Harold, and need not have been executed at the dedication at all.

3. The Charter is clearly of the date 1062. The dedication must have taken place before the death of Kinsi—in the winter of 1060.

4. The "*De Inventione*" states that the King after keeping the Octave of the dedication at Waltham, set off

for Winchester to keep Pentecost "in proximo." The dedication would almost certainly be on the 3rd of May, the feast of the Invention of the Holy Cross. The Octave would be the 10th of May, and the year, one in which the first Sunday after the 10th of May was Whitsunday. The only year during Kinsi's pontificate in which this was the case was 1060. I conclude that the date of the dedication was May 3, 1060.

5. We must, suppose, therefore, that the Charter of Edward was executed two years after the dedication, and that the attestations are those of the persons who witnessed the execution: that the Waltham scribe knew by the tradition of the House that Kinsi was the consecrator, and not remembering the inconsistency of the dates, copied the names of the witnesses from the Charter, on the idea that they were present at the ceremony: and that thus, with the single exception of this mistake, both accounts are genuine and consistent.

W. STUBBS, M.A.

CORRIGENDA ET ADDENDA.

Page 4, note †—*for* "XScriptt." *read* "X Scriptt."

Page 9, note *—*for* "hemicydiis" *read* "hemicycliis." For this very ingenious correction of a manifestly corrupt passage I have to thank my friend, Mr. James Parker, of Oxford.

Page 12, note †.—In the Plan of the Abbey taken since my last visit to Waltham, the site of the building in which these capitals occur, is shown at some distance north-east from the Church. The building must have been one of those vaulted sub-structures which are found almost everywhere, under, very probably, the Abbot's house.

Page 18, line 10 from bottom—*for* "north transept" *read* "south transept."

Page 24.—The Plan of the Abbey shows the eastern limb, with at least five bays, but the extreme east end seems not to have been found. The piers look in the Plan like a continuation of the Romanesque of the nave, but the sections of the nave piers and some other details are so indefinitely given, that I cannot build much upon this evidence.

Page 27, line 5—*for* "the third" *read* "the fourth."

Page 29, line 3—*for* "wall" *read* "aisle."

Page 32, line 6—*for* "exclusively" *read* "exclusive."

Page 56, line 10—*for* "apperent" *read* "apparent."

LIST OF NEW MEMBERS.

Local Secretary :

Saffron Walden.—Rev. J. H. Sperling, Wicken Bonhunt Rectory, Bishop's Stortford.

Corresponding Member :

Mr. Edmund Littler, Waltham Abbey.

- Barclay, H. F., Esq., Walthamstow.
Bates, Rev. J., M.A., Fellow of Gonville and Caius College Cambridge, East Donyland, Colchester.
Brady, Antonio, Esq., Maryland Point, Stratford.
Bullock, H., Esq., Faulkourn Hall, Witham.
Buxton, T. F., Esq., Leytonstone.
Elkins, Rev. J., Sampford Rectory, Braintree.
Espin, Rev. T. E., M.A., Rectory, Hadleigh.
Fairman, J. D., Esq., Bishop Stortford.
Field, Rev. W., M.A., F.S.A., Romford.
Francis, Rev. J., M.A., Waltham Abbey.
Griffinhoofe, Rev. T. S., M.A., Arkesden Vicarage, Bishop's Stortford.
Gurney, Samuel, Esq., 25, Prince's Gate, Hyde Park.
Hamilton, Lieut. A., 31st Regiment, Feering, Kelvedon.
Hart, W. H., Esq., F.S.A., 15, Folkeston House, Russell Park, Streatham.
Izard, Rev. W. C., M.A., Stepney.
King, W. W., Esq., 35, King Street, Cheapside, London.
Knowles, Rev. J. L., M.A., Stratford.
Littler, Mr. Edmund, Waltham Abbey.
Maitland, W. F., Esq., Stanstead Park.
Matthew, Mr. T., East Ham.
Mugliston, G. T. W., Esq., M.D., Maryland Point, Stratford.
Nichol, J., Esq., F.S.A., 10, Canonbury Place, Islington.
Nicholson, Mr., Stratford Green.
Pelly, C. Raymond, Esq., Woodford.
Pritchett, Mrs. M. N., Bishop's Stortford.
Ram, Rev. A. J., M.A., Rectory, West Ham.
Sage, E., Esq., Roding Lodge, Barking.
Sage, E. J., Esq., 16, Spenser Road, Newington Green.
Shirreff, Rev. R. St. John, M.A., Rectory, Woodham Ferrers.
Slee, Mr. Arthur, 4, Langthorn Terrace, Stratford.
Sperling, Rev. J. H., M.A., Wicken Bonhunt Rectory, Bishop's Stortford.
Utting, Mr. R. B., 9, Cornwall Crescent, Camden Road, Camden Town, London.
Vallance, Rev. W., Rectory, Southchurch.
Wakefield, W., Esq., Waltham Abbey.
Webb, G. B., Esq., B.A., F.R.S., 6, Southampton Street, Strand, London,
Hon. Sec., Surrey Archaeological Society.
Welsh, G., Esq., Stanstead-Mountfitchet, Bishop's Stortford.
Wilkinson, Joseph, Esq., 23, Finsbury Circus, London.

Y2 Ward 45 7-10

TRANSACTIONS

OF THE

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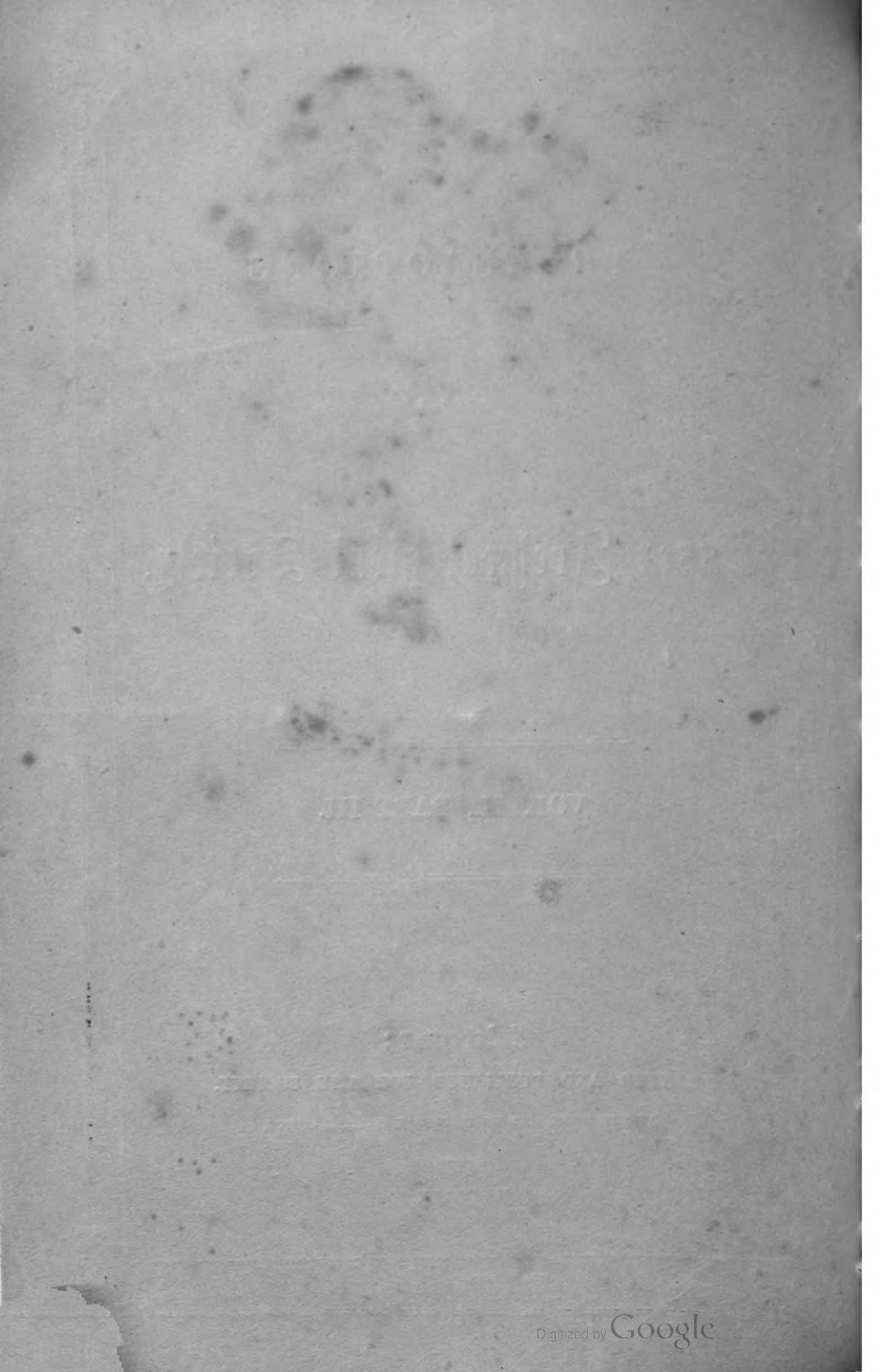
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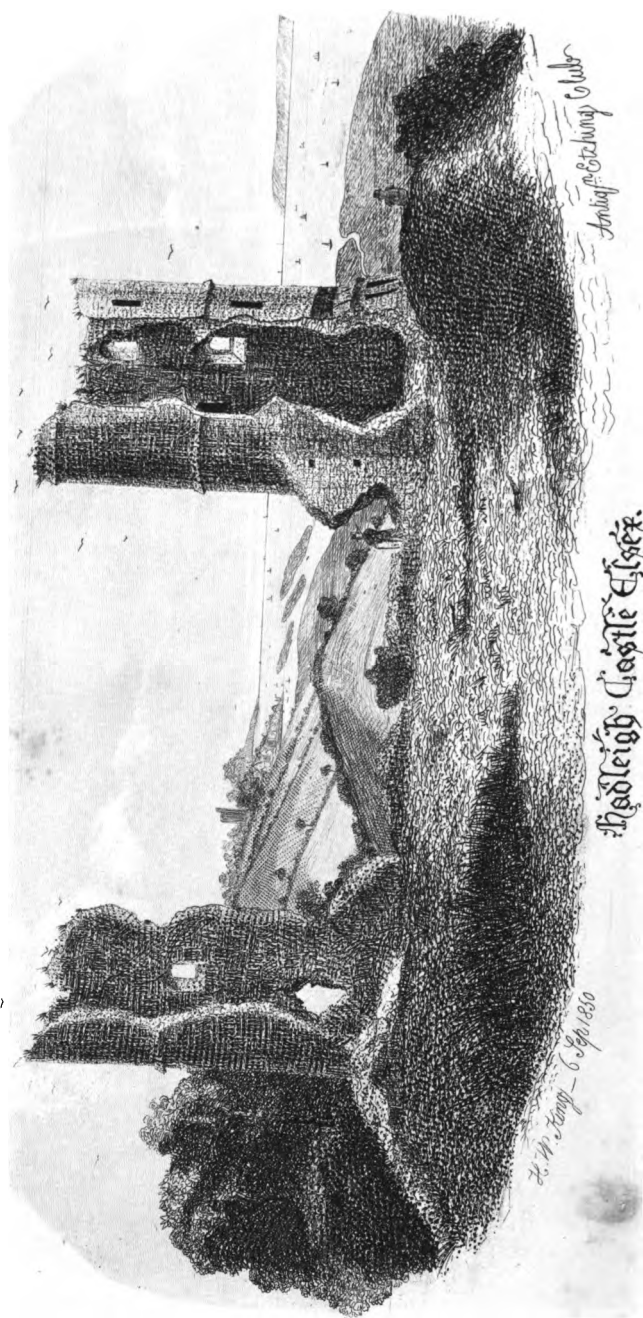
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Middleburgh Castle, Essex.

From the area looking east.



THE EARLY HISTORY OF STRATFORD AND THE SURROUNDING VILLAGES.

BY A MEMBER OF THE SOCIETY.

In Saxon, if not in Roman times,* the highway from London into the eastern parts of England passed very near where we are assembled this evening. It crossed the Lea, at the place still known as Old-ford; and from this road (or in Saxon parlance, Street) by the Ford, is derived the name of the modern town of Stratford. It probably soon branched off—one way leading the traveller through the forest to the ford in the wood, where Woodford-bridge is now, another tending more to the east, passing the River Roden by the Ilford.

The ancient legend connected with the removal of the body of St. Erkenwald, from Barking to London, in the year 685, is considered by some topographers as the earliest mention of this road. Erkenwald, 4th Bishop of London, was founder of Barking Abbey, and died there when on a visit to his sister Ethelburga, the first Abbess. Violent contentions arose respecting his place of sepulture:—"After great strife, they of London took up the body, and bare it towards London; and as they went, there fell a great tempest, and so much water at Yleford, (i.e., Ilford)† that they might not pass." Here the dispute was renewed, until, "after many words," it was suggested to the people to seek the direction of God. "And all the people consented thereto, and kneeled down, and prayed devoutly; and as they were in prayer, they saw the water divided, like as it did to Moses in the Red Sea, and to the children of Israel going through into the desert. In like wise God gave a dry path to the people of London, for to convey this

* Morant quoting Lethellier, MSS. 99.

† Acta Sanctorum.

holy body through the water to the City:* and anon, they took up the body with great honour and reverence, and by one assent they bare it through the path, the water standing up on every side, and the people not wetting their feet! And so they came to Stratforde, and set down the bier in a fair mead full of flowers, and anon after the weather began to ware fair and clear after the tempest."

Fabulous as some of these statements are, the description of the line of road, and the ford at Ilford is probably correct.

The *district* through which this old road passed was called by the Saxons *Ham*, meaning home or village. It included the whole of the present parishes of East and West Ham; marsh, arable, and forest. The marshes in East Ham were available property during the Saxon Heptarchy; when King Offa endowed the monastery of St. Peter's, Westminster,† with two hides of land in Hame. Subsequent Kings confirmed this gift. It is recorded in Domesday‡ as a Manor, and two hides of land in Hame, containing one carucate (or plough-gang) of arable. In 1542, this property of the Dean and Chapter of Westminster was described as "a farm, in the marshes of East Ham, near Barking"||—part of it has recently been sold after a possession of 1,200 years, and forms the present tea gardens at North Woolwich.

Thus we have positive proof that in the seventh century this part of the marshes of the Thames in East Ham, had been reclaimed.

With respect to the marshes of the Lea, Spelman is of opinion that "the first winning of that great level of rich meadow and pasture from Hertford to Bow," and which "was likely enough to have been before only fens and waters."§ may be attributed to the cuts made in that river by King Alfred on occasion of the terrible invasion of the Danes in 895. Their ships were laid up for the winter in the Lea about twenty miles above London, probably near Hertford. Alfred encamped with his army near London

* Golden Legend, printed by Wynkyn de Worde.

† Dart's History of Westminster Abbey, *Sub tit.* Monasticon, new Edition. *Sub tit.*

‡ Domesday. Tit. vi., p. 14. Terra Sci. Petri de Westmonastero.

|| Monasticon *ut supra*.

§ Spelman's Life of Alfred, and Saxon Chronicle *ad an.* 896., &c., &c.

the following summer to protect the inhabitants whilst they reaped their corn. Riding one day by the banks of the Lea, he conceived the idea of altering its channel into different branches, and thus cutting off the retreat of the Danish ships. This was done, and the stream in consequence "laid so low" that they were stranded. The name of the Channelsea River, given to one of the branches of the Lea, seems to point to this origin.

It would detain us too long to enter upon the subject of the Norman invasion in 1066, and the changes consequent upon it; or upon the violence with which the landed property of the kingdom was transferred from its Saxon to its Norman lords. We must confine ourselves to its effects in Ham as recorded in Domesday Book. From this indisputable authority we learn, that in the reign of Edward the Confessor, two Saxon freemen, Alestan and Leured, held each a manor in "Hamme," and that Edwin, a free Priest, possessed a small estate adjacent to that of Leured. A manor (*manerium*) was originally so called from being the residence of the owner, surrounded by an estate. In Ham, therefore, were seated two Saxon gentlemen, and the farmer-tenant of Westminster Abbey. For "Edwin the Priest" there was doubtless a presbytery, and probably a church. The silence of "Domesday," by no means proves that a church did not exist. The architecture of East Ham Church permits the idea that parts of that most curious edifice may even have existed at this date.

The manor of Leured seems to have lain to the *East* and *North* side of Ham, in what is now East Ham, and about Forest-gate. It comprised from 800 to 1,000 acres of arable, 50 acres of meadow and woodland, sufficient to afford "pannage" from the acorns and beech mast for seven hundred hogs. There were 34 villeins, three boors, and 19 slaves on the estate, 8 head of cattle, and 20 hogs—the annual value was £10. The whole of this estate, together with that of Edwin the Priest, was given by William the Conqueror to Robert Gernon, one of his Norman followers, who sub-enfeoffed in a small part of it, one Ilger.

The manor belonging to Alestan was worth £16 per annum. It contained at least 1,040 acres of arable, 60 acres of meadow and woodland enough for only 100 hogs.

To this manor were attached 32 villeins, 16 boors, and

3 slaves ; 1 cow, 6 sheep, and 5 hogs. There were also 9 mills.

The 9 mills indicate the position of this estate to have occupied the western side of Ham, where the Lea and its various cuts afforded them water power.

The Conqueror gave this estate of Alestan the Saxon, in moieties to Ralph Peverel and the before-named Robert Gernon.*

Progress was not the ordinary result of the first Norman occupation in this part of England ; but in Ham, the annual value increased during the first twenty years after the Conquest, from £19 to £42. Population and cattle multiplied, and eleven more carucates were brought under cultivation, which it is a moderate calculation to estimate at a thousand acres.

Some obscurity rests upon the descent of that moiety of Alestan's estate that was given to Ralph Peverel. It seems to have fallen to the Crown with the rest of the Honor of Peverel of London, in the reign of Henry I. : and in part been settled as appanage on two Royal Princes, —by whom, and their feudatories under the name of Sudbery in West Ham, it was eventually given to the Abbey—† the Crown reserving to itself an annual rent of £31 12s., for which the abbots of Stratford regularly accounted to the Exchequer. It is probable that Queen Maud appropriated another portion of Peverel's moiety to the endowment of her bridges and causeway.

Robert Gernon's lordship passed to his successors, the great Norman house of Montfichet, by whom and their heirs it was possessed for many generations, until, by repeated benefactions, almost the whole was absorbed by the Abbey.

The foundation of the Abbey, and the erection of the bridges and causeway, are events of sufficient importance to be treated of in distinct papers.

The name of Ham alone, is used in the charters of William de Montfichet of A.D. 1134—but the Stratford causeway is mentioned. In 1181-2, the distinction between East and West Ham occurs.‡ Stratford is also

* Domesday Book.

† Cartæ Antiquæ in Turre Lond: E Nos. 2—3—19—and Liber Niger Scaccarii. com: Essex.

‡ Confirmation Charter.—Henry II.

named ; thus "the place of the said Abbot which is called Stratford in West Ham." The same instrument also mentions the churches of West Ham and Leyton. These, therefore, existed as parish churches before 1181. In a charter of Richard Cœur de Lion, the church of "All Souls in West Ham," is mentioned.

We are indebted to the same charter for the fact, that the monks had a Grange, near the Frith or Wood ; and that heath land, affording pasture for sheep, lay between the Frith and Walthamstow. In Wanstead Flats we see the remnant of this heath, whilst the situation of the Frith is indicated by the Manor of Ham-Frith or Wood-Grange. The woods of East Ham and West Ham are frequently named in subsequent deeds. The heath in Ham-Frith is also mentioned.

In 1253 a weekly market was granted by Henry III. to Richard de Montfichet ; to be held at West Ham on Wednesdays ; also an annual fair of four days.

This Richard de Montfichet or his father, when Sheriff of Essex, raised a gallows, and held a "view of franc-pledge" in East and West Ham. The name of Gallows Green formerly given to Stratford Green, may possibly be derived from this circumstance.

Towards the close of the reign of Henry III., the last Richard de Montfichet died childless, when his three sisters became his heirs. In every manor or lordship each lady appears to have taken her third. Hence the origin of most of the present manors in East and West Ham. The youngest sister was Philippa, wife of Hugh de Plaiz ; her portion became the manor of Plaiz, and Plaiztow, the seat of de Plaiz, derives its name from them. The hamlet of Plaistow, therefore, under its present name did not exist before 1267. It is remarkable that Henry III. with his court and army should have remained for two months at Stratford, without leaving any local trace, not even a tradition ; but such is the case. One of the last acts in the struggle between that King and his people, was the revolt of the Londoners, and the siege of London in the summer of 1267. "Upon three weeks after Easter, the King came to Ham, three miles from London, and was lodged himself in the Abbey of White Monks of Stratford. Thither came unto him the Legate soon after, and was lodged in the same

Abbey; where for straitness of lodging his horse and mules were set within the cloister of the said Abbey. Then the King's hoste made daily assaults upon the City." * Old Robert of Gloucester in his rhyming chronicle says :—

“The King wend to Stratford, to abide more midst—
And about London, his pavillions pitched—
By a postern, the Legate, through cunning and guile,
He brought to Stratford, without London 2 mile.”

Cardinal Ottabini was the Legate;—he escaped with considerable difficulty from the Tower of London by a postern, to join the King at West Ham Abbey. Prince Edward (afterwards Edward I.), the Counts of Boulogne and St. Paul, with many others, were with the King at Stratford during the months of May and June, that the siege of London lasted.

Stratford had become a place of sufficient importance in 1324, for Aylmer de Valence Earl of Pembroke to hold there the Court of Pleas for the Forest.†

We must only glance now at the foul deed of treachery enacted by Richard II. on his uncle Thomas the good Duke of Gloucester, amongst our lanes, on a summer night in 1397. Having left the Queen at Eltham, the King went to Havering-Bower under pretence of stag hunting, whence one fine hot day he rode with few attendants to Pleshy Castle near Chelmsford, where the Duke resided. The arrival was so sudden that no one knew of it till the porter cried out, “Here is the King!” The Duke with the Duchess and her children went out with great respect to meet him in the court of the Castle. It was five o'clock, and the Duke had already supped. The King entered the hall, and an apartment, where the table was relaid for him, he ate some little, having before said, “Good uncle, have your horses saddled, not all, but five or six, and accompany me to London.” The King having supped, rose, took leave of the Duchess, and proceeded towards London with the Duke, who suspected nothing. The party rode hard, the King conversing with the Duke all the way. They avoided Brentwood and the other towns, arriving at Stratford between 10 and 11 at night. At *this* place,

* Fabyan's “Chronicle,” ad. an. 1267; F. of Worcester, &c., &c.; Holingshead, &c., &c.

† Addit: MS. Brit. Mus., 5937, fol. 113, placita de Foresta apud Stratford.

Mowbray, the Earl Marshal, lay in ambush with a large body of men; when coming suddenly behind the Duke of Gloucester he made him prisoner. The King pressed on at full speed, deaf to the cries of Gloucester, who, panic-struck and aware of the extremity of his danger, called on him aloud for help; nor did Richard slacken his speed till he arrived at the Tower of London. Meanwhile Mowbray hurried the Duke "down a lane that led from the road to the Thames," where he was forced into a boat, conveyed to Calais, and murdered.*

It is, of course, impossible to identify this lane. If we may hazard a conjecture, it would be in favour of the Green-lane that forms the boundary of the two parishes. It is the nearest lane to Stratford that goes direct from the road to the River Thames. Its antiquity is marked by the ancient and still solitary mansion, called Green-street House, that abuts on it; doubtless, so first called when the lane itself was called Green-street. Mowbray's ambush would be laid in a lonely place, or dark covert not in the village of Stratford. Avoiding West Ham and all hamlets where the cries of his prisoner might be heard, he would surely select a solitary and direct way to the river, like the old Green-lane.

Tradition asserts that Henry VIII. frequently resided at Green-street House, coming there from Greenwich to hunt in the forest. A tower in the garden is said to have been built by him for Anna Boleyn to enjoy the views of Greenwich and the river. But this tradition as it respects Anna Boleyn is doubtful.

Mention is made of Stratford in a rare tract reprinted by the Camden Society,† called "Kemps nine daies yvonder. Performed in a daunce from London to Norwich." Will Kemp was a comedian in the same company as Shakspeare, in whose plays he performed such parts as *Dogberry*, *The Gravedigger*, or *Justice Shallow*. He was also a practised dancer. In 1599, "being merrily dispos'd in a Morrice," he says, "began frolickly to foote it from the right honorable the Lord Mayors of London towards the right worshipfull (and truely bountifull) Master Mayors of Norwich. * * * My Taberer stroke up merrily; and as fast as kinde peoples

* Froissart's "Chronicle."

† With "Introduction" by the Rev. A. Dyce.

thronging together would giue mee leaue, thorow London I leapt. * * * Being past White-chappell, * * * multitudes of Londoners left not me: but eyther to keepe a custome which many holde, that Mile-end is no walke without a recreation at Stratford Bow with Creame and Cakes, or else for loue they beare toward me, * * * how euer, many a thousand brought me to Bow; where I rested a while from dancing, but had small rest with those that would haue vrg'd me to drinking. But, I warrant you, Will Kemp was wise enough: to their ful cups, kinde thanks was my returne. * * * But I must neither stand nor sit, the Tabrer strikes alarum. Tickle it, good Tom, Ile follow thee. Farewell, Bowe; haue ouer the bridge, where I heard say honest Conscience was once drownd: * * * lets now along to Stratford Langton. Many good fellows being there met, and knowing how well I loued the sporte, had prepared a Beare-bayting; but so unreasonable were the multitudes of people, that I could only heare the Beare roare and the dogges howle; therefore forward I went with my hey-de-gaies to Ilford, where I againe rested, and was by the people of the towne and countrey there-about very very wel welcomed; being offred carowses in the great spoon,* one whole draught being able at that time to haue drawne my little wit drye; but being afrayde of the olde Prouerbe (He had need of a long spoone that eates with the deuill), I soberly gaue my boone Companyons the slip. From Ilford, by Moone-shine, I set forward, dauncing within a quarter of a myle of Romford. * * * There being the end of my first dayes Morrice."

Nine days after Will Kemp danced into Norwich, leaping a wall into the Mayor's garden, as the finale.

In April, 1636, the Forest Courts were again held at Stratford. Charles I. desired to revive the old forest laws, in the hope, as is supposed, to obtain a revenue independent of Parliament. Henry Rich Earl of Holland, assisted by four judges, presided. Heath the Attorney-General attempted to prove the boundaries from Stratford to Colchester—contrary to the perambulations made in the reign of Edward I. The county in general appeared to oppose this, but the judges broke up the court. Such clamour

* "A great spoone in Ilford, holding aboue a quart."

and discontent ensued that the following year another "Justice seat" was held at Stratford before the same judges, who confirmed their former unjust decision without relaxation or abasement. Before the Court rose, the Solicitor-General demanded in the name of the Crown that the fences should be kept up no higher than a doe and her fawn could go over. Such a regulation enforced from Bow-bridge to Colchester would destroy the agriculture of half the county.* Thus was enacted at Stratford one of those fatal mistakes of the reign of Charles I. that produced the civil war, led to his own death, and the ultimate fall of his dynasty.

At this point modern history may be said to commence. Here, therefore, this slight and imperfect sketch of the "Early history of Stratford and some of the surrounding Villages," comes to its close.

* Thompson's "Essay on Magna-Charta and the Forest Charter."—Sir F. Palgrave's "Ancient Kalendars of the Exchequer;" Vol. 3. append. p. 438.—Rushworth's collection.

EAST HAM CHURCH : AN ARCHITECTURAL DESCRIPTION ; WITH NOTICES OF THE PRINCIPAL SEPULCHRAL MONUMENTS.

BY H. W. KING, ESQ.

(Read at the STRATFORD Meeting.)

In attempting to give an architectural description of the ancient and most interesting Church of East Ham, I labour under a threefold disadvantage. In the first place, I am not a professional architect, but simply an amateur ecclesiologist. Secondly, I know from experience, that it is always difficult to render a mere verbal description of any edifice perfectly intelligible to those who have not seen it. And, thirdly, I cannot omit noticing the beautiful frescoes with which this church is adorned, but which have already been described in the first volume of the "Transactions" of this Society, by our friend, Mr. George Buckler, the author of a valuable volume on "The Churches of Essex"—a work, I regret to learn, not sufficiently supported and estimated in this county, as to induce the author to proceed with a second volume. We must, therefore, be content to wait for the completion of the History of our Churches, until the operation of the Essex Archæological Society—if we dare hope so much—shall have excited a deeper feeling of veneration for those ancient and sacred edifices, and a higher appreciation of the beauties of Gothic art and architecture exhibited in their construction, arrangement and decoration.

Not the least portion of the disadvantage under which I appear before you—you will all feel—is in being required to speak of an edifice which one so able as Mr. Buckler has briefly noticed in the paper to which I have already alluded ; but it was thought by several members of this Society, to whose judgment I greatly defer, that a description of one of the Ham Churches ought to form part

of the proceedings of the present meeting, and I was requested to undertake it. I have, therefore, selected East Ham Church as the subject of the present paper, being the far more interesting structure, and that with which I am best acquainted.

There may be many now present, who are not aware that within some three miles of the place in which we are assembled—upon the very verge of an extensive tract of marsh-land—stands one of the most remarkable and interesting ecclesiastical edifices in Essex—well worthy the study of the antiquary and ecclesiologist—the beautiful little Church of East Ham.

It is a perfect Norman structure throughout, and of somewhat unusual plan, consisting of nave, chancel, and sanctuary, sometimes described as a double chancel. At the west-end is an embattled tower. On the west side of this tower is a porch of recent erection also embattled, and like the tower plastered externally with the material known as “compo.”

This porch is now the only entrance into the church, the south porch having been converted into a vestry. From the basement of the tower you enter the nave by a fine semi-circular Norman doorway, consisting of three members, deeply recessed with as many nook shafts on either side having plain truncated caps. The inner arch is moulded, and rests on circular shafts, placed within the jamb. The arch mouldings are perfectly plain, but there was an evident intention to enrich them, as upon one of the fillets, or flat surfaces, a diaper pattern is commenced. That it was proposed to cover at least this fillet with ornament is manifest from the circumstance that the pattern is not set exactly in the centre, or key of the arch. Similar examples of unfinished ornamentation are frequently found, as in the capitals of the Norman crypt in Canterbury Cathedral, and upon the fonts of Shopland and Horndon Churches in this county.

As is usual, or invariable, in Norman architecture, the walls are of great thickness, measuring here five feet three inches through the doorway.

The effect upon entering this little church in its ancient state must have been extremely grand and solemn. Even now the apsidal adytum, or sanctuary, beyond the outer

chancel, with its low Norman arch, and lighted by no more than three small windows, viewed from the nave is striking and impressive. But when the arch of the antechancel existed—as I believe it did—with the sanctuary arch beyond, and the coloured rays of light streamed into the church through richly-painted windows—when the entire surface of the walls, as is evident, was decorated with diaper and fresco paintings—ere the intersecting arcade had been cruelly cut away from the chancel walls, by *worse* than Puritanical axes and hammers—ere the open benches had been superseded by that strange and exclusive innovation of the 17th century, the “close closet”—when the floor was laid with rich encaustic pavement—when the altar was vested and arrayed for solemn service, one can hardly imagine the interior of a small church more awful and impressive than this little edifice, far away in the Essex marshes, must have presented.

All this, however, has passed away; faint traces only remain of its ancient splendour, but enough to indicate what it originally was.

The Nave.

The church seems to me to have been built rather late in the Norman period of architecture, and the walls, as has already been observed, are very massive, especially at the west-end, where the masonry is of extraordinary thickness.

Originally the nave was lighted by small single windows, very widely splayed internally; of these only two remain in the north wall, partly blocked by a monument. Two other windows upon this side are modern insertions of decorated character, in one of which are two heads painted in stipple, perhaps meant for Moses and Aaron. Upon the south are also two recent insertions of corresponding design. One of these is filled with modern painted glass of mixed character, the subjects treated with the most rigid conventionality of the middle ages, and very well painted.

Near the entrance to the chancel upon the south side, is an arch which formerly opened into a chapel, or chantry, built in the churchyard in the manner of a transept, about the middle of the 13th century. This is now blocked to the spring of the arch, and the upper part converted into

a window. The arch mouldings are deeply hollowed, and combined into one at the impost where it dies into the wall. Whether in digging in the churchyard any remains of foundations have been met with to confirm my opinion, I had no means of inquiring, but its former existence seems obvious, at whatever period it may have been removed.

The chancel—by this I mean the first or outer chancel, so to speak—rises one pace from the nave. From the rough and hacked condition of the wall, I am induced to believe that an arch formerly divided it from the nave, which, in post-Reformation times, was removed for the purpose of throwing this portion of the edifice into the body of the church, reserving only the small apsidal sanctuary. By this act of vandalism, a grand religious and architectural effect has been entirely destroyed, as the distant adytum, where the Christian mysteries were celebrated and the august sacrifice was offered, when seen through the arched opening of the chancel, under a more subdued light than it can now be viewed—arch beyond arch—recess beyond recess—*sanctum* and *sanctum sanctorum*—must have invested the rite with more solemn and awful significance, and inspired the worshipper with greater awe and reverence.

An intersecting Norman arcading, with chevron ornament worked upon its face, and continued to the plinth, runs along both north and south walls—or rather did so once—for the hand of the destroyer has been here as well. Upon the south side only the first and last arches remain, all the intermediate ones having been barbarously hewed away, partly for the erection of a monument, and partly for the purpose of constructing a fire-place in the wall. A larger portion remains upon the north side, partially concealed by pews; but here also some part has been cut away by the erection of a monument. In what manner the bases of the arcade are finished cannot be seen, as they are concealed by the skirting of the pews, and apparently buried besides in the ground, as where the woodwork was broken, I was able to reach with my hand to the ground without finding any deviation in form from the line above, nor, I believe, did I then arrive at the true bases.

Morant, writing no doubt from imperfect information

without having personally visited the church, falls into a very curious error when he says, "On the north and south are arches in the walls of indented wreathed work ; so that there seems to have been two aisles now demolished." Had he inspected the church, he would have known that these arcades were simply features of architectural embellishment upon the face of the walls. This part of the edifice is lighted by a hideous window of late insertion, immediately over the fire-place, consisting of three round-headed lights. On the north side is an original Norman window with widely splayed jambs.

The chancel opens into the

Sacrarium

by a plain semi-circular Norman arch of two reveals. The abaci have their under edges chamfered, and they are continued as strings to the side walls. This part of the edifice is of very small dimensions, and terminates in a semi-circular apse. It is lighted by three little single Norman windows, very widely splayed, and between them were two shallow flat buttresses or pilasters, such as appear in the chancel of Hadleigh Church in this county, which is also Norman and apsidal. Upon the south side of the apse is constructed a double Piscina of the early English period, consisting of two trefoil-headed arches separated by a detached shaft having moulded cap and base, beneath a containing arch which springs from shafts on either side. Over the central shaft, and beneath the outer arch, is a bracket supported by a corbel head—that of a female—probably intended (as has been supposed) for a lamp. Both basins are scalloped. An engraving of this Piscina may be seen in Ogborne's "History of Essex."

The Priest's door, pointed—and now blocked—occupies the entire space between the Piscina and the abutment of the arch of the sanctuary. Opposite, upon the north side, there seems to have been an aumbry.

Mural Paintings.

I have now to speak of the mural paintings with which the sanctuary is adorned. And here I would say that this

Society is greatly indebted to Mr. Harris, the sexton, who first made the discovery of those interesting works of mediæval decorative art, and by whom they were so carefully and successfully developed, and especially to the Vicar of the parish, the Rev. William Streatfeild, by whom they have been preserved untouched since the period when they were first brought to light six years ago.

Early in the 13th century the whole of the chancel and sacarium were richly frescoed, and it is not improbable that the decoration extended to the other parts of the edifice. Although in a very mutilated condition from the adherence of the limewash, and the difficulty of its removal, they afford excellent examples of the ancient mode of adorning the interior of our churches. The entire wall of the apse and the splays of the windows are painted with red lines, representing joints of masonry, and in the centre of each block is a sexfoil flower, except within the window jamb, where the blocks are left plain. Bands of double lined squares, with a yellow ground, are carried round the windows.

The soffite of the sanctuary arch is also enriched with painting, executed in a dark red colour. In the centre is a portrait, which Mr. Buckler supposes may be intended for a priest, patron, or founder. From this figure, on either side, a flowing pattern with numerous scrolls, terminating in trefoil leaves, descends to the abacus, and is enclosed in borders of double-lined squares, now scarcely discernible. The verditer green which appears in these borders I am convinced, from minute examination, is not a part of the original decoration, and may be of a much later date, as it overlays both the red lines and the trefoil leaves. A similar pattern, with trefoil terminations running within a border, as in the soffite, is carried horizontally across the west face or east wall of the chancel, immediately above the arch; and the entire surface of the wall of the chancel exhibits indications of having been covered with a masonry pattern, as in the sacarium.

Both this and the scroll pattern seem almost identical with those in Wenham Church, Suffolk, wanting, however, leaves in the angles of the joints, which occur in the latter example, engraved in an "Essay on Church Furni-

ture and Decoration," by our Hon. Secretary, the Rev. Edward L. Cutts.

In each spandrel of the arch of the sacarium, and upon its west face, is a greatly obliterated figure of life size. That upon the left is a female saint, crowned, holding in her right hand, apparently, a sceptre or staff; her left is elevated and also drawn in the attitude of holding some object which is effaced. Very little remains of the corresponding figure, and a mural tablet has besides been affixed immediately over it. These figures are executed in a dark red colour over the early masonry pattern, probably early in the 15th century.

Archæologists need not be told that the mediæval artists and architects never left the walls of a Church, or a domestic edifice, bare, cold, and undecorated. They never suffered the eye to rest painfully upon a vast expanse of whitewash—neither could they have endured the strong and painful contrast between brilliantly coloured windows and blank whitened walls. All within their edifice was rich and harmonious colouring, and appropriate decoration. They thoroughly understood the principles of decorative art, and they carried out those principles even in the remotest village churches—those erected in the wildest part of the country—whether amongst the dense forests of Essex, or in the very centre of our most swampy marshes. I should tire you with the bare enumeration of the Essex churches in which I have found traces of these paintings concealed beneath successive coats of whitewash, the accumulation of centuries—or vestiges of others which have been brought to light. Our most recent discoveries were at Hadleigh, where four successive series were disclosed of early 14th, 15th, 16th, and 17th centuries respectively, for the practice was continued in some sort, long after the Reformation and the decline of Gothic art. An account of this you will find in the last part of our "Transactions," while at East Ham, by the care of the Vicar, you have some beautiful examples easily accessible.

Of the tower of the church little need be said, as the upper portion of the structure is of brickwork of very recent date. There is, however, one ancient bell, inscribed

in old English characters with the customary kind of jingling Latin rhyme:—

" Dulcis sisto melis, hucor campana Gabrielis."

The font is portable, and consists of a marble basin, set upon a pedestal, executed in the worst style of art. An inscription round the rim records that it was the gift of Sir Richard Heigham to the parish in 1634, and his arms and quarterings are also rudely incised upon it. It stands at the entrance to the sanctuary within a few feet of the altar.

Having now concluded a general description of the edifice, I will briefly notice the principal sepulchral monuments. Altogether they are rather numerous, but I need only mention those of most interest.

Of monumental brass effigies there are but two. The first in memory of Hester Neve, who died in 1610, is a very interesting example of the costume of the period. There are also two brass plates with inscriptions upon the wall of the apse, one in memory of William Johnson, 1631, and the other in memory of Robert Rampston a munificent benefactor to this and neighbouring parishes. And I wish to draw your particular attention to this plate. Robert Rampston and his wife are interred in the chancel of the exquisitely beautiful but now ruinous church of Chingford, and their effigies engraven in brass were laid upon their tomb, with an inscription plate. A fourth plate, recording Rampston's benefactions to Chingford and ten other parishes in Essex, including East Ham, was firmly rivetted to a stone in the south wall. Only fourteen months ago, however, a thief entered the church, violently wrenched the plate from the wall and carried it off. Encouraged by the first success, he soon paid a second visit to the sacred edifice, and bore off the effigies and inscription plate with equal impunity. Robert Rampson was represented clad in armour, and his wife in the costume of the reign of Elizabeth, and we have consequently lost by this act of sacrilege two valuable historical monuments, and the parish is at the same time robbed of one of its legal evidences. Unfortunately, these brasses are only too often found lying completely detached from their slabs, and not a year passes without depriving

us of some of them. They have been sold by sextons, given away by churchwardens, and stolen by thieves. I am quite certain that a far greater number of them have been abstracted since the period of the Great Rebellion, than were destroyed by the fanatics of that time, upon whom these depredations are too indiscriminately charged. And I think it especially needful, with these facts before us, for the officers of this Society to direct the attention of its members to them, with a view to prevent as far as possible a continuance of such wholesale vandalism, plunder, and sacrilege. One thing, at least, might be done as a slight preventive—wherever brasses have become detached, they might be easily refixed at very trifling expense.

After this brief digression, which the importance of the subject seemed to me to demand, I will proceed to notice the remaining monuments.

That which is of most historical interest—at least to genealogists—is a sumptuous monument, on the north side of the apse, in memory of Edmond Nevill the (reputed) seventh Earl of Westmoreland and Baron Latimer, who with his wife and daughter are there interred. The Earl and his Countess (as they are styled) are sculptured in marble, each kneeling within a niche. He is accoutred in the armour of his time, and both himself and his wife are habited in robes lined and trimmed with ermine. The monument is profusely adorned with escocheons, the quarterings of the house of Nevill, with all the accessories pertaining to the third rank in the peerage. The arms are those of Nevill, Nevill ancient, Bulmer, Bretagne, Fitz-Ralph Lord of Middleton, Glanville, Clavinger, Walcot, Holland, Plantagenet, Grey, and Neville, with those of his wife, daughter of Richard Smythe of Warwick. Beneath this monument, under an altar-tomb of alabaster with black marble slab, is interred the Lady Katherine Neville, his daughter, who died in 1613, and in front of this are the effigies, in alabaster, of his seven children in attitudes of prayer.

The particulars of Edmond Nevill's claim to the Earldom—of which he always assumed the style and title—may be briefly stated as follows:—Charles Nevill 6th Earl of Westmoreland was attainted in 1570, for having

headed an insurrection in favour of Mary Queen of Scots. He fled to the Netherlands, and on his attainder all his honours were forfeited. In the reign of James I, Edmond Nevill, whom this monument commemorates, the lineal descendant of George the younger son of Ralph and next heir male of Charles the last Earl, claimed the Earldom, but it was decided against him on the ground that the attainder had caused all the honours possessed by the said Charles to be forfeited to the Crown as an estate of inheritance. A copy of Edmond Nevill's claim, which is a curious document, is in the Lansdowne Collection, No. 254.*

There are several mural monuments in memory of the family of Heigham, baronets, descended from the Lord Chief-Baron Heigham, with armorial bearings; and a large one with two effigies, in stained alabaster, of the family of Breame, adorned with five escocheons of their arms and alliances.

- * The following transcript of Edmond Nevill's claim to the Earldom of Westmoreland, from the original in the Lansdowne Collection, has been kindly furnished by Miss Fry, of Plashetts, East Ham.

My title to the Earldom of Westmorland in the Ralph Nevill Lord of Raby. twentyeth of Richard II. having taken to hys second wife Johan thy daughter of John of Gaunt Duke of Lancaster, in honor of that marregge was created Earle of Westmorlande in Parliament to him and his heires male of his body, which creation was afterwards confirmed by Henry 4th his wifes brother. He had issue by Margaret his first wife, John, and by Johan his second wife only Richard and George that had issue.

After the death of Raphe the honor by force of the entayle descended to the issue of the first wife, and so continued to Charles the first Earle in discente who was attaynted in Parliament the thirteenth of Elizth., and who died without issue male.

Richard the eldest son of Raphe the first Earle by Johan the second wife, was Earl of Salisbury and his issue male expired in George Duke of Bedford who died the first of Henry 6th, without issue male. George, the other son of Raphe and Johane was Lord Latimer, to whom I am next heire male, and therefore pretend right to the Earldom of Westmorland by the grant of Richard the 2nd he being also the next heir, male of the bodye of Raphe the first Earl.

The attaynder of Charles, a collateral cozin by the halfe bloode, was no barre to my clayme either by the common Law or custome of the realme in cases of honor then heretofore used, or by any general act of Parliament in the said particular case of attaynder of the saide Charles, made in the twentyeth year of the late Queen Elizth.

The Kinges Majestie besides the gracious promises made to me in the lyfetime of Queen Elizth. sithence his owne coming to the throne, hath both by word and writing allowed me the sayde tittle, the least of which is not only a full and sufficient investiture of tittle of honor lawfully disceded, but like the power of a new creation of the greatest honour in the realm.

His Majestie hath also further promised on the worde of a King, that yf any defect of right grew by the late attaynder of Charles, he woulde supplie it out of his own grace and courtesye, the occasion of the said Charles his fall being for the service and affection of the King's mother.

WESTMERLAND.

SOME ACCOUNT OF THE ABBEY OF WEST HAM, OTHERWISE STRATFORD LANGTHORNE.

BY R. HAWLEY CLUTTERBUCK.

Weever, in his "Funeral Monuments," published in 1631, says—"Queen Maud, wife of Henry I., passing over the river of Leue, at Ouldforde, hardly escaped danger of drowning; after which shee gave order, that a little beneath, at Stratforde, there should be a bridge made over the water—going over which, toward West Ham, I saw the remains of a monasterie pleasantlie watered with seuerall streames." And at the present day, if the traveller will look to his right hand when coming from London, along the very causeway which Maude had constructed, he will see, not the remains of a monastery, but a number of large buildings and tall chimneys, being the printing factory of the late Mr. Tucker, still "pleasantlie watered with seuerall streames," which mark the site to him of the Abbey of S. Mary of Stratford; and (if he confines his observations to a view from the road) he cannot but acknowledge some, if not the same, pleasantness in the prospect that Weever notices. But the information that our quaint old friend would convey in his next few lines is not quite so correct as are his remarks on the situation of the remains of the Abbey as he saw them. For he continues, "Which (monastery) William de Montfichet a lord of great name of the Norman race, built in the yeare of our Lord 1140. The revenews of this house were much augmented and confirmed by K. Richard the Seconde, in the tenth yeare of his reigne, as by his charter among the records appeareth. Dedicated it was to the honour of Christ and His blessed Mother, and replenished with blacke monks, and valued at the suppression to be worthe £573 15s. 6d."

It is somewhat surprising how the painstaking old anti-

quarry could make so many mistakes as are contained in the passage just quoted, which, however, we may hope to correct, while gathering together the records we have of this once noble Abbey, and endeavouring to add to the already printed histories such information as may be derived from documents in private possession.

In the spot which he describes as so pleasantly watered, and which we still know by the name of West Ham Abbey, William de Montfitchet, the successor of Robert Gernon, and Margaret his wife, founded this Abbey by the advice of William Carbois Archbishop of Canterbury, in the year 1134; dedicated it to God and the Blessed Virgin; and placed in it a fraternity of monks of the Cistercian order, who from the colour of their habits were commonly called White Monks.

With great munificence he endowed it with all his demesne lands in Ham, also with 11 acres of meadow, 2 mills, his wood of Buckhurst (sometimes called Monk's-hill) in Woodford, and the tythe of the pannage of his hogs.

We find that the convent afterwards became possessed of other large estates, which ultimately amounted altogether to about 1,500 acres.

They owned the manor of West Ham by the gift of the founder, and the manor of Sudbury (in West Ham, not Suffolk as sometimes stated) by the gift of William Plantagenet, brother of Henry II., and Alan de Faloise, his man, and very many other manors and estates chiefly in this county, given by many different persons.*

Besides lands in this county they possessed the manor and rectory of Lewisham in Kent, and 473 acres in the forest of Melksham, Wilts. They had free warren in most of the parishes in which their lands were situated; pasture for 800 sheep between the Frith of Woodgrange and Walthamstow; the privilege of cutting down wood and timber out of the forest of Essex; and liberty to take as much thorns, or brushwood, from Windsor forest as was necessary for the use of their house. They had also a market and two fairs at Billericay; and by a grant of the 19th

* The charters of the founder, and of K. Henry II., are printed in Dugdale's "Monasticon," Vol. v., p. 588. For a list of the possessions of this Abbey, and the patents by which they were held, see Lyson's "Environs of London," Vol. iv., p. 246.

Edward IV., two casks of red wine annually from the port of London (afterwards changed to an allowance in money), which was the last benefaction made to the Abbey.

From Pope Nicholas's Taxation in 1291 we find that the revenues of this house were then valued at £191 14s. 8½d. At the dissolution in 1538 their revenues were estimated at £511 16s.

Of the history of the fraternity, or of any of its members, we have very little record. We know that Abbot Benedict was head of the house between 1199 and 1208.

And that Richard was Abbot in 1218. During his rule King Henry III. resided for a considerable time in the Abbey, while the siege of London was going on. The Abbot of Stratford was summoned to Parliament in 1307.

William was Abbot of the Monastery on the 12th September, 1330. Whether in this Abbot's time or not, is unknown, but certainly somewhere between 1330 and 1386 a terrible calamity overtook the monks of Stratford, in the destruction of their house. For (to use the words of Leland) "this house, first sett among the low marshes, was after with sore fludes defacy'd and remeid to a celle or graunge longynge to it called Burgestede in Essex, a mile or more from Bilerica. The monks remayned at Burgestede untyl entrete was made that they might have sum help otherwise. Then one of the Richards Kings of England toke the grounde and Abbaye of Strateforde into his protection, and reedifeing it, brought the foresayde monkes again to Strateforde, where among the marshes they re-inhabited."

Hugh was Abbot in 1433, for we find in Harl. MS. 443, a warrant to aid and assist Hugh Abbot of Stratford and Robert Abbot of Woburne, and the Abbot of Clyffe, reformators and visaters of the Order of Cisteaux. His prior's name was Walter de London.

William Etherway was made Abbot in 1516.

Robert Abbot of Stratforde, was at the christening of Queen Elizabeth, 10th September, 1533.

William Huddleston was the last Abbot, and surrendered the convent March 29th, 1538. In his time the unfortunate Margaret Countess of Salisbury, resided in the Abbey, whence she was removed to the Tower by Henry VIII.

The deed of surrender which remains in the Augmentation Office is signed by William Huddleston the Abbot; William Parsons the Prior; John Moryst the Chanter; John Rydsdalls the Sacrist; and eleven monks, one of whom, named John Wyghtt, could not sign his name, but made a cross for his mark, which is described as the "marke of John Wyghtt which cannot wrytte."* The conventual seal attached to this deed is round and not large—it represents the Blessed Virgin and Child seated under a canopy—all that can be read of the legend is—"Sigill com—de Stretferde."† No register of the Abbey has as yet been found.

The short remainder of the history of this Abbey is told only by tradition, which in this instance, no doubt, gives us a record of real events.

There is a house, in the part of this parish called Plaistow, which is known by the name of Hide House, standing on ground formerly owned by the monastery. Here it is said that the monks, when the noble house raised by their pious benefactors,—where they and their predecessors had so long lived in holy retirement and alms-giving,—was ruthlessly destroyed, took refuge, and lived out the remainder of their lives in the fraternity which the over zealous reformers had interrupted. Of this building we shall speak presently.

After the dissolution, King Henry VIII. granted the site of the monastery, with its appurtenances, the church and "Richard's Chapel," to Sir Peter Mewtas, of West Ham, his Ambassador to France, in whose family it remained till 1663.

The site and history of "Richard's Chapel" are now quite unknown, but it is believed to have been the chantry chapel of Richard Mountfitchet.

Omitting here the descent of the manors, which will be found in detail in Morant, it will perhaps be well to say a little on the history of the revenues of the parish church, as they are intimately connected with our subject. West Ham Church was given to the Abbey of Stratford

* Engraved in Mrs. Ogbourne's "History of Essex."

† It is rather singular that a copy of this seal is still used in the official receipt of the Abbey Land rate. It is worthy of notice that this seal, contrary to the usual practice of ecclesiastical bodies, is round instead of the pointed oval shape, generally called *vesica piscis*.

by Gilbert de Mountfitchet, the son of the founder. Afterwards the Rectorial, or great tythes, were appropriated to the Monastery, and a Vicarage ordained and endowed ; which continued in their gift till the dissolution.

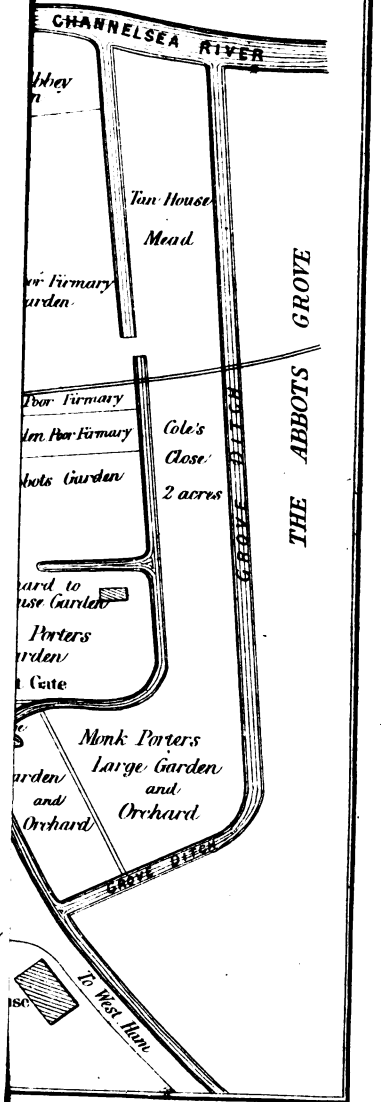
But before that, even the small portion belonging to the Vicar was extorted from him by the monks, after a tedious suit, in the years 1514, 1515 and 1516, first in the Archbishop of Canterbury's Court, and afterwards at the Court of Rome, when he was forced to sit down contented with a pension of £39 13s. 8d. and a house. This pension, which did not increase in value as the tythes did, was paid in four equal parts at the feasts of Easter, Nativity of S. John the Baptist, S. Michael, and the Birth of our Lord. All the tythes being thus vested in the Abbey came to the Crown at the surrender of the house in 1538, and were leased out from time to time, the Vicar being allowed the £39 13s. 8d. This lasted till the 11th January, 1637, when King Charles I. granted the small tythe, glebe and surplice fees to Peter Blower, then Vicar, and thenceforth the aforesaid stipend ceased.

In the very slight sketch thus given of the history of this Abbey, we have found several facts which do not agree with the statements made by Weever in the passage quoted at the commencement of this paper. But, as regards the architectural remains which have now to be noticed, he doubtless had greatly the advantage of us. How much of the conventual buildings was left in his time we cannot tell ; but to whatever extent the "remains of a monastere" were visible to a passenger along the Bow-road 227 years ago, it is certain none are to be seen now.

In speaking of the remains, I shall not confine myself to a mere description of the arches and walls that exist, or to the antiquities that have been found on the site of the Abbey, but shall endeavour, as far as possible, to give an idea of the arrangement and position of the various parts and offices of the Monastery.

The monks of the Cistercian branch of the Benedictine Order with which, as we have seen, this Abbey was peopled, seem to have been singularly uniform in their habits of living and consequently in their requirements. We find that they always chose a beautiful spot of country for the site of their house ; and that they considered the

rne.
R ABBOTS.



vicinity of water courses a desideratum is evident from the fact that we invariably find the remains of their Abbeys well watered. The Cistercians were accustomed to employ their leisure hours in farming pursuits, and many of their arrangements were of course similar, though differing according to local peculiarities. But perhaps the most striking similarity is exhibited in the ground plan of their churches.

To quote the Rev. E. L. Cutts, in whose paper on "Coggeshall Abbey," in the second part of the first volume of our "Transactions," much valuable information is given concerning this order:—

"The church is the principal building to which everything else is subordinate. For we must not look upon an Abbey Church as merely a domestic chapel for the community to say their prayers in; we must rather look upon the monastery as a group of buildings added to the church for the shelter of the priests and brethren attached to its services."

By the great kindness of a member of this Society, a map of the precincts of the Abbey is subjoined, for the facility of reference. It must, however, be borne in mind, that the map which I have been allowed thus to copy is not taken entirely from any one ancient record. It is made up by one who possesses great skill in such enquiries, and who has made deep research into old leases and other documents; it is far more complete than any plan of this Abbey before published; and though made up on circumstantial evidence only, is probably correct. It will perhaps be best understood if it is gone over in detail, in the way of an itinerary.

If we start along the road from West Ham, near the church, we pass on our left hand what is now the Patent Leather Factory (better known by the name of the Gutta Percha Factory), and which not long ago served the purpose of a workhouse.

Some yards beyond this building stood, within the memory of many of our parishioners, the great gate of the monastery.*

In order to arrive at this point, it will be noticed that we have been moving along parallel to a ditch on the

* Figured in "Grose's Antiq. of England and Wales," Vol. i.; and in the "Gent. Mag.," Oct., 1793, pl. 1, p. 881.

side of the road, which formed in fact part of the moat which surrounded the precinct of the Abbey. On the other side of the moat were two gardens, which were in the occupation of the monk-porter who attended to the gate. And it may be seen that a watercourse runs southward at right angles to the road which we have been following, and at length turning westward, marks out two, and did mark out three, sides of a square. This marks the site of the Lodge, or Moated House, which we learn from the old leases, was a messuage or mansion, with a garden or orchard, and a barn and stable, enclosed by a moat, and within the precincts. Portions of the moat may be distinguished where the railroad crosses the Marsh Lane. The Abbey slaughter-house is stated to have been near the barn of the moated house.

We know that the churches of all Cistercian convents were alike in their ground plan, which consisted of a large cross church, with central tower, and had almost always three chapels attached to the east side of each of its transepts. Under the shelter of the nave and transept, usually on the south side of the church, was placed the cloister, the nave forming its north side, and the south transept part of its east side.

The accompanying engraving shows an archway, with the remains of groining columns, which is now built up in the wall of the "Adam and Eve" Inn. It seems very probable that this was one of the arches of the cloister.

In the kitchen of the "Adam and Eve" Inn still remains a slab with the brass studs which formerly affixed a cross to it, though the indent is almost obliterated. In the "Ambulator," published in 1806, it is stated that there was a stone coffin (found near there in 1770) in the garden. This does not now exist, at any rate in that position.

To the eastward of the conventual church was the poor infirmary, and eastward of that the smaller of two gardens belonging to it. The larger of its gardens was situated at the north and north-west of the church-yard. The Abbot's garden was near this.

Southward of the court of the monastery was the Abbey



REMAINS OF THE ABBEY OF STRATFORD LANGTHORNE.

Arch at the "Adam & Eve".

Grange and the Abbey Grange-yard, described as such as late as 1634, and said to contain 14 acres.

In the field near the inn just mentioned, formerly the Abbey Grange-yard, is a very obtusely pointed arch of white stone, built into a wall of old red bricks, 2 inches thick; this is now blocked with modern brick, but probably formed the entrances to the Grange or farm-yard from the court of the monastery. At right angles to this a red brick wall, ornamented with black bricks, in the usual mode of Tudor building, runs westward for 170 feet, and then at right angles for about 70 feet. Some distance to the west, in the factory belonging to James Keyess, Esq., is a piece of wall, with two small two-light windows.

To the south, where the railway crosses the garden, a curious discovery was made in 1845, while the workmen were excavating for the Woolwich Railway, of which the following account was given by a local newspaper at the time:—*

"The workmen employed in excavating for the new railway lighted upon some interesting remains connected with West Ham Abbey. Just where the line crosses the rise of the "Adam and Eve" Gardens, and not more than two feet below the grassy surface, a sort of chamber was discovered, which, however, was nearly half destroyed before the men began to clear away with any caution, but what remained was sufficiently clear, at the time of our observation, to show its size and form. It is of an oblong shape, rounded at one end and square at the other; about 12 feet long, 8 feet wide, and 5 feet in depth. The outer wall, which is of strong masonry, is about 6 inches thick; within that is a layer of cement, which is again lined with thin red tiles, of peculiarly close texture, and over these a thinner stratum of cement. These sides are (or rather were, for the greater part has been taken away by curiosity) neatly lined throughout with Dutch tiles, finely glazed, similar to those seen in old fashioned fire-places, but without the designs, being of a pure white.

"It is clear that this chamber, which, when whole, must have been a very handsome one, was intended for a lavatory, for which purpose a well, which was discovered within two or three feet of it, furnished an abundant supply of water; but there was no trace of heating apparatus. Had only common precautions been used, this curious relic of other days might have been preserved and removed entire. It would be very desirable, when so much excavation is going on throughout the country, if workmen had instructions, especially near the sites of ancient edifices and historic places, to pause on any unusual appearance until an examination by qualified persons takes place.

"At a short distance was found a number of human bones, against

* "Chelmsford Chronicle."

which was one nearly perfect skeleton, the last remains perhaps of one of the fair recluses for whose use this bath had been constructed.

"These relics of mortality were instantly desecrated by some sacrilegious wretch who took and disposed of them to a bone purchaser for a few pence. A few yards lower down towards the Thames the workmen broke into an archway very strongly built, something after the Danish manner, which has given rise to much conjecture. The passage, into which an entrance is effected through the opening, runs east and west, and some suppose that it formed a subterraneous mode of escape to the inmates of the Abbey as far as Barking, in the event of any impending danger. If so, the journey would be a very tedious one, for if the passage does not open as it proceeds, the traveller would have to crawl on his hands and knees the entire way. The more general opinion is that it is an old aqueduct leading to the river. If so, it is very large, and built with great strength."

There are some errors in this account which are too obvious to need mention. Although the subterranean passage mentioned is so choked with dirt and rubbish that investigation is difficult, it may be regarded as certain that it is only a drain.

In digging the foundations no antiquities were discovered, except a rough stone coffin, a plain gold ring (now in the possession of W. Self, Esq.), a few gold jettons, and an onyx seal set in silver, representing a griffin, with this inscription, *nuncio vobis gaudium et salutem*.*

The armorial bearings of the Abbey were gules three chevronels or, over all a crozier bendy-wise argent.

It only remains to notice the building at Plaistow before alluded to. It is a large brick house, standing just opposite the "Black Lion" Inn, and though interesting to the admirers of Jacobean architecture, does not require a lengthy description here. An account of it, and of the glass formerly existing in the windows, will be found in "Lysons," Vol. iv., p. 256. In the garden belonging to it, however, are large outhouses, built on crypts, and to one of them is a buttressed door-arch of red brick, evidently of "Tudor" workmanship. Over this is an inscription in wrought brick, "Christ is the gate to everlasting life," and the date 1579. This seems to me to refer its erection rather to Dr. Taylor or his predecessor than the monks.

One cannot leave this subject without regret at the

* "Collectanea Antiqua," by C. Roach Smith, Vol. IV.

ruthless annihilation of almost all the remains of our conventual buildings, and it is much to be hoped that our Society may be useful in extending more widely that reverence for ancient things which will prevent the relics which still adorn our land sharing the fate of those of the Abbey of S. Mary of Stratford Langthorn.

NOTES ON THE REGISTERS OF THE PARISH OF BARKING.

BY H. W. KING.

"The Parish Registers and Vestry Account Books, in their regular entries, and in the notes of remarkable occurrences which are often recorded in them, contain a vast store of information of great value to the student of Local and Family History and of Ancient Manners and Customs;"* hoping that, with the concurrence and cooperation of the Clergy, this information might be rendered available for historical purposes, the Society, eighteen months ago, addressed a circular to the Incumbents of all the churches in the county, requesting them to investigate these records and to communicate what appeared to be important. Many returns have been received, containing much curious, interesting and valuable information, which is in process of arrangement; the registers of several churches in the neighbourhood of the Metropolis, in which the entries are exceedingly numerous, are under careful investigation, and the result will shortly be placed in the hands of the Officers of the Society; and there is reason to believe that, besides these, very considerable additions will eventually be made to the extracts already in our possession; yet, in the present imperfect and incomplete state of the returns, the materials cannot be satisfactorily digested into a form adapted for a regular series of papers in the Journal of the Society.

The copious excerpts, however, from the Barking Registers which, in compliance with the circular of the Council, were kindly furnished by the Rev. A. F. Smith, having proved of sufficient interest in themselves to engage the attention of the members who were present at the General

* Circular of the Council of the Essex Archaeological Society to the Clergy of the County.

Meeting held in that town in June, 1859, it has been considered desirable to offer, in the present volume of our "Transactions" a few notes on these Registers, as a specimen of the historical value of their contents. By the diligence of our active associate, Edward J. Sage, Esq., of Stoke Newington, these excerpts have since been largely augmented, chiefly with reference to the genealogies of ancient families seated in the Hundred of Becontree, a subject to which his researches have been more particularly directed*. I do not propose, however, to burthen the present paper with a long series of extracts having merely a direct genealogical bearing. It may suffice to state that they are numerous, and of a highly valuable character, and it is hoped will be hereafter arranged and preserved among the archives of the Essex Archæological Society for reference, and for the use of future historians of the county.

The Barking Registers commence in the year 1558, about the period at which the earliest registers extant usually begin, though we occasionally find them with a few entries as early as the reigns of Henry VIII., Edward VI. and Mary. Like many of the older Registers, these at Barking, for a considerable period, are transcripts upon vellum from the original codices, which had become torn and defaced; the accuracy of each page of transcript is attested by the signatures of the clergyman and churchwardens, and they are in unusually fine preservation, and beautifully written. Although the entries for some years are wanting, the total number of registered births from 1558 to 1857 is 32,258; of marriages 5,524; of burials 30,830. The title of the Baptismal Register is as follows:—

Barkinge. INFANTUM in viscera Ihesu Christi per Baptismi Sacramentum insertorum Nomenclatura: Ab Henrico Barber subornato Viro M^{ro} Richardo Wignallo, Vicario, Curionis munus obeunte, e conspurcato et lacero quondam Libro fidelissime transcripta! Johanne Wielde,

* Edward Sage, Esq., of Roding Lodge, a gentleman possessing unusual facilities and an extensive knowledge of manorial customs, has also formed a valuable collection for the History of the Manor and Parish of Barking, in two superbly illustrated folio volumes, which were exhibited to the Society at its meeting at Barking; the history of the adjoining parishes of East Ham and West Ham has also been written by a member of the Society; so that, taken in connexion with the excerpts from the Parish Registers, it will be gratifying to the Society to know that materials exist for a very perfect and enlarged history of these extensive parishes.

Thoma Pargitor, Johanne Medows et Will'mo Nicholson (Economis Ecclesiæ. tunc ibid.

Incipit ab Initio Regni Reginæ nostræ Elizabethæ, sicuti constitutionibus Parlamento stabilitis nup' sancita est.

On the fly-leaf opposite,

Registrum Ecclesiæ Barkingensis, ab Henrico Barber fideliter transcriptum Anno Dnj. 1598.

Beneath is the name of the transcriber in monogram, with the motto, "Ne dubita, dabitur."

Till May, 1620, each page has the following foot-note; "Fideliter descripta (or, verè sunt inserta), per Richardum Wignall, Vicarium;" and as far as the book is only a transcript, each page has usually the counter signatures of one or more of the churchwardens, some of whom put their marks, consisting either of a single letter, or their initials monogram, in Roman letters. This was not altogether in unusual, but persons who could not write commonly, even to the present day, make the sign of the cross, a practice handed down from very remote antiquity. In ancient charters this mode of attestation is almost universal with kings, prelates and other ecclesiastics; not always, as has been often imagined, because these persons could not write, but to give additional weight, sacredness and solemnity to the act. It is a singular fact, however, that in the signatures attached to the Solemn League and Covenant, Parliamentary Protestation, and Vow and Covenant, preserved in the register of Hadleigh Church, in this county, a great variety of curious marks are employed, the cross being made only in two or three instances, from which it seems clear that the Puritans entertained an aversion to its use for that or any other purpose.* If the Churchwardens of Barking could neither read nor write it would be difficult to imagine of what value their attestation to the fidelity of the transcript could possibly be.

The title of the Register of Marriages is:—

MATRIMONIO conjuntorum Nomina ab Henrico Barber cl'ico istius Ecclesiæ suæ fideli ministro vere transcripta. Johanne Wilde, Thoma Pargitor, Will'mo Nicholson et Johanne Medowes seniore tunc Ædilibus, viz. anno Dnj. 1598, Ricardo Wignallo tunc etiam ibidem Vicario et Pastore sedulo.

* In a Puritan tract of the seventeenth century, the Cross of Christ is introduced as the mark of the Beast.

That of the Burials is in the following form:—

INHUMATORUM speq: melioris vitæ Succumbentium catalogus; ab Henrico Barber Colendissimi Mri Richardi Wignalli Ecclesiæ istius, Paræcho substituto; e manco quondam, magnâque ministrorum antehac in curiâ custodito codice, quâ fieri potuit cura ac diligentia, conscriptus, vix anno Dni 1598; Johanne Wilde, Thoma Pargitor, Johanne Medowes seniore, et Will'mo Nichollson, Ecclesiæ Barkingensis tunc Gardianis fidelissimis. Inchoatur a regno Serenissimæ Reginæ nostræ Elizabethæ; quemadmodum constitutionibus Parlamento editis sancitum est.

These titles are written in red and black ink, and there are also others upon the fly leaves in a similar formulary to that in the Baptismal Register with the monogram and motto of Henry Barber. It is curious to notice that in each he has selected a different word to express "Churchwardens," calling them Custodes, Ædiles, and Gardiani; while he has been equally careful to change the form of attestation at the foot of the different pages, the following variations occurring in the Burial Register, "Examinata concordant;" "Fideliter transcripta," "Fideliter excerpta;" "Fideliter extracta;" "Fideliter descripta;" "Concordat in originali;" "Fideliter translata;" "Vere traducta." The Register of Marriages is a transcript till about the end of 1597, and the Register of Burials as far as the latter end of 1598. From the title of the former an attempt has been made to erase the words "fidei ministro" applied to the transcriber.

The value of the entries in the Barking Registers to the county historian will be manifest when I mention that they include records of the births, deaths and marriages of the ancient families of Fanshawe of Parsloes, Sir Christopher Hatton, the Campbells, Baronets of Clay Hall, Sisley of Eastbury House, Fitch, Pounsett, Pargitor, Ayloff, Comyns, Wright, Throckmorton, Gascoigne, Gresham, Maynard, Osbaston, Lethieullier and others of rank, property and distinction connected with the manorial history of this and other parishes in the county. From entries so numerous, and in relation to some of the families, extending over a long series of years, it is impossible to insert more than a few of the most interesting, some of which have already been noticed by Dr. Lysons.

FROM BAPTISMAL REGISTERS.

- 1596, Nov.—Richard the sonne of Willm Hampden, in the countye of Buckingham, Esquire, baptized 7 mo. Novembris. [Brother to the famous William Hampden.]
- 1604, Mar.—Elizabeth ye daughter of Sr Christofer Hatton, Knighte,
 • baptised the 25th day of Marche. And others of his children, viz. Christofer, July 11, 1605; Alice, Aprill 26, 1607; Jane, June 29, 1609; Robart, Aug. 12, 1612. [This Sir C. Hatton (who married Alice, daughter of Thomas Fanshaw, Esq.) lived at Clayhall; he was cousin and at length heir to Sir C. Hatton, Lord Keeper of the Great Seal to Queen Elizabeth. His son Christopher, born at Clayhall in 1605, was created Baron Hatton by Charles I. in 1643, and married Elizabeth, one of the coheirs of Sir Charles Montagu: he died in 1670. The title is extinct.—Vide *Lysons'* "Env."]
- 1607, December.—William the sonne of Sir William Parker, Knighte, Lord Montegle baptized the third day of December. [This is the celebrated Lord Montegle to whom the letter was addressed which is alleged to have been the means of discovering the Gunpowder Plot. He is believed at this time to have resided at Eastbury House, a circumstance which has given rise to two popular and unfounded traditions—one, the conspirators met at Eastbury House; the other, that the discovery of the plot was owing to the letter which was intended for Lord Montegle having, by mistake, been delivered to an inhabitant of the house named Montagu. Lord Montegle received the letter, as is well known, at Hoxton.]
- 1663, Nov. 14.—Harry, ye sonne of Sir Thomas Cambell, Baronett, borne this day in ye parish of St. Andrewes, Holborne, in London, and baptized by Dr. Cartwright on Tuesday, 24th of the same. [This Sir T. Cambell was created a Baronet in 1663. The title is extinct. He was uncle to Sir John Cambell, the register of whose burial will be found on May 21, 1662.—*Lysons.*]
- 1670-1, Mar. 17.—Jane ye d. of Richard Sheffield, Esq. and ye Lady Cambell. [This R. Sheffield was uncle to the Duke of Buckingham; he married Mary Lady Cambell, widow of Sir Thomas Cambell, and daughter of Thomas first Viscount Fanshaw.—*Lysons.*]

FROM MARRIAGE REGISTERS.

- 1662, May 27.—This day was maryed Thomas Cartwright, D.D., and Sarah, the daughter of Henry Wright, Esq., and Margaret, his wife, both of this parish. [This was the famous Dr. Cartwright, Bishop of Chester, and some time Vicar of Barking, whose diary has been published by the Camden Society. Records of the births of his children are contained in the Baptismal Registers.]

Captain Cook, the circumnavigator, of famous memory, was married in this church, as appears by the following record:—

- 1762, Dec. 21.—James Cook of ye parish of St. Paul, Shadwell, in ye county of Middlesex, batchelor, and Elizabeth Batts, of ye parish of

Barking, in ye county of Essex, Spinster, were married in this church by ye Archbishop of Canterbury's license, this twenty-first day of December, one thousand seven hundred and sixty-two, by George Downing, vicar of Little Wakering, Essex. This marriage was solemnized between us—Jam^s. Cook, Elizabeth Cook, late Batts; in ye presence of John Richardson, Sarah Brown, William Everrest. X

I know not whether by law or custom the practice has obtained in recent times for a woman to sign her pre-nuptial name in the register (a name which she no longer bears) immediately after the marriage is celebrated. The above mode of signature alone seems consistent with common sense.

From the Register of Burials I have selected the following:—

- 1592, Aug. 6.—Joane the daughter of the Worshl. Thomas Powle, senior Esquier buried the 6th August multâ nocte. Solemnizatio sepulture triduum post.
- 1598, June.—Sir Ralph Bowerchyer, Knighte, buried the 11th day June his funerall kepthe the 6th of July.
- 1617, Mar. 30.—Anne, ye wife of Sir Charles Cornwallis, Knight. [This Sir C. Cornwallis was uncle to the first Lord Cornwallis; he married secondly, Anne, daughter of Thomas Barrow, Esq., and widow of Ralph Selden.—*Lysons*.]
- 1631, Jan. 28.—Widdow Ranford Dr. Donne's mother. [This lady was mother of the famous Dr. Donne, Dean of St. Paul's.]
- 1634, Dec. 19.—Frances, d. of Dudley North, Knight. [This D. North was afterwards the fourth Lord North; he married one of the coheirs of Sir Charles Montagu.—*Lysons*.]
- 1638, Oct. 1.—The Lady Fanshaw. [Anne, Lady Fanshaw, wife of Sir Thomas, died a lunatic.—*Lysons*.]
- 1662, May 21.—Sir John Cambell, Baronett, sonne to James Cambell, of Woodford, Esq. [This Sir J. Cambell was created in 1661. This title is extinct.]
- 1674, Nov. 6.—Margaret, wife of Sir Thos. Fanshaw, Knight. [This lady was daughter of Sir — Heath, Knight, and wife of Sir Thomas Fanshaw, the younger.—*Lysons*.]
- 1679, Dec. 29.—The Honble. Lady Eliz. Fanshaw. [This lady was second wife of Sir Thomas, and daughter of Thomas Viscount Fanshaw.]
- 1739, Sept. 13.—Frances Isabella, daughter of Capt. Edwd. Hawk. [This Capt. E. Hawk was afterwards Lord Hawke.]
- 1767, June 5.—The Honble. Major-General John Boscawen. [The Major was uncle to Lord Falmouth. He was Master of the Horse and one of the grooms.]
- 1627, May 27.—Margaret, daughter of Sir Henry Coutte. [The family of Cotte were proprietors of the Manor of Clayhall in Barking for several generations.]

Omitting a large number which would no doubt prove of great interest to the historian and genealogist, I pass on to offer a few notes upon some entries of another kind which are found in these books. It is curious to observe the loose way in which at an early period numerous births and burials were recorded. This is not peculiar to the Barking Registry; similar entries are to be met with in numerous registers which have come under my notice. Among the Baptisms, for instance, such entries as the following:—

- 1585, Julye.—A poore child beinge a stranger bapt^d. the 13th of Julye.
 1588, March.—Agnes the daughter of a poore traveller bapt^d. the 31 March.
 1592, May.—Frances daughter of Baker of the Greene lane, bapt^d. the 16 May.
 1591, September.—Thomas the sonne of Joseph Middleton from a Barne at Upney bapt^d. the 2d of September.
 1592, October.—Henry the supposed son of Henry Fisher of London from the Greyhound bapt^d. the 17th of October.
 1525.—Prescilla, daughter of a begg^r from Loxford.
 John and Elizabeth, children of a traveller who was brought to bed at the Crowne at Ilford.
 1597.—John, a beggar's child.
 Agnes, a poore woman's child.
 1637.—Mary Absolom, borne in a waggon.
 1644.—Johne, from Loxford.
 1653.—Francis, the sonne of an Æthiopian, born at the Beehive.
 1697.—A cobler's son, against Mr. Furbigh^{es} house.
 1682.—Smith's child, at Church.
 1682.—A Sawyer's child.
 Jonas, a nigro, baptized at Church.
 1698.—Edward, a traveller.
 1700.—John, a traveller.
 1712.—Mark, a foundling.
 1725.—John, son of Wilson, a Jew.

It would seem that there were many vagrants whose surnames were either purposely concealed by the persons themselves, or not very particularly inquired for. Such entries as the following also occur with some frequency: "John filius vulgi, Frances filia vulgi," probably intended to denote illegitimacy. In the registers of Little Bardfield illegitimacy is indicated by "filius" or "filia terræ;" and

in the Barking register is one entry with a very significant Christian name, which we may suppose to have been selected by the clergyman, "1590 December, *Fortuito*, a Bastard from Loxford Barne bapt^d the last of December."

Two or three examples occur of the peculiar class of Christian names adopted by the Puritans for their children. In 1647 was baptized "Alice the daughter of *Deliverance* Smith" and in 1716 "Anne daughter of *Original* Heath." In the Burial Register is also found "*Repentance* Page, 1634." Names of this kind are of very frequent occurrence in Sussex, where Puritanism appears to have extensively prevailed, at least in some districts. We are hardly in a position to say at present to what extent the practice of giving such obtained in Essex at that period, but the Barking Register records the baptism of a child at a very recent date who rejoiced in the not very euphonious names of "Christopher Mahershalal-hashbaz Splashett." Mr. Mark Antony Lower has collected a long list borne by persons in Sussex, such as—Accepted, Elected, Redeemed, Earth, Faint-not, Stand-fast-on-high, Kill-sin, Fly-debate, Weep-not, More-fruit, Fight-the-good-fight-of-faith, Lament, Replenish, Search-the-Scriptures, Small-hope, Seek-wisdom, Fly-fornication. These were actual baptismal names; and in the 17th century two juries were empannelled in Sussex, every one of them bearing this canning nomenclature. In the burial registers there were deaths recorded in as loose a manner as some of the baptisms, such as "A poor boy," "A poor woman," "A poor wench who died in the street," "A poor maid," "A poor man who died in Mr. Pouncett's barn," "A poor man dying in James Carrow's barn." There were many such records of persons dying alone, unknown, and perhaps wholly uncared for, in barns, in the forest, by the roadside, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, to be found in these and other registers.

The burials of pedlars, strangers, vagrants, and other itinerants, whose names are unknown, appear very numerous in these registers.

1559.—One at Jenkins Farme.

1562.—John a stranger.

- 1562.—Rachell, Norden's maide.
 „ A poore maide at Benson's.
 1567.—An oulde man who died at Mr. Brooke's at Ilford.
 1568.—John Glue his child.
 „ A poore wenche from the Allmes houses.
 1581.—A poore boy from Mr. Salmon's barne.
 1591.—A poore boy from Loxford barne.
 1593.—A poore wench who cam from the bath.
 1599.—Old Joan.
 1601.—A strange childe found in the street.
 1603.—A stranger from the highway.
 1615.—Joan a beggar wench.
 1626.—A poore woman from the good Kelpes.

In the same Register the following quaint and curious entries occur among others:—

- 1568.—Goodwife Pratt.
 Goodman Smithe's child.
 Mother Edwards.
 Mr. Nutbrowne's kinswoman.
 1571.—Thomas Drake, our clerke.
 1584.—William a Cobler.
 1587.—Isaac Hunt the Barber.
 1591.—John Wilkins, commonly called Father John.
 1593.—Richard Stephens, otherwise called Bald Dicke.
 John, aliter dictus Jacke Avis, from Clay Hall.
 Roger Floyd, as som thinke a Bastard.
 1597.—John Allen, a vagrant chyrurgeon.
 1650.—Old Greene.
 1655.—Old Stoudall.
 Old Stoudall's wife.
 1708, April 14.—Queen of the Gypsies, and
 1830, May 10.—Christopher Mahershalahashbaz Splashett, (before
 mentioned).

There are also frequent entries of chrysom children, as
 "a chrysom man child," "a chrysom maid child."

A child was called a "chrysom" from the time of its baptism to the time of its mother being churched, though there is certainly one instance in the register where the word is erroneously used, viz.:—"In 1602 a chrysom maide childe *not* baptized by Mr. Richard Cooke." If it died during that interval, the chrysom cloth with which it had

been covered at its baptism was used as its shroud. I am not aware whether this custom has become entirely obsolete in the church; in former times the priest used to say when he put the vesture upon the child, "Take this white vesture as a token of innocence." In the 17th century it was also customary for women to be covered with a white veil when churched, and the insisting upon this usage was made a charge against some of the clergy by the Puritans; and in the church of Horndon-on-the-Hill in this county, on those occasions women presented a white handkerchief to the priest as an offering.*

Upon one of the fly-leaves of the Register is a list of more than forty "persons excommunicated" during the 17th century, and in some instances the dates at which a few of them were subsequently absolved. For certain notorious crimes, according to the discipline of the Anglican Church, such persons were denied the rites of Christian burial, and were either interred outside the fence of the churchyard, in some remote part of the ground set apart for that purpose, or in the public highway. At the present day only in cases of *felo-de-se*, or of persons dying unbaptised, is the accustomed ritual usually withheld by the Church.

There is one instance recorded in the Barking Register in 1593, of a woman excommunicate *propter stuprum*, and interred without the honour of Christian burial, in the extreme boundary of the churchyard.

1593, Dec. 23.—Mrs. Marye from Mr. Richard Cokes *propter stuprum excommunicata, sine aliquo christianæ sepulture honore in extremis finibus Cœmeterii in terram posita est, tertio vicessimo die Decembris.*

In the same year there is another entry in Latin, from which it appears that the clergyman entertained a doubt

* This receives explanation from an entry of fees due to the Clergyman in the Register of the parish of St. John Baptist in the Isle of Thanet subscribed by Robert Jenkinson, Vicar in 1577—viz., "For Churching a woman, but must compound for the Face-Cloth 1s." on which the Rev. John Lewis in his "History of the Isle of Tenet," 1736, has this note. "The ancient duty for Christning [Churching] was a crysome, or the face-cloth, that covered the child at its baptism, if it lived, but if the child died, the minister was to have but two-pence for baptizing (the woman's offering at her churching) and was to lose the Face-Cloth for *that* was to wind the child in."

By the Manual in *usum Sarum*, it is ordered, "That Godfaders and Godmoders see that the modyr bringe agin the Crysome at her Purification," and by the first English Liturgy, "The woman that is purified is required to offer her crysome, and the other accustomed offerings."

whether a lady could be buried with Christian burial because she was a friend and favourer of the (Roman) Catholic religion, and therefore (as he thought) excommunicate. The Bishop (Dr. Aylmer) appears very properly to have decided that she should be interred with the accustomed rites, as I conclude from the record:—

1593, June 15.—Alice the wife of John Bur, Gent. Consulto prius Episcopo nam omnino sepeliretur, quia Cacolicæ (*sic*) Relligionis mortis tempore fautrix et amica fuit, ideoque excommunicata, in Cœmiterio jacet 25^{to} die Junii.

There are several records of the interment of Quakers in the reign of Charles II., about whom, as far as appears from the Register, no question whatever was raised, viz.:—“Ewers a Quaker, 1662; John Ruddell a Quaker, 1663; Henry Cannon, Quaker, 1673.

Register Book (A) contains a memorandum of the presentation, by Lady Elizabeth Coote, relict of Sir Nicholas Coote, of a plate (paten) of silver gilt, with the arms and initials of the said lady, a white damask cloth, and napkin (corporal) for the service of the altar in Barking Church, to be used “upon solemne festivall dayes.” And Register (B) has a memorandum of the ejection of the curate, Mr. Chighenhale, in June, 1688, for refusing to read the “Declaration of Toleration” in the reign of James II., and that Mr. Hall was appointed his successor by the Bishop of Chester, Dr. Cartwright, but at a later date, namely, February 3, 1689, Mr. Hall was dismissed and Mr. Chighenhale was restored.

I have now placed before the members of the Essex Archæological Society some of the chief points of interest from among the *seventy thousand* entries which occur in the Barking Registers, exclusively of those which have a genealogical bearing. To the Vicar, the Rev. Mr. Seymour, and to the Rev. A. F. Smith, Curate of the parish, for the great pains he bestowed in extracting so much curious and interesting matter, and for the elaborate manner in which he worked out tables of statistical information, and in many places annotated his extracts, our thanks are especially due, as well as to our Associate, Edward J. Sage, Esq., for having contributed so largely to the historical collections of the Society. In some

future numbers of the "Journal" I hope to be able to give, in a more connected form, the result of the examination of the entire Registers of the County, with an introductory paper on the history of these ancient and important records.

EASTBURY HALL.

BY THE REV. EDWARD L. CUTTS.

The Manor of Eastbury was a portion of the possessions of the Abbey of Barking. The Abbey was dissolved in 1539. In 1545, the Manor was granted to Sir W. Denham, Kt., Sheriff of London, who, dying three years after, left it to his heir, William Abbot, who held it eight years, and then conveyed it to John Keele; he, within the year—*viz.*, in 1557—re-sold it to Clement Sysley. There is a tradition that there was formerly a date (1572) in the hall, and another tradition speaks of a similar date on a spout behind, and the style of the house corresponds with that date; there is no reason to doubt the correctness of these traditions, and we may therefore safely ascribe to Clement Sysley the erection of this interesting old house. The House continued in his family for 50 years, till Thomas Sysley sold it, in or before 1608, to Augustine Steward. Martin Steward sold it to Jacob Price; and G. Price to W. Knightley, in 1646; and his widow sold it to Sir T. Vyner; Sir T. Vyner's representatives sold the Manor to W. Browne, in 1714; his nephew, W. Sedgwick, sold it to I. Weldale, in 1740; and Mrs. Ann Weldale (probably his daughter) to Mr. Sterry, in 1773. Mr. T. Newman and his son and grandson dwelt here till 1792; the last left it by will to Mr. Bushfield, in 1802. The next possessor, Mr. Scott, dilapidated the mansion, took up floors, and tore out chimney-pieces, some of which were sold to the Rev. Mr. Fanshaw, who placed them in his house at Parsloes, where they still exist.

The house, then, was built in 1572, in the glorious days of great Elizabeth. About her time a great change in the general plan of country houses came in. The earlier houses had been built round a central court, with all the windows looking into the court-yard, and only a few loops in the outer walls, for the sake of security. It is one proof of the higher security of the country at the time of

which we are speaking that the quadrangle was now turned inside out, as it were; the windows, which were large and numerous, now looking outward. In this house* the plan consists of a south front, and two wings, and the fourth side of the court is closed, not by another block of building, but by a blank wall. In the southern angle of the court-yard are two octagonal stair turrets. The principal entrance is through the north front; the door is arched, and has its spandrels traceried in brick; this admits the visitor into a small porch. Passing through this he enters into what was formerly the screens; *i.e.*, the passage screened off at the lower end of the hall. The hall was on the left hand; the western wing was occupied by the kitchens and offices. In the eastern wing were two large apartments, perhaps the ordinary sitting rooms of the family, with a passage between them from the exterior to the stair turret and to the hall. On the first floor, there was over the hall a room of the same size, whose walls were decorated with paintings, on one side the "Miraculous Draught of Fishes," on another a number of figures of men and women in contemporary costumes placed under niches. In the western wing there appear to have been bed-chambers; in the eastern wing, one long and fine room, which was probably the Great Chamber, answering to our drawing-room. Between the ceiling of the porch and the floor of the room over it was a space $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet high, entered from above by a trap-door, which may have been a hiding-place, but more probably was the strong room, in which the plate and deeds were kept. On the second floor were three galleries, extending the whole length of each block of building. The roofs, which are now open to the tiles, were ceiled, so that each gallery was long and low, with a cradle roof, and with a great window at each end, and the side windows formed little recesses—pseudo bay windows. There is such a gallery in most of the old houses of about this period—at Knole, and Hever, and Haddon, for example—and it formed the ball-room, and perhaps a place for indoor exercise in rainy weather. In the eastern gallery are remains of

* The architectural details of this interesting house are very fully and accurately described and illustrated in a monograph entitled "Eastbury Illustrated," by W. H. Black, the engravings by T. H. Clarke; London, 1834.

painting on the wall, imitations of architectural ornament, done in distemper.

A series of large plain empty rooms presents nothing very interesting to the eye ; you must, by an effort of the imagination, re-furnish and re-people these old houses, if you wish to share the antiquary's pleasure in them. Go outside again, and re-enter this fine old mansion with an antiquary's eye. Fancy yourself riding up from the road through a Pleasaunce of well kept turf, beneath an avenue of old elm trees. At the porch, the porter receives you with profound obeisances, a groom runs up to take your horse, and you enter the screens. His Worship is at dinner—you hear by the clatter, and the hum of voices ; a feast day besides ; but, never mind, enter. There is the hall, in its olden state, its ceiling ornamented in panels, the lower part of the walls hung with tapestry, the upper ornamented with weapons * old and new, pikes and pistols, bows and firelocks, and back and breast-plates and head-pieces, and one full suit of plate with an esquire's helmet over the daïs. "He is so hung round," says *Truewit* in Ben Jonson's "*Epiccene*," "with pikes, halberds, petronels, calivers and muskets, that he looks like a Justice of Peace's hall." On the raised daïs, in his chair of estate, sits the worshipful Master Sysley, with a dozen guests of degree at his high table ; while at the two long tables which run the length of the hall sit a crowd of guests less dignified, but equally merry. When you have time, notice the wood fire blazing on the hearth beneath the carved chimney piece (which is now in the kitchen at Parsloes) ; and the cupboard of plate displayed at the side, chargers and flagons and cups worthy of a wealthy and worshipful citizen. The tiled floor is strewed with rushes and a few sweet herbs, whose odour was very pleasant, doubtless, when the guests first bruised them under foot as they entered, but it is lost now in the more savoury steams of roast and boiled, and spiced ale and wine, which begin to make the air vapoury and heavy, as the Church is with incense on a festival.

But if you want to study the guests, wait till they all

* In Clement Sysley's will, he bequeaths the "gonnes, pykes, crossbows and other weapons, to Thomas Sysley, to go with the house, and to remain as standards for ever in Eastbury Hall."

adjourn to the Great Chamber, and the ladies have room to spread their farthingales of stiff brocade, and to prune their standing ruffs. But it is the gentlemen who are specially worth study. Now-a-days they are all in costume of one colour—the gloomiest, and one fashion—the most unbecoming. Then gentlemen studied their costume as much as the ladies, and in the gay crowd you will find hosen, and cloaks, and caps of every costly material and rich hue ; from the young spark, proud of his pretty face and well trimmed moustache and peaked beard, disporting himself in white hosen and doublet, and a sky-blue short cloak embroidered with silver, to the old grand-sire in a beard shaped like a tile, and a suit of black camblet. In the furniture of the Great Chamber more modern tastes have prevailed over the ancient state which was affected in the hall. A carpet of Turkey fabric covers the table ; couches covered with damask stand against the walls, and high-backed chairs of carved oak stand in a row with them ; and low stools are scattered here and there, on which gallants lie at fair ladies' feet, and talk euphemistic nonsense. The floor is strewn with rushes mixed with flowers.

“ She bids you,” [says *Glendower* to *Mortimer*].—

“ Upon the wanton rushes lay you down,
And rest your gentle head upon her lap,
And she will sing the song that pleaseth you.”

In Ben Jonson's “*Poetaster*,” *Albius*, the Emperor's jeweller, is going to receive a visit from some courtiers, and he and his wife *Chloe* are making preparations to receive them ; *Chloe* bids “Come bring those perfumes forward a little, and strew some roses and violets here.” *Albius* says, “Let not your maids set cushions in the parlour windows, nor in the dining-chamber windows, nor upon stools in either of them in any case ; for 'tis tavern-like ; but lay them one upon another in some out-room or corner of the dining-chamber.” And again, “Hang no pictures in the hall, or in the dining-chamber, but in the gallery only, for 'tis not courtly else, o' my word, wife.”

Then the ceiling is ornamented here with panel-work in plaster ; the walls are not hung with tapestry but are painted in distemper :—“By this heavenly ground I tread on,” says *Dame Quickly*, “I must be fain to pawn both my plate and the tapestry of my dining-chamber.”

"Glasses, glasses is your only drinking!" replies the graceless and jovial *Sir John*; "and for thy walls, a pretty slight drollery, or the story of the Prodigal, or the German hunting, in water work, is worth a thousand of these bed-hangings and fly-bitten tapestries." The Knight's own chamber at the Garter was so painted. "There's his chamber, his house, his castle, his standing bed and truckle bed, 'tis painted about with the story of the Prodigal, fresh and new."

And then adjourn with those young people, who trip up the broad winding stair to the painted gallery, and you shall see gentlemen and ladies walk a gavotte, with that chivalrous and courtly grace of manner, which we sometimes see yet in courtly old gentlemen, in pleasant contrast with the brusque and nonchalant manners of our day.

It is only with such fleeting scenes as these that we can people Eastbury Hall.* There is a peculiar interest in those old houses which have been inhabited by the same family for generation after generation. For a family is not a series of isolated units, it is an organic growth; and, as from the shell of a mollusc, you can tell something of the nature of the creature which has made to itself such a habitation, so you can tell something not only of the social *status* and wealth of a race, but also of its genius and history, from the house which they have made to themselves to live in; from the successive additions to the fabric, the accretions of furniture and books, the long line of portraits on the wall, you see how the family has changed with the changing times, and impressed these changes on its abode; and yet how the ancient things have still predominated, and influenced each successive generation. An old house of this kind is a chapter in the history of England. But at Eastbury no one family seems to have lived there more than half-a-century. The succession passes through fifteen different names from the dissolution of the Abbey to the beginning of this century. The house has been merely a stage across which these successive actors have passed, played their brief part, and disappeared. Those who are believers in Spelman will call to mind that this was Abbey property, and will set it down as another illustration of his theory.

* It is now commonly called Eastbury, or Eastbury House; but Clement Syaley calls it in his will Eastbury Hall.

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TRANSACTIONS

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M.DCCC.LXI.



ROMAN BRONZE

*Found on the Home Farm, Moor Hall, Harlow; and now in the possession
of J. W. PERRY-WATLINGTON, Esq., M.P.*

JAMES STRANGMAN, ESQ., OF HADLEIGH, AN
 EMINENT ESSEX ANTIQUARY OF THE TIME
 OF QUEEN ELIZABETH AND JAMES I.*

BY H. W. KING.

WHILE the name of Morant is familiar to everyone, and that of Dr. Salmon is not unknown, probably but few persons have ever heard of James Strangman; and yet it appears that we are greatly indebted to his labours and researches for much of what we know of the history of the county of Essex. The collections of Holman, Ouseley, Jekyll, Tyndal, Dale, Sir Symonds D'Ewes and others no doubt contributed materially to the accomplishment of Morant's great work, which, however defective in many respects, is perhaps almost unrivalled in the descent of estates. But to James Strangman belongs the honour, if not of the original design of publishing the county history, of being the first person to collect materials which were subsequently available for that purpose. At a time when increased attention is being directed to the investigation of the antiquities and records relating to Essex by the active operation of an Archæological Society, with an especial view to the completion of our yet imperfect county history, some account of James Strangman may not be unacceptable, and perhaps, may be useful. Scanty, indeed, are the notices I have succeeded in finding of him after a diligent and extensive search among ancient documents and several hundred manuscript volumes and printed books; and it is somewhat remarkable, considering his station, and the eminent antiquaries of his time with whom, it will be shewn, he was associated, that so little

* The substance of this memoir appeared originally in the column for "Notes and Queries" in the "Essex and West Suffolk Gazette" about eight years ago. By desire of the Council of the Essex Archæological Society it is here reproduced with some additions, together with the succeeding notice of the *Morant and Astle Manuscripts*, also first published in the same journal.

should have been handed down to us, respecting one, who is deservedly to be ranked among the "Worthies of Essex."

The Strangman family is of high antiquity in this county. The successive heads of the house were seated at Hadleigh from the time of Edward III. till the reign of James I., when they are entirely lost sight of. No tradition of them now exists in the parish, their ancient mansion has long been levelled to the ground, its site cannot be traced, and the early Norman village church does not contain a single monument or inscription to their memory. This latter circumstance may probably be accounted for from the fact that the Rector and the majority of his parishioners in 1641 subscribed the "Parliamentary Protestation;" in 1643 the "Solemn League and Covenant," and three months later, the "Solemn Vow and Covenant," after which, we may easily believe, they were well fitted for any act of violence or desecration. The situation and name of the mansion, however, can be determined. In Norden's "Historical and Chorographical Survey of Essex," 1549, published by the Camden Society, under the list of "Howses of men of accompt, w^e howses have no name y^t I could learne," we find the following:—"Nere Hadley, Strangman, *infans*;" and it is marked in the map a short distance north of the Church, in about the situation of a modern residence now called Solby's, from a person who owned the estate a century ago. But in an Inquisition taken at Stratford, on the death of Bartholomew Strangman, 24 Eliz., it is called "Pollington's," otherwise "Strangman's Place."* The family possessed estates in Hadleigh, Hawkwell, Hockley, Paglesham, Latchingdon, Purleigh and other parishes.† They quartered the arms of Atte-Hoo, Baron, Battayle, Mantell, Fauntley, Delamere, Sandford, Cherrington, Downe, Yngoe, Clement, Browne, Stetham, Ponchardon, Durward, de Coggeshall and Harsicke, chiefly ancient Essex families, and three other coats which I am at present unable to appropriate. Usually not more than six or eight of these occur in any one achievement, but by comparing various genealogies, and records of arms in Church windows, the

* Cole's "Escheats, MS.," Vol. V.

† See Morant, and various *Inquisitiones post mortem*.

use of the whole of the quarterings is established. The largest number occurs in the pedigree of Bode of Rochford, acquired by the marriage of Henry Bode with one of the coheiresses of Francis Strangman, and they agree with a record of arms formerly in a window of Rochford Church.* And upon a fly leaf of a MS. volume in the British Museum, which was evidently in the possession of the Strangmans or Bodes, as their names are carelessly scribbled on the leaf in various places, is a very rough trick of the Strangman arms, probably by James Strangman himself, comprising about the same number of quarterings. Three crests are also assigned to them (probably borne by different members of the family) besides that generally used, but they are found in MSS. of doubtful authority. From the best evidences which I can discover, I conceive that the quarterings should be arranged in the following order:—

1. Per bend sa. & arg. a bend raguled counterchanged.—Strangman.
2. Quarterly arg. and sa. a label of three points gu., each charged with as many bezants.—Atte-Hoo.
3. Gu. a chevron erm. between three garbs or.—Baron of Bradwell.
4. Arg. 3 pallets wavy gu.—Downes.
5. Erm. three pickaxes gu.—Battayle.†
6. Erm. two chevrons gu.—Mantell.
7. Arg. semée of cross-crosslets az. three crescents gu.—Fauntley.
8. Gu. a maunche erm.—Delamere.
9. . . . on a bend . . . three escallops . . . —?
10. Erm. on a chief gu. two boars heads era. or.—Sandford.
11. Arg. a chevron sa. between three rams heads era. gu. horns or.—Cherrington.
12. Arg. three roses gu. barbed and seeded ppr.—Yngoe.
13. Az. three cinquefoils or —?
14. Chequy arg. and sa. on a chief gu. three bezants.—Clement?‡
15. Arg. on a fess between three annulets gu. as many covered cups or —?§ (Doubtful.)

* "Lansdowne MS.," 260.

† The Strangmans acquired the quarterings of Atte-Hoo, Baron, Battell and Mantell by the marriage of William Strangman, who died 18 Edw. IV., with Alice the daughter and heir of John Hoo.

The family of Batayle, de Bataile, or Battell, was very ancient. Simon de Bataille lived temp. Hen. III. They had considerable estates in Stapleford Abbots, Bradwell, Purley, Latchingdon, Wryley, Great Bentley, St. Osyth, &c. The Hoo family were seated at Purleigh; Baron was of Bradwell. The arms of Fauntley and Delamere were acquired by the marriage of John Strangman, son of William, with the daughter and heir of Fauntley.—See "Pedigree, Morant, Vol. I.," p. 280.

‡ In "Harl. MS. 1432, copy of the Visitation of Essex in 1634," this quartering is said to be the arms of *Clement Hackwell*; elsewhere I find the same coat cancelled as erroneous. Clement Hackwell is in fact a mistake for Clement of Hawkwell.

§ This quartering occurs in the Strangman arms in "Harl. MS." 3968, but without any name assigned to it. It is of doubtful authority.

16. Az. gutté . . . a lion ramp. . . .—Browne?*
17. Barry of twelve per pale counterchanged or & az. a chevron gu.—Stetham? (or Clement?)†
18. Arg. a cross potent gu.—Ponchardon.
19. Erm. on a chevron sa. three crescents or.—Durward.
20. Arg. a cross betw. four escallops sa.—De Coggeshall.
21. Or, a chief indented sa.—Harsicke, or de Arsic.
- Crest. Two staves erased and raguled in saltire, enfiled with a ducal coronet or.
- The crest said to be borne by James Strangman the antiquary, is, a garb or.—("Harl. MS." 3968.)

The same MS. contains a trick of the arms and quarterings of "Strangman de Hadley Castle" with this crest, "A demi man in armour holding in his dexter gauntlet a sword all ppr. upon his morion a double plume of ostrich feathers sa. & arg." And in a MS. collection of arms ("Harl. MS." 4686), a second crest is assigned to this family, namely—"A naked wild man, all hairy, girded with a garland of leaves vert, the body fleshy coloured, holding in his hand a club and it set on his foot," with the following allusive motto, "*Verbum vir fortis nulli succumbit dolori.*"

It is hardly probable that their arms stated to be in the windows of Hadleigh Church, by Morant, were in existence when he wrote; and yet two late works relating to Essex, both professedly written *from actual survey*, state that they are still in existence. In a MS. record of arms in Churches temp. Queen Eliz., supposed to have been collected by William Shower, Norroy, the few quarterings there given are differently disposed from those mentioned by the Essex historian.

The Hadleigh Registers commencing in 1568 contain but two entries of members of this family, viz., "Mistris

* In the coat which is tricked on the fly leaf of one of James Strangman's MSS. The arms of Browne were among the Strangman quarterings in a window of Rochford Church temp. Q. Elizabeth.

† In "The Visitation of 1612," and in several other MS. pedigrees, this quartering is set down as the arms of Clement *Hackwell*. There was no such person as Clement Hackwell. By the marriage of John Strangman with Mary, the daughter and coheir of Robert Yngoe, his descendants acquired the right to quarter the arms of Yngoe, Durward, Harsicke, de Coggeshall and Clement of Clement's Hall, in *Hawkwell*, otherwise *Hackwell*. In different MSS. the field is variously blazoned as barry of 6, 8 and 12. In a record of arms in a window of Hadleigh Church, temp. Q. Eliz., supposed to have been collected by William Shower, Norroy King of Arms, both this and the next coat of Ponchardon are quartered by the Strangman family. The writer assigns the former arms to Stetham, and they resemble the arms usually appropriated to that family; but whether they are those of Stetham or Clement I cannot at present determine.

Strangman died 7 Feb., 1568," and "William Strangman, Esquier, died 16 Dec., 1573." John Strangman, who died 25 June, 1529, and his wife, were buried in Rayleigh Church, as appears from a copy of the inscription in "Harl. MS." 1408, and Thomas Strangman, a younger son, as recorded in "Lansdowne MS." 260.

The pedigrees in all the Visitations which I have been able to consult, terminate with Robert Strangman, the son of Bartholomew, who was six years of age when his father died, in 1580. It seems probable that on the decease of this Robert, and of his uncle James, the family became extinct in the male line. According to Morant, their estates were next in the possession of Dudley Fortescue, Esq., who died in 1604, but in what way they passed to him is not mentioned. One valuable result of the investigation of the parish registers of the county has been to determine this point, which Morant failed to discover. From the extracts from the Register of Faulkbourne, furnished by the Rev. Frederick Spurrell, it appears that Dudley Fortescue, Gent., and Maria Strangman, Gentlewoman, widow, were married in that Church, July 25, 1581. She was evidently the widow of Bartholomew Strangman, and it scarcely admits of a doubt that she conveyed the estates to her husband on the failure of issue of Robert, her son, and of his uncle James, the brother of Bartholomew.

It would be easy to extend the genealogical history of this family, but the narrative pedigree given by Morant, *sub* Hadleigh, will suffice for ordinary reference.

James Strangman, the subject of this notice, was the second son of William, whose burial is recorded in the Hadleigh Register. He is first mentioned by Dr. Salmon, into whose possession his collections came, and from which he compiled his (unfinished) "History of Essex," as recorded in the preface. In two other places he also speaks of him in terms of commendation. Once at p. 96, where the following passage occurs:—

"William de Montefixo, son and heir of Robert Gernon, as has been traced by *that great Essex antiquary*, Mr. Strangman."

And again :—

“The manor house at Thunderley has a chapel, and in the chancel is an imperfect epitaph, beginning :—

‘ Ipsa Johan Wiseman, repitito nomine Strangman,
Quod sibi conjugii posuerunt jura secunda.’

The name of Strangman, into whose family this lady married, ought to be ever in esteem for his judicious collections, greatly useful in this ‘History of Essex.’”

With these remarks Dr. Salmon dismisses the “Great Essex Antiquary,” except that he tells us in another place, that he collected the fenestral antiquities in the Church of Stanford-le-Hope.* The next notice we find of him is by Morant, who says :—

“This James (Strangman) was a great collector of antiquities for this county, to whose diligence and sagacity are owing many discoveries in this book ; there is a volume of his writing in the Cotton Library, chiefly relating to monasteries.”

Mr. Wright, in his “History of Essex,” says :—

“He was a learned antiquarian, and made extensive collections for the history of his native county ; and to whom all succeeding writers on the subject are greatly indebted. He left a large volume, chiefly relating to monasteries, which is preserved in the Cottonian collection.”

Now, I suspect that in these remarks the author merely followed Morant, for he nowhere tells us where these extensive collections are, nor does he prove to us that he made the least use of them : and if the large volume referred to here, be, as (as the writer at present believes) “MS. Cott., Vitel. XII.,” which is really a volume of MSS. on various subjects, and by different hands, it contains nothing by Mr. Strangman relating to monasteries. The only portion of it in Mr. Strangman’s very obscure hand, is entitled “Collectanea historica et genealogica Jac. Strangman, ex rotulis parliamentariis aliisque,” and that part relating to monasteries is certainly not written by him. The whole is much damaged by fire. In addition to these printed notices of James Strangman, in “Harleian MS.” 5195, entitled “Nomina Villarum Maneriorum libere

* Of these fenestral antiquities, only one coat of arms of all those collected by Strangman, and recorded by Morant, now remains. The whole of the painted glass, with this exception, was taken out and sold by the son of a former patron of the benefice, as I was informed by the present Rector. This act of sacrilege was perpetrated with perfect impunity, and there was no one apparently sufficiently interested to bring the offender to justice, or even to expose the crime.

tentium, &c.," his collections are several times mentioned; but the only MSS. by him, besides that contained in the Cottonian Library, to which I can with certainty refer, are contained in "MS. Add." 5937,* "Lansdowne MS." 860, and others in the Sloane collection. From the first of these a single line written by him is valuable, as it fixes the date when he was living; for we know neither the year of his birth nor decease: "Hiis collectionibus finem imposuit Jac. Strangman, Generosus, Julii 7, 1591." From the latter the following characteristic letter cannot but be interesting, as it is perhaps the only one preserved to us, and has never been published:—

SR,

Yf yt myght stand with yor pleashure to afford ye faver to a Lover of Antiquities in gen'all, I shold fynde my selfe happye to have a syghte of sutch e ould Books as [appertain] to yor lybrarye, Especially Crouncles [chronicles] or Hystreyes of Ks [Kings] or nobles. Ye wch curtesey to demaunde I am ye bouldr, in yt I p'seive you are a furtherer of all good sciences, & my leishure now can not be better employed, then in my old exercysse, wch to desier me, yo shall fynde me readye and not vnthankfull to yr keepe of ye same.

Yor Svtt to Comande

JA. STRANGEMAN.

To ye Ryght Wrshipfull
Docter Boleyne, Dene
off Lytcheffelde.
Theis.

* This MS., by Strangman and others, contains the following papers relating to Essex:—

"Simon Sudbury Archbishop of Canterbury, grants to Nicholas Shrippeland, called Chandell, John Pritarel, sen., and others, lands in Rochford Hundred, which were formerly William Browne's, by grants from Humphrey de Bohun Earl of Hereford."

"Joane Countess of Hereford and Essex grants lands in Rochford, &c."

"Another grant by the same Countess to Mr. Fuller."

"A command from the King to the High-Sheriffs of Essex, Herts and Kent for apprehending thieves in their several counties."

"Richard de Southchurch, John Dykeley, Laurence de Plumbergh constituted Justices for Gaol Delivery at Colchester."

"Covenant between Robert, son of Roger, and Robert de Tiptoft, for the marriage of Haweis, daughter of Robert Tiptoft."

"Richard Suthchurch, Simon Battayl, Laurence Plumbergh and Peter de Geldington to Gaol Delivery at Colchester."

"An Insurrection enquired into at Tendring by Thomas Earl of Buckingham, 5 Ric. I."

"The tenants of the Honour of Rayleigh claiming to be Toll free were distrained by the Bailiff of the Bishop of London, at Southminster."

"The Bailiffs of the Countess of Kent claim that one of the King's Justices ought to hold Pleas, &c., in their Hundred of Rochford."

"Hugh de Vere Earl of Oxford to answer to Margaret Countess of Kent concerning the market set up by the Earl, to the prejudice of her market at Rayleigh."

"The Earl of Oxford to answer for prejudicing the King's Manor at Hadley."

"Lands in Essex, by whom held."

"Grants of lands by King John, and the names of the persons."

"Grant of the Honour of Rayleigh to Hubert de Burgh."

One more notice of our antiquary will complete this necessarily imperfect sketch. In "Harleian MS." 5177, is a single leaf wholly unconnected with other matters in the volume. It is entitled "The Assembly of the Antiquaries," of which James Strangman was a member. They were but twenty-four in number, but there are among them the honoured and illustrious names of Camden, Sir Robert Cotton, Sir Henry Spelman and John Stow—names which will be ever held in veneration as long as the study of history and antiquity shall last.*

We must lament with Gough that neither Dr. Salmon nor Morant has given us any account of Mr. Strangman or his writings which they were certainly in a condition to have done; and we can now scarcely hope to obtain much further information concerning him. But one important question arises. Are any of the Strangman MSS. in existence besides those preserved in the British Museum? From the passages already cited, and from the reference made to them by the respective Essex Historians, I infer that there are, unless they have unfortunately been destroyed.

With the hope that these imperfect notes may elicit some additional information respecting the chief subject of them, and urge those who have access to the College and private libraries, to further researches for the discovery of the Strangman papers, they are humbly commended to the attention of Essex Archæologists.

* As this paper contains a list of the members of the Society of Antiquaries which was founded by the learned Archbishop Parker, who died in 1576, and as I am not aware that it has ever been printed, a copy is here appended. I have placed the year of the death of some of the members against their names in order to determine the proximate date of the document, which is evidently prior to 1605.

THE ASSEMBLY OF THE ANTIQUARIES

Mr. Garter Dethicke (ob. 1613).
 Mr. Clarenceux Camden (ob. 1623).
 Mr. Fleetwood.
 Mr. Hugh Broughton.
 Mr. James Ley.
 Mr. Robert Cotton.
 Mr. Thynne.
 Mr. Tate.
 Mr. John Dodderidge.
 Mr. Talbott.
 Mr. Thomas Lake, Clerk of the Closett.
 Mr. Arthur Dygarde.
 Mr. Spelman (ob. 1641).
 Mr. D'Oyley, Dr. of Lawes.
 Mr. Bourcher.

Mr. Michael Heneridge.
 Mr. Lambert.
 Mr. Walter Cope.
 Mr. Strangman.
 Mr. John Stowe (ob. 1605).
 Mr. Clyffe.
 Mr. Wiseman.
 Mr. Holland [probably Philemon Holland, a native of this county, who was educated in the Chelmsford Grammar School; the Translator of Camden's "Britannia," and many Greek and Roman authors. He died in 1636].
 Mr. Pulten.

Si aliquis super summonicionem, ter defecerit, exeat aula.
 Place of meeting, Mr. Garter's Howse.

THE MORANT AND ASTLE MSS. AND OTHER HISTORICAL AND TOPOGRAPHICAL COLLEC- TIONS RELATING TO ESSEX.

BY H. W. KING.

IN the course of my investigation of the History and Antiquities of the County of Essex, extending over a period of many years, I was naturally led to inquire what had become, not only of the Strangman MSS., but of the several large collections which either came into the possession of Morant, or were accessible to him during the progress of his work; and at the conclusion of the preceding notice of James Strangman, in its original form, I urged the extreme importance of discovering the lost MSS., some of which may probably still exist in private libraries. One, and indeed the chief ground upon which this was urged, is the statement made by Gough that Morant not only omitted collecting many interesting particulars in each article of his history, but left out large parcels already collected to his hand; and that Mr. Astle had the materials for another volume, containing additions and corrections and monumental inscriptions, with the accompanying arms accurately copied.* Morant's MSS., as I then stated, passed into the hands of his son-in-law, Mr. Astle, at whose decease they became the property of the then Marquess of Buckingham. It appears from the "Gentleman's Magazine" for 1804, that Mr. Astle bequeathed his valuable collection of MSS. to his friend the Marquess of Buckingham, to be added to the library at Stowe, upon the simple condition that the Marquess should pay £500 to Mr. Astle's executors, and if that were declined, the same

* See Gough's "Topog. Brit." and Nichol's "Literary Anecdotes."

offer was to be made to the Trustees of the British Museum. This was in reality a gift to the Marquess, for the sum named must have been very far below the value of the splendid collection.

At the sale of the Stowe Library in 1849, the entire collection of MSS. was purchased by Lord Ashburnham, by private agreement, for the sum of £8,000, after it had been catalogued for disposal by public auction. His Lordship is said to have stipulated that the printed catalogues should be suppressed, or delivered into his hands, consequently, as I am informed, copies are extremely rare. But having in the year 1855 met with a revised proof copy in the library of my friend Mr. J. J. A. Fillinham (whose extensive and curious collections chiefly illustrative of popular manners and customs and public amusements, are well known to antiquaries), and considering that it would be interesting to Essex Archæologists to know, and certainly important to place upon record, what MSS. there are relating to this county, I made the following excerpts, which were printed in the "Essex and West Suffolk Gazette :—"

COLCHESTER. 6 vols., 4to.—These volumes are all in the handwriting of Mr. Morant, and contain the original collections for his "History of Colchester," which was first printed in 1748. *There are, however, many documents which are still unpublished to be found in these collections.*

COLCHESTER—ST. JOHN'S ABBEY. Folio.—The written pages are 102. The first 38 pages are in the handwriting of Mr. Morant, the remainder is of the reign of Elizabeth, containing deeds of the 6th and 7th of Henry IV. The whole may be considered as a Chartulary of that Abbey, containing copies of its deeds, and evidences, from the reign of Henry I., which have been collated with the originals by the learned historian.

COLCHESTER. 3 vols., small folio.—The written pages of this MS., which was also part of Mr. Morant's collections, are 126. They are chiefly transcripts, with some original papers, and are all relating to the history of the town in the 17th century.

COLCHESTER. 3 vols., oblong folio.—These volumes contain the rate of taxation in Colchester, in the reigns of Edward IV., Henry VII., Henry VIII., Edward VI., and Elizabeth, in the handwriting of the collectors *pro tempore*. The thin volume contains an account of armour bought, and belonging to the four Wards of Colchester, in the reign of Henry VII.

COLCHESTER. Folio.—The written pages of this MS. are 252. The following title is in Mr. Morant's hand: "Ordinance of the Lords

and Commons for the speedy raising and levying of Money for the maintenance of the Army raised by the Parliament, and other great affairs of the Commonwealth, &c., 1642-3." This MS. gives the rates and returns for Colchester, being the originals from the date of the Ordinance to the Restoration.

COLCHESTER. Folio.—This volume contains some original documents and transcripts relating to the taxation of Colchester from the reign of Henry VIII., to that of Charles II., &c.

COLCHESTER CHARTER. Octavo, in a folio cover.—The written pages are 67, and contain a fair transcript from the original charter granted to Colchester by William and Mary in 1693. At the end are some loose papers.

COLCHESTER. Folio.—The original pages in this MS. are 96. They are entitled by Mr. Morant "A very curious and valuable account of the lands in each of the parishes in Colchester, taken in the year 1595 and 1599, in order to fix the proportion which this town was to pay towards the Composition of provisions for the Queen's Household."

ESSEX. Quarto.—The written pages of this MS. are 120. They contain transcripts from the "Inquisitiones post mortem for the county of Essex, from the reign of Richard III. to that of James I."

ESSEX. Folio.—The written pages of this MS. are 72. The writing is of the reign of Charles II. The contents relate chiefly to the forests of Essex, their limits, privileges, &c.

ESSEX. Folio.—The written pages are 70, chiefly in the writing of the reign of Elizabeth and James I. They relate to the privileges, limits, and customs of forests in general, and of those of the county of Essex in particular.

ESSEX. Folio.—This is a copy in the handwriting of Mr. Morant, of Pope Nicholas's Valuation of the livings in the County of Essex, in 1293. This valuation is referred to by the ancient Statutes of Colleges, and in Statutes concerning Pluralities, being that by which all the first-fruits, or taxes of Benefices, both to the King and the Pope, were determined, until the new survey of 26th Henry VIII.

ESSEX—CHELMSFORD. Folio.—This MS. consists of 24 written pages in a modern hand, in which are contained several law cases, which were determined at the assizes at Chelmsford in the reign of Henry III., with the names and lands of persons concerned. There are also some references to Charters, relating to the Forests of Essex, and the circumjacent townships.

CHURCH GOODS.—The title of this MS. is, "The original inventories of the Church Goods, Plate, Jewels, &c., in the Hundreds of Atlesford, Frashwell, and in the Half-Hundred of Clavering, in the county of Essex, taken by the Commissioners appointed by King Edward VI., in the 6th year of his reign." The written leaves are 42, all in one hand; and each leaf is subscribed by the Commissioners. The articles are chiefly gold and silver chalices, crosses, pateras, crucifixes, monstrances, embroidered vestments, bells, candlesticks, &c.; the value of each article is set down according to the estimation of the Commissioners.

ARMS OF ESSEX FAMILIES 12mo.—Described in alphabetical order, with the names of their places of residence.

ARMS OF SUFFOLK, NORFOLK, AND ESSEX FAMILIES. 12mo.—The latest date mentioned is 1726, and the volume contains some curious particulars.

EXTRACTS FROM THE COURT ROLLS, CONCERNING THE ESTATES OF JOHN DE VERE EARL OF OXFORD. Folio.—The leaves of this MS. are 138: the writing is of the reign of Henry VIII.; the contents are the denominations, limits, rents, &c., of the various manors and extensive possessions of the Earls of Oxford, in the counties of Essex, Herts, Hunts, Bucks, Middlesex, &c., &c., from the reign of Henry III. to that of Edward IV. Several charters of the de Veres are quoted in this work.

HADHAM PARVA. Folio.—The written pages are 117. The writing is of the reign of George I., containing accounts of the manors and manorial Courts of Hadham Parva, and other manors in Herts, Middlesex, and Essex, from 1701 to 1709, with many particulars of services and privileges. The names of the jurors impanelled are prefixed to the causes for which inquisitions are instituted, and the decisions of the courts follow in detail.

MANORS IN HERTS, ESSEX, &c. Folio.—This volume, of 763 pages, is in the same hand as the preceding MS. The contents are the Conditional Manorial Surrenders from the 18th of April, 1693. It begins with the manor of Baas, in Herts, A.D. 1689, and ends with that of South Minns, in Middlesex.

ARMS AND PEDIGREES OF ESSEX, SUSSEX, AND KENT FAMILIES. Folio.—The pedigrees are as late as 1641. It contains, besides, the arms and crests of the several Lord Mayors of London.

VISITATION OF ESSEX WITH ARMS AND PEDIGREES OF ESSEX FAMILIES. Folio.—This is a transcript from the original visitation of Essex, by George Owen, York Herald, and Henry Lilly, Rouge Rose, A.D. 1634. The pedigrees generally end in 1634, but subsequent transcribers have added descents to the reign of Charles II.

PEDIGREES OF ESSEX FAMILIES. Folio.—The pedigrees are as late as 1634, collected from ancient records since the Conquest. The writing is of the reign of Charles I. This MS. belonged to Morant, the Historian of Essex, whose autograph it bears.

ARMS OF ESSEX FAMILIES. Folio.—Arms of families mentioned in Morant's "History of Essex." It is written entirely upon Chinese paper.

PEDIGREES OF ESSEX FAMILIES, &c. Folio.—The writing is of the beginning of the 18th century.

PARLIAMENTARY COLLECTIONS BY MR. MORANT, THE AUTHOR OF THE "HISTORY OF ESSEX," entirely in his own hand, copied from ancient records and journals. 12mo.—A collection of extracts entered in his common-place book in a desultory manner, and valuable for the plodding accuracy of the writer.

HISTORICAL COLLECTIONS—BRITAIN. 2 parts, folio.—They contain notes and illustrations for an intended History of England, and are in the handwriting of Morant, author of the "History of Essex."

COL. BULLS. Art. 32.—An indulgence granted by the Archbishops and Bishops of England to such as may contribute to the repairs of the Chapel of the Holy Cross in Colchester; containing an account of S. Helen's journey to Jerusalem, and of her discovering the Holy Cross, part of which she is said to have enclosed in gold and sent to her chapel in Colchester, with her ring, girdle, her pins and other relics. It is in English and dated 1401-2.

It is most probable that the greater part, and perhaps the whole of the above MSS. belonged to Mr. Astle, and that they were either written or collected by Morant. Some few may perhaps have been acquired from other sources. But that they comprise all the MSS. which Morant left seems very improbable, for we do not find among them "The materials for the *third* volume of the 'History of Essex' containing additions and corrections, with the arms and inscriptions accurately copied, which Gough expressly states that Mr. Astle possessed; neither do I think that they would be found to contain the whole of the 'large parcels' which Gough also says 'that Morant omitted to insert in his History, though already collected to his hands.'"

The purport of the original note was not a description of the contents of the Stowe Collection, but it may be mentioned that it comprises historical and genealogical codices relating to almost every county in England, and many Saxon and Irish MSS. of great value. Its foundation was the bequest of Mr. Astle, but extensive acquisitions were subsequently made.

Mr. Astle had private reasons for bequeathing his splendid MSS. to the Earl of Buckingham, but his next wish was that they should become the property of the nation. Perhaps in no country but our own could a person have been found able to make such a costly addition to his library as that made by Lord Ashburnham; but it must ever be a subject of regret to the historian and topographer, that the Stowe MSS. were permitted to fall into private hands (where they may for ever remain inaccessible), when they might have been purchased by Government and deposited in the National Library. Surely the sum which was not too great for a single noble to pay, would not have been too much for a whole nation to afford. None, however, have greater

cause for regret than the antiquaries of this county, to whom not less than thirty volumes of Essex manuscripts, many of them in the handwriting of their own historian, are, perhaps, for ever sealed.

A correspondent of "Notes and Queries," under the signature "G.," having drawn attention to the foregoing note in that publication, it elicited the following valuable and interesting communication from Sir Frederick Madden, which I take leave to introduce in these pages:—

For the sake of Essex historians and topographers it may perhaps be desirable to add somewhat to the note of G., directing attention to the MSS., formerly preserved at Stowe, and now deposited in the library at Ashburnham. Morant's own collections seem to have chiefly related to Colchester; and it is probable he contented himself with borrowing from the labours of his predecessors for the history of the rest of the county. Who these were he tells us himself, in the Preface to his "History of Essex," 1768, in the following words:—

"The first person who laid the foundation of this history was *Thomas Jekyll, Esq.*, son and heir of John Stocker Jekyll, of Bocking. He was born in the parish of St. Helen's, London, 12 January, 1670; and lived to the great age of 82 years [which will place his death in or about the year 1651]. His profession was the law, which he studied in Clifford's Inn; and became Secondary of the King's Bench, and one of the Clerks of the Papers. By virtue of his profession and offices, *he had uncommon opportunities of collecting materials for this History*, which he duly improved, by getting copies of the 'Inquisitiones post Mortem,' from the reign of Henry III. to their ceasing in the time of Charles I.; as also the pedigrees of the Essex families, and other very valuable materials. The Rev. *John Ouseley*, Rector of Springfield Bosville, and the Rev. *William Holman*, of Halstead, *built upon that foundation, the latter especially*, assisted by Samuel Dale, Humphrey Wanley, John Booth and others."

It is evident, from this statement, that Jekyll's collections formed the most important and valuable portion of materials for the history of the county; and, indeed, we are told by Gough, in his "British Topography" (edit. 1780, vol. i., p. 345), that he wrote with his own hand above forty volumes, chiefly relating to Essex, Norfolk and Suffolk. An interesting letter from Morant to Gough, dated Sept. 5, 1769, is printed in Nichols's "Literary Anecdotes" (vol. ii., p. 705); and gives additional particulars of these collections, and of those of Holman. He states that a portion of the Jekyll collection was included in the list of the Rev. John Ouseley's MSS., printed in the "Catt. MSS. Angliæ, 1697" (tom. ii., p. 103). These MSS. (according to Gough), after Ouseley's death, came to the hands of the Rev. William Holbrook, his son-in-law, who, in 1710, was willing to have sold them to Harley Earl of Oxford, as appears by a letter to Wanley in MS. Harl. 3779, in which he also says, that Jekyll's grandson, Nicholas Jekyll, of Castle Hedingham, had "a very great quantity" of his grandfather's MSS., and had laid claim (probably with some justice) to those in Holbrook's possession. Holbrook is said to have communicated them subsequently to the Rev. W. Holman, of Halstead, who also obtained others from Nicholas Jekyll, and from all these he

made large extracts, filling, according to Morant, "above four hundred" volumes. Holman also drew up, in 1715, an "exact catalogue" of the Jekyll MSS., which afterwards belonged to Anstis; and, subsequently, came to the library of All Souls' College, Oxford, where it now is, No. 297.

The subsequent history both of Jekyll's and Holman's MSS., is very confused. Gough asserts (p. 370) that Holman's papers, after his death, were sold by his son; and that Salmon (author of the "History of Essex," published in 1740), bought the collections of Jekyll and Holman in 1739 for £60, and afterwards sold part of Holman's papers to Anthony Allen, Master in Chancery, from whom they are supposed to have come to John Booth, F.A.S. "Mr. Holman's papers," writes Gough, in another place (p. 344), came into Dr. [Richard] Rawlinson's hands, and were left by him to the Bodleian Library. [He died in 1755.] Among them are *all* the MSS. and papers belonging to Nicholas Jekyll, collected by his grandfather, Thomas Jekyll." This statement is not free from error, for Morant in his letter to Gough, tells him that Dr. Rawlinson bought only the "refuse" of Jekyll's and Holman's MSS.; and it is certain, from an inspection of the catalogue of the Rawlinson MSS., that the Essex collections in it are not very numerous. Many also of Jekyll's volumes (but not all relating to Essex) had previously found their way into the Harleian Collection, and may be seen under the Nos. 3968, 4723, 5185, 5186, 5190, 5195, 6677, 6678, 6684, 6685, beside various papers inserted in 6832 and 7017. Jekyll's handwriting is very peculiar, and can be easily recognized. A letter from him to Sir Simons D'Ewes, dated Bocking, Dec. 19, 1641, relative to the pedigree of the Welle family, is in MS. Harl., 376. Morant, by his own account, had in his possession the Jekyll MSS., which had belonged to Ouseley, and also the larger mass of Holman's papers; and it would be interesting to trace these to other hands than Astle's, whose moderate share of them is now at Ashburnham. I may add, that in the course of the last twelve months, five folio volumes, containing very valuable materials for the history of Essex, in Thomas Jekyll's handwriting, have been purchased for the British Museum, and are now numbered as Additional MSS., 19,985—19,989.

NOTE.

Of the fate of MSS. I append the following information communicated to me by our Associate Mr. Edward J. Sage. In 1854, Mr. Sage, passing through a very dirty alley, called "Church-passage," Somers Town, had his attention arrested by a quantity of waste paper lying upon a board in front of the shop of a dealer in marine stores, among which he observed the autograph of Mrs. Ogborne, the Essex Historian. On examining the papers they were found to consist exclusively of Medical notes. The female custodian of the marine stores incontinently appeared, and entered into a lively conversation about her old mistress, Mrs. Ogborne, "who used to write a great deal;" and her papers had come into Mrs. ———'s possession. On Mr. Sage asking if he could see them, she immediately summoned "Jack" (her husband), who produced a dirty sack from the neighbourhood of the fireplace, which he said contained the remains of Mrs. Ogborne's writings, as they had used all the rest for the

purpose of lighting the fire "ever since the old lady died." Mr. Sage purchased all that was left, consisting of a portion of "copy" of the "History of Essex," arranged for the press; several letters from R. H. Kelham, the printer; the original letter of Thomas Leman, the antiquary of Bath, entitled "A Slight Sketch of the Antiquities of Essex," printed in the Introduction to Mrs. Ogborne's History; a number of papers with references to the Harleian and other MSS., and Notes relating to Essex History; several proof impressions of engravings, and the portraits of Mrs. Ogborne and her husband (the engraver) executed in pencil and colour. It was evident that a very large quantity of MS. had been consumed; what remained related chiefly to the Hundreds of Becontree and Waltham, and the Liberty of Havering (all that Mrs. Ogborne published), but it is very probable that the portion destroyed may have contained collections and notes for the history of other parts of the county. The references to early MSS. related to parishes in more distant hundreds.

ADDITIONAL NOTE ON THE MURAL PAINTINGS DISCOVERED IN HADLEIGH CHURCH.

BY H. W. KING.

WE are indebted to our associate, John Nicholl, Esq., F.S.A., of Canonbury-place, for a communication which leads, I think, to the correct appropriation of the armorial bearings which occurred among the other mural paintings discovered in Hadleigh Church and described by the Rev. W. E. Heygate, in Vol. i. of our "Transactions," p. 162. Interspersed amidst the landscape of the very large picture of St. George and the Dragon, of the 15th century, which decorated the south wall, were several coats of arms of which the only one decipherable was, gu. a chev. engr. or, between three plates, each charged with a greyhound courant, collared [of the second.] Mr. Nicholl informs me that in Harleian MS. 5846, entitled "Crests and Arms granted by Sir Christopher Barker, K^t., alias Garter," who died 3rd Edw. VI., 1548-9, is the following coat, "Gu. on a chev. engr. or, between three plates, each charged with a greyhound courant sa., collared of the second, *as many crescents az.*, given as the arms of William Alyn of Railey in co. Essex. It will be observed that the only variation is, that the chevron is charged with "three crescents az.," but it is extremely probable that the crescents, owing to the adherence of the plaster, were entirely obliterated, as the colours of the crest and helmet flaked off immediately on its removal. Among my own collection of "Inquisitiones post Mortem," for the Hundred of Rochford, I have a copy of the Inquisition taken on the death of Richard Allen who died 23 June, 9th Hen. VIII., leaving John his son and heir then aged 12 years. Richard Allen held lands and tene-

ments in Hadleigh, Rayleigh and Leigh, in five other parishes in the same hundred, and had large tenures in other parts of the county.

As Sir Christopher Barker did not become Garter till 1536, the arms cannot be assigned to an earlier date. Mr. Nicholl's discovery, therefore, proves that another series of mural decoration, consisting of heraldic bearings very richly emblazoned, was executed probably about the middle of the 16th century.

ON THE CHURCHES OF NORTH-WEST ESSEX.

BY THE REV. J. H. SPERLING, RECTOR OF WICKEN BONHUNT.

THE North Western portion of Essex, though it contains some of the best churches in the county, is, so far as Ecclesiology is concerned, nearly untrodden ground. For while South and Central Essex have been more or less illustrated by Hadfield, and Suckling, and Buckler, I have not yet found anything in print or in MS. on the churches of this neighbourhood. Having spent many pleasant days in rambling amongst these churches, I jot down a few particulars from more detailed notes by way of pointing out their chief characteristics.

North West Essex is included in the *clunch* district; for with few exceptions the churches are built of that material. The country is undulating and pleasant, long winding valleys leading up to the backbone of high ground which separates this part of Essex and Herts. from the flats of Cambridgeshire. Many excellent sites are thus gained for the churches which the architects of olden time well knew how to turn to the best account.

Perched on high ground, or sheltering themselves on southern slopes, from their number and variety, the Church forms a feature in almost every Essex view. I need not say how this immediate neighbourhood is graced by the elegant church of Saffron Walden, and amongst the smaller churches what more pleasing sites could be found in a not very picturesque neighbourhood than those of Little Chishall, Arkesden, or Hadstock?

There seems no preponderance of one style over another—every style from Saxon to late Perpendicular is fully represented, occasionally in the same church. In most districts we look for some prevailing local type, but here the Decorated of Cambridgeshire, the Perpendicular of

Suffolk, and the distinct, but indefinable Hertfordshire type, are met with indiscriminately.

With the exception of the noble instances of Walden and Thaxted, the churches are not remarkable for size or grandeur as they are in the stone districts. This is partly to be accounted for by their number, and the small size of most of the parishes; another drawback is the great want of uniformity, hardly ever do we see a nave with its north and south arcades corresponding, either in date or detail. While, however, the Ecclesiologist, who has rambled among the churches of Cambridgeshire, Hunts., or Northants., will be most certainly disappointed in Essex, there are nevertheless many interesting details and scraps which may, with great advantage, be transferred to his note-book.

To come, however, to details. First, a few words upon *ground plans*. The most perfect form, that of the cross with central tower, is unrepresented at the present day—Debden, the only example of it, having perished in the latter part of the past century, when the tower fell and crushed the choir and transepts. The nearest approach to this arrangement is at Hadstock, where are evidently the foundation and bases of the piers for a central tower, in early Norman work and very massive; it was probably never carried out, for the church now has a western tower of later date. Newport, Berden and Manuden may be quoted as examples of cruciform churches with western towers. The other ground plans present but little to notice, they consist of chancel and nave with or without aisles, and invariably a western tower. All the towers in the district are now square, the late restorations at Arkesden and Wicken laid bare the foundations of round towers, both of Norman date, and it is probable that in those days there were several more, on account of the scarcity of stones large enough for coins, for the Normans never used clunch, but always brought their stone from Northants., and therefore had to be very sparing in the use of it.

Ancient sacristies, or *vestries*, are seldom met with; there is one of late date, in two stories, built against the north side of the chancel at Littlebury. Another somewhat earlier curiously built into a chancel buttress at Wimbish. The sacristies at Walden and Thaxted were under the high chancel, both of them have been appropriated for vaults.

An underground sacristy of this description, still in use, may be seen at S. Peter's Church, Sudbury.

We next come to *styles*.

Saxon is represented in the tower at Wenden, which, with the exception of a later parapet and one or two insertions, is entirely of that date, the west doorway is banded with Roman bricks. The retired village church of Streethall is for the most part of this date. I am also inclined to add the nave at Chickney, for in the south wall yet remains a little misshapen window exactly resembling some specimens at Caversfield Church, Oxon, engraved in the *Architectural Guide*. The Norman work in this part of the county has been much built out by later styles, no actual church remains in the style except perhaps the fabric of Hadstock and the ruined chapel at Bonhunt-farm, in the parish of Wicken. We find, however, plenty of Norman details worked up again in later buildings, as in the west front at Birchanger, and at Wimbish; also Norman chancel arches as Streethall and Elsenham, and doorways at Littlebury, Stanstead and Elsenham; the two latter very elaborate. We also find Norman fonts at Arkesden, Wicken, Stanstead and Farnham.

Early English is also much obliterated by later work. The chancels of Arkesden, Wicken, Stanstead, and Broxted are of this date, also some rich but mutilated work at Berden rather verging into Decorated; the most beautiful specimen of this style is a window at Widdington now blocked, with dog-tooth and sculptured caps to the jamb-shafts; a double piscina at Elsenham is also enriched with dog-tooth. There are several arcades in this style, but none calling for particular notice.

Decorated work is much more plentiful; Radwinter and Chrishall churches are complete specimens of this style. There are very good nave arcades, with clustered piers, at Thaxted, Hempstead and Henham; on a pier at the latter place is a curious sculpture of the Blessed Virgin and Child censed by two angels. The chancel and south transept at Great Sampford are the best work in this style, particularly the former, which is arcaded all round internally. There is a very elegant little font belonging to this period at Chickney. The north aisles at Broxted and Wimbish, together with the chancel at the latter place, present

interesting features. Some very good window tracery may be seen at Newport, Sampford, Broxted, Wimbish and Chrishall.

Perpendicular work is very plentiful, but, with the exception of Walden and Thaxted, not remarkable. Little Chishall is a very good church in this style. Newport tower, before its rebuilding, was also a noticeable feature. Clavering is a late example. To these may be added two good porches at Littlebury intended for stone groining.

There is some very good *woodwork* in this neighbourhood. I would point out a particularly picturesque timber porch at Radwinter, of late Decorated work, also the screens at Rickling and Wimbish. Rich Perpendicular screens may be seen at Wenden, Clavering, Manuden and Henham, and plainer ones at Ugley, Newport and Hadstock. Littlebury once had some rich screen and stall work, but it was swept away towards the close of the last century. We find ancient wooden pulpits at Wenden, Henham and Rickling; the first is a very curious example, and is engraved in Dolman's series. The best open seats are at Clavering and Chrishall.

Stained Glass is scarce, owing to the peculiar troubles of this county in the seventeenth century. The most extensive remains are at Clavering, where several windows are filled with it; they are, however, in a sadly mutilated and neglected state. In the north chancel at Wimbish is some good decorated glass in fair preservation, in one window are the arms of the four manors in the parish on a grisaille ground. Some heraldic glass may also be seen at Widdington.

Monumental.—Several coffin slabs are scattered up and down, but none of them call for particular remark. Rickling chancel has been rich in monuments to the Langley family, and contains the matrices of the best brasses in the county. At Stanstead is a cross-legged effigy to Roger de Lancaster of early date, another nameless warrior lies in Clavering Church. A good canopied tomb, with effigy, occupies a space in the south aisle at Chrishall; it is mouldy and mutilated, besides being nearly hid by a pew. The south transept at Great Sampford has also a fine tomb. Late Perpendicular canopied tombs may be seen at Street-hall to John Gardyner, Lord of the Manor, and patron of

the Church 1508; at Elmdon, to Sir Thos. Meade, Knt., who died 1585, but the tomb was probably erected in his life-time; at Ashdon to Richard Tyrrell 1566; and at Stanstead to Esther Salusburye, 1604—an interesting tomb in coloured alabaster with good recumbent effigy. Of modern monuments I need only mention the sumptuous tomb of Sir Hugh Middleton, who died 1631, and Richard Cutts, Esq., at Arkesden, 1592.

Brasses have been very numerous but the best of them are gone. The earliest remaining is a floriated cross with effigies at Wimbish. The best brass is Sir John de la Pole and his lady, 1370, at Chrishall: this brass forms the frontispiece to Boutell's well-known volume. There are good single figures of knights at Wenden and Arkesden.

Considering the fact of Essex having been one of the associated counties in the great Rebellion, our church fabrics have suffered less than might have been expected. Decorative features have been for the most part swept away, but I am not aware of any church having been pulled down or curtailed in size, during that unhappy period.

The earliest church destruction on record, I speak locally, was that of Thundersly, which was taken down in the 15th century, and the parish united to Wimbish.

The next destruction was that of the chapel of the leper hospital of S. Leonard, at Newport; fragments of clustered pillars may still be seen built into a garden wall on the site, on the turnpike road, a little north of Newport. The chapel of S. Helen at Bonhunt-farm, in the parish of Wicken, has also been lying desolate since the Reformation; it is a small and very early Norman fabric.

Little Wenden Church was taken down by permission of Bishop Compton towards the close of the 17th century, and the parish united to Great Wenden under the name of Wendens Ambo. It was a small church, consisting of nave and chancel only, and occupied the site of the present vicarage garden; a solitary memento remains, probably a fragment of a Norman piscina. Early in the 18th century, the round tower of Wicken Church either fell or was taken down. Later in the same century we have to record the fall of the central tower at Debden, which crushed the chancel and transepts; the chancel only was rebuilt, in a curious style, but possessing some solemnity within. Wim-

bish tower also fell about this time, and was replaced by the present tasteless brick erection. Great Chesterford Church also suffered severely, the tower and western bays of the nave and aisles were taken down and curtailed. The church presented a miserable appearance till the present Vicar improved matters by the addition of buttresses and a belfry stage, and pinnacles to the miserable little tower of 1790.

I cannot conclude this hasty sketch without a short notice of the more cheering signs of church revival and restoration, for which our district now stands honourably distinguished. The earliest work was probably the rebuilding of the little church of Wendon Lofts; this, though it might have been done better now, is a creditable work, considering it is of twenty years standing. This was soon followed by the restoration of the interior of Great Chesterford Church.

Other restorations quickly followed; perhaps I may not take them in their exact order. A north aisle and chancel arch added to Great Wenden Church by Mr. Barr. The same gentleman has also very successfully rebuilt the nave and aisles of Elmdon Church; it is earnestly to be hoped that the miserably dilapidated chancel will not much longer be allowed to disgrace so fine a church. Little Chesterford Church has also been restored by the same architect. Amongst rebuilt churches may be mentioned Arkesden Church, by Mr. Pritchett, and Farnham Church, by Mr. Joseph Clarke, both costly and excellent works. In a smaller way, my own church, at Wicken, may also be noticed. The noble tower at Newport has been rebuilt by Mr. Pritchett; the nave and transepts of this church have also been restored, and a very elegant stone pulpit erected from a design by Mr. Teulon. Smaller works have been going on at Streethall and Chickney. At the latter church the old altar stone has been recovered from the pavement, and piously restored to its sacred use. And extensive internal restoration is just completed at Walden.

We have not as yet made much progress in stained glass. The east window at Arkesden, the nave and chancel windows at Wicken, and two large windows at Walden, are all that I can call to mind.

There is yet much to be done in the way of church restoration. I would take this opportunity of suggesting how far it is desirable that our Society should assume somewhat more of a practical character. It is well to meet as we do now, for a day's pleasant sight-seeing and discussion upon antiquities of all kinds; it is well to collect notes of the antiquities of the county and store them up. But this is not all. Essex ought to have an Architectural Society, a committee of competent men, artists and architects, to whom the plans for church restorations might be submitted for consideration and suggestion; and we should make small grants of money to approved designs. This is done, and done successfully, in several of our English counties, and there is no reason why it should not be done in ours. Many a church bungle might be saved, and a stimulus given to church work.

NOTES ON THE NAME OF THE TOWN OF SAFFRON WALDEN.

BY JOSEPH CLARKE, F.L.S.

THE name *Saffron* is derived from a plant formerly grown here; strangers visiting the town frequently enquire for Saffron, supposing that it still exists, but its cultivation has been given up so many years that it has long since been forgotten.

Crocus Sativus, *Saffron Crocus*, or *Saffron*, is an autumnal crocus, the corolla of which is divided into six equal segments, the petals are of purple-blue colour, it has three linear oblong golden stigmas, which stigmas are the Saffron; it flowers in October, and the leaves continue to grow all winter.

In October the *flowers* were gathered early in the morning, and conveyed home in baskets, then commenced the process of picking out the stigmas, (or chives as they were called,) these were then pressed into cakes, and dried on kilns constructed for that purpose.

Saffron was at that time thought a most valuable medicine for many diseases. The produce appears to have varied from 8 to 20lb. per acre.

The price of Saffron at different periods may be estimated from the presents made by the Corporation to the Sovereigns who visited Walden. The quantity of Saffron varied, but it was usually presented in a silver cup or salver.

In 1571, Queen Elizabeth received a cup, but no mention is made of the quantity.

1614. James was presented with a cup, and 11lb. of Saffron, which cost £3 3s. 4d., a considerable sum in those days.

1631. 5½ ozs. of Saffron given to Charles I. are charged at 18s. per oz.

1665. 20 ozs. of Saffron for Charles II. are charged £5 15s. 0d.

1689. 14 ozs. for William III. cost £3 11s. 3d.

1771. The Saffron to put in the salver given to King George, cost £1 6s. 6d.

The first introduction of the plant into Walden is attributed to Sir Thomas Smith, Secretary of State to Queen Elizabeth and Edward VI., who was born here in 1512, in a house still standing in the Market Place. But although our illustrious townsman was an extensive grower of Saffron, he certainly was not the individual who first introduced it; for it is evident from the writings of Fleming, a clergyman who resided in the neighbourhood in 1584, that it was extensively grown here in 1540, when Sir Thomas was still but young; that the town was celebrated for its culture in 1549, in the time of Edward VI., may be inferred from the circumstance that on its charter being granted by that monarch, the Corporation bore three Saffron Plants in their arms. The town must then at that period have been famous for its cultivation.

Hollingshed, who wrote early in the time of Elizabeth, states that the Saffron grown about Saffron Walden (sometimes called Waldenbury), was first planted there in the time of Edward III.; and Lord Braybrooke, in his history of Audley End, states that the town took the name of Saffron in the reign of Edward III.

It was a tytheable commodity by the Abbot and Vicar of Walden in 1444, which was 68 years before Sir Thomas was born; and at a court held for the manor in 1518, the owners of certain hogs found trespassing in the Saffron beds were prosecuted. These facts sufficiently prove that Sir Thomas was not the introducer, but that it was cultivated long before his time. The popular opinion might have originated in his successful attempts to revive the culture of the plant at a time when it was much neglected.

Saffron is still retained in the British Flora as a naturalized plant, but I am of opinion that it does not naturalize, as no traces of it are to be found in this neighbourhood, the only instance in which I ever saw the plant growing wild was when this building (the Museum Building, Saffron Walden) was erected and large quantities of earth removed, a few plants came up at the west end of the building, but the next season they all disappeared.

Of the name of *Walden*: some writers have thought the name may simply signify the walled place, wall-den, derived from British or Saxon words having that meaning. On the west and south side of the town is an extensive range of earthworks, known by the name of the *Battle Ditches*, and it has been stated that these *Battle Ditch Ramparts*, which were carried round the town, formed the wall from which Walden took its name. This I consider a mistake. The Battle Ditches I believe to have been a Roman Camp, as Roman remains have been found in them, and I think I have been able to trace out their boundaries. Hollingshed states that the name Walden is derived from the Saxon word "*wald*, signifying a huge wood, and *end*, as if you say the end in the wood;" there may be some probability about this, as the town divides the Essex enclosed clay, which might have been wood, from the open Cambridgeshire chalk fields. The derivation adopted by Morant is from *wald* and *dane*, a low vale or bottom, this I should think is the most probable origin of the word.

The origin of the town is uncertain; but in the reign of Edward the Confessor, *Ansgar*, Master of his Horse, was in possession of Walden and the manor; which was afterwards granted by William the Conqueror to Geoffrey de Mandeville, who resided here, and is supposed to have built the Castle; the remains of which are now reduced to a mere mass of flint grout work possessing no architectural feature except the semicircular recessed arches in the basement of the keep. The round tower at the north west angle is a modern erection, built by Lord Howard de Walden for the purpose of hoisting a flag. The town continued to improve under the descendants of Geoffrey de Mandeville, deriving additional consequence from the establishment of the weekly market, and the foundation of the monastery. The institution of the Guild in 1400 from which originated the corporation and the rebuilding of the beautiful church in the reign of Henry VI. and VII. show that it must have been a considerable place even at that early period.

The borough, which is as extensive as the parish, contains 7,300 acres, and is 27 miles in circumference, including the Royal Palace of Audley End. Few towns in the kingdom of its size and population have more charities and charitable institutions than Saffron Walden.

NOTICE OF A WOODEN EFFIGY OF A PRIEST IN THE CHURCH AT LITTLE LEIGHS.

BY THE REV. F. SPURRELL, M.A.

THERE are many small churches in quiet out-of-the-way parishes in the country, which contain great treasures to the Archæologist. The Church dedicated to St. John, in the parish of Little Leighs, is an instance: it stands some half-mile to the west of the high road which runs from Braintree to Chelmsford, no great way from the noted half-way house, now called St. Ann's Castle Inn, but which was once equally, perhaps *better*, known as the "Hermitage" of St. Anne, and which is in the parish of Great Leighs. Within this church is contained the Effigy, the subject of our notice, and which, though an archæological treasure of some importance, has not, I believe, been anywhere described before, or even mentioned by Morant, or any subsequent historian.

Perhaps this unpretending Church is often passed by unvisited, by those who are hastening on to examine, that which is the general attraction at Little Leighs, the once stately Priory for Augustine Friars. True, there is little, if anything, left of the original foundation of 1230, but there are the 16th century Porter's Lodge and adjacent buildings, now worked up into a farm-house; and on the right of a square court, there is a noble Tower Gateway of three storeys, of red brick in the Tudor style, and nearly as perfect as when granted by Henry VIII. to Sir Richard Rich, to whom the Priory was given at the Dissolution in 1536, soon after which the new possessor was created a Peer, by the title of "Baron Rich of Leeze."

All these interesting remains have their own historic features, and are well worthy of a careful examination; but our present object being the mediæval Effigy—

far older than anything at the Priory—we must return to that ancient edifice the Church which contains it, and which happily presents to the ecclesiologist also, very many additional features of equally real interest, and we will briefly examine that as an introduction to the chief object.

The key of the church, obtained at the clerk's cottage opposite the churchyard gate, opens the Priest's door in the south side of the chancel; before unlocking it, on walking round the outside, there are to be noticed in the path a stone coffin, bottom upwards, and a stone coffin lid coped and carved, and in the walls themselves a small doorway of Decorated work, deeply moulded, and with jamb shafts; and on the north side a projection from the wall which contains the Effigy. On passing through this Priest's doorway, through a very thick massive wall, the visitor enters a small church, a plain oblong, without aisles, about 60 feet long by 17 feet broad, built in a very early period of the Norman style, possibly about 1085, and which by later insertions has been repaired about 1220, as also in 1350, and by the unhappy doings of some 80 years ago.

Probably at the east end, was originally a round-headed triplet, but now a modern casement gives light there; and from the height of about 12 feet from the ground the east wall has been destroyed, possibly with the original chancel roof; and whilst a thin modern wall supports the window, the old wall projects both ways, the outside being of so massive a thickness as to require to be roofed.

There is no chancel arch, but the woodwork of the roof and sill of the old Rood-screen sufficiently indicate the distinction. In the north wall is a simple Decorated window of two lights with a quatrefoil above, and towards the west, in both north and south walls, are the original small round-headed Norman windows, with the glass close to the outer wall, and the inside splay most deeply formed—the two marked characteristics of their very early date.

In the south wall, at the west end, is the doorway, previously mentioned; and in the same wall, at the eastern end, is a lancet window, Early English, having the internal splay of one side at a different angle from that of the other,

and shortened by the lower part being made into a square compartment commonly called a Lychnoscope. Outside, at the west end, is a pointed shingle spire containing one bell. The font is octangular, placed on some clustered shafting. There are no brasses; only some small pieces of original stained glass in the Decorated window; some open benches of oak, which still remain of 14th century work, as also some panels of Tudor linen-pattern; and there are some mural tablets, which commemorate the name of Olmuis, family connexions of the late Lord Waltham of New Hall.

On entering the chancel by the Priest's door, the visitor sees, exactly facing him, a sepulchral tomb in the north wall, at about six feet from the east end. It is a fine monumental memorial in very good preservation, consisting of an arch, enclosing a recumbent Effigy within a niche, six feet six inches long, by two feet wide, constructed in the wall with an outside projection of about one foot. At first sight a doubt arises whether Effigy and Tomb are coeval, but the style (*see drawing*) is evidently Decorated, and the date seems to be of both about the middle of Edward III.'s reign—1350. The heading of the niche is a fine canopied ogee arch, 6ft. high, richly carved into a cinquefoil, each oil double cusped, resting upon semi-shafts; a richly elaborated finial surmounts the arch, and lofty pinnacles, equally well carved, rise at the extremities; the crocketing consists of leaves and acorns, and the spandrils between the cusps are delicately worked into heads and foliage.

The material is clunch, still soft, but retaining all the delicacy of the original carving, and now, through the lapse of time, toned down to a beautiful cream colour, which gives all the details of the workmanship the exact appearance of their being cut out of the finest Caen stone.

Within this canopied niche lies the Effigy. It is the full-length, recumbent figure of a Priest, of the natural size, lying with the face upwards, and the feet to the east, dressed in his appropriate vestments. The figure, together with its accompanying pieces of detail, is carved out of a solid block of oak, and the whole is now covered with white paint in such an effectual manner as to prevent traces being ascertained of other colours, which possibly underlie. The form of the body and the folds of the drapery are excellently

well carved out, equally, indeed, as in stone effigies ; and, excepting a few wanton mutilations, the whole tomb and figure are in perfect preservation.

A cushion, set lozenge-wise, forms the support for the head, on either side of which are two figures, now so mutilated that it is difficult to determine whether they represent angels or animals. The head wears a scull cap—an uncommon feature in effigies—which allows both a fringe of hair to escape round the forehead, and the hair at the back to flow down to the neck. The nose is much injured ; the ears project and lie out flat upon the hair behind them, a feature of peculiarly early work, as seen in the early brasses. The hands are crossed over the breast, and joining at the palms point the fingers upward to the face. The feet are pointed, wearing chaussure, but without any mark of shoes, and rest on a round cushion, which is supported by two figures, apparently of a lamb and a bear.

The Effigy is not represented to be wearing the processional cope, but the costume of it displays the usual eucharistic vestments which were used by a clergyman of the Church of England of that period when celebrating service. It consists of the amice, which was a square of white linen placed round the neck, to meet in front and turn over as a kind of collar, and is here represented lying loosely round the neck, very much mutilated, and displaying the neck to be rather long. The amice joins the albe, which was a long linen garment with tight sleeves reaching to the heels, and having embroidery as orphreys at the feet, and at the wrists for a kind of cuff. Over the albe hangs the stole, a long scarf of silk with wider fringed ends, and over the left arm rests the maniple, a shorter strip of linen with similarly fringed ends, and used originally as a napkin. The outermost vestment is the chasuble, which used to cover most of the body, hanging down both in front and behind, and which here has a long oval front, with an additional strip of embroidery something like the pall down the middle of it, which is also uncommon.

Most of these articles were the ordinary vestments of the Ante-Reformation English Clergy, as they are now of the Roman Catholic : the few peculiar features in the costume and appearance of this Priest are also seen in monumental

brasses of the early date of 1320 : without, therefore, deciding the period of this Effigy to be quite as early, there seems to be sufficient reason to assign to it the date already mentioned of about 1350.

After thus considering the general character of this Effigy, there are naturally suggested the questions, who does this figure represent ? And what is the peculiarity of its being of wood ?

In answer to the question, who does the Effigy represent, very little can be said. This Priest was evidently of considerable importance, to be commemorated by such a handsome tomb ; but this does not give us his name nor precise clerical position even at Little Lees : and though possibly a restorer of the church, at least by his inserting the Decorated window adjoining the tomb, he was not, plainly enough, the founder. Possibly he built the tomb himself, making the erection in the Norman walls in his own lifetime ; and, if so, probably the Effigy was a likeness. This practice was not uncommon, and generally indicated some direct connexion between the person and the place. There is nothing to connect him with the Priory, however, which no doubt possessed too its own chapel and tombs. There is not now, if there ever was, a rim of brass round the tomb to tell the name : of course registers do not extend so far back. No tradition even exists in the village respecting him, and no recorded mention has been made either of the existence of the person of whom this is the Effigy, or of anything which can afford any clue to the discovery of his name or real position. In fact there is nothing whatever to identify the person here represented ; and accordingly, for want of any other appropriation, the Effigy may be assigned to be that of a Rector of the parish of Little Leighs, who lived at the period of its assumed date.

As to the points of the peculiarity of this Effigy being of wood, the remarkable feature is, the very great rarity of wooden Effigies, and the still more remarkable circumstance, that this wooden Effigy should be of a Priest. Effigies in stone are comparatively very common, but they are chiefly of Kings, or Knights and their Ladies, Bishops or Judges, costly tombs with full-sized recumbent figures ; whilst generally the clergy, who served as the parish priests had, as their monument, only a superficial Effigy of incised sheet

brass, laid on a flat stone. No doubt, as in building houses, where, if stone was not procurable, as in Essex, red brick was used, so the peculiar resources of a county were regarded in the erection of tombs. Not that stone Effigies are not to be found in Essex, but that the existing examples have been brought from elsewhere; and so the absence of any more durable material than oak in this county may partly account for the existence of this one. But this does not account for the dignity of our Priest in having a full-sized Effigy. I believe there may be other wooden Effigies in districts where stone was formerly rare and transport difficult; but whether ecclesiastical or lay, a very few only are known to exist, and it may be well now to mention them, to place them at once on record, and to encourage the further research for others. A friend (Mr. Albert Way) informs me that the only ecclesiastic he can recollect is an Archbishop of Canterbury in Westminster Abbey, of the date of Henry V., said to be of chesnut, now in a very damaged state, and which is considered to be the only wooden carcase of a statue formed with silver plates overlaid on the wood. From other sources of information I can hear of no more clerical statues, and thus if our Effigy at Little Leighs proves to be the only ecclesiastical wooden statue in the kingdom, its rarity makes it all the more valuable generally, and one of the hitherto unknown archæological treasures of our county. Perhaps one of the best wooden effigies known, is a cross-legged knight at Abergavenny, which is said to be a Hastings, and which has been removed from his tomb into a window. Another is the Effigy of Robert Curthose—son of William the Conqueror—which is at Gloucester, but it is far inferior to the Hastings one. Possibly Gough, in his "Sepulchral Monuments," would supply indications of some others, but I have not been able to refer to that book. The only other wooden Effigy known to me is a knight in the Church of Elmstead, in this county, close by Colchester.

With regard, therefore, to the Effigy of Little Leighs, these two facts may be fairly deduced:—1st, that it is one of the very few specimens of the wooden Effigies existing in England; and second, that it is the only known example of the wooden Effigy of a Priest: and for these two reasons this Effigy seemed to require some notice and mention to be made of it.

THE EAST SAXON DIALECT.

BY THE REV. JOHN MOUNTENEY JEPHSON, F.S.A.

I AM conscious that it may, at first sight, be considered presumptuous in me to give my opinion on a subject on which most members of the Essex Archæological Society must needs be better informed than I. I have lived but five or six years among the East Saxons, and my knowledge of their idiom is, therefore, comparatively limited.

Yet, on further consideration, my recent acquaintance with the subject would seem to be rather a qualification for the task than otherwise. A stranger remarks things which are passed by without notice by those who are to the manner born. Words and phrases which we have heard from our youth up make little impression upon us. It is when we come upon them suddenly that they strike upon our ears as something novel, and set us thinking about their meaning and origin. This is the reason why grammar is best studied in a dead language. The learner finds he must take nothing for granted—he must follow out every construction to its original reason and elementary composition. And it was, I fancy, for this reason that, when I came to this county about six years ago, I perceived that in the tongue of the common people, with whom I always like to talk, there was something unusual, and not only unusual, but unusually strong, expressive, and poetical. From the mouth of village hinds I heard the language of “Piers Ploughman,” Chaucer, Spenser, Sydney, Hooker, Saunderson, Pearson,—the language of the great masters of English both in prose and verse. Words and phrases which are now heard only in the harvest field or the cottage of the ploughman, are those which gave strength and point to our English language before it was gallicised by Pope, and Latinised by Johnson, and utterly

barbarised by newspaper writers. Much has been done directly by such writers as Dean Trench to restore the old Saxon family of words to their just rights and to send back the beggarly usurpers to the place from whence they came. Much, too, has been done indirectly, in the way of example, by such writers as Cobbett and Mr. Kingsley, who always prefer a good old Saxon word to one of modern introduction from the Latin or French. And the greatest poet of our day, and one of the greatest that England has ever produced, has drawn from the "wells of English undefiled" a stream of language which flows through the "Idylls of the King" in crystalline brilliancy and splendour. All these are leaders—men who set their mark on the thought and language of their age. Theirs it is to reap the full harvest. Yet they leave a few ears to be gleaned by such as I. I do not remember that any of our critics has observed the fact to which I wish particularly to direct attention; and that fact is this, that many words and forms of speech which are now considered low and vulgar are, on the contrary, not only perfectly good English, but much better English than many by which they have been pushed from their stools—I say *better*, because they are generally of Anglo-Saxon origin, and it is from the Anglo-Saxon element of our language that we get its point and strength. And if its strength, then its most valuable quality; for in all arts—in painting, architecture, language—weakness is the one unpardonable fault, and strength the virtue which covers a multitude of sins.

Some of the words and phrases which I am about to speak of I have met with in various writers of acknowledged excellence. For others I have not found any authority in books. My list of both is, I fear, very imperfect; but I give it in the hope that some of my brother Archæologists may, by having the subject thus brought before them, be induced to fill up my shortcomings, and not only to add to the list of words, but to supply further illustrations to those already given.

The first phrase I shall notice is one which is common to Essex and East Anglia—"At least wise," or, "at the least ways." If any one were to use this expression in polite society he would at once be set down as a

vulgarian. Yet it is invariably used by Hooker, the most polished and dignified writer in the English language. In Book V. of the "Ecclesiastical Polity," he asks, "Are they resolved, then, *at the least wise*, if preaching be the only ordinary means whereby it pleaseth God to save our souls, what kind of preaching it is that doth save?" The oldest and fullest form is, "at the least way." Thus Absolon, in Chaucer's "Miller's Tale," says:

"For yet I schal not mysse,
That *atte leste wey* I schal her kysse."

In Hooker we find another idiom, now quite confined to the common people. Long is used to mean "owing to." As, "It is long of you I lost my place." "Few there are," says Hooker, (Eccles. Pol., Book VI. 1,) "of so weak capacity but public evils they easily espie; fewer so patient as not to complain when the grievous inconveniences thereof work sensible smart. Howbeit to see wherein the harm which they see consisteth, the seeds from which it sprang and the method of curing it, belongeth to a skill the study whereof is so full of toil and the practice so beset with difficulties, that wary and respective men had rather seek quietly their own, and wish that the world may go well, *so it be not long of them*, than with pain and hazard make themselves advisers for the common good."* Another word, now considered vulgar, is the verb "to fare." An Essex man will tell you "It fares as though it was a-going to rain;" or "It fare a kind of coolish, like," when you are nearly frozen to death. This expression occurs in Chaucer and "Piers Ploughman:"—

"And to his wyf he told his pryveté,
And she was war, and knew it bet than he,
What al this queinte cast was for to seye;
But natheles she *ferd* (fared) as sche schuld deye."

CHAUCER'S "Miller's Tale."

And Hooker, (Eccles. Polity, B. V. 207.), "With

* Mr. Jackson, of Colchester, has drawn my attention to a passage in the "Lay of the Last Minstrel" where this idiom is used:—

"And when I lay in dungeon dark,
Of Naworth Castle long months three,
Till ransomed with a thousand mark,
Dark Musgrave, *it was long of thee*."

Still this I consider rather a revival of the idiom—a modern antique.

religion it fareth as with other sciences : the first delivery of the elements thereof must, for like consideration, be framed according to the weak and slender capacity of young beginners."

This word, however, must be distinguished from another which is identical with its spelling and sound. With us "to fare" is used instead of "to farrow," and a farrow is called "a fare." Thus Tusser, who was born at Rivenhall, and lived and farmed in Kelvedon parish, writes:—

"Sows ready to farrow this time of the year,
Are for to be made of and counted full dear.
For now is the loss of a *fare* of the sow
More great than the loss of two calves of the cow."

"Five Hundred Points of Good Husbandrie."

And again:—

"Good *faring* sow
Holds profit with cow."—*Ibid.*

Here we find both the verb and noun.

Another obsolete, but perfectly correct idiom, still used in Essex, is the use of "being" to mean "as" or "since."—For instance, an East Saxon will say, "*Being* you are a-going to have that mead for hay to-year, you had best shut it off in March." The first clause of the sentence is thus made a sort of Nominative absolute; and it is by no means a bad construction. It is stronger far, I think, than if the sentence had begun with "as" or "since." So thought Bishop Pearson:—"For *being* every particular congregation professing the name of Christ was from the beginning called a Church; *being* likewise all such congregations considered together were originally comprehended under the name of the Church; *being* these two notions of the word were different, it came to pass that for distinction's sake at first, they called the Church, taken in the large and comprehensive sense, by as large and comprehensive a name, the Catholic Church."

This, again, must be distinguished from another East Saxon use of the word "being," and a very fine simple expression it is. "Being" is used to mean "maintenance;" thus, "I keep his house, and he gives me my *being*."

Modern grammarians tell us that in English two negatives make an affirmative. This is doubtful. It is

not so in Greek, the most scientific language known. It is not so in either Anglo-Saxon or French, the two languages of which English is formed; and it is not so in the colloquial English of the common people. An Essex man will say, "I do *not* know *nothing* about it;" and no one in his senses would suppose that his meaning was that he knew something about it. He is merely following the old idiom which was in use till very lately—at least as lately as in the reign of Queen Elizabeth. Thus, in "Twelfth Night," Viola says:—

"By innocence I swear, and by my youth,
I have one heart, one bosom, and one truth,—
And that no woman has; *nor never none*
Shall mistress be of it."

It was certainly in use in the reign of Richard II., when Chaucer wrote, as the following very elegant examples will show:—

"For sothely *no* wight that excuseth himself wilfully of his synne, may *nought* be delivered of his synne til that he mekely biknoweth his synne.—"Persone's Tale."

"In this tretise, divided in five partes, wil I shew the wonder light rules and naked wordes in English, for Latine *ne* canst thou *nat* yet but smale, my little sonne."

"Conclusions of the Astrolabie," addressed to his Son Lewis.

I will next mention some of our grammatical inflections, which seem to me much stronger and better than those which have received the seal of modern currency. You know that in English there are two ways of forming the past tenses of verbs, namely, either by altering the vowels or by adding the particle *ed*. The former is called the strong, the latter the weak formation. Now the tendency of change has been to disuse the strong and to substitute the weaker in its place. And sorry I am to say that one of the most nervous and truly Saxon of our writers has favoured this change, and proposed that it should be adopted in all cases. This is one of the few mistakes which Cobbett made in matters of taste. Well, the East Saxon peasant still holds firmly to the strong inflection. He will tell you that he *rep* an acre of wheat; that he *spore* (spared) the hay, being there was so little of it; that after he had *clent* the copper he *lit* the fire

and *het* some water for brewing; that he gave the pigs some flet-milk (from *flete*, verb, to skim); that he *sew* tares and *mew* them for his horses in the spring; that he *holp* load the wagon, and that when it was *lod* he *driff* it to Colchester; that Bill Reeve *shew* him a monstrous pretty calf, and that he *retch* out his hand to feel if it was fat. The following are a few instances from old writers, in justification of our East Saxon usage:—

“He hath *holpen* his servant Israel.”

“Song of the Blessed Virgin” in the Book of Common Prayer.

“My mind is like to the Asbeston stone
Which if it once be *het* (heated) in flames of fire.”

GREENE’S “Alphonsus.”

“Sylvanus gives to Pallas’ deity
This gallant bough *raught* (reached) from an oaken tree.”

PEELE’S “Arraignment of Paris.”

“This night, and the night insuing, after sumptuous suppers in his (Alasco’s, who was visiting Oxford) lodging, he personally was present with his traine in the hall; first at the plaieing of a pleasant Comedie, intituled ‘Rivales’; then setting out of a verie statelie Tragedie, named ‘Dido,’ wherein the Queene’s banket, (with Æneas’ Narration of the Destruction of Troy’), was livelie described in a marchpaine patterne; there was also a goodlie sight of hunters, with full crie of a kennell of houndes; Mercurie and Iris descending and ascending from and to an high place; the tempest, wherein it hailed small confects, rained rose-water, and *snew* an artificiall kind of snow, all strange, marvellous and abundant.”—HOLINSHED.

“Upon the frere his herte was so wood,
That lyk an aspen leef he *quok* (quaked) for ire.”

CHAUCER’S “Sompnoures Prologue.”

These examples will suffice to show that the older the English the more frequent the use of the strong formation.

Our Saxon ancestors had a very nice ear, which is shown in the way in which they softened the proper names of persons and places—for instance, in calling Magdalen, Maudlen. They could not endure the excessive hissing, which was so painful to Malibran’s ear, that when she had to sing an English song, she used without ceremony to cut out all the */s*, leaving the sense to take care of itself. When our ancestors wanted to make a noun ending with a hissing letter plural, instead of adding *s*, they added *n*. We still keep this form in *oxen*, but in the analogous case

of *housen*, we have disused, while the East Saxon has shewn his good taste in keeping it.

It was only the other day that a labourer, speaking to me of a sick cow, used the word "maw," pronounced something like *maü*, for "stomach." This is from the Anglo-Saxon *maga*, as "stomach" is from the French *estomac*, and we find the word in all the old English writers, Chaucer, Piers Ploughman, Shakspeare, and his contemporaries. Piers Ploughman, translating from the Proverbs, says:—

"The man that much honey eteth,
His mawe it engleymeth."

Again, Shakspeare makes King John, as he is dying, poisoned in the garden of Swinstead Abbey, answer to Prince Henry, when the latter asks how he fares:—

"Poisoned, ill-fare, dead, forsook, cast off:
And none of you will bid the winter come
To thrust his icy fingers in my maw."

"King John," Act V. Sc. vii.

Now I venture to say that if, instead of using the Anglo-Saxon "maw," the poet had made King John talk of his "stomach," he would have called up ludicrous, rather than tragic, ideas in the mind. The two words mean absolutely the same thing; but the very endeavour to make the English less coarse, by putting a French for a good plain-spoken Anglo-Saxon word, defeats itself.

You all recollect Falstaff's adventure in the buck-basket. Mrs. Page says:—

"And throw foul linen upon him, as if it were going to *bucking*. Or it is whiting time; send him by your two men to Datchet-mead."

"Merry Wives of Windsor."

Now I venture to say very few people who do not know the customs of the peasantry, understand this passage. They know that Falstaff was put into a basket; they have a general idea of Shakspeare's *drift*—of what he is *driving* at. But *I* like to know the exact significance of every word and simile and allusion in such a writer as Shakspeare; and unless we know the home-life of the English people we cannot do this. Well, Mrs. Page here speaks of two distinct processes, both of which are now practised in

every village in France, and used to be practised in every village in England. The linen was first roughly washed in a river or pond; it was then laid in a great tub, called a "buck" (of which *bucket* is the diminutive, as jacket is of jack), and covered with sack-cloth, upon which were laid wood-ashes; upon these was poured boiling water, which, after taking the potass out of the ashes, percolated through the linen, carrying with it all impurities, and was then let out by a bung-hole in the bottom. A lady residing in Kent, who has made Shakspeare her special study, assures me that she remembers when there used to be a periodical "whiting-time" and "buck-washing" in every country-house. We find the verb "buck" in "Piers Ploughman":—

"Do-bet shall beten it and *bouken* it
As bright as any scarlet."

That is, shall beat it with a mallet in the river, as you may see it done in France, and then "buck" or wash it in a large tub in the way I have explained.

Tusser, from whom I have already quoted, uses the word. He is dealing among the hours of the day the employment proper to each:—

The first cock croweth.

"Maids! 3 o'clock! knead, lay your *bucks* or go brew;"

The next cock croweth.

"And cobble and botch ye than cannot buy new."

"Five Hundred Pointes of Good Husbandrie."

We may observe, by the way, the early hours kept by our ancestors. I fancy the modern "servant-gal" would soon give warning if she were expected to get up at three o'clock to make bread, or wash, or brew. However, a word now used in Essex explains the meaning of this word "to buck." The well or hollow part of a tumbrel or wagon is called the "buck," and I believe it to be applicable to any large vessel, whether round or square, such as the great washing tubs used in the process I have described.

The mention of Datchet-mead puts me in mind of a very poetical and pretty word used in Essex. An East-Saxon never says meadow, but always mead. It was only the other day that my servant said to me, "I seigh that

gentleman a'coming askew *the mead* a quarter-of-an-hour agon." This we should consider vulgar, yet Chaucer says:—

"The elf-queen, with hir joly compaignye,
Dauncèd ful oft in many a grene *mede*."

"Wyf of Bathes Tale."

So Milton, reckoning up the pleasant objects of the country, places among them

"The tanned hay-cock in the mead."—"L'Allegro."

The sentence which I have chosen for an example gives two other East-Saxon forms; "I *see*," or more properly *seigh*, for "I saw;" and "askew," across, used as a preposition. Askew, the adverb, is still employed by writers in a ludicrous sense.

I seigh is a form of the past-tense found in the best early writers. "Piers Ploughman," whose English is perfectly correct, though often colloquial, says:—

"The doughtieste Doctour
And divinour of the Trinitee,
Was Austin the olde,
And highest of the four,
Seide thus in a sermon,
I seigh it written ones."

Chaucer uses both *seigh* and *saw*:—

"Now is time wake al night,
For sikerly I *sawh* him nought stiring
About his dore syn day began to spring.

"Milleres Tale."

"Ne never *seigh* I a more bounteous."

"Troilus and Cressida, B. I."

From this I would conjecture that the two forms were not used arbitrarily, but that one had a sort of Aorist signification, and denoted a distinction in the past-tense too subtle for us, but not for the East-Saxon peasant, to perceive.

We should think it very vulgar to say "ax" for "ask;" yet ax is nearer to the original Anglo-Saxon form, *achsian*, and is used by Chaucer:—

"And when these folk togidere assembled were, this Melibeus in sorryful wyse schewed hem his caas, and by the maner of his speche

it semed that in his herte he bar a cruel ire, redy to do vengeance on his foos, and sodeynly desired that the werre schulde bygynne, but natheless yet *axed* he her counseil in this matier."

"The Tale of Melibeus."

"Beknown" and "unbeknown," are words still used by the Essex people. We should be shocked to hear them in polite society, yet they are quite as good English as benumb, bespatter, and others of the same kind. They are found in Chaucer and in "Piers Ploughman," for instance :—

"Shall no lewednesse (want of learning) lette
The leode that I lovye,
That he ne worth avaunced,
For I am *beknownen*
Ther konninge clerkes
Shul klokke behinde."

It is not uncommon for an old-fashioned person in Essex to say, "I fare featly this morning," that is, I feel sprightly, lively. The word is used by Shakspeare. Ariel sings—

"Come unto these yellow sands,
And then take hands ;
Courtsied when you have, and kissed—
The wild waves whist—
Foot it *featly* here and there.—"Tempest."

I am told by one of our Members, Captain Jesse, that he once heard a witness at the Assizes at Chelmsford, use the expression "I seigh him hide it under his *gaberdine*," meaning his smock frock. This is the picturesque word used by Shylock in describing the indignities heaped upon him by Antonio :—

"You call me misbeliever, cut-throat dog,
And spit upon my Jewish *gaberdine*."

From this we may learn that the "Jewish gaberdine" was a sort of long robe, like the very tasteful frocks worn by the Essex labourers.

Another Shakspearean word which we have retained is "Maund," a basket. I am told by Mr. Jackson that an old gardener used to say to him when he was a boy, "go fetch the cross-maund," that is, the basket with the handle across it.

If Dr. Johnson and other Shakspearean Commentators had known the Essex dialect, they would not have talked

such an infinity of nonsense about that exquisite passage in the Tempest, where Prospero says to Miranda :—

“Thou didst smile,
Infused with a fortitude from heaven,
When I have *decked* the sea with drops full salt.”

“Tempest.”

Decked is evidently a mistake for, or a form of, the word “dagged,” bedewed.

There are two very elegant euphemisms in common use in Essex. To avoid saying that a man lies dead, they say, “He lies by the wall;” and to avoid saying they are about to bury, they say, they are about to *bestow* him.

The remaining Essex words which I have been able to collect from time to time shall be placed in alphabetical order :—

A.

A-cold, *adj.*, cold

A-dry, *adj.*, thirsty.

Allegoger, *v.*, to go out to a ship to sell provisions. It appears to be a combination of *aller*, Fr., and its English translation, to go.

B.

Back-house, *n.*, the back part of the house where the copper, oven and sink are.

Bag, *v.*, to boast. Perhaps a form of brag.

Banges, *v. impersonal*. “It banges.” It rains a fine drizzling rain.

Bangy, *adj.*, rainy, showery.

Bestow, *v.*, to bury, a euphemism.

Blind-man’s-holiday, *n.*, twilight.

Breme, *v.*, to rage.

“Beside him come than Sire Ewayne,
Breme as any wilde bore.”—“Mort d’Arthur.”

Bumming, *part.*, dealing with the sailors just returned from a voyage.

Buntin, *adj.*, untidy.

Buttery, *n.*, larder.

C.

Caddow, *n.*, a jack-daw.

Cade, *n.*, a faggot.

Cadger, *n.*, a beggar.

Cammocks, *n.*, broken victuals.

Camp, *v.*, to play at foot-ball, from A.S. *cempan*, to fight. The game is the same as that called *soule* in Brittany.

Chate, *n.*, a treat, from A.N., *achate*, a fairing or something bought.

Chank, *v.*, to champ, or chew.

Chice, *n.*, a small quantity, as “a chice of salt.”

Chiddick, same as chice.

Cold-chill, *n.*, ague.

Cop, *v.*, to throw, toss.

"I could have copt them at their pates."—BLOOMFIELD.

Crock, *n.*, soot.

Crone, *n.*, an old ewe.

Culch, *n.*, rubbish; also the stones, old oyster-shells, pieces of wood, &c., at the bottom of the sea, to which the small brood of the oyster cleaves.

See Dr. SPERAT'S "Hist. of the Royal Society," quoted by Morant.

D.

Dag, *n.*, dew.

Dang, *v.*, to throw down violently.

Dapster, *n.*, a dab, or adept.

Dilvered, *part.*, tired.

Dunt, *v.*, to confuse by noise.

Dullar, *n.*, a confused noise.

E.

Eddish, *n.*, land which has been laid down in grass or clover.

"What wheat upon *eddish* you mean to bestow,
Let that be the first of the wheat ye do sow."—TUSSEB.

Etch, *n.*, a ridge.

Emer, *adv.*, hard by.

Everyech, *n.*, each. The old form found in the ballads is *everichone*.

F.

Favour, *v.*, to resemble; as, "He favours his mother," he is like his mother.

Fettle, *v.*, to mend, put in order.

Fettle, *n.*, order, "out of fettle."

Finnicks, *n.*, a person who behaves finnikinly.

Flop-mouthed, *adj.*, large-mouthed.

Frayel, *n.*, a rush basket.

"And thanne shal he testife of the Trinite,
And take his felowe to witnesse
What he fond in a *frayel*
After a freres leving."—"Piers Ploughman."

G.

Gammick, *v.*, to gossip or idle.

Gawm, *v.*, to stare about.

Gay, *n.*, a picture.

Gibbet, *n.*, a short stick, used by boys to throw at birds and by Dukes' to throw at Aunt Sally.

Ginnick, *adj.*, neat.

Goffle, *v.*, to gobble. B and F in the middle of a word are convertible.

Gotch, *n.*, a jug.

Gulch, or Hug-gulch, *adv.*, heavily; as "I fell down *hug-gulch*." An example of onomatopoeia.

Gullion, *n.*, stomach-ache

H.

Hackle, *n.*, clothes, properly thatch, and hence the thatch-like feathers on a cock's neck.

Hain, *v.*, to drive away.

Hainish, *adj.*, showery.

Harlock, *n.*, charlock, *sinapis arvensis*.

Haysel, *n.*, hay harvest. *Vide* sele.

Head, *n.*, used where we should use face; as "I told him to his head."

Heft, *v.*, past tense of verb to heave.

Hinder, *adv.*, yonder.

Hobbly, *adj.*, uneven.

Hoppet, *n.*, a small enclosure near a house.

J.

Jounce, *v.*, to jolt.

Jub, *v.*, to trot slowly.

K.

Kill-ware, Kiln-ware, *n.*, faggots.

Kilter, *n.*, order; "Out of kilter."

Kit, *n.*, a number, "The whole kit of them."

L.

Lap-dab, *n.*, a perspiration.

Largess, *n.*, bounty.

Lieve, *adv.*, gladly.

List, *adj.*, quick; as, list of speech. This is the adjective from which the verb listen, and the adjective listless, are formed.

Look-at-the-Nose, *v.*, to be out of temper, which is shown by a person's looking down; or perhaps by a drawing of the muscles of the nose.

Lope, *v.*, to take long strides. It enters into the composition of interloper, landloper.

Lotten, *v.*, to reckon on; as "I quite lotten on it," i.e., I anticipate it with pleasure.

M.

Maggot, *n.*, a fancy.

Mannick, *v.*, to play tricks.

Mannick, *n.*, one who plays tricks.

Mawther, *n.*, a girl or wench, a word of Danish origin.

"No sooner a-sowing but out by-and-by,
With mawther or boy that alarum can cry;
And let them be armed with sling or with bow,
To scare away pigeon, the rook or the crow."—TUSSEN.

Math, *n.*, generally used in composition with after. After-math means the second crop of a meadow.

Mort, *n.*, a great number.

"Such a mort of folk began,
To cut up our good cheer."—BLOOMFIELD.

Maund, *n.*, a basket.

Mosey, *adj.*, downy.

Much good-man to you ! a friendly wish.

Mulch, *n.*, rotten straw. Probably another form of mullock. Speaking of the medlar, Chaucer says—

“That ilke fruyt is ever lenger the wers,
Til it be rote in mullok or in stre.”—“Cant. Tales.”

N.

Newin, *n.*, yeast.

Niggle, *v.*, to dawdle or trifle. Perhaps another form of niffle.

Nye, *n.*, a pheasant's nest. This is not perhaps peculiar to Essex, but as the word is always used by Essex gamekeepers, it ought to find a place here. It is Anglo-Norman.

O.

Offward, *adv.*, on the off side, in opposition to toward. An Essex ploughman will say, “I notched my plough offward and toward,” that is on both sides.

Onkid, *adj.*, lonely.

Out-of-sight, *v.*, to watch a person till he is out of sight. “I out-of-sighted him.”

P.

Paigle, *n.*, the cowslip,

Peak, *v.*, to lurk.

Pightle, *n.*, a small enclosure.

Podger, *n.*, a fat person.

Pry, or prise, *v.*, to force up by leverage ; as “to pry open a box.”

Puggle, *v.*, to poke out, as to puggle the ashes, a drain, or anything that is encumbered with rubbish.

Purely, *adv.*, in good health, as “Thank you, I fare quite purely to-day.”

Put the miller's eye out, to put too much water in anything.

Q.

Quackle, *v.*, to choke.

Quinny, *adv.*, quite.

R.

Rap and rend, *v.*, snatch and tear.

Rassle, *v.*, to stir violently, as to rassle the embers in an oven.

Rile, *v.*, to provoke.

Ringle, *n.*, a ring.

Roake, *v.*, to blaze furiously.

Rowan, *n.*, the after-grass.

Runty, *adj.*, surly.

S.

Sag, *v.*, to hang down heavily.

Scaly, *adj.*, mean.

Scape, *n.*, the husk of a walnut. Also a verb, to shell.

Seranch, *v.*, to scratch.

Scrowdge, *n.*, a crowd.

Scrush, *v.*, to crush.

Sele, *n.*, time. "He comes at all seles and seasons." "He gave me the sele of the day."

Shack, *n.*, the corn shaken out of the ears in the field.

Shimmer, *n.*, a gleam.

Shot, *n.*, the reckoning.

Sisty, *adj.*, heavy, applied to bread which has not risen.

Sizzle, *n.*, to singe.

Slammicks, *n.*, a sloven.

Snace, *n.*, the snuff of a candle.

Spalt, *adj.*, brittle.

Squench, *v.*, to quench.

Squiggle, *v.*, to shake out.

Squich, *n.*, a fat person.

Staddle, *n.*, the stump left by the wood-cutters for the next crop of underwood to grow from.

"Leave growing for *staddles* the latest and best."—TUSSEN.

Starkle, *v.*, to startle.

Stover, *n.*, clover, hay.

Stull, *n.*, a great hunch, as of bread.

Suzzles, *n.*, nasty messes.

Swack, *v.*, to strike.

Swange, *v.*, to mow the tufts of long grass left in a pasture-field.

Swerd, *n.*, a sword. This is the Anglo-Saxon form, *sweord* or *swerd*.

"But let us now go to thilke horrible swerying of adjuriacioun, as doon these false enchauntours or negromancieres in bacineaful of water, or in a bright *swerd*," and so on.—CHAUCER, "Persones Tale."

Soken, *v.*, to be attached to, now a legal term, and preserved in the names of such places as Kirby-le-Soken, Wolton-le-Soken, and Thrik-le-Soken. When a young man is much attached to a girl, it is said, "He quite *sokens* to her."

T.

Tell, *v.*, to count.

Tester, *n.*, a sixpence.

Tetchy, *adj.*, peevish.

Tewly, *adj.*, poorly, sick.

Thiller, or Thill-horse, *n.*, the horse that works in the shafts.

Thurrow, *n.*, a furrow.

Thussin, *adv.*, thus.

Timersome, *adj.*, timorous.

Together, an expletive of which it is difficult to explain the exact force.

An Essex man will say to one person, "Where are you a-going to, together?" It implies a certain degree of blame.

To-year, *adv.*, this year, like to-day.

"Yet had I lever wedde no wyf to-year."—"Wyf of Bathes Prologe."

Tod, *n.*, a pollard-tree.

Truck, *n.*, rubbish.

U.

Uster, *adv.*, formerly.

Z

W.

Wanty, *n.*, a belly-band.

"A pannel, a *wanty*, pack-saddle and ped,
A line to fetch litter and halter for head."—TUSSEK.

Weltered, *part.*, faded, as flowers in the sun.

Wennel, *n.*, a weanling, a calf in its first year, after it has been weaned.

Wont, *n.*, used only in composition, as "a three-wont-way, a four-wont-way." Derived from the Anglo-Saxon *Wend*, a turn, which is derived from *Wendan*, to turn or go, as *gate* is from *gán*. *Went*, in the sense of *path*, occurs in Chaucer :—

"And I hym folwed, and it forth wente
Down by a floury grene went."—"CHAUCER's Dreme."

Y.

Yarn, *v.*, to earn—a Danish form, as *Yarl* for *Earl*.

Yelk, *n.*, the yellow part of an egg. This is more correct than *yolk*, as being nearer the word from which it is derived.

Yulk, *v.*, to jerk.

This is, I believe, but an imperfect list of the good English words which, though obsolete, are still used in Essex. But even from this, it is apparent how necessary is some acquaintance with our provincial dialects to every one who wishes to read and enjoy our early writers. We have seen in one instance, that a knowledge of the Essex dialect would have saved the editors of Shakspeare from talking a great deal of nonsense.

But how does it come that words once held in honour, but disused in modern books and conversation, are thus found lingering in the mouths of the people of particular provinces? This question is not easily answered; but a similar phenomenon may be observed in Greek. We find in Homer many Æolic and Doric forms. Are we to suppose that he, being an Ionian, adopted the vulgarisms of other provinces? Surely not. He sang in the language of his own day; but some forms which were then universal were afterwards disused in Ionia, and became localised in other districts. As, therefore it is necessary for us to know something of the provincial forms of Greek in order to read Homer, so is a knowledge of provincial English indispensable to the student of our older literature.

ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS.

July 15, 1861.

DEAR AND REV. SIR,

I HAVE at length the pleasure of sending you a copy of the MS. now in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin, which relates to the Abbey of Stratford Langthorne, in our county. I am indebted to a member of the University of Dublin for the very careful transcript of this MS. which I possess, copied line for line, and the original spelling faithfully retained. Besides the title-page, and a memorandum on the last leaf, it consists of only four pages of writing, of which the two first are much more closely written than the two last. Should you consider the contents of this MS. of sufficient interest to offer this copy of it to the Essex Archæological Society, I beg that you will do so.

You will perceive that the MS. is only a copy; and in some parts a translation of the original documents. It preserves the record of two arbitrations respecting the disputed rights of the Abbots of Stratford, and the Prioresses of St. John Baptist's, Holiwell, to tithes in the parish of Leyton. Also a charter of de Valoines, which is obviously a translation of that by which Gunnora, granddaughter of Peter de Valoines, gave the tithes of her Lordship in Leyton to the Nuns of Holiwell. This charter is not given in the "Monasticon," but the confirmation of the gift by Richard the First is there recorded.

The earliest Arbitration took place between Abbot Richard and Maude the Prioress in the year 1222. The other, between Abbot John Rieside and Johann Sevenoak the Prioress is without date, but the memorandum at the back of the last page, probably marks the period as that of Edward the Fourth. I have not seen the name of Abbot John Rieside in any other document. That of

Abbot Richard occurs in the Close Rolls and Alienation Fines, between the years 1218 and 1233. Neither Maude, nor Johann Sevenoak, are named in the list of the Prioresses of Holiwell given in the "Monasticon."

I presume that "Carmidue Monalium," may be the same as "Carpethun." By a clause in a charter of Henry the Third, the Monks of Stratford had permission to disafforest their Grove of Carpethun at Leyton, and make a park there; also to assart and cultivate the same if they so wished—[Charter of 37 Hen. iij, recited in Confirmation Charter of the 2nd of Hen. viij.]

I am at a loss to explain "the Manor of Cowleize?" inscribed on the title page: the mark of interrogation implies some doubt or query. May it not be an erroneous mode of writing Cowbridge? a manor early possessed by the Monks of Stratford in the parish of Ginges-Mounteney.

I am, Sir,
Yours very truly,
K. F.

THE REV. E. L. CUTTS,
Hon. Sec. of the Essex Archaeological Society.

[*Title page of MS.*]

The custome role & other notes concerninge
the manner of [Cowleize]

The copie of the booke of the late Monasterye
of Stratford called Domesdaye.

[*Page I. of MS.*]

Ordoynce betweene
Lord Abbott and
*hywell for tithes
Layton

} A copie of the Booke called Domes-
-daye otherwise called the Legier
of the house of Stratford Langthorne

Tharbitrem^t made betweene John Reaside Abbot &
Convent and Johann. Sevenock prioresse & convent
of Saint John of Holywell in the com: of Midd:
of all tithes of the manor of Rukholde and the d^m lands and tents.

*. Not distinct, probably Holywell.

of the same Prioress and convent in Layton made by William Wetynge, Robert Kereges, that is to saie, &ca.

So that the saide Prioress and convent and their successors shall pceive for ever all tithes of lands, pastures, meadows and d^{me} woodds of the saide mano^r under written, that is to saie in the saide pisshe Scilt.

a felde called grete ofefelde cont: aboute	xvi acr ^r
a felde called litle ofefelde cont: aboute	vi acr ^r
a felde called the brodefelde of Rukholde being of bothe pts of the kings highe waye ther con ^t by estimacion aboute	xiv acr ^r
a more called Rukholde more, con ^t by estymacion iij woods and pasture	xx acr ^r
a felde called shewtersfelde con ^t by estim. of Snakwode con ^t by estimacon	vij acr ^r iiij acr ^r
of peryfelde con ^t by estim. of kelwell con ^t by estim. of holfeld conteigning by estim. of thre crofts one Rysshotts and Hardleys conteigning by estimacion	xxiiij. acr ^r vj. acr ^r xij. acr ^r x acr ^r
a felde called Hammies con ^t by estim. And of all the de ^{me} lands of the saide prioress and convent.	xij. acr ^r
That is to saie, of sewales felde con ^t by estimaç	ix acr ^r
of halewell garden con ^t by estim. of halywell down & heswel downe con ^t by est.. of fferthing croft conteig. by estim. a	v acr ^r xxx acr ^r j acr ^r
of hawkesfeld con ^t by estim. a	v acr ^r
of Meryhill con ^t by estimaç a	ix acr ^r
of bromefelde con ^t by estimaç a	xxiiij acr ^r
of Southmede con ^t by estimaç a	v acr ^r
In dyvs pcells in comon mede a	j acr ^r
of all the lands and tent.s John Drake called Prests croft lieng in v crofts of lands being in le brache cont: by estimaç a	xix acr ^r
of Robert Baldewyn of Layton stone con ^t . a ..	xxx acr ^r

[Page II. of MS.]

And the foresaide Abbott and convent and his sucesors for ever shall pceive all tithes underwritten as well upon all the foresaide pcells of meadowe lands & pasture aforesaide as of all other pcells of lande medowe and pasture in Layton.

And the said Abbott convent and their successors for ever shall parceive all tithes of all the lands, wodds, medowe & pasture now in thands of the tenaunts and fermor^r as well of the saide Manor of Rukholde as of all other in the saide pisshe of Layton.

of one tenē v acr ^r land & j Rod medow	Richard Hungel
of j tenē v acr ^r land & j rod medow ..	Rich: Lambe
of iij tents xx acr ^r land & i acr ^r medow }	John Risse of Lond:
	bruer.
ij acr ^r land and medow	John Woodroof.

j tenē v acr ^a land j rod medow.....	} Robert Baldewyn thelder.
of ij tenē.s x acr ^a land & d ^m acr ^a medow	Jo: Stacy
j tent v acr ^a of land j rod medow.....	John Mowr
of ij tent.s x acr ^a of land d ^m acr ^a medow	} John Gryff of Lond : taylor.
of j tenē v acr ^a land j rod medow.....	Henry Beyrde
of j tenē v acr ^a land j rod medow.....	Thom ^s . Trylloke
of j tenē v acr ^a land j rod medow.....	Thom ^s . Broke
of j tenē v acr ^a land j rod medow.....	John ffan
of ij tenē.s x acr ^a land d ^m acr ^a medow	John Hanger the sonne of William Hanger.
of j tent v acr ^a land j rod medow	Will ^m Wetynge
of j tent v acr ^a land j rod medow	John Slondon
of ix acr ^a d ^m land lieing in ij crofts ..	Ede: Baldock
of j croft cont. v acr ^a land	John Stacey,

Rayton returne of land there in the xxiiij yer
of the rainge of King Edward the ffourthe—

In Northfelde a	iiij acr ^a
In priofelde a	xxv acr ^a
In Mackingfelde	xvj acr ^a
In Estfelde	xxix acr ^a
In Churchefelde	vij acr ^a
In brodefelde	lvijj acr ^a j rod
In Cobingdowne	vj acr ^a j rod
In ffleth shots	x acr ^a j rod
In longefelde	xv acr ^a j rod
In Wimeffelde	xxijj acr ^a j rod
In nether shot	ix acr ^a
In the marshe	lij acr ^a j rod

Sm^{ma} of all the acres of Arable }
land amo^{re} } cclxxvj acr^a j rod.

[Page III. of MS.]

by an other Towne.	
Gretfelde & Beryfelde	xxijj acr ^a
Machingfelde	xvj acr ^a
Estfelde a	xxxj acr ^a
Brodfelde a	xliij acr ^a
Denewelcroft	iiij acr ^a
Garnersfelde a	xxj acr ^a
In Churchefelde a	vijj acr ^a
In fflete shore a	x acr ^a
In Cobingdowne a	vj acr ^a j rod
In Weefelde a	xxiiij acr ^a
In Thomanfelde a	iiij acr ^a
In Nethershote a	ix acr ^a
In Cokefelde a	x acr ^a
In Longfelde a	xvj acr ^a
In the Marshe	lijj acr ^a
In netherfelde	

Layton

Marks brede cont xix acr^e iij rods xxxv pches
 Gergenesaker cont j acr vj pches d*.
 Whipplesholme cont j acr x pches iij
 Longmede cont vij acr^e iiij pches do.
 The mede at le take viij acr^e xxxvij pches j * *
 kyneysaker cont. iij rod xij pches i *
 Canon mede cont ij acres iij rod xxxiij pches j * *
 ij long striples cont ij acres (obscure) xij pches iij *
 Cobyng acre cont. j acre xij pches *
 Hobbedays mede cont j rod xxxiij pches iij *
 The mede The at well d' acr^e xxix pches iij q' * iiij *
 The Wilde cont: j acr^e xvij pches. iij *
 The furst pcell of Lystond meade iiij acr^e * xvj pchs * d * q'
 (obscure)
 The second pcell of Lystond meade ix acr^e iij rod xxxiiij pches
 The third pcell of Lystond meade ij acr^e xxxiiij pches iij *

[Page IV. of MS.]

Halywell.—To all the children of o' holie mother the Churche this
 pnt writing — seeing brother Richard abbott of Stratforde
 and convente of the same place, and Mawde prioressse of
 halywell and Convent of the Same place sende greating in
 o' lord. We will have it notefied to all men that a cause
 or matter being in variaunce betwene upon . . . tithe
 in the parochie of layton being, it is agreed by the counsell
 of Discrete men between us that the ladie prioressse and
 nonne of halywell shall pceive and take all tithes which
 they were wont to pceive, except the tithes either of the
 demesne of Ruckholde and of the Demesne Carmidue
 Monaliu which the lord Abbatt and convent of Stratford
 shall pceive by reason of the right that they have into the
 Churche of Leyton. Et† to thintent that this composition
 may for ever psevere firme inviolable and immutable, to this
 psent writing we have on either p' sett o' seales. This was
 trulie done in the yer of grace a thousand two hundred and
 xxij at Easter. Thies being witnes. M^r Willim of Rissinge,
 M^r Hue Ruff, M^r Nicholas of Shorediche, Hue of Maren,
 Herbert of Mer^r Rich^d clerk of leyton.

To all the children of o' holie mother the church pnt and
 to come De Valoniis sendeth greteing. Know all ye that I
 have granted and geven in pure fre ppetuall almes for the
 helthe of my soule and of all my predecessours successors
 and my frends, to God and the church of Saint John
 baptist of halywell and to the nonnes there sving God
 and that shall sve for ever, to the relief of their necessite
 which they susteyne for lacke of rent, all the tithes of my
 lordship of Layton in the feldes medowes woodds et in

* The minor measurements of these parcels of lands are obscure.

† Sic.

strametis meis of the same lordship. And that this my gyft may the better and surer remaigne for ever with the witnes of this pnt writing and wth my seale thereunto sett I have confirmed it. Thees being witnes. Roger the sonne of Remford &ca and many others ———

[*Memorandum on back of last leaf.*]

Tythes . . . by the
abbott and prioresse
in Edw. quart.

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P L A T E.

Roman Bronze found on the Home Farm, Moor Hall, Harlow; and now in the possession of J. W. PERRY-WATLINGTON, Esq., M.P.

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OF THE

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ARCHITECTURE OF CHELMSFORD CHURCH.

BY F. CHANCELLOR.

THE early history of Chelmsford is wrapt in obscurity. Morant tells us in a few short lines that in the reign of Edward the Confessor Chelmsford formed part of the possessions of the Bishop of London; that till the reign of King Henry I. it was an inconsiderable town, when Maurice, Bishop of London, built a bridge over the river, thus bringing the highway, that before went through Writtle, this way; that in the reign of King John, William de Sancta Maria, Bishop of London, obtained a license for a market; that in the reign of King Edward III. Chelmsford returned members to Parliament, but finding it an expensive luxury, subsequently abandoned the habit; and that in 1424, what is more to our present purpose, the Church was re-edified. Subsequent histories simply repeat the same information in other words.

There can be no doubt, however, that a Church existed here from very early times; and taking into consideration the fact that for 500 years the town belonged to the Bishops of London, who undoubtedly had a residence here, it may fairly be presumed that the structure was one of some importance. Only one fragment of this early Church now remains—to which I shall hereafter allude—except what may have been used in the shape of old materials in the rebuilding of the walls of the present edifice. Doubtless the old church, which partook probably of the Norman character, was utterly annihilated by the townsfolk when they determined upon rebuilding their parish Church in 1424 in the Perpendicular style, which then prevailed all over the country.

In a description of the Manor of Chelmsford, taken June 23, 1591, for Sir Thomas Mildmay, it is recorded

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that "In the upper part of which township is situate the parish Church of the same town, a goodly, seemly, and large building of stone, covered with lead, meet for the receipt of 2,000 people or more; and in the steeple is a convenient ring of four bells."

Morant tells us that the Church was re-edified in 1424, and quotes the following inscription, worked in small flint stones on the north side of the centre aisle, the characters of which appear to have been from 9 inches to 12 inches in length:—

"Pray for the good Estate of all the Townshepe of Chelmsford that hath been liberal willers and procurers of helpers to thys werke; and for them that first began and longest shall contenowe it; in the year of our Lord 1 Thousand 4 Hundredth 24."

Unfortunately he gives a very meagre description of the Church, for he merely tells us that "the Church is a stately building, situate at the further or west end of the town; both Church and chancel have north and south aisles leaded. A lofty square tower of stone stands at the west end, with battlements and pyramids at each corner. On the top is a large lanthorn, with a shaft leaded. It has a ring of six bells, and a clock. In the roof of this church there were the following escucheons in 1634; many of them belonging to gentlemen that had contributed to the building." He then revels in a heraldic description of twelve coats of arms, amongst which are the arms of Warner, the City of London, the Company of Drapers, England and France, Mowbray, Neville, Edward the Confessor, and Bouchier. He goes on to say that the east window of the chancel was very fair, and curiously painted with the history of Christ from his conception to his ascension; untouched, as supposed, from the first foundations of the Church; and to perpetuate the memory of the benefactors, in the vacant places there were the escucheons and arms of the ancient nobility and gentry who had contributed to the building and beautifying of that fair structure. In August, 1641, an ordinance of Parliament being made for taking away all scandalous pictures out of Churches, the churchwardens took down the pictures of the Virgin Mary and of Christ on the cross, and supplied the place with white glass, but the

mob not thinking this a thorough reformation enough, a great number of them assembled on the 5th of November, in a riotous manner, and with long poles and stones beat down and defaced the whole window, whereby the memory of the pious benefactors is lost, as Mr. Holman observes. Dr. Michaelson, the Rector, was also barbarously used by them. The saturnalia of Chelmsford is still held on the 5th of November, but the indignation of the populace is happily not concentrated upon the Rector. The Czar of all the Russias, the Pope of Rome, and other notable characters having in turn drawn upon themselves the public indignation for the time being.

In a chapel on the north side of this Church, which was in all probability erected for one of the chantries, is placed a library, given by John Knightbridge, D.D., a native of this town, and Rector of Spofforth, in Yorkshire, for the use of the clergy in this neighbourhood.

On the north side of the chancel is a chapel, which serves for a burial place to the noble family of Mildmay.

There were in this Church, in the time of Popery, four guilds, or chantries, of which the names and yearly values were as follows:—St. John's guild, £1 13s. 8d.; Corpus Christi guild, £8 15s. 6d.; Our Lady's guild, £3 8s. 8d.; Mountney's charity, founded by Sir John Mountney, in the churchyard, £11 10s.

Thus shortly does Morant describe this stately edifice, the most curious feature of which appeared to him to be the inscription of nine-inch letters. It must, however, be remembered that Morant did not pretend to write an architectural history of the county.

Two years after Morant's, another history of the county was published. Chelmsford Church is there described as "a noble structure, situated at the end of the town, and dedicated to St. Mary. It has three spacious aisles, which run to the end of the chancel and are leaded. A stately square tower, built of stone, stands at the west end, with proper pyramids at each corner. Upon it is erected a light genteel spire, which is likewise leaded, and has rather a pretty effect. It has a ring of six bells, a clock, and a set of chimes. It is said to have had a peal of eight bells, but that the parishioners gave two of them to Writtle, in

exchange for their chimes, which were accordingly brought here. The body of the Church is supported by pillars of a light construction, yet of excellent workmanship. The pews are much decayed, and the floor is but indifferent. The windows are gothic and curious. At the west end, adjoining to the belfry, is a vacancy, which seems originally to have been designed for an organ, as the situation is very suitable for that purpose. So necessary an addition would render this place of worship more completely useful, and do a lasting honour to the numerous and respectable congregation who assemble here to pour forth their praises and thanksgiving to the Author of their being. [This wish appears to have been gratified two years afterwards.] Here is a good vestry for the use of the clergyman, and another for the transaction of the parish business. On one side of the tower is a place in which are kept two fire engines for the benefit of the town and parish." He then proceeds to describe the east window, with the destruction thereof, and the loss of the memory of the benefactors of the Church thereby, together with the maltreatment of the Rector upon the occasion, the inscription on the exterior of the nave, the chantries and other details, in similar language to that used by Morant. The only additional information that we can glean from his work is that "The registrar's office for the transaction of ecclesiastical business is over the great porch door, under the window of which is an ancient carved nyche, that seems to have contained some curious piece of sculpture. On the north and south side of the belfry, in places separated from the body of the Church by deal partitions, are the Twelve Apostles painted upon wood; they seem to be antique, and are not despicable in point of figure or drapery. Several of them are still remaining perfect, though some are defaced or otherwise damaged. The churchyard is spacious and kept clean. The walks through it are neatly gravelled, and the rows of stately elms which grow on each side are a venerable addition to this awful memento of mortality."

Wright, in his History, merely repeats the description given by Morant, and the same may be almost said of the "People's History" more recently published. Suckling, in his "Antiquities of Essex," gives a short description

of the present structure, drawing especial attention to the tower and double arch in the chancel.

Any attempt to depict the old Church which stood prior to 1424 would be travelling too far into the realms of imagination, the only fragment still existing (at least as far as I can discover), upon which to work out the problem, being an old oak door leading to the present library, the date of which, with its ironwork, is of the thirteenth century. It is stated of Professor Owen that from a single bone he will construct the animal complete; but the bones of an old building will not admit of this treatment—the laws of nature are unalterable, but the rules of Gothic architecture are as various as the buildings themselves.

Under these circumstances I propose to confine my attention to the Church of 1424.

In 1424 John De Vere, 12th Earl of Oxford, was at the head of that family, having succeeded to the title in 1415, and from his known adherence to the House of Lancaster may be presumed to have been a person of some importance, and as a consequence in constant communication with the Court. Undoubtedly, therefore, he would journey to and from Hedingham Castle, his baronial seat, to London, many times in the course of the year, and as it would appear that the old hostelry, known as the Black Boy, in Chelmsford, belonged to the De Vere family, it is a very fair presumption that Chelmsford was not only a halting place for the Earl and his retainers upon the occasion of their journies, but probably used as an occasional residence; and as he lived in almost royal state, his comings to and fro would be a matter of as much importance to the then townsfolk as a visit of the Sovereign in the present day. His frequent visits would give him a certain interest in the town, although we do not find that he was ever possessed of any extent of property in the neighbourhood, and when the re-building of the Church was mooted, we can readily imagine that so powerful and wealthy a man would be the first applied to for aid—that he did aid and assist in the good work, I think, is proved by the fact of his shield, charged with the mullet, being carved in the spandril of the west door of the tower; and his crest, the boar, being introduced in the apex of

the arch of the same door; this latter corresponds with the carved boar which formed part of the ceiling of an apartment in the old Black Boy. For five centuries did this mighty family rule it most royally over many parts of the county, their riches being immense, and their power and influence being second only to that of the Sovereign; and yet now a cubic foot of stone in our parish Church, and a cubic foot of oak lying on that table are all that remain in this town to remind us of the De Veres.

Second only to the De Veres was the family of the Bouchiers. The barons of this family appear to have been on friendly terms with the De Veres, and, as they possessed estates in various parts of the county, they too may have found it convenient to have a residence in Chelmsford, which would serve as a halting place upon the occasion of their journies from London to different parts of the county. In 1424 the title was held by Sir Lewis Robessart, who was the second husband of Elizabeth, the only daughter and heiress of Sir Bartholomew Bouchier, for we find that both the husbands of this lady were summoned to Parliament by the title of Lord Bouchier.

The proposition for re-building the Church having been approved and warmly encouraged by the De Veres, assistance would be readily given by the Bouchiers and other noble and knightly families of the district; for this reason the corresponding shield to that bearing the arms of the De Veres over the west doorway was probably awarded to the Bouchiers, as having been, next to the De Veres, the principal contributors to the good work. This shield bears a knot, and I believe it to be a device of the Bouchiers, although it is not their recognised coat of arms, because I find the same device carved upon the tomb of one of the Lords Bouchier and Isabella Plantagenet his wife, in Little Easton Church, in this county.

The Mountneys of Mountnessing, the Beauchamps, the Nevilles, the Mowbrays, who all had estates in this district, and the Warners of Great Waltham, all undoubtedly, contributed to the re-edification of the building, for their arms, as I have before observed, decorated the roof and were emblazoned in the east window; and finally the

townspeople generally, with so good an example before them, contributed liberally towards the noble work.

No exertion was spared to render the new Church worthy of the enthusiasm which had been excited in order to provide the necessary funds; and although at the present moment all that remains to us of this structure is the tower, the south porch, and a few other fragments in the aisles and chancel, the evidence of the former alone is sufficient to prove the care that was taken in its construction. The tower is, perhaps, one of the strongest and most enduring pieces of workmanship in this district, and although it has withstood the storms of four centuries, scarcely any impression has been made upon its massive walls, and unless damaged accidentally or wantonly it will last for as many centuries more. In 1424 the Perpendicular style had established itself throughout the country, and the new edifice was erected wholly in this style, and although some of the details are poor and somewhat debased, there is still an air of magnificence about the old tower which is sufficient of itself to stamp its architect as a master of his art. Modern additions have impaired its beauty and hidden some of its principal features, and the inhabitants of Chelmsford will never see the full beauty of the old tower until all the galleries, vestries, staircases, coal holes, and other abominations are removed and cleared away; then, indeed, it would burst upon us with an effect startling in its grandeur and not to be exceeded in beauty by any Church tower in the Hundred. The tower has a western doorway of rich design; a square head, the spandrils of which are panelled and contain shields charged with the devices of the De Veres and Bouchiers, as before described, encloses a pointed archway, the rib mouldings being deeply recessed and supported on shafts in the jambs, with capitals and bases of good design. A noble and deeply-recessed three-light window rises above the doorway, the head of which corresponds with the arch between the tower and nave, and, undoubtedly, it was always intended that this window should be seen from the extreme east end of the Church. A two-light window lights the original ringing loft, and a three-light window the belfry; the window of the belfry is repeated on all sides of the tower, and the

window in the ringing loft on the north and south sides only ; eight massive buttresses at the corners add not only to the immense strength of the building, but also to the grandeur of the outline.

The walls of the tower, which are in places four feet in thickness, are constructed externally of flints, worked in with the debris probably of former buildings, amongst which I recognize bricks and septaria from some Roman building, and fragments of stone and tiles from some more modern buildings ; the quoins and mouldings, jambs, archways and decorations are worked in a durable stone, partaking somewhat of the description of Bath stone, but of a more lasting quality ; the interior is lined with ordinary brick with stone quoins.

The whole tower is crowned with a battlement, with crocketed pinnacles at each corner, and in the centre of each side ; the face of the battlements is richly panelled, the panels being filled in with flints ; a bold string course or cornice is continued round the tower below the battlements, with gurgoyles vigorously carved. Noble arches in the south and north sides of the tower connect the aisles therewith ; these arches correspond with the eastern arch of the tower before alluded to in their mouldings, but are not so lofty. This adds considerably—or rather, would add, if it could be seen—to the effect of the principal archway, and indeed to the whole group. At the south-west corner of the tower is the staircase of 122 steps leading to the various chambers and the roof. This, then, is a short description of the tower of 1424, but in 1749 it was thought that the effect of the whole building would be increased by a spire, and that wretched apology for one which crowns the present tower, and which will most vexatiously remain in a state of substantial repair, was then erected, according to the following inscription cut in lead upon the base :—

This spire was erected A.D. 1749.

John Tindal, Rector.

John Lough, Thomas Hinde, Samuel White, churchwardens.

John Blatch, Edmund Mason, plumbers.

Until I found this inscription I was under the impression that the spire was added in 1712, for that date is cut upon

one of the oak girders supporting the spire; but probably this formed part of a new flat roof to the tower, which might have become necessary at that date. Before leaving the tower we must take some notice of the bells. Morant, writing in 1768, tells us that "the Church has a ring of six bells and a clock." Unfortunately all these bells, which were no doubt put up in 1424, are gone, or have been re-cast. The present peal consists of eight bells, which were cast in 1777, that date appearing upon all of them; and as it is not easy—especially for ladies—to investigate them closely, it may not be out of place to give the inscriptions upon them, which are as follows:—

At proper times our voices we will raise,
In sounding to our benefactors' praise.

To honour both of God and king,
Our voices shall in concert ring.

Peace and good neighbourhood.

Ye ringers all, that prize your health and happiness,
Be sober, merry, wise, and you'll the same possess.

If you have a judicious ear,
You'll own my voice is sweet and clear.

Though much against us may we be said
To speak for ourselves we are not afraid.

This, certainly, is not a very successful effort at poetry, and he therefore contents himself by simply putting upon the next bell the names of three persons—namely, "Thos. Clapham, B. Clapham, and R. Shoobridge," with the letters "Bes.," which, I presume, means "benefactors," and reserves himself for a final effort on the great bell, whose inscription is as follows:—

The Rev. George Morgan, rector; Messrs. Geo. Simpson and John Ward, and Matt. Joyce, churchwardens.

In wedlock bands all ye who join,
With hands your hearts unite;
So shall our tuneful tongues combine
To laud the nuptial rite.

Extensive repairs appear to have been carried out in connexion with the tower in the year 1614, for in an old

account book of the parish we find the following entry:—

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.		
Carpenter's work	..	17	12	3	Timber	..	14	11	9
Sawyer's	4	4	7	Weathercock gilding	2	3	4
Smith's	9	8	2				
Total expense on steeple				..	..	64	11	7	

The weathercock alluded to must have been on the apex of the tower roof. The repairs were probably in connexion with the roof and the present ringing floor, which is a modern addition.

Next to the tower, the south porch demands our attention for its importance. Consisting of two stories, it is a more imposing feature than usual, although there are many examples of an apartment being constructed over the porch. This room has for many years been used as a depository for wills, and probably has always been used for the transaction of ecclesiastical business. The original entrance was probably from the interior of the Church, and the external appearance of the porch, especially the western view, is now destroyed by the abominably hideous projection containing the staircase, which is constructed in the rudest style of art, and one would almost imagine with a determination to disfigure the elegant construction to which it is attached. I am disposed to think that the window in the east side is a modern addition. The design of this porch, consisting entirely of stone work inlaid with flints, forcibly reminds us of many examples in Norfolk; and although there can be little doubt that it formed a part of the new buildings of 1424, from its general character I think it not improbable that it may have been designed by a different architect to the designer of the tower; indeed, on the whole, the design of this porch may well challenge comparison with many examples of the same description of work which have received more attention. It was repaired some years since, Roman cement being very lavishly used in the operation; for this reason it is difficult to say whether the mouldings of the eastern archway are the same as the original; they appear to me to partake rather too much of the decorative character, and the restoration of both the archway and the capitals bears very suspicious marks of having been copied from some

other pattern. The shields in the spandrils of both are vacant, the originals, doubtless, were charged with the bearings of some of the knightly race who were benefactors of the Church.

A highly enriched niche, which probably contained a sculptured representation of the Crucifixion, surmounts the archway, and above this is a five-light window, opening into the upper apartment. The exterior walls of the lower storey are chequered with stone and flint, the storey above being divided into an arcade of flat stonework, filled in also with flint, and the battlements panelled in flat stone and flint work, the design closely resembling the battlements of the tower. The ceiling of the porch is partly panelled in oak, but this I think is not original. I have no doubt the timbers were exposed, and it was possibly panelled, but the present panelling probably came from the debris of the Church in 1800.

Whether the chancel, with its north and south aisles, was rebuilt entirely in 1424 may be doubtful, but it is not probable that so important a part of the Church would be left uncared for upon so important an occasion, and some of the old work still remaining is undoubtedly of that period, although scarcely in harmony with the remainder of the structure. The very curious double arch in the north wall of the chancel is, I believe, unique, and appears to me to be somewhat earlier than the tower. It consists of a semi-circular arch, richly moulded, resting upon moulded jambs with shafts, subdivided into two sharp-pointed arches by open tracery, resting upon a Purbeck marble clustered shaft, the arch and jambs being executed in clunch. Suckling, in his work upon the Churches of Essex, describes it as a Norman arch, and believes it to have been coeval with the first Church; but there is no pretence for ascribing it to so early a date. Upon a close examination, traces of colour can be seen upon this archway, and in the old account book, to which our attention has been drawn by Mr. Mildmay, I find, under date 1560, the following entry:—

Redding of ye Church with red leade, with pillars of ye same, for four days work, 8s.

And, again, in 1625:—

To Nicholls, to white and dress up the North Chapell.

There is also another entry relating to decorations, which I may as well introduce here—In 1633,

To Anson for gilding of rose and thistle, ye flower de lucees and ye ragged staves in ye claws of ye Lion and Unicorn, 6s.

There was formerly, in the north side of this arch, a chapel or chantry, which was probably the one established by Sir John Mountney, before alluded to. This family was of great note from the reign of Stephen to that of Henry VIII.; and this chapel may possibly have formed, during part of that time, the burial-place of the family, and may have been enriched by the head of the family a short time prior to the re-building of the main part of the structure. Subsequently—from the time of Elizabeth to almost the present day—it served as the burial-place of the Mildmay family; and this fact strengthens the belief that it was originally used for a similar purpose; it now forms part of the north aisle of the chancel. On the south side the chancel is separated from the aisle by three four-centred arches, resting on shafts of a hard warm-coloured stone. These arches are, I am inclined to believe, somewhat earlier than 1424. Morant tells us of three other chantries or guilds besides the Mountney one; and it is not improbable that one or more may have been here. The Corpus Christi guild appears to have been in existence so recently as 1565, for we find in the book before alluded to the following entries relating thereto:—

Unto ye masons for cullering ye window and mending ye joints of ye stones aboughte Corpus Xti geld, vs.

Of Wid. Brown, for ye breaking of ye ground in Corpus Xti to bury John Brown, her husband, 6s. 8d.

And again in 1574:—

Mrs. Bridges oweth for breaking ye ground in Corpus Xti guild for ye buriall of her husband, 6s. 8d.

There is likewise an entry relating to “Repairs on Ladye Chapel.”

The south wall of the aisle was, I think, re-built, or extensively repaired, in 1424, as there still exist the remains of two three-light square-headed windows of that date; but the exterior of the wall appears to have been patched

at a subsequent date, as it bears no comparison with the solid construction of the tower and porch. The remnant of a very plain piscina, with flat arch, is still to be seen inside, near the east window of this aisle. I have been informed that a few years ago the vestry was on the north side of the chancel, where now is the east end of the chancel aisle. This was a low apartment with another over it, from which there was a window looking into the Church. I merely record the fact here, without hazarding an opinion upon this peculiar feature, since the honorary secretary, I believe, intends taking this for the text of a special paper.* The present arch, with its mouldings and shafts, is a modern work. The body of the Church, consisting of the nave and aisles, was almost totally destroyed in 1800, and but a few fragments remain of the original work. The plan of this part of the structure was the same as at present, as the new walls were erected upon the old foundations, such parts of the old structure as were sound being worked into the new edifice. The nave was divided into four bays; all the bases of the shafts still remain, and some of the shafts themselves; the mouldings of them are somewhat defaced. The arches were doubtless the same as at present, but they carried a clerestory of a very imposing character. Fortunately, my friend Mr. Meggy has preserved two interior views of the Church, taken soon after the accident of 1800, and etched by no less a person than Augustus Pugin. Architecturally, therefore, they are of great value, as they give no doubt a truthful representation of the details. I am not aware of any other view of the Church that gives an idea of the extent or design of the clerestory. There is a small exterior view of the Church still in existence, but the clerestory windows in it are small and unimportant, and clearly incorrect. They were three-light windows, with four centred arches, filled with tracery, the height of the windows being divided into three compartments, by two transoms; there were eight on either side; and as the piers between them are small, the effect

* The paper alluded to was one on Anchor-holds, in which a conjecture was thrown out that this chamber, with a window looking into the Church, may have been an Anchor-hold, like that which still exists at Rettendon. The paper is not included in the "Transactions," because the substance of it has already been published in the "Art Journal."

would be very rich, and the flood of light through them would be absorbed and toned down by the dark oak roof which crowned the whole.

The west end of the north aisle of the Church is the most important fragment left of this portion of the building of 1424; the original part is now partitioned off and forms the present vestry. Fortunately the roof remains, and serves as a key to that of the nave; the principals are boldly moulded and supported by curved brackets carved and moulded, resting upon corbels, which are much mutilated, but which appear to have been figures of angels seated; the spaces between the principals are subdivided by moulded beams, with cross beams also moulded, to receive the joists, the whole being covered with oak boarding, upon which rested the leadwork. Similar remains of the roof over the west end of the south aisle are still in existence.

The noble effect of even these fragments compels us to pause, and endeavour to realise the grandeur of this old structure in its original glory, with its massive oaken roof spanning both nave and aisles, enriched undoubtedly with shields and banners in all the tintings of heraldry, and possibly with its mouldings also coloured with gold and red and blue. A noble clerestory lighted up the whole building, bringing out by the reflected lights the depths and shadows of the old oak framing; the lofty arches of the tower formed a fitting entrance to the goodly structure, the long vista terminating in the richly painted window of the chancel.

I am drawing no fanciful picture of the interior of our old Church, for the evidences still exist; and in order that you may more fully realize what once was, and what might still be again, I have prepared a rough sketch of the interior, restored, and as it appeared to the townsfolk 400 years since. [Mr. Chancellor here exhibited a large and nicely-coloured drawing of the Church in its olden state.]

On the 17th of January, 1800, the whole of the roof fell with a tremendous crash, carrying with it the greater part of the nave walls, and rendering necessary the re-edification of nearly the whole of the structure. For this purpose, it appears, an Act of Parliament was required, the

reason why would form a very good subject for some of our legal friends to dilate upon at some future meeting of this Society. I must not, however, travel out of my record. The inhabitants, as in 1424, set to work in good earnest — would that their zeal had been better rewarded.

It is no part of my duty to say anything unkind or ungenerous of a professional brother, long since gone; but truth must never give way to civility, and I cannot endorse the opinion of a recent historian, who says that it is "a monument of liberality and taste." The liberality of the inhabitants is undoubted, and well worthy of emulation, but the taste in which the new work was executed is of the most questionable character. For three hundred years, extending from the commencement of the 16th to the commencement of the 19th century, although surrounded by the most exquisite examples, our ancestors appear to have been insensible to the charms of Gothic architecture, and to have ridiculed it in every conceivable manner; a brighter day has dawned upon us, and Gothic architecture, like a Phoenix, has risen from its ashes, and is re-asserting its power over the length and breadth of the land.

The monuments in a Parish Church frequently form the chief materials for the history of the place; and in the small and unpretended village Church, where the surrounding lands have passed from father to son for generations, we find the most magnificent specimens of these memorials; but in a town, where the exchange of property is more frequent, and where the family monuments are left without natural protectors, they are destroyed or mutilated without remorse. Considering the wealth and power of the neighbouring lords, there can be no doubt that formerly there existed many memorials of those who once held sway over the district, but they are all gone, and three brassless stones alone remain as representatives of the early monumental history of the fabric.

The oldest monument, and, indeed, the only one that is of interest in an architectural point of view, is that to Thomas Mildmay; the date is 1571; it is constructed

of stone in the reigning style of that day. There is a very quaint Latin inscription upon it, which has been translated as follows:—

Here are seen graven the effigies of
Thomas Mildmay and Avice his wife ;
But within their remains lie in peace.
He was a renowned Esquire,
She a daughter, and lovely branch of
William Gernon, Esquire,
They had fifteen pledges of their prosperous love,
Seven whereof were females,
Eight were males.
Afterwards, in the year of our Lord 1529,
And in the morning on the 16th day of September,
Avice returned to that dust
From whence she originally sprung.
And
On the 10th day of the calends of October,
In the ninth year following,
The unrelenting King of terrors
Triumphed over Thomas.

We have now travelled round, and over, and I might almost say under, the Church, and I believe I have directed attention to every part of it to which any interest is attached. Hidden from view in the walls of the Church itself, or on the bookshelves of the British Museum or other libraries, much information may still exist of an interesting character; and if any person who has time at his disposal would undertake the task, many curious facts may be brought out, and much light might be thrown upon the character of the original structure, at whose existence I have only been able to glance.

A good fashion has of late taken hold of the British public—I allude to the restoration of Churches, which is going on in every direction; and in conclusion I would say, that the inhabitants of Chelmsford, taking example from their predecessors, would do themselves lasting honour by restoring their parish Church to its ancient glory, showing thereby that the prayers of the builders of 1424 passed not unheeded four centuries afterwards.

**EXTRACTS FROM AN OLD CHELMSFORD PARISH
ACCOUNT BOOK, EXTENDING FROM 1557, THE
LAST YEAR OF QUEEN MARY, DOWN TO 1668.**

BY ARCHDEACON MILDMAV.

INTRODUCTION.

THE book, from which the following extracts were made, is the oldest account book belonging to the parish chest of Chelmsford. It contains the receipts and expenditure of the Churchwardens from A.D. 1557 to 1668, thus running through some of the most interesting periods of English Church History.

Besides these accounts there are entries of the elections of Church Officers; of rates made and gathered by the Churchwardens; of relief of the poor; of collections on briefs; and of other matters of peculiar local, or temporary interest.

In making this selection, as a contribution to the "Transactions of the Essex Archæological Society," I have felt that many items must lose a part at least of, their interest, by their severance from other contemporary memoranda; and also that I must omit whole series of entries which would derive their main interest from being exhibited in full, but which would be too voluminous and too monotonous to suit the pages of this publication—*e.g.*, the commencement, amount, growth and application of rates; or the ebbing and flowing of the number of communicants; and their contributions.

There are also many entries of purely local or pastoral interest, which would hardly command the general attention of the Subscribers to this Association.

I must not omit to record my acknowledgments to that steady supporter of the Essex Archæological Society, Mr.

King, for his courteous assistance in furnishing many of the notes which elucidate several obscure items in these abstracts, upon which I could hardly have ventured even a conjecture.

Miscellaneous.

1557. 2.*It^m payd for a handebell for the rogation dayes & to ring before the corses at their burialles, iij^o ix^d.
1562. 20. Received of Richard Marion for a hand bell solde unto hym for the marquete bell, v^o.
1560. Receyved of Glascock of Nevendon toward the pavyng of oure church for part of his penance, xx^o.
1563. 28. P^d to Sands for mending the child wifes stole and palyng the church-yarde, viij^d.
1584. 70. It^m the same daye for y^e iron work and nayles to hang y^e table of y^e comandments of God over ye chaunsell doore, iiij^d.
1586. 89. The parson Mr. Burlie hath caused Wyll^m Pamplyn to make a roape for the great bell. Thys hath byn allways y^e parson's charge.
1590. 99. Where ther doth remayne In the hands of John Browne, one of the Surveyours of the hygh-wayes, the last yeare, the S^m of ixl. xs. viij^d. It ys ordeyned by the parysh that the same monye shall be delyvered into the hands of W^m Wallenger & Robert Woode the wollen draper, whome they have requyred to take paynes to employe the same as far as it wyll goe, upon the reparation of the crosse, in reparations nedefull to be done, And in setlyng the same wythin wyth stonne.
1624. 152. Clarks fees (inter alia) for laying of the cushens at a marriage, ijd. Att the churchinge, ijd. & his dyner.
- 1565 It^m payde for a Booke of prayers agaynst the Rebellyons, xij^d.
to P^d for a booke of prayers concerning the yearthquake to be
1570. 33. read in church Wednesdays & Fridays, viij^d.
1592. 104. P^d the Clerke att the Assices for framyng the indightments against Puritisme, ij^o x^d.
1596. 113. Halfe a bushel of coales, iij^d.
1622. 178. M^d that yt ys desired by the pishioners that both the churchwardens and overseers of the poor for this yere following, w^d alwayes 4 or 5 dayes before they doe dispose any moneys amongst the poore, geve notice of the tyme & place thereof to Mr. Pasfield now pson of Chelmsford, to the intent that they may be by him examyned of the articles of Christian religion; and so to contribute to them accordingly; and that some restraynt may be made to thos w^h shall be found most negligent & ignorant.

* These figures refer to the folio in the book.

1624. 185. Paid the ringers when the Prince came home, v^r.
1625. 193. A booke for the prayers on Wednesdayes fastings in the time of God's visitations, j^r.
1628. 212. Payed to George Arther for making the Kings Armes and Peramedes and Tasserts, £2 13s. 0d.
1632. 242. For carrying Roger Price out of the Church he being exco. 3d.
- To two jentle souldycrs comended from the King of Sweeden, 1s.
- Received when the corps of the old Countis of Warwick were carried throw the town, 6s. 8d.
- 1633-4. Ther rests in our hands, whereof £2 7s. 10½d. is in bad
269. farthings, £4 14s. 1d. (*mem.* out of £146 4s. 11½d.)
1635. 275. (In inventory of church goods.)—A long table in the Consistory, and a halfe joyned chayer, a great reading Deske with a cover, and two guilded paramades.*
1635. 277. For two payer of duftayles, 1s. 4d.†
For two duftayles, 4d.
1636. 290. Given Spright for carrying away his brother in a wheelebarrowe from Michael Stuckes to Stumpe Crosse on the Sabbath-day, 6d.
- Given to Alice Longe to goe into a sick house, 2s. 0d.
- Given more to her for the same buisness a new paire of shoes, 1s. 8d.
- More given her when she sickened in that house, 1s. 0d.
- Given Ralphe Metcalfe after his child died for pitch and aquavitoe, 6d.
- Paid Mr. Stammer for a glasse of stuff sent to thē sick folkes, 1s. 0d.
1639. 315. Layed out to Mr. Sharpe for writtinge outt 2 ratts for the shipe money, 5s. 0d.
1639. 314. One yeard ½ of scarlett for the hooede, at 30s. p. yard is £2 5s. 0d.
- Paid Mr. Tate for tafety for y^e hooede, 12s. 0d.
- I^t paid Walbanke for makinge y^e scarlett hooede, 5s. 0d.
1641. 317. (In "inventorye of the Goods w^h belong to our Church, &c.")—A black hood and a b^r scarlet hood, which scarlet hood is in Dr. Michælsones custodie, and is to answere for it; (in the margin) "in Mr. Motts custodie."‡
1642. 331. I^t Taking downe pictures and setting upp new glass in y^e windows, £5 0s. 0d.
- I^t p^d for taking downe the cross, £1 1s. 0d.

* This item is continued in successive inventories, with various spelling—ex: g: "piramides."

† This item occurs among charges for various carpenter's jobs in a general account of money expended.

‡ Dr. Michælsone was the Rector who was deprived of his benefice at the Great Rebellion by the Parliamentarians, and Mr. Mark Mott put in his place.

- It p^d Parchm^t & wrighting y^e Covenant, 5s. 6d.
 It p^d Johnson to white y^e church and remove and take off pictures from y^e funt, 7s. 0d.
 It p^d for glewing y^e funt, 5s. 0d.
 It p^d for paynting y^e ffunt in oyle, 11s.
 It p^d Johnson for mending y^e footework of y^e brasses in the middle ile, 4s.
 It p^d for glasing chancell window, £4 0s. 0d.*
 It Taking downe images, £4 0s. 0d.
 It Glass new and repayred, £2 12s. 9d.
 It Wrighting y^e coven^t, 5s. 6d.
 1644. 331. The receipts of Samuell Joynour, Will^m Payne and Daniell Bullocke, Churchwardens for y^e pish of Chelmsf^d and hamlett of Moulsham, uppon a Rate made April, 1644, as followeth.—(Note: here follows a list of names, first, 132 in Chelmsford, then 46 in Moulsham, then 13 out-dwellers in Chelmsford and 8 out-dwellers in Moulsham, the highest sum being Henry Mildemay, £2 10s. 0d., the lowest 2d.)
 1658. 356. P^d for gilding y^e Wethercocke, £1 0s. 0d.
 P^d Mr. Justice about y^e wethercocke, £3 16s. 0d.
 1661. 367. Payd to Mr. Upshire for the old ffont, 10s. 0d.
 1662. 372. (In inventory of church goods.)—The rayles y^t did incom-passe y^e comunion table.
 1662. 373. P^d Rhoades, Nollard, Mallory and one Moore for carrying the ffont to Mr. Justices and backe to church, 3s.
 1666. 396. P^d rossell,† pitch, francomsence to burne in y^e church, 1s. 6d.
 P^d pitch, rossell, more, 8d.
 For pouder shott delivered y^e watchmen to keepe Moulsham from coming to bury there infected dead in y^e church-yard, 1s. 8d.
 P^d Charles Fuller for a journey to Shenville for to fetch 2 books and a proclamation consarning y^e fire at London, 3s. 6d.
 1669. 408. Y^e mad woemans physicke of Moulsham, 4s.

Images and Ceremonies.

1557. 3. Payd to Master Wallys of London for x li. and a gr. of new wex, vij^{ss}. vi^d.

* "Mercurius Rusticus," p. 22, (quoted in Walker's "Sufferings of the Clergy," p. 307) says, "When the House of Commons, in the year 1641, had published an *Order for taking away all Scandalous Pictures out of Churches*, the Godly Reformers in this town did in great measure deface the Large and Beautiful Church belonging to it; and more particularly the Mobb in a riotous manner, with long Poles and Stones, beat down the fair and large window at the east end of the Church."

† Qy. "Rosin."

Item. Receyved of Rog Webbe iij *li.* of wax w^h he did owe unto the pishe, so that the hole light of the sepulchre and pascall was in value of wax at Ester, xvi *li.* a *qrt.* & half *qrt.*

1558. 10. Saftē in wax of last yeare 9 *li.*, so the whole light of the sepulchre & pascal is in wax, 13 *li.*

1557. 3. Paid for making of our Ladis Crown at the High Alter & for mendyng of her handes & paynting of the angelles, ij^s.

Item payd for frankensense, v^d. ob

P^d. for cooles to hallow the fire on Easter Even, ij^d.

1557. Item payd at Putto's for ye Clarkes brekefaste to helpe sing messe before the Justyce of Assice, xiiij^d.

Item payd to ye Clarkes of Writell for to helpe syng messe before ye Justis at ye last Assice, xviii^d.

Dresses and other Property.

1557. 3. Item payd to Bridges for iiij els of bocram to make ij surplis for children agaynste Estē, iiij^s.

Item payd to Mr. Will^m Mildmaye for vij els & a yarde of bocrame to make ij surplices for the churche agaynste Ester, vij^s. x^d.

1557. 4. Item for iij yeardes of tape to make gerdiles for the vestements, iiij^d.

1560. 14. The Inventorye of the Churche goods of Chelmesford the 31st day of July, anno domi 1560, and in y^e second yere of y^e reign of ou^r Sovan Lady Elyzabeth the Queenes majestie that now is.

Coopes.

Imprimis iij coopes of clothe of tysshewe.

I^m iij of redd velvet whyth daysyes.

I^m ij of Blewe velvet.

— j of blacke velvet.

— j of redde satten.

— j of redde bawdken.*

— j of blewe bawdken.*

Vestements.

Imprimis j vestement with a decon of clothe of tysshewes.

I^m j one of red velvet, wth a decon & subdecon, wth daysyes.

— j of murrey velvet.

— j of blewe velvet wth decon & subdecon.

* "A fabric similar perhaps to what we call brocade. It is said to have derived its name from Baldacus, in Babylon, whence, says Blount, it was originally brought."—"Our English Home," J. H. PARKER.

- 1^m of crymson satten deacon & subdeacon.
 — j of blewe damaske wth deacon & subdeacon.
 — j of redd baudeken wth deacon & subdeacon.
 — j of blewe baudeken.
 — j old of black velvet wth deacon & subdeacon.
 — j of blue velvet.
 — j of redd damaske.
 — j of whyght sarsenet.
 — j of green velvet.
 — j of green satten of Brydges.*
 — j of red damaske wth lyons of golde.
 — j of red satten of Brydges.
 — ij of whyght fustyan.
 — j of red damaske.
 — ij of green baudekyn.
 — one olde of baudekyn.
 — j vestement of St. Nicholas.
 — j of Blewe dornecke.†

Clothes belongynge to y^e high aulter & the funte of redd velvett.

- Imprimis ij lectorne clothes of velvet.
 1^m vi clothes of velvet.
 1^m ij fruntletts of velvet for y^e aulter.
 1^m a red clothe of velvet.
 1^m a canapie cloth of red satten of Brydges.
 1^m ix old banner clothes, crosse clothes, & curtens togyther.
 1^m x aulbes, iiij^{or} amyses, a curten of dorneckes & x stooles.
 1^m a great carpet of Arras to lye before y^e high aulter.
 1^m a lent clothe of lynnyn for y^e hygh alter, paynted, with drops.‡
 1^m a vayne clothe for Lent.‡
 1^m j crosse clothe painted to hang before rode in Lent.‡

* Manufactured at Bruges.

† Dorneck, Darnex, or Dornex, a coarse sort of Damask, used for carpets, curtains, &c., originally manufactured at Tournay, called in Flemish Dornick. It was composed of different kinds of materials, sometimes worsted, silk, wool, or thread.—HALLIWELL'S Arch. Dict.

‡ From the evening before the 1st Sunday in Lent till the Thursday before Easter the lenten curtain or veil was hung between the Presbytery and Choir in Cathedrals, between the Chancel and Nave in Parish Churches; the crucifix and figures of SS. Mary and John, which formed the rood, were covered with cloths marked with red crosses, and the high altar was covered with a white cloth with red cross. Of such lenten veils and cloths we find mention in Wills and Inventories:—St. Frideswides, Oxford, had, at its suppression, "a veall of new whitt sercenett for Lentt, xxs. itm. hangings for the highe alter for above and benethe of new whit sercenett wth redd crosses called alter-clothes for Lent, xs."—Monasticon Anglicanum, ii. 167. Durham Priory had, A.D. 1446, "Duo panni albi pro Quadragesima, cum

Note—Sold with various other church goods in 1576 for
£6 18s. 4d.

Latten.

Imprimis a latten lecterne to lay the Byble on.

1^m xij candelstycks.

1^m ij Basons & an old Ewer of peuter.

1^m an old shype for franckensence.

1^m ij hallowater pottes.

— a latten senser.

— ij hand bells.

— a latten crosse and a latten pyx.

Lynnen. Imprimis vij auter clothes.

1^m iiij towels.

— ij curtens.

— a lawne clothe to carry y^e chrysmatory in.

— xi surplusses

Bookes.

1^m iij antyphones, ij grayles, iiij prefsioners, j hymnall, j legandes, ij masse books, one manuell & a portas.

Pewter belongynge to y^e Church.

1^m xv dosen pewter & ix peces, y^e is to saye in platters, platters, dyshes, & sawsers followth that is, iij doz of large platters, ij doz of mydle sort platters, ix doz of pewter dyshes & xxj sawsers. In the hands & custodie of John Myldmay, the w^h peuter and the rent thereof coming it to the use of the Church, and he oweth for the rens thereof iiij yeres.

Goods sold & disposed of at the Reformation.

1558. 9. R for plate as y^e appereth by the goldsmythes byll, xxixth vith. viij^d.

R of John Brydges for y roode loft, xiiijth.

1558. 10. It^m payed to them that dyd helpe take downe the roode, ij^d.

It^m payed to Gegense Longe Tho^ms & to Mother Harris sone for takynge downe of the auters, ijth. iiij^d.

crucibus rubeis super consutis.—Wills, &c., of the Northern Counties, p. 91. "All Souls College, Oxford, j velum de serico, et j de panno lineo, j des cloth cum rubea cruce pro xl."—Gutch Collect. Curiosa ii. 264. Velum unum de serico quadragesimale, was among the ornaments of Salisbury, A.D., 1220. The finding of the large Chancel curtain, the "velum quadragesimale," belonged to the parishioners.—WILKINS' Concilia, ii. 49. Dr. Rock, from whom these references are taken, gives a wood-cut from a MS. Flemish Book of Hours, which represents the Chancel veil and the rood covered with its cloth.—See his "Church of our Fathers," Vol. III., Pt. ii., p. 224.

1558. 11. It^m payed to hym for fetchyng the comunion table for Mr. Olde Ayers, & setting y^t up in the Chaunsell, iiij^d.

Church plate sold.

1560. 15. I^m y^e xixth day of Auguste 1559, y^e was agreeede by y^e chefe Inhabytants of y^e town, to y^e number of xxiii, w^h have to a byll subscrybed ther own names y^e y^e Chwardens W^m Reynolds, W^m Myldmay, W^m Maryon s^d sell one crosse of sylver & gilte, one pyx of silver & gylt, with a lytle cup of silver therein, & a chrysmatorie of sylver & gylte, w^h crosse pyx whith the lytle cupe, & the chrysmatorie the fores^d wardens did sell to Robert Tayleboys, Sytysen & goldsmyth of London—& the wayght thereof altogyther is one hundred & x ounces at v^o iiiij^d the ounce, & the hole somme thereof cometh unto xxiv^{li}. vi^o viii as appereth by the byll of y^e s^d Goldsmyth to pay debts that were owynge to di^m of y^e paryshe & for the reparacyons of the churche.

Bell metyll.

1550. 15. Receyved by me Will^m Watsoun of Wyll^m Reynolds Will^m Myldmay & Rychard Maryon, churchwardens of Chelmsford in the Countye of Essex for the Quen's Matt^r use, one bell wainge ij Q ij q^r lij li., the which metell the Quen's majestie oweth for, xxiij. lij.

Things soulds :

1560. 16. R^d of Robart Wood the youngr for ix pylleres, xx^d.
 — Robart Glascooke for a dore, xvi^d.
 — William Shethir for xiii small pyleres, xvi^d.
 — William Hewit for x pyleres & iiij peeces of carved tymber, vi^o viii^d.
 — Thomas Harvey for an alter stone, iii^o iiiij^d.
 — Coxo for a borde of Sent Georges tabell, iiiij^d.
 — Wryt the taylor for the table of Sent George, vi^o viij^d.
 — M^r Warner, of London, in grastrer as apereth in a byll of his hande for iiij^{xx}. v^{li}. of olde brasse the som of after xxvijs c, xv^o viij^d.
 — of Thomas Harvey for sarten tymbar left of the rode lofte, xiiij^o.
 — Mr. Mustchampe golde smyth at the syne of the ryng with the rube in Lumbarde Strete for a gylt challys with a patent gylt waying xxiii oz. & a q^r at v^o iiiij^d. the ounce, som is vi^{li}. iiij^o.
 1560. 17. It^m paid to drane the glasyar for defacyng of the glass windows according the Quenes instruccions vj^d.
 1560. 17 It^m paid for glasyng the same agene & all other places amendyd, iiiij^{li}. vi^o viij^d.
 1573. 39. It^m the xxvijth of Maye, 1572, receyved for sundrye can-delsticks of latten, water payles & broken latten, wayinge lvij^{li}. at iij^d. the pounde, xiiij^o. iiij^d.

1577. 48. Sold to Eastoyn of London, pewterer, the brass falcon, weighing 2 cwt. 1 qr. 14 lb., at 26s. the cwt., £3 1s. 9d.

Goods Bought after the Reformatⁿ

1560. 17. P^d to Goodman Sandhurst, in Mousam, for a Byble, 19^o 4^d.
1560. 18. To Mr. Muschamp, in Lombard St., at the sygne of the ryng with the rube, for a coupe of gilt weighing 19 oz. 3 gr., 6^d 8^d the oz., som is £6 11s. 7d.
1565. 36. Mending of the hearse, 12d.
1560. 50. For the Communⁿ cup and cover, weighing 6 oz. 1 g^r, at 6^o 8^d the oz., 41^o 8^d.
1584. 63. This daye did Goodman Roberds set up a partition betweene the chaunsell & the south yelde, & for y^e laboure he fyndyng hymself meate & drinke, xviii^d.
1584. 70. Item the same daye for the iron work & nayles to hang y^e table of y^e Commandments of God over y^e Chauncell doore, iiii^d.
1587. 79. We set up two Lecternes yn the myddle part of the Church to laye on them the twoo Paraphrases of Erasmⁿ. The one upon the Gospells, And the other upon the Epistles. Tymothe made one of them newe for y^e w^h he had for the standerd: And all ij^u.
- It^m for the old one, xij^d.
1592. 105. M^d the lytle seat agaynst the Pewe where Mr. Wallinger setteth. Edward Makyn, gent., erecteth & maketh at his owne charge in ev^r respect for his own children to sytt in, & y^e children of those who shall sitt with Mr. Wallinger in that pewe.
1592. 107. Wheare at the prop coste & chardge of the porchians of Chelmesford undernamed there is lately erected within the same Church of Chelmesforde aforesaid, adjoyning unto the West End of the Chancesell of the same church two stooles for the placinge of the same persons, by reason whereof there is gayned more room in the said church & yeldes of the same for other of the said inhabitants to be the more conveniently placed. And wheareas there ar very small rents and profits in certenty w^h in the parishe aforesaid to be levied for & towards the repacons of the sayde church. It is by the motion of the sayde porchians undernamed, with y^e consent of y^e wardens of the sayde church, & other the porchians that y^e be ordered that yf any of the psons hereafter named shall decease, or shall remove there dwelling & abode out of this parrishe & not retourne thither agayne, by occasion whereof any of the roomes in the same two stooles shall come voyde, that then every such other porchian as by that occasion shalle by the consent of the survivors of the said psons undernamed, or the more p^t of them, & in the lyke sort of the successors of them, or of the more part of them called and chosen

there to the said place shall yelde & paye for & towards the repacons of the sayde churche syx shillings eightpence of good & lawefull mony of Englonde. Provided allwayes that yf any of the psons undernamed, or any there successors that shal be placed hereafter in the same stooles undr the chardge aforesayde shall decease, or remove there dwellinge out of the sayde parrishe, & shall leave any issue male of his boddie behynde hym, & such a one as shalbe a howseholder & inhabitant w^{thin} the pishe of Chelmsforde of honest condition & behavior then the same issue to be there placed any roome happeninge voyde w^{thout} any sucche or lyke children* before any pochynr. Any thing or matter before expressed to the contrary notwthstandinge. And whereas there are three severall pewes for women lately builte one the South side of the saide churche—viz., the first stoole at the chardge of John Reynolds, & of Thoms Wallinger, gent.; the seconde at the chardge of Wyddow Bridge & the Wyddowe Browne; the thirde at the chardge of John Pecke, gent., Robert Wood, & Rychard Longe. It is lykewise consented & agreed that yf the wiffe of any other pochian other than the wiffe of any the psons beforenamed, or the wiffe of any sonne of any the forenamed psons, or any wyddowe of the parishe shall hereafter be thought mete with y^e consent of y^e survivors of the wyves of the sayde psons before named, or widdowes, & there placed, & so successively, then the husbonde of every suche wiffe, & every such wyddowe hereafter to be placed, shall pay towards the repacons of the same church three shillings foure pence.

1593. 108. It^m y^e vijth f Septemb^r receyved of John Seman woollen drap. y^e fee agreed upon as ys recorded before for his seat in y^e church, vj^s. viij^d.
1608. 131. Pease bout for the Church, 3d.
1612. 143. For a large new Bible, 50s.
1609. 135. For a new sheet at the appointment of the Chancellor, for penance, 7s. 4d.
1632. 246. 4 Trenchers to set wine on at Communion.

Rates.

- 1557-8. 5. The quarter roule for the Clarkes wage, gathered upon the pisheoners of Chelmsford apd Mulsbam by Master Reynold, Master Will^m Myldmaye and Richard Maryon, Churchwardens, from Midsomer the yere of our Lorde God 1557, untill that day twelve monthes 1558, as here after ptikerlerly it may & doth appere.

Receytes.

[Here follow 132 names, mostly for 4 quarters, paying various sums, amounting to £9 13s. 3d.; Chelmsford 95, Moulsham 37. The highest Master Myldmay, 20^s., the lowest from Clark the cobbler, ob. (i.e. 1 farthing).]

* Qy. "Choosing," MS. indistinct.

- 1577-8-9. Receyved of sartain of the pessoners for one quarter rolle
 48. by the consent of sartayne of the pepple, xv^u. ix^d.
 1581. 52. It^m receyved of the Inhabitants of Chelmesford & Mulsham,
 for Xristmas, 1580, unto Xristmas, 1581, viz., for one
 whole yere for y^e reparacons of the Church of Chelmesford
 as by quarter rolle made of their ptikler names appereth
 by generall consente, x^u. xv^u. viij^d.

Apryll 14.

65. In pmis, the Churchwardens nowe beyng have receyved
 monye out of dyverse mens hands, part of y^t that
 remayned of the Collection for y^e Preacher. And the
 other part of y^e Remayne of the Surveyors of the hygh
 wayes off this parish of Chelmesforde to the S^m off
 xxxij^u. ij^d.

It^m of Wyll^m pamplyn for the use of the ground in the
 Churchyarde for one yeaere, due at Easter last past, viij^d.

Julye xiii.

It^m receyved of Wyll^m. Herrytch for breaking of the
 grownd in the Church for Mr. Steelman's grave, vi^u. viij^d.

S^m. 39^u. 6^d.

1619. 170. Receyved by the Rowle, v^u. iiij^u. ij^d.
 1609. 134. Received of the Pischoners of Chelmsford as by the rate
 rowle appeareth, xvi^u. iiij^u. vij^d.
 Received of the quarter roule of Chelmesford, the sum of
 v^u. iiij^u. viij^d.
 Received by the rate rowle in Moulsham, v^u. xiiij^u. viij^d.
 Received of the quarter roule in Moulsham
 1613. 148. By a rate made for the casting of the lead & repaying of
 the tymber work of the myddle roof of the Church,
 13^u. 12^u. 4^d.
 R^d of the Churchwarden of Moulsham towards the same, vi^u.
 r^d by our quarter rowle, v^u. 0^u. iiij^d, r^d of the Church-
 warden of Moulsham for there q^r rowle, £2.
 1630. 225. Of Mr. Bownd, which he received for bread & wine in the
 yeaere 1630, £4 15s.

*Twoo receipts to be put in of monye receyved off Communicatt
 & oblations betwene the 28 of Apryll & y^e last of Maye as
 followeth:—*

Apryll 28.

66. In pmis, Receyved of Jyggons for the nombr^e of xxij that
 dyd Co^municat this 28 of Apryll, iiij^u. viij^d.

Maye 19. Wytsondaye.

It^m for the number of xlix persons that dyd comunicat this
 daye, viij^u. vj^d.

Also for churchyng of wyves, iij^s.

Itm for one marryage, viij^d.

Sm. 15^s 6^d.

So y^e totall some of Receypts is 55^s.

1590. 100. I^t recayved of the inhabytants of Chelmysford from Whitsonne day 1589, untyll White sonne day 1590—viz., for one holle yere for the repracions of the Churche of Chelmsford, & for the Quenes magestes armes & for mony that was owing to dyvers of the pishe by the late Churchwardyns Rychard Batesonne & John Grene, as by a Rate made of there ptickler names aperyth by generall consent, lvij^s iij^d.

I^t receyved more of the Inhabytants of Chelmesford from Whitsonne Monday, 1590, for bread & wyne & other charges a bought the Church of Chelmsford untell 1591, & the pticler names as we have recayved the same mony of every man xxiij^s.

So our hole recayts is vij^{li} xviij^s vij^d.

1592. 104. It^m recyved of thinhabitants of Chelmesforde by a rate levved for the repacons of the Bells there the first daie of Maye, 1592, xxxiiij^s x^d.

It^m recyved of thinhabitants of Chelmesforde by a rate made for the charge of breads and wine for the comunyon pmo die Aprilis, 1593, xl^s xj^d.

It^m received of the Inhabytants of Chelmisforde & Moulshā from the feast of S^t John the Baptist, 1593, unto the feast agayne of S^t John the Baptist, 1594—viz., for one hole yere for the reparacions of the Church of Chelmisforde, as by o^r Quarter Rolle made of there ptycaler names appeareth by genrall consent, iij^{li} xviij^s.

1601. 120. Received of John Field, of y^e rate towarde y^e Churche walle, x^s.

Of y^e parishioners of Chelmisford & Molsom for bread & wine for y^e holy comunions at Easter last, 1602, y^e some of xlvii^s.

Received in Chelmisford by y^e q^r rowle for one year & a half, ending at y^e annuntiation, 1602, v^{li} ix^s v^d.

Received in Molsom for y^e q^r roule for one yeare & a halfe, ending at y^e annuntiation, 1602, xxxiiij^s.

1605. The quarter rowle renewed to begyn f^m our Lady day, 1605, for y^e repacons of the church & the same yere gathered by Edward Bigland & Richard Ffreeman, wardens of the same Church, as foloweth.

1608. 133. The Quarter roll for Chelmesferd, for the Church, for one whole year, doe amount to v^{li} x^s jd^s.
& y Quarter roll for Moulsham, xxviiij^s viij^d.

Note—The inhabitants and landholders are rated separately, see p. 239.

1632. 241. Of Mr. Bownd, for everye Communicant at Easter, one pennye.
In the whole £4 13s. 10d.
1632. 251. To Mr. Bownd for takeing all the names of the Parishoners
from 16 yeares & upwards of age & mending some seates,
2s. 0d.
- 1635 278. Received of Mr. Bownd for the Easter Communicants,
£5 17s. 0d.
1637. 291. Receyved 19s. 3d., to be distributed as need shall be, to
poor folk not within the-collections.

Briefs.

1502. 59. We the Churchwardens gathered for the great losse of
" fyre" (or by fyer) at Portsmouth, vjth. ij^d.
1584. 62. J Myles Blomefylde & John Stuck, Churchwardens, ded
gather in the Church for xv Englyshmen in pryson in the
Turks dominion and must paye for theyr rawnsome 900^{li}.
or y^e be released. Likewyse goodman Stuck & I gathered
agen of those that had not payd the last Sondaye to the
releasyng of our countryemen in Turkye. In all we
gathered viijth. viij^d. ob.
1615. 157. Collected for a Greatian who was taken captyve by the Turks
& his wyfe and 5 sons to be ransomed for 3 thousand
crownes, 10s. 6d.
- Collected toward the buylding of a steeple & new bells in
the pish of St. Gyles, in the county of mydle sexe, 9s. 2½d.
1616. 160. A breefe for Virginia, the 12th of deseñ, £1 13s. 3d.
A breefe colected the 15th of Januarie, for Abbertab, a
Greeke, 19s. 11d.
1617. 163. Collected for John Milles, of Damascus, a poore Gretian,
iiijth. ij^d.
For a Gretian merchant, ixth. iiij^d.
- 1633-4. For the distressed Ministers, Decemb. 22th, & delevered unto
274. Doctor Michaelson, £4 13s. 6d.
- Moneys collected in our parish towards the reparation of St.
Pauls Church, London, and payd unto Docto^r Aylett the
same time.

[Note—Here follow 17 names, giving in all] 17s.

1635. 275. Collected for the Palatinate, iiijth. xixth. vj^d.
1661. 369. Collected for the rebuilding of y^e Church of Rippon, in
Yorkshire, which was blowne downe by a great wind the
8th of December last, collected 15s. 9d.
- Collected for John de Kraino Krainsky, Minister & deputy
of y^e Nation^l Synod of y^e Protestant Churches in the
Dukedom of Lithuania, being oppressed by the Moscovites,
Tartars & Swedes, 11s. 9d.
- Collected for Philip Dandulo, a tirke, towards his reliefe, 8s.
- Collected for the promotion of y^e fishing trade, £3 5s.

1662. 380. Collected upon a briefe towards the repairinge & makinge good the harbour of the town of Meeching, *alias* Newhaven, in the county of Sussex, the whole charge beinge estimated at £4,000 the least, the sum of 13s.
1663. 381. Thomas Styles, D.D., being a captive under the Turks, gave 1s.
1669. 408. Collected y^e breife for y^e slaves in Turkey, 17s. 3d.

Burials.

1582. 60. Mr. Thomas Howlet, personne of Chelmesforde, departed owt off thys miserable lyfe the 26 daye of Apryll, beyng Frydaye, betwene 8 & 9 in the mornying.
And was buried the 27 daye off Apryll, at after noone, at whose funerall one Mr. Chapman preached.

Sexton's fees.

1614. 152. Ffor a buriall wthout a coffyn in y^e churchyard, viij^d.
Yf the p^{te} be not above 12 yearse ould, then vj^d.
The passinge bell for any tollinge, iiij^d.
& if he ringe out while he ys knellinge, iiij^d.
For a Buriall in the church yard wth a coffyn, ij^s.
Yf the ptie hathe not receyved, xij^d.
& yf the ptie hath receyved & be buried in a Cofyn in ye churchyard, ij^s.
& yf the ptie be buried in y church, & in a coffyn, for ye grave, ij^s. iv^d.
For a duple knell, xx^d.
The sextens fee q^{terly}
& for the hearse, ij^d.
1622. 178. Given to bury Launce dying of the sickness, 1s.
1625. 194. Payed unto Astine Brabrooke for a coffin to cary the dead of the plague to burieing, xij^s.
Payed unto Ned Andrews for burieing 6 of the plague, iiij^s.

In Inbentorpe of all the Goods belonging to the Church.

1632. 246. It^m. two hersees with covers, and a coffyne herse with a cover.
1634. 273. Given to Mr. Bound for sundry times takeing paines to tender buriall of the dead corps w^h were brought throw the town to be buried at other places who payd the old accustomed fee of 5s. 0d., 6s. 8d.
Given Howlate for ringing the bell at those times, 2s. 0d.

Harness, &c., in Church.

1557. 4. Item for half a hundred of nayles to hange on the harness in the chamber on y^e vestrye, 2d.

1582. 62. Upon the vestrye chamber was bestowed & layde 28 corseletts of harneys & head pesys untill the chamber over the porch be prepared with glasyng & crosses to hang y^e harneys on, &c.

Imprimis, to the goodman Drane of Wryttle for glasyng & repayryng all the 5 panes of glasse of the wyndowe over the porch on w^{ch} chamber the harness is bestowed for Chelmesford hundred, for newe glasse & amending y^e rest, viij^d. iiij^d.

1607. 135. For hoping the gunpowder barrells, vj^d.

In "The Inventory of the Goods belonging to the Church."

1615. 156. One ould carpet lying in the Vestry over the gunpowder.

In the Vestrey Chamb^r.

1625. 197. The 3^d day of Septemb^r, 1625, was taken out of the chamber in the vestry of Chelmesford by vertue of a warrant from the Right Honorable the L: Maynard, S^r Francis Barrington, Knight Baronett, Sir John Drane, Knight, & Will^m Smythe, Esq^r, directed unto Mr. Ambrose Aylett, one of the High Constables of the Hundreth of Chelmesforde, and carried unto Harwitch in Essex, viz.—

Tenn Barrells of Gunnpowder.

Fower Barrells of Matches.

Fower Barrells of Bulletts.

Left still remayning in the Chamber :

Eight barrells of gunnpowder.

three barrells of bullets.

three barrells of matches.

One firkin of matches.

Two baggs of matches.

Two fardells of matches the one lesser than the other.

251. To M^r. Thomas Tatem for timber to put under the barrells of Matches, 4s. 0d.

Miracle Plays.

(From Inventory of the Goods remaynyng in the Church.)

Garments.

1562. 20. Ffyrst iiij gownes of red velvet.
It^m a longe gowne of blew velvet.
It^m a short gowne of blew velvet.
It^m a gown of blew velvet.
It^m ij gownes of red satten.
It^m a gowne of borders.
It^m a gowne of clothe of tyssew.
It^m a jyrkyn of blew velvet wth sleeves.

It^m a jyrkyn of Borders wthout sleeves.
 It^m viij jyrkyns w^{thout} sleeves.
 It^m ij vyces coates and ij skalpes, ij daggers.
 It^m v prophets cappes.
 It^m vj capes of furre & one of velvet.
 It^m iij jyrkyns, iij sloppes for devils.
 It^m iiij shepe hokes, iiij whyppes.
 It^m a red gowne of sage.
 It^m xxiiij Bredes, xxj hares.
 It^m a jorret of blew velvet wth borders.
 It^m a mantell of red bawdkin.
 It^m iij jeekes of red bawdekyn wth sleeves.

1562. 22. In pmis paid unto the mynstrells for the Show day & for the Play daye, xx[•]

It^m paid unto Burtonwoode for ther meat & drinke, x[•]
 It^m paid unto the Trumpetur for his paynes, x[•]
 It^m paid unto Burtonwood for meate & drynke for the Drume player, the fluet plaier & Trompeter, xvij^d.
 It^m p^d unto the Fluete plaier for his paynes, iij[•] iiij^d.
 It^m paid unto M^r Beadilles man for playeing on y^e Drome, v[•].

S^m. x^{li} xviiij[•] viij^d.

It^m paid unto Will^m. Hervet for makinge the vices coote & jorret of borders, & a jerken of borders, xv[•]
 It^m paid to the cowp for xiiij hoopes, ij[•] ij^d.
 It^m p^d to Xrofer for writtinge seven partes, ij[•]
 It^m p^d to John Lokyer for makynge of iiij shephoks, and for iron work that Burle occupied for the hell, iiij[•].
 It^m p^d to Rob^t. Mattheuwe for a pair of wambes, (?) xvj^d.
 It^m p^d to Burles for fixinge the playe, liii[•] iiij^d.
 It^m p^d unto Lawrence for watchinge in the Churche when the Temple was a drying, iiij^d.
 It^m bowstrenge, ij^d.
 It^m for the Mynstrells sooper a Saterdag at nyght, ij[•].
 It^m for ther breakfaste on Sunday mornynge, ij[•].
 It^m for ther dynners on Sondaye, ij[•].
 It^m for ther soper on Sunday, ij[•].
 It^m for ther brekfaste on Mondaye, ij[•].
 It^m for ther dynners on Mondaye, ij[•].

1562. 23. It^m for ther dynners that kepte the Scaffolde on Sondaye, iiij[•] iiij^d.

For their sowppers that watched the scaffold on Sunday at nyght, xvi^d.
 For drink on the scaffold on Mondaye, xij^d.

- It^m paid to Mr. Browne for the Waights of Bristowe, and for meats drink & horsemeate, *iiij^s. viij^d.*
- It^m paid unto the mynstrells for two daies, *xx^s.*
- It^m paid unto Will^m Richardes for makinge of two gownes & four jerkens, *vi^s. viij^d.*
- It^m paid unto Burles for fixinge (?) the laste playe, & for makynge of the conysants, *xlij^s.*
1562. 24. It^m paid unto the mynstrells for the showe day and for the playe daye, *xxxij^s. iiij^d.*
- It^m unto Andrewe for heres & beardes borrowed of hym, *iiij^s.*
- It^m to Will^m Withers for makinge the frame for the heaven-stage & tymber for the same, *x^s.*
1562. 25. It^m to John Wright for makynge a cottle of lether for Christe, *xvj^d.*
- It^m for ij^u asshendence for the thirde playe, *v^s. iiij^d.*
- It^m for one doz. Spanyshe whighte, *vj^d.*
- It^m for vj doz. golde foile, *iiij^s. vj^d.*
- It^m for fyftie fadame of lyne for the clowdes, *xij^d.*
- It^m for one doz. grene foile, *xij^d.*
- It^m for tenne men to beare the pageante, *ij^s. vj^d.*
- To Roistone for payntenge the Jeiants, the pajeaunte & writtinge the plaiers names, *vij^s.*
- It^m for read wyne, vineg^r & possett, *iiij^d.*
1563. 26. Recayved of Coulchester men for our garments for the use of there playe, *liij^s. iiij^d.*
- Recayved of men of Waldyne for the here of three gounes, *x^s.*
- Recayved of Belyreca for the here of our garments, *xxvj^s. viij^d.*
- Recayved of men of Coulchester for here of our garments for ij tymes, *liij^s. iiij^d.*
- Recayved of Belyreca men for the here of our garments, *xx^s.*
- Recayved of men of Starford for the here of our garments, *iiij^u. vj^s. viij^d.*
- Recayved of children of Badow for the here of our garments, *vj^s. viij^d.*
- Recayved Lytell Badow men for the here of our garments, *xxvj^s. viij^d.*
1565. 27. Recayved of John Seman costable upon his collection gathered of the pishe for the repracion of the glass windowes of the church, *vij^u.*
- Recayved of the good man Seekes costable of Moufsome for the same use, *xxxvij^s. x^d.*
1565. 34. R^d of Sabsfordemen for the hier of the players garmentes, *xij^s. iiij^d.*
- R^d of Casse of Boreh^m for the hier of the players garmentes, *xxvj^s. viij^d.*

1565. 35. Rec^d of Somers of Lanehñe for the hier of the players garments, xxvj^o viij^d.
 Rec^d of Barnaby Riche of Withñ for the hyer of the players garments, xxvj^o viij^d.
 Rec of Will^m Mounteyne of Colchester for the hyer of the players garm^ts, xiiij^o iiij^d.
 R of Mr. Johnson of Brentwoode for the hyer of the players garments the xth of december, x^o.
1570. 36. It^m R of Parker of Writtel for ȝ players aprill, viij^o.
 It^m R more of Earle of Susex players for the heare of the players garments, xxvj^o viij^d.
 Rceyved of John Walker of Hanfield for the heier of the players garments, v^o.
1573. 39. It^m receyved of Cape of Borehā the Eight of June for the hyer of sundry players garments miglemas next, x^o.
1576. 41. Item soulde unto George Studlye & others
 All the copes, vistmaments, subdeacons, player's coats, jerkins, gownes, heares, cappes, berds, jornetts, mantells, & capes mentioned in y^e inventorye of the last Churchwardens by the consent of divers of the parishoners, as by A byll under their hands apereth to the use of the mayntenance of the Church for vj^o xiiij^o iiij^d.
1576. 43. The same daye paide to Drane for mendinge of x broken holes in the church windowes, w^h was done at the late playe, viiiij^d.

[Note.—There are many items of charge for expenses incurred in exhibiting the “playe” at Braintree and Maldon.]

THE DUNMOW PARISH ACCOUNTS.

BY LEWIS A. MAJENDIE.

I PERHAPS owe to the meeting some apology for bringing forward a paper on a subject very similar to that of the paper read by Archdeacon Mildmay at the last annual meeting. But, though his paper treated of the ancient parish accounts of Chelmsford, it seemed to me that the Dunmow accounts, to which I have had access, were in some respects more curious, bearing as they do upon very many subjects of interest, which, to the best of my recollection, do not appear in the Chelmsford books; and, even if this were not so, I should wish to bring the Dunmow accounts before you, in the hope that the value and interest of ancient parish accounts may attract more notice than they have hitherto received, and that others may be induced to dive into the old chests, which are to be found in most vestries, and in which lies hid antiquarian matter of much interest, and not a little information which will throw much light on Local, and I may indeed say, National History.

The account book which I have examined dates from the year 1526—from that year to the beginning of the reign of Elizabeth the accounts are kept with great accuracy, and it is from this period that I have taken all the extracts which I am about to lay before you—in them will be found, that which has seemed to me of the highest interest, many illustrations of the changes of that most eventful period of our Church History—the period of the Reformation. For instance, at the end of the reign of Henry VIII. we find that some of the Church plate and ornaments were sold—and that altogether less attention is paid to the external, or, if I may so say, the ornamental part of the service.

In the reign of Edward VI. a more decided change follows, for the Dunmow people pull down the "Rode" and remove the High Altar which is replaced by a "Communion table" (a name which now appears for the first time), and the Psalter fills the place in the accounts of an "Antiphony."

The commencement of Queen Mary's reign, however, is marked by the re-building of the High Altar (at the cost of 11s. 4d.) the restoration of the "Rode with the appurtenances," and the re-appearance in the accounts of various charges for the Rode and other lights, and of expenses which are not to be found in the preceding reign.

But the reign of Elizabeth brings another and a final change, for the Altar is again pulled down, and the Rode burnt, the paintings "where the Rode stood" are "put out." The Holy Water stoups are filled up, and (a most decided change for the worse) the Church receives its first coat of whitewash.

In each year I have found an account of the "May Feast" and the play on Corpus Christi day, which seems to have included a most substantial feast. It was attended by the people of some twelve neighbouring parishes, who in return for their amusement made such large contributions towards the expenses, as, after all charges paid, left a respectable balance towards the general expenses of the Dunmow churchwardens. The charges for meat and cooking at these feasts should be noticed, as interesting examples of the price of food and value of money in those times.

I must not forget to call attention to the account of the expense of building the Church tower, of providing the bells and of purchasing the organ, with which the book begins. It is of value not only as fixing the date of the Tower (a good specimen of late Perpendicular work), but as illustrating the price of labour and the cost of building.

The accounts in this book begin, as I have said, with the year 1526, they end in 1621. The later books are almost entirely devoid of interest—though, about a century back, appears an annual charge which would not be borne very patiently by ratepayers now-a-days—a payment for killing foxes.

Of the book itself in which the accounts are kept there is but little to say. The cover, which is of leather, would seem to have originally been the cover of some service book, if we may judge by the inscription "Jesus Maria" which appears upon it in embossed letters.

The accuracy and minuteness with which the accounts are kept are not a little remarkable—each expense is most carefully described, and so accurately are the receipts entered that, whenever a collection was made in the Church for any purpose, not only is the sum collected to be found, but a record is kept of the names of the contributors and of the sum given by each.

Receipts.

The first entry is the money "Resayvyd of the perrysche to the makyng off the stepyll" (Tower).

	s.	d.
Robert Sturtin, "Sumtyme Vycar of a late tyme," gave	..	5
"Mayster Vicar that now ys"	6 8
the "Cherche Clerke"	8

Most of the subscriptions seem not to have exceeded twenty pence, though Thomas Savage, the Churchwarden, gives £3 6s. 8d.

The trades and condition of the contributors are mentioned, as "John Kyng, habbardashar," "Richard Parca, butcher," "William Tayler, glover."

Among the receipts, at other times, appear:—

	s.	d.
"Att ye plow fest in ye towne	14 0
"Off Nycolas Pear of dansynge mony"	3 4
"Off may mony the hole sum	28 4
"Att Corpus Xti fest	23 0
Of my Lady Gatys for waste of the torchys	12
Rd on "Allhalows daye" gathered in the "Cherche"	10 11
Gathered at the Cherche for parte of the Cherche fence	..	3 5

At each May and Corpus Christi Feast contributions were made by the people of the following parishes, at the rate of from six to three shillings the parish:—

"Hyghe Ester, hyghe Roding, Myche (Great) Canfyld, Dunmow Pryry (Little Dunmow), Stebbyng, lyttell Canfyld, lyttell Easton (Easton), Lyndsell, Myche Easton, Barnston."

The collection in one year amounted to £4 3s. 5d., while the expenses were but 32s. 3d.

Rd at Christmas of the "Lorde of Mysrule"	s.	d.
	83	10
Money that was gathered in the Church on Hallowmas night ..	11	

Collections were made at various times for the organ, the great bell clapper, and for the great latten candlestick. And money was received of the "Wardens of St. Saviour's Gylde" towards "makyng of the newe Cherche dore and for bying of the tabernakyl."

In the 38th HEN. VIII. (1546)

				£	s.	d.
Some latten was sold for .. ..	..	..	..	..	34	0
the tabernacle of our Lady for .. ..	..	..	..	..	5	0
the Church plate "first sold" .. ..	..	..	..	..	8	6
the Church plate again sold .. ..	..	..	..	..	14	2

1st ELIZ. :—

Rd for 2 "chalyces of gold" waying 32 oz. and $\frac{1}{4}$ at						
4s. 4d. the oz. .. ..	..	..	..	..	6	15

15th ELIZ.—All the vestments were sold—and all the ornaments left in "John Clark his hands," and a cross and an old coffer.

From this time the accounts are less minute and almost without interest. The receipts and expenses were small, averaging under £5. The chief items of expense seem to have been small repairs, the expenses of visitations and the provision of bread and wine for the Holy Communion.

In the middle of the reign of Elizabeth appears a resolution of vestry to the effect that, whereas the Church rents were no longer sufficient to provide bread and wine for the Holy Communion, a collection of "Pascall pence," viz., one penny from each communicant, should be made at Easter for that purpose.

The Corpus Xti plays seem to have ended with the year 1546.

Extracts from the Payments from 1526 onwards :—

"Layde oute for ye Cherche."

for 4 "galuns oyle for ye lampes" .. ..	..	..	..	s.	d.
				5	4
for 3 lamp glasses price .. ..	..	..	..	..	3
to John Bykner for "strykynge ye Rode lyghte" .. ..	..	..	..	..	13
for "strykynge of ye lighte befor oure Ladye att ye hy altar					
and ye light on ye basun" .. ..	..	..	..	..	7

	s.	d.
pd to John Turner for "mendinge off ye ledys (leads) in dyvers plasys (places) and for ye longe spowte on ye stepyll" ..	5	7
for ——— of an albe with new cloth		6
for "parte of ye makynge of ye closett for ye Rode" ..	2	0
for mending the bells on "Allhalows Evyn"		8
for mending the stoles—and "of ye hutches" (? chests) for which last boards and nails and iron work were bought ..		7
to ——— Burle "in earnest of ye gyldynge of our Ladye" ..		20
for 22 lbs wax for the Rode light	12	10
to ——— for making 3 "new steppes in ye vyce" (? way to) of ye Rode lofte		10
for 18 "rynges for the vayle and settinge on"		3
for a pole to hange the "basun on beffor our Ladye of Bethlem"		3
for a "pascall lyne and for pyns and nayles for the sepolt" ..		2
for a new key for the "stepyll dore"		4
to Richard Storyar for paving in the Church and for mending a hole in the font		10
for the rest of the gilding of our Lady's tabernacle and all "ye yrynwarke (ironwork) yt belongs yr to (thereto) ..	12	4
for "curten rynges" for ye same "tabarnakyll"		4

Layde out for the "Stepyll."

for 2 tons of stone with the carrying and all other costs and charges	26	8
pd to John Atkyns for 8 days "warke and halfe to fell ye scaffalde tymber and to gather roddys (rods) for to make ye hardylls (hurdles) with dyvers other things" ..	2	10
for 2 days work of Henry Long and his cart to get home timber for the "scaffalde" and the "bryk from Ayston" ..	3	3
for their borde (board) these 2 days		8
to Thomas Savage "for 15 dayes warke to purvay such stuff as ye workmen sd nede and to sett them a warke and helpe to stage"	5	0
to the same Thomas for 2 days worke to Camzege (? Cambridge) and Dytton to seke for ye stone—hys costs for hys horse and hymselfe	2	0
for goyng to Haddam to speke for the lyme		4
for goyng 2 tymys to Thaxted for Buttoll to "amade" ye stagyng because he was expert in the makynge		4
for a lode of lyme from Haddam pryce	8	0
for 5 "bosshells of lyme sett at Haddam with ye costs" ..		13
for 15 bushells of Shelford lime		18
for the nails to John Brower of "Tayclay" (Takeley) ..	2	9
for "2 ropys to wind up ye tymber and stone," pryce ..	3	5
to "Robarte Kelynge for 22 dayes warke to make ye stagyng besyd mete and drynke"—(6d. a day)	11	0

	£	s.	d.
to Thomas Dygby for 4 days work to make the "Hardells for the stagynge" .. .. .	..	..	19
for mete and drynk when we went to chose the okys ..	..	..	4
to John Smethe for ye scaffalde tymber	2	5	
to — & — for to helpe to make the wynlas .. .. .	..	..	3
to John Maryon, for "won dayes warke to helpe make shorys for ye vyce" .. .. .	..	..	6
pd for brykk	3	8	
pd to John Smethe for carrying stone from Dytton	4	8	
for carrying off sande and scaffalde tymber	3	4	
pd "to ye masun for makynge of ye stepyll"	8	7	6
pd to Charles Kynwelmerche for 12 okys and for hardyll rodys ..	18	0	
for fellynge 16 okys	2	4	
for fellynge 8 okys in ye downe crofte .. .. .	..	..	10
to Thomas Wyatt for takynge down the old bell frame	5	0	

In the next appear various charges for the 4 bells.

for 13lbs. wax for the Rode lyght	6	8	
for oyle for ye lampe, the hole was 5 galuns, price	6	8	
for 2½lbs. "whyght sope for to washe the —" .. .. .	..	..	4
for pynnes and nayles for the canape and for the sepolt .. .. .	..	..	4
for mendynge of ye organ belys (bellows) .. .. .	..	..	2
for settynge on of ye barrell to make the clokk to go .. .. .	..	..	2
for mending the Sancte bell .. .. .	..	..	2
for 2 "skeyns" of white thread for the copes .. .. .	..	..	2
for lyne and packthrede and whepcorde when we made the pagents on Corpus Xti daye .. .. .	..	..	4
for hornynge the cherche lantern .. .. .	..	..	8
for a piece of leather for "bawdricks" .. .. .	..	..	7
to ——— for mendynge of ye glass windows in the new chapel and in other "placys of the Cherche"	2	4	
for washing the "Cherche gers" for 3 years	6	8	
for 2 shovels and a mattack for the Cherche .. .. .	..	..	12
to the bell founder in ernest of the bargain	3	4	

Charges appear for various journeys to London to see the bell founder, and to choose the bells.

	£	s.	d.
the carriage of the bells from London cost .. .. .	..	..	22
for making a new floor and a new bell frame, and new wheels, &c.	6	12	4
for makynge of a harness for a bell and for mending much of the old iron .. .. .	..	..	7 6
pd for ale at Hallowmas for the ringers .. .. .	..	..	7

	s	d.
for 13 ells of Hollan cloth at 7d. the ell, and 15 ells of "whytyd Normandy (?) " at 6d. the ell, of which cloth we made 3 surplyces and 6 Rochetes, cost	3	3
for mending the old surplysses and Rochetes		1

1530.

for "mendinge of Syr John's surplys"		2
to the organ maker in party of payment		15
spent when — & — went to see the organs		18
pd the organ maker when they came home	6	9 8
bringing home the new organs	2	3

In 1533 appears an account for new battlements.

5 busheles of cole for the goldsmith who did gyld the cross and mend ye sylver plate		5
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30th HENRY VIII. (1538).

pd for the sylver pax	29	4
pd for a pair of great latten candlesticks	26	8

Expenses of the Maye Feast.

pd to Reynolds the butcher for mete	15
to ——— for a calf	2 0
to ——— for a quarter of mutton	16
to ——— for halfe a shepe	12
to ——— for halfe a calf	11
to John the Cook	6
to Mother Watt for salt and honey	7
to ——— for brewing	6
for wood	6
for turning the spytt	1
to the mynstrells all that day.. ..	6

Expenses of the Corpus Xii Feast.

for a lode of wood	8
to Haywarde the Cook	8
to John Savon for 2 calves	4 3
to ——— for 2 shepe	3 4
to ——— for 1 shepe	20
for honey	5
for salt	1
to Mother Watts for bakyng	3
to Mother Keens for brewing	4

F 2

						£	s.	d.
to the Mynstrells	..	..	..	..	..			8
to Aver of Chelmsford for players garments and carrying the same	..	..	..	..	..	2	0	
to our players	..	..	..	..	..	6	8	

23rd HENRY VIII., 1539.

pd to the stathemer for 5 weeks work correctyng and byndyng the antiphony after 8d the day	..	..	..	..	20	0	
to 2 buttons and claspes for the sayde book	..	..	..	..		11	
for a calves skyn	..	..	..	..		16	
for purchasyng the sd. book	..	..	..	..	5	0	
pd to Mother Wost for scouring the great latten lettren and standards and small candlesticks	..	..	..	..		22	
for mendyng an albe and for clothe that went thereto	..	..	..	..		4	
for mendyng the lyttell hand bell..	..	..	..	..		8	
pd for 4 staves for the canape	..	..	..	..		13	
for gyldyng the same	..	..	..	..	2	0	
pd to Hatfield Peverell for keypyng an obbett (obit) that was due ye last cownte	..	..	..	..		12	

temp. ED. VI.

to the Communion tabyll	..	..	..	..	12	0	
for takyng down of the altars and carrying away the rubbish	..	..	..	..	3	0	
pd for half the paraphrasys	..	..	..	..	5	0	
for the Communion book	..	..	..	..	2	0	
for 3 Saltyr (Psalter) books	..	..	..	..	6	0	
for drynke at the pullynge down the Rode..	..	..	..	..		4	

temp. MARY.

The makyng of the High Altar	..	..	..	..	11	2	
The makyng of ye Rode w. the appurtenances (iron work, scaffalde timber, &c.)	..	..	..	..	3	10	8
for a book of the Artycles to the Byshop	..	..	..	..		4	

An antiphony is bought, and the expenses of the Rode and other lights reappear.

temp. ELIZABETH.

						s.	d.
pd at the Visitation for dinners, 2nd Sept.	..	..	..	..	1	6	
pd to John Kerns for helping down the altar	..	..	..	..		6	
spent at the burning of the Rood	..	..	..	..	2	0	
pd. for bread and wine at Easter in the first year of our Sovereign Lady Q. Elizabeth	..	..	..	..	7	0	
pd at the Visitation kept for the Archdeacon, 1552	..	..	..	..		12	

	s.	d.
for taking down the 2 altars, and for paving	2	2
for making our bill when Dr. Horne visited		12
for the Articles and the confession, and for our dinner when the Bishop sat here	3	3
for mending the spring wheels, and for a new fly for the clock	2	0
for a book of the Articles that was given in charge at the Visita- tion kept for the Archdeacon, June, 1560		6
pd Symon Blyth for mending the glass windows in the Church and the great window in the chancell	15	4
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for 3 locks for the "Registre Coffe," and for the poor mans hutch		12
for oiling and mending the clock wheel		4

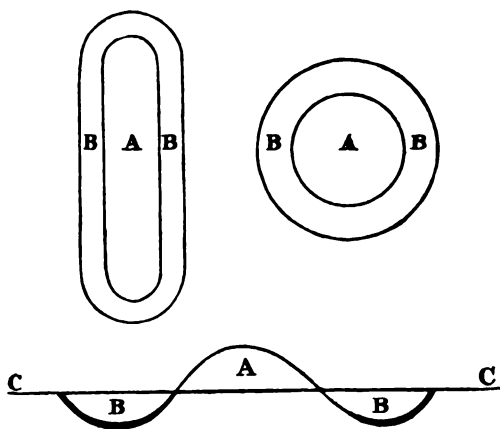
DISCOVERY OF BRITISH AND ROMAN REMAINS AT N. OCKENDEN AND WHITE NOTLEY.

In the Spring of 1858, a number of labourers were employed in trenching some fields belonging to Holme Farm, forming part of a large tract of land called "Bulphan Fen," and situated about a mile-and-a-half west of the village of North Ockenden. In the course of their operations they found a number of beds of dark soil, in which were a large quantity of bones, supposed at first to be human, together with fragments of pottery and pieces of charcoal. It was the general belief among the workmen that the field had been the scene of some great battle, a belief supported by some local traditions. One thing seems certain, that it is the site of a Roman or Early British Burial Ground, extending over a space of about sixteen acres; but whether it marks the battle field of one of those many great struggles which took place in this county between the Britons and Romans, or whether it denotes the peaceful cemetery of a Roman Station, it is perhaps not very easy to determine. The little evidence, however, which the plough and the harrow have left remaining, seems in favour of the latter. The regular and almost equi-distant arrangement of the lines of dark soil in many parts, and the many fragments of cinerary urns found in nearly all of them, seem to indicate rather the orderly interment of a cemetery, than the more hasty burial of a battle-field; but this is by no means conclusive.

The graves are at once discernible from the surrounding soil, the natural soil being a yellow clay, whilst the earth of the graves is nearly black. It is impossible, with any accuracy, to trace the exact forms of the graves, some appear to be circular, and to vary in size from 10 to 40 feet in circumference, others appear to be of an oblong form; one grave is much larger than the rest, and is of about 60 feet in length and 20 in width. There are doubtless more of these graves in the bordering fields. It is worthy of note that a neighbouring meadow is

called the *Church Field*, and a portion of the land on which these discoveries were made is still called *Ruin Field*. Both these names, probably, have reference to the formerly uneven surface of the ground, caused by a great number of burial mounds. The fragments of Pottery vary much in their character, some being of the very rudest workmanship, whilst others have been more carefully manufactured; and a few small pieces of Samian Ware were found; * mingled with them, were the bones of different animals—the horse, the deer, the boar, &c., but no human bones; much of the earth, stones, and pieces of wood bear evident marks of the action of fire; beyond these there was nothing found, except a portion of a flint arrow-head and a part of a hand mill stone. Not a single coin or piece of metal was discovered. The circumstances that all the fragments of pottery, and nearly all the bones of animals, are broken up into small pieces lying equally at the bottom as at the top of the dark soil, and that the graves are about three feet deep, narrow at the bottom and widening to the surface, lead me to think that the present graves are only the *trenches* of the original *barrows*, but that the field has been gradually levelled for agricultural purposes, and that the plough and the spade have in process of time filled up the original *trenches* with the soil, urns, bones, &c., of the burial *mound*.

The accompanying rough diagrams will explain this theory to the eye. In



the upper diagram, (A) represents the mound of a barrow and (B) the trench about it in their undisturbed condition. The lower diagram shews the mode in which the present appearances may have been produced, viz., by the earth, urns, &c., of

* These fragments bear the stamp of both Early British and Roman manufacture, and might lead to the conjecture that the new masters of the soil appropriated to their own use the burial place of the conquered people.

the original mound (A) being used to fill up the original trench (B), so producing the present surface (C) with its present "graves."

WALTER FIELD, M.A.

In November of the year 1854, whilst making a ditch on a farm called "Fambridge," the property of Mr. A. Barnard, in the parishes of Cressing and White Notley, the labourers cut across a narrow slip of clay mixed with charcoal, in which were portions of bone and numerous fragments of pottery. The pottery appeared clearly to consist of fragments of Roman urns, which had been disturbed since they were deposited. A basket full of the fragments and bones was reserved for examination. On washing and comparing them, portions of at least nine, perhaps of ten or eleven, urns were found.

No. 1 is half the rim of a vessel of red colour, about one foot in diameter; No. 2, of a dark red ware, is represented in the accompanying wood cut; No. 3 of a clean red ware scored inside, as if a blunt instrument had been drawn across it in parallel lines; No. 4 is like the above, only that it is blackened inside, whilst No. 3 is of a clear red. The bottom of a 5th of smooth black ware. The rims of a 6th and



7th. Some fragments of an 8th of a porous dark ware. Several other fragments, making nine at least, and probably ten or eleven, different vessels.

These may be the remains of only one sepulchral deposit which has been since disturbed, but more probably of several deposits. The bones were sent to an anatomist, who pronounced one to be the tooth of a horse, the others to be human bones.

Near the same farm house, on the slope of a hill, running down to a brook, is a field called in the old parish map "Camp Field," it was until within fourteen or fifteen years the only square field on the farm. In April, 1851, while stubbing for gravel in this field, the labourers came upon a layer of burnt stones (flints) in the form

of a crescent, upon which was a layer composed apparently of charcoal and burnt bones, two inches thick, covered by another layer of burnt stones, and then by the soil. At one point of the crescent were found two urns, one within the other, both filled with a partly white substance. The urns are of very rude workmanship, apparently not turned on the lathe, and very imperfectly burnt; in shape and character they resemble the pattern which antiquaries declare to be of British fabrication.

The "Crescent" is probably a portion of a circle, the base of a funeral pile; and it is not unlikely that a tumulus of earth or small stones has been raised over this circle; the urns containing the ashes being deposited, as is sometimes the case, at the outer edge of the tumulus.

STATEMENT OF ACCOUNTS OF THE ESSEX ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY FOR THE GENERAL MEETING, AUGUST 7TH, 1862.

Receipts.

	£	s.	d.
Aug., 1861.	84	14	8
Dec. 31, 1861.	67	8	0
"	3	3	2
"	3	10	8
"	96	6	1
Aug., 1862.	41	5	0
Balance in hand			
Annual Subscriptions, including Arrears, } and one Life Composition of £5 }			
One year's Interest on Stock			
" Transactions" sold			
Stock £105 10s. 10d. Reduced 3 per } Cents., sold at 91½, realized			
Special Subscription for purchase of } Acton Collection of Antiquities }			

£296 7 7

(Signed)

Payments.

	£	s.	d.
Aug 15, 1861.	1	1	6
1862.	2	1	0
Expenses of Meeting at Chelmsford			
Dr. Duncan, for Sundries			
Mr. J. Taylor, for Excavating			
Mr. C. Austin, lithographer			
Rev. E. L. Cutts, Journeys to Bury			
Mr. London, packing Acton Antiquities			
E. C. Railway, carriage of ditto			
Mrs. Acton, for Antiquities			
Expenses selling Stock, viz., Power of } Attorney £1 1s. 6d., and Broker's }			
Commission 2s. 6d.			
Mr. Benham, stationery			
Mr. Burrell, stationery			
Mr. Rickword, Cases for Museum			
" Essex Gazette," printing "Transac- } tions" and stationery			
Mr. J. Acton, for Drawings of Antiquities			
Mr. Chaffers, Arranging and Cataloguing } the Museum in Colchester Castle .. }			
Sundries			
Balance at Messrs. Round's Bank			
Aug. 6.			

£296 7 7

FREDERICK SPURRELL, M.A.

LIST OF NEW MEMBERS.

Belleroche, E. A., Esq., Abbey Road, East Ham.

Brown, Mr. A. J., Brentwood.

Ellis, Sir H., Librarian of the British Museum, 24, Bedford Square, London.

Farman, Rev. S., Layer Marney Hall, Colchester.

L'Oste, Rev. C. A., St. Mary-at-the-Walls Rectory, Colchester.

Lucas, Captain, West Essex Militia, Chelmsford.

Wakeham, Miss, Braintree.

Wood, Rev. P., Copford Rectory, Colchester.

T R A N S A C T I O N S

OF THE

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V O L. II

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CORRIGENDA ET ADDENDA.

Page 4, note 1—for "XScriptt." read "X Scriptt."

Page 9, note *—for "hemicydlis" read "hemicyclia." For this very ingenious correction of a manifestly corrupt passage I have to thank my friend, Mr. James Parker, of Oxford.

Page 12, note 1.—In the Plan of the Abbey taken since my last visit to Waltham, the site of the building in which these capitals occur, is shown at some distance north-east from the Church. The building must have been one of those vaulted sub-structures which are found almost everywhere, under, very probably, the Abbot's house."

Page 18, line 10 from bottom—for "north transept" read "south transept."

Page 24.—The Plan of the Abbey shows the eastern limb, with at least five bays, but the extreme east end seems not to have been found. The piers look in the Plan like a continuation of the Romanesque of the nave, but the sections of the nave piers and some other details are so indefinitely given, that I cannot build much upon this evidence.

Page 27, line 5—for "the third" read "the fourth."

Page 29, line 3—for "wall" read "aisle."

Page 32, line 6—for "exclusively" read "exclusive."

Page 56, line 10—for "apperent" read "apparent."

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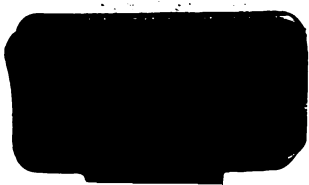
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