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TRANSACTIONS

OF THE

Essex Archæological Society.

VOL. XXV., PART I

NEW SERIES

CENTENARY VOLUME



COLCHESTER :

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THE EMPEROR CLAUDIUS, FOUNDER OF THE ROMAN COLONY AT CAMULODUNUM
(COLCHESTER), A.D. 49-50: HEAD OF STATUE OF THE EMPEROR AS JUPITER
IN THE VATICAN MUSEUM.

TRANSACTIONS

OF THE

ESSEX ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY.

CENTENARY SERVICE

at All Saints' Church, Colchester,
ON SUNDAY, 14 DECEMBER, 1952

THE influences which led to the holding of a service on the actual day our Society was founded a century ago may briefly be stated. In the final and recently published volumes of his great work, *The Study of History*, Professor Arnold Toynbee declared that the entire story of man on earth has no meaning except a religious meaning, thus acknowledging that religion is the key to history.

Many students of archæology are conscious of a physical connection across the centuries between themselves and the men of the long-forgotten past, who fashioned the relics and erected the buildings, which it is their pleasure to study. 'The spirit haunts their handiwork, and one can absorb it by mere contact.' To some minds the emotion stirred by these links with those of old time is more than mere sentiment. Human life is seen as a panorama as generation after generation pass before the mental vision, and imagination is quickened on the spiritual side.

When a suggestion was made at a Council meeting of the Society that a religious service would be appropriate for such a special occasion, it was unanimously adopted. Certainly nothing else could adequately express the deeper feelings of human nature, without which the archæologist may find himself in a by-road leading to a dead end.

The service was held at All Saints' Church, Colchester, on Sunday, 14 December, 1952 (the Third Sunday in Advent), at 2.30 p.m., by

kind permission of the rector (Canon R. H. Jack, R.D.). Owing to the cold and uncertain weather some anxiety had previously been felt regarding the attendance, but the size of the congregation far exceeded expectations, and included members from Chelmsford, Dunmow, Frinton, Halstead, Sudbury, etc.

A shortened form of Evensong was conducted by Canon Jack, and the lessons were read by the Rev. T. D. S. Bayley (Past President and Hon. Excursion Secretary), and the Rev. W. R. Saunders (Hon. Librarian). The Bishop of Colchester (the Right Rev. F. Dudley V. Narborough), a Vice-President of the Society, gave an address, in which he recalled that no fewer than 18 clergymen were present at the inaugural meeting in 1852, partly because of their trusteeship of the churches in which some of the artistry of our country was enshrined. He also referred to the recent announcement that the vast sum of £4,000,000 was needed in the next ten years to preserve our ancient churches, £50,000 of this amount being required for Essex churches.¹

Before the address, the President (Rev. G. Montagu Benton) vested in a rich cope (lent by the Rev. T. D. S. Bayley), and standing before the altar, read a Bidding Prayer, and a Form of Commemoration which he had compiled (see below). Two members of the Council, Messrs. Duncan W. Clark, and F. W. Steer, acted as sidesmen, and a collection was taken to defray expenses.

The service opened and closed with a procession down the nave, preceded by the cross-bearer. The Bishop wore the pontifical vestments, cope and mitre, and carried his crozier. It was generally agreed that the service was 'most impressive'. The impression it left in one member's mind may be quoted as expressing what many must have felt. 'I was conscious,' he said, 'of a fine spirit of reverent attention, worship, and interest, and I was deeply conscious of the presence of those I had known when the Commemoration was being read, and also of those who were only names to me.'

On leaving the church—the nave of which was built probably in the twelfth century—it was sad to reflect that, owing to the Re-organization Scheme, it would shortly be permanently closed for worship. There were hopes, however, that the building would be preserved for use as a museum [This has since been arranged].

¹ It was later computed that altogether not less than £225,000 would be required for this purpose.

THE CENTENARY SERVICE AND FORM
OF COMMEMORATION

AT EVENING PRAYER

Hymn—'Thy Kingdom come, O God.'

(Tune by Leighton George Hayne, rector of Mistley and Bradfield,
1871-1883.)

Psalm lxxiv (14th evening) *Ut quid, Deus?*

First Lesson—*Isaiah* xxvi, 1-9

Second Lesson—*Revelation* xiv, 13—xv, 4

Hymn—'Nearer, my God, to Thee.'

(Words by Sarah Fuller Flower (Mrs. Brydges Adams), born (1805) and
buried (1848) at Harlow.)

Then, all standing, the President shall say:

Ye shall pray for Christ's Holy Catholic Church dispersed throughout
the whole world, and especially for the Church of England.

And herein I require you especially to pray for the Queen's most
excellent Majesty; for the Ministers of God's holy Word and
Sacraments; for the High Court of Parliament, and all Ministers of
the Crown; and for the whole Commons of this Realm.

Ye shall pray for the peace of the whole world.

Ye shall pray also for the President, Officers, Council and Members
of the Essex Archaeological Society, that they may be endued with
wisdom, increase in knowledge, and advance the cause of learning.

Finally, let us praise God for all those who are departed out of this
life in the faith of Christ, and pray that we may be partakers with
them of the glorious resurrection to eternal life.

Our Father . . . For ever and ever. *Amen.*

As in duty bound, we honour with remembrance all those members who have given to the Essex Archæological Society true and laudable service in their day and generation, and who have bequeathed to us the inheritance which we enjoy.

And especially would we have in mind at this time :

EDWARD LEWIS CUTTS, priest, our virtual founder, and the author of several books on historical matters that are still read.

FREDERIC CHANCELLOR and HENRY WILLIAM KING, Foundation members.

WILLIAM STUBBS, vicar of Navestock and afterwards Bishop of Oxford, the distinguished historian; an early member and supporter.

JOHN HOWARD MARSDEN, B.D., priest, Disney Professor of Archæology in the University of Cambridge, who delivered the inaugural address on 14 December, 1852.

Those who have held the office of President, namely :

JOHN DISNEY, F.R.S., F.S.A., 1852-1855, the founder of the Disney professorship.¹

RICHARD CORNWALLIS NEVILLE, LORD BRAYBROOKE, F.S.A., 1855-1861, an early exponent of Field Archæology.²

¹ At the Annual General Meeting of the Society, held on 30 August, 1855, Disney announced that 'advancing years obliged him to retire from the post of president'. He was then in his 77th year. He died in 1857. For a brief biographical notice, see J. A. Venn's *Alumni Cantabrigienses*, vol. ii, part ii (1752-1900), p. 302.

² Lord Braybrooke died in 1861, at the early age of forty-one. The amount of archæological research he accomplished during his brief life is remarkable. He was the author of *Antiqua Explorata, Sepulchra Exposita*, and *Saxon Obsequies*, and he also contributed several papers to *The Archaeological Journal*, and *The Journal of the British Archaeological Association*. His private museum of British and Roman Antiquities, mainly comprising the 'finds' made by him, remained at Audley End until recently. This valuable collection is now in the Cambridge University Museum of Archæology.

SIR THOMAS BURCH WESTERN, BART., 1861-1873.

SIR HENRY J. SELWIN IBBERTSON, M.P., 1873-1876.

SIR THOMAS SUTTON WESTERN, BART., 1876-1877.

GEORGE ALAN LOWNDES, 1877-1903.

HENRY LAVER, F.S.A., 1903-1908, a notable local archæologist, and one of the Society's most active members; for many years Hon. Curator of the Museum, to which he was a generous benefactor.

FREDERIC CHANCELLOR, F.R.I.B.A., 1908-1911, a constant supporter of the Society for 66 years, and author of 'Ancient Sepulchral Monuments of Essex'.

THOMAS STEVENS, D.D., F.S.A., Bishop of Barking, 1911-1916, whose keen interest in the work of the Society is recalled with gratitude.

JOHN HORACE ROUND, LL.D., 1916-1921, one of the most distinguished members the Society has had; historian, and foremost authority on medieval genealogies.

FRANCIS WILLIAM GALPIN, D.LITT., priest, 1921-1926, a leading authority on ancient musical instruments.

GEORGE FREDERICK BEAUMONT, F.S.A., 1926-1928, Hon. Secretary for ten years, and a well-known local antiquary; an authority on the law of copyholds.

CHARLES FREDERICK DENNE SPERLING, F.S.A., 1928-1933, a born local historian, his knowledge of the heraldry, genealogy and antiquities of north-west Essex being unrivalled.

PHILIP GUYON LAVER, F.S.A., 1933-1938, who inherited his father's archæological tastes, and like him was zealous in preserving every ancient feature in Essex. His gifts to the Museum were numerous, and the remarkable development of our Library in recent years is due to his munificence.

FREDERICK WYKEHAM CHANCELLOR, F.R.I.B.A., 1938-1944, who also inherited his father's interests. For many years he acted as lecturer at the Society's excursions, and did much to arouse an interest in the ancient buildings, especially the churches, of Essex. He bequeathed to the Society his extensive collection of Essex books and manuscripts.

THOMAS HIGHAM CURLING, priest, 1944, elected as President less than a fortnight before his death. For many years he gave unstinted service to the Society as Hon Secretary, and especially in connection with excursions.

We further recall those who have held the office of Hon. Treasurer, namely :

CHARLES GRAY ROUND, 1852-1867.

THE RIGHT HON. JAMES ROUND, P.C., M.P., 1868-1916.

WILLIAM CHAPMAN WALLER, F.S.A., 1916-1917, previously Vice-Treasurer from 1905; a scholar, whose literary work for the Society is of lasting value.

CHRISTOPHER WILLIAM PARKER, 1917-1929.

HENRY WILLIAM LEWER, F.S.A., 1929-1949, previously Vice-Treasurer from 1917; a generous supporter of, and tireless worker for, the Society, and for half a century a leading member.

The past Hon. Secretaries are also remembered with gratitude :

EDWARD LEWIS CUTTS, priest, 1852-1866, who, although he left the county soon after his resignation, remained a member of the Council until his death in 1901.

HENRY WILLIAM KING, 1866-1893, a learned antiquary, whose knowledge of the history and antiquities of Essex was extensive and profound. He contributed many important articles to the early volumes of *Transactions*, and bequeathed to the Society his valuable manuscript collections.

GEORGE FREDERICK BEAUMONT, F.S.A., 1893-1903.

THOMAS HIGHAM CURLING, priest, 1903-1923.

Anything like an adequate Bede Roll of supporters and benefactors would be of wearisome length, but a few outstanding names may be briefly mentioned:

Dr. P. M. Duncan, Rev. Henry Lettsom Elliot, Miller Christy, Robert Copp Fowler, O.B.E., F.S.A., William Goodwin Wiles, George Rickword, Rev. William James Pressey, F.S.A., Sir William Gurney Benham, F.S.A., Sidney Charles Ratcliff, I.S.O., Sir Alfred Clapham, C.B.E., F.S.A., Professor E. W. Tristram, D.Litt., F.S.A., and the Rev. Francis Llewellyn Bridges, whose comparatively recent generous bequest of £500 has been of considerable help in dealing with the acute financial problems which face the Society.

Rest eternal grant unto them, O Lord,

And let light perpetual shine upon them.

LET US PRAY.

Grant, O Lord, that we may all use this time of work while it is called to-day, remembering gladly and thankfully those who have gone before, who have stood by this Society and helped it in past days, and who have strengthened us their successors by their example. Confirm our faith and hope in the Resurrection, and bring us with them to that eternal home which Thou hast promised to Thy children; through Jesus Christ our Lord. *Amen.*

O God of our Fathers, before whose face the generations of men rise and pass away, we Thy servants delight to remember the days of old, to consider the years of many generations. Illumine and inspire us, we beseech Thee, in our desire to seek for truth and to rejoice in beauty; and enrich our minds with the sense of the mysterious, which is inseparable from the relics left by our forefathers. Reverently tracing the pilgrimage of man from prehistoric days to our own time, may we become more fully conscious of 'the one far-off divine event, to which the whole creation moves'.

Thou hast taught us to give thanks for all things, and we heartily thank Thee, on this our Centennial Anniversary, for the blessings vouchsafed to our Society during the past century; for the voluntary services rendered by the various officers, for work accomplished, and for the good fellowship among our members, which has led to lasting friendships. May we make traditions as well as uphold them.

All good things come from Thee, O Lord, and we pray Thee that the Society may continue to prosper in the years ahead, and that peace and good-will may prevail among our members. We ask this for Christ's sake. *Amen.*

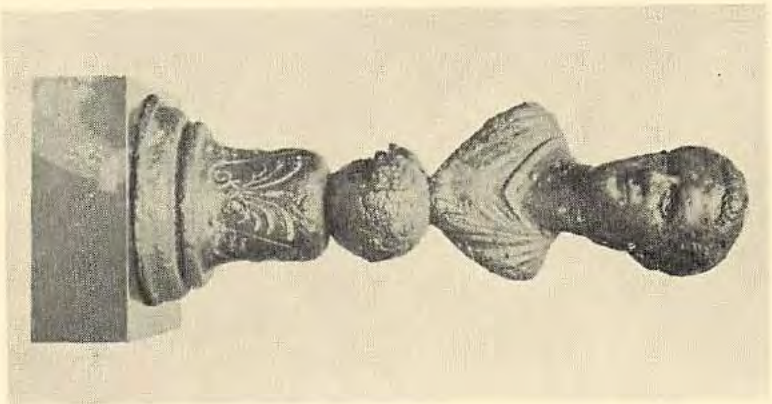
Hymn—'Through the night of doubt and sorrow.'

(Words by Sabine Baring-Gould, Rector of East Mersea, 1871-1881, and a member of the Society.)

ADDRESS.

Hymn—'The day is past and over.'

(Tune by Arthur Henry Brown (1830-1926); organist at Brentwood Church and School, and a member of the Society.)



(1)



(2)

SMALL IMPERIAL BRONZE BUSTS: COLCHESTER AND ESSEX MUSEUM.

SOME NOTES ON ROMAN ART AT COLCHESTER

By Professor J. M. C. TOYNBEE, M.A., D.Phil., F.B.A., F.S.A.

THESE notes obviously do not profess to cover the whole field of Roman art at Colchester. They are confined to material which is either unpublished or on which the writer believes that she has some new point, or points, to contribute.

I. THE SMALL IMPERIAL BRONZE BUST (Pl. I, figs. 1, 2).

The small, hollow-cast bronze bust, 5 inches high, found in 1845 about a mile east of the Colchester-North railway station, was published by the late Mrs. Arthur Strong in the *Journal of Roman Studies*, vol. vi (1916).¹ As Mrs. Strong pointed out, the globe to which the point of the bust is soldered, and which appears never to have been detached from it, makes it certain that the personage portrayed was a member of the Imperial House, most probably one who actually reigned as Emperor, shown in civil attire (tunic and toga); the globe symbolizes world-dominion and the assimilation of the ruler to Jupiter as *cosmocrator*, without necessarily implying specific deification, whether in life or after death.² The form of the bust and the hair-style are Julio-Claudian; and of the various possible candidates for its identity the Emperor Gaius has generally been judged, by Mrs. Strong and others, to be the most plausible. The features bear too little resemblance to those of Claudius for our bust to be reckoned as even a provincial attempt at his likeness; Germanicus, for whom Claudius issued commemorative coins,³ would appear to be excluded by the globe of sovereignty; while the shape of the face and the thick thatch of hair crowning the brow distinctly recall the fine head of Gaius in the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, Copenhagen,⁴ although the latter differs from the Colchester bust in showing no reminiscence of the 'Augustan fork' of locks in the centre of the forehead. Moreover, the line of the nose of our portrait, as seen in profile, can be paralleled by that of Gaius' nose in his coin-portraits.⁵

¹ Pp. 27-46, pls. 1-4.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 32-46 *passim*.

³ E.g. *Catalogue of Coins of the Roman Empire in the British Museum*, vol. i (1923), pl. 37, nos. 2, 9. Cf. the commemorative coins of Germanicus struck by Gaius, *ibid.* pl. 29, nos. 3-6; 30, no. 3.

⁴ *Cambridge Ancient History*, Plates, vol. iv (1934), 145, c; R. West, *Römische Porträtplastik*, vol. i (1933), pls. 53, 231.

⁵ E.g. *Catalogue of Coins of the Roman Empire in the British Museum*, vol. i (1923), pls. 28, 29.

But the identification of the bust as that of Gaius raises a problem which Mrs. Strong did not discuss. When, and under what circumstances, did it reach the neighbourhood of Colchester? It can hardly have been imported, after its subject's death and *damnatio memoriae*, into the new Claudian *colonia*. It must have already reached Celtic Camulodunum before the Roman conquest, perhaps from Gaul, where it was, in all probability, manufactured,¹ and have been the property of a British notable belonging to the pro-Roman party led by Cunobelinus' son Amminius, if it were not the property of Amminius himself. The find-spot, some way beyond the north-west corner of the *colonia*, suggests that it might have been lost by someone residing in the Celtic city in the Sheepen area.

II. THE SAXMUNDHAM BRONZE HEAD (Pl. II, figs. 1, 2).

This life-size bronze head, 13 inches high, which ranks with the over-life-size bronze head of Hadrian from the Thames² as one of the most imposing Roman portraits yielded by Britain so far, was found in the River Alde at Rendham, near Saxmundham, in Suffolk, in 1907 and was fully published by the late Sir George Macdonald in an article contributed to the *Journal of Roman Studies*, vol. xvi (1926).³ In 1950, on the occasion of the nineteenth-centenary celebration of the foundation of the *colonia*, its present owner, Mrs. E. R. Hollond, of Saxmundham, loaned the head to the British Museum, where it was re-cleaned and re-photographed, before being temporarily exhibited in the Colchester and Essex Museum during the July centenary-conference. The new photographs, made by the Photographic Service of the British Museum and greatly superior to those which illustrated Sir George's article, are published here by kind permission of Mrs. Hollond and the Trustees of the British Museum and they offer a *raison d'être* for this note.⁴

As Sir George observed, the torn and ragged lower line of the neck leaves little room for doubt that this head had been violently hacked from its body and carried off as loot from some important Roman centre, which can have been none other than the *colonia* of Camulodunum; and since the portrait is unquestionably Julio-Claudian, the looters are likely to have been none other than the

¹ *Journal of Roman Studies*, vol. vi (1916), p. 32. For the Givry statuette of Mercury see now F. Cumont, *Comment la Belgique fut romanisée*, ed. 2 (1919), p. 77, fig. 49.

² *Journal of Roman Studies*, vol. xvi (1926), pl. i; *Guide to the Antiquities of Roman Britain in the British Museum* (1951), pl. 15, no. 5.

³ Pp. 3-7, pls. 2, 3.

⁴ The profile view appeared in *The Times* for 1 March, 1950, and, on pl. 1 of the catalogue of the nineteenth-centenary exhibition of Romano-British antiquities held at Colchester in July, 1950.

PLATE II.



(1)



(2)

THE SAMUNDHAM HEAD OF CLAUDIUS (?): IN THE POSSESSION OF MRS. E. R. HOLLOND.

PLATE III.



HEAD OF STATUE OF CLAUDIUS AS JUPITER: VATICAN MUSEUM.

followers of Boudicca in A.D. 61. It has been already noted¹ that the fact that the head is not over-life-size probably precludes the idea that it belonged to the cult-statue of the deified Emperor in the temple of Claudius. It is more likely to have adorned some other public building, such as the theatre or the basilica. The slight backward tilt of the head *may* mean, as was once suggested,² that we have here the remnant of an equestrian statue. At any rate, it must have stood at some height above ground-level, since the eyes gaze out into the distance, as though above the heads of, and oblivious of, bystanders.

The identification of the personage portrayed as the Emperor Claudius has, of course, been widely accepted. Sir George appears to have had no doubts whatsoever about it; and the Saxmundham head most certainly reproduces the flat crown, thick, neat hair, and protrusion on the bridge of the nose familiar to us on well-authenticated portraits of Claudius—on coins, on cameos, and in sculpture in the round. But what we find there and miss here are the high, vertically furrowed forehead, the longish upper lip, the fold of flesh round the mouth, the double chin, and the thick, bull-like neck. Particularly striking is the divergence of our bronze in these respects from the brilliantly realistic head which crowns the colossal statue of Claudius in the guise of Jupiter in the Sala Rotonda of the Vatican (Pl. III, and *Frontispiece*).³ The 'Augustan fork' in the locks on the brow of the Saxmundham head offers another point of contrast with the Vatican portrait. On the other hand, the projecting, flap-like ears, which are so salient a feature of the latter, re-appear in startling fashion in the former, where they are emphasized almost to the point of caricature.

On balance we are inclined to feel that the resemblances between the Saxmundham head and the authenticated portraits of Claudius outweigh the discrepancies. The latter might be accounted for by the supposition that our head is of provincial, probably Gaulish, workmanship, the artist having also somewhat idealised the Emperor (apart from the ears) by representing him as younger and leaner than he normally appears in his official portraits. The bronze busts of Augustus and Livia in the Louvre, found at Neuilly-le-Réal (Allier) and fortunately provided with incised inscriptions stating their identity, reveal the transformations which Imperial features could undergo at

¹ *Journal of Roman Studies*, vol. xvi (1926), p. 6, note 2.

² *Athenæum* report of a meeting of the Society of Antiquaries of London, 3 December, 1908.

³ G. Lippold, *Die Sculpturen des Vaticanischen Museums*, vol. iii, part i, pl. 41, no. 550; Photo. Anderson, Roma, 2252. A small, fine, marble head of Claudius, recently acquired by the British Museum, perhaps derived from some historical scene in high relief, shows similar divergencies from the Saxmundham bronze.

the hands of provincial portraitists.¹ The Saxmundham bronze undoubtedly resembles Claudius more closely than any other member of the Julio-Claudian line, whose features are known to us. Yet we cannot entirely rule out the possibility that it has immortalized some unknown Roman official or prominent private individual in the province. The two over-life-size second-century marble busts, unidentifiable with any Emperors, found in 1949 in the Roman Villa at Lullingstone, Kent, warn us that members of the Imperial House did not monopolize all large-scale iconographic honours in Roman Britain.²

III. THE BRONZE MERCURY FROM GOSBECK'S FARM (Pl. IV, fig. 1).

The fine bronze statuette of Mercury, found at Gosbeck's Farm and acquired by the Colchester and Essex Museum early in 1948, has received full treatment from Mr. M. R. Hull in these *Transactions*.³ The purpose of this note is to supplement that account by a brief discussion of one detail.

As Mr. Hull has pointed out, the figure is no 'cult-figure' in the technical sense of that term. Not only is it too small to be such, but the god's attention is not directed towards the front, to receive the homage of worshippers, but is turned towards some person or thing, slightly below his eye-level, on his left. The inclination of the head and the posture of alighting, as upon a steeply sloping rock, suggest that we have here an extract from a pictorial group comprising at least two figures; and this may provide a clue to the meaning of an otherwise somewhat puzzling feature. The lower part of the god's brows is contracted and bulging, and above them a deep horizontal furrow spans the forehead.⁴ This 'scowl' is explained when we reflect that knit and furrowed brows are a convention occasionally employed in Roman art to indicate that two persons are engaged in conversation. For example, on one of the Flavian reliefs discovered in 1939 near the Cancelleria in Rome, a 'scowling' praetorian officer gives an order to a private soldier, who 'scowls' in answer (Pl. IV, fig. 2).⁵ On this analogy we may interpret the 'scowl' of the Colchester Mercury as 'conversational', as signifying that he is delivering a message or command to an interlocutor once grouped with him on the spectator's right.

¹ A. de Ridder, *Les bronzes antiques du Louvre*, vol. i (1913), p. 11, pl. 3, nos. 28, 29. Cf. *Journal of Roman Studies*, vol. vi (1916), p. 32.

² *Archaeologia Cantiana*, vol. lxxiii (1951), pp. 35-43, pls. 2-4.

³ Vol. xxiv, N.S. (1951), pp. 43-46, pl.

⁴ Mr. Hull (*op. cit.* p. 44) writes of 'the frontal bone being noticeably prominent'.

⁵ F. Magi, *I rilievi flavii del Palazzo della Cancelleria* (1946), pls. 3; 17, fig. i; 18, fig. 1.

PLATE IV.



(1)

HEAD OF BRONZE MERCURY FROM
GOSBECK'S FARM: COLCHESTER AND ESSEX MUSEUM.



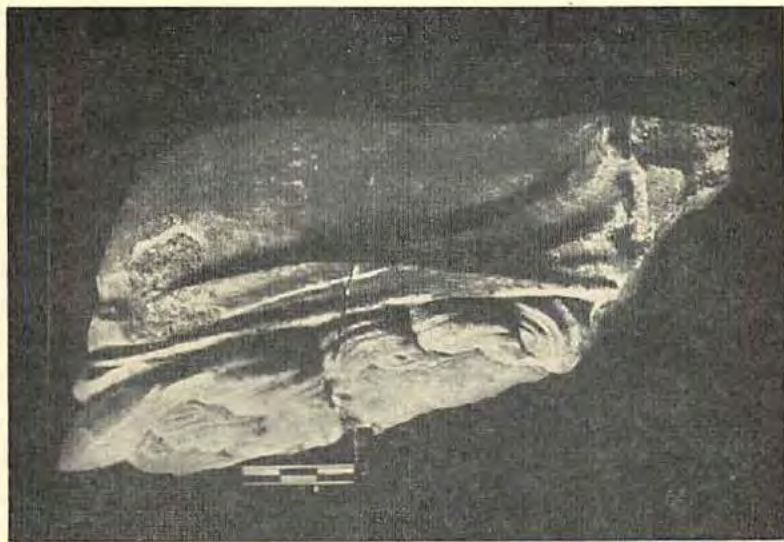
(2)

DETAIL OF FLAVIAN RELIEF FOUND NEAR THE CANCELLERIA, ROME:
MUSEO CAPITOLINO NUOVO.



(1)

STÈLE FROM MURRELL HILL: TULLIE HOUSE
MUSEUM, CARLISLE.



(2)

FRAGMENT OF FUNERARY HEAD:
COLCHESTER AND ESSEX MUSEUM.

IV. FUNERARY MONUMENTS (Pls. V, VI).

(a) Lions, sphinxes, and griffins.

The group consisting of a winged sphinx with flanking lions and snakes, which crowns the Longinus stele, is familiar to all students of Romano-British art.¹ Similar groups occur on stelai in the Rhineland,² where winged griffins, also surmounting military stelai, are occasionally found.³ Large groups of a lion devouring another animal, comparable in scale and general character to the famous Colchester sphinx,⁴ are common both to Roman Germany and Roman Britain.⁵ Such creatures undoubtedly belong to the regular repertory of Roman funerary symbolism. The winged griffins and sphinxes are the inscrutable watchers at the tomb, who guard the secret and mystery of death; while the lions and snakes signify death's ravening and all-consuming jaws. An attempt has, indeed, been made to equate the sphinx and griffin on military tomb-stones with *Cryphius*, the title of the second Mithraic grade, and the lion with the fourth Mithraic grade of *Leo*; and to read into these figures allusions to the grades of Mithraism through which the deceased soldier in question had passed.⁶ But this theory, in itself far-fetched, fanciful, and unnecessary, cannot survive confrontation with the stele from Murrell Hill in the Carlisle Museum, published here by kind permission of the Museum Committee. Here we have a sphinx and two lions crowning a niche in which a woman is seated with a child standing beside her (Pl. V, fig. 1).⁷ This stele is purely civilian; and it is well known that women were almost certainly not admitted to Mithraic initiation.

(b) The sandstone head (Pl. V, fig. 2).

This unpublished sandstone fragment shows part of an over-life-size female head, c. 15 inches (45 cm.) high. It came to light in the grounds of the Royal Grammar School, on the site of the Roman cemetery to the south-west of the *colonia*, close to the find-spots of the *Facilis* and *Longinus* stelai and of the funerary inscription of *Macrinus, eques Romanus*, also in the Colchester and Essex Museum. Only the left-hand portion of our head is preserved and practically all the face has gone; but we see the thick, twisted, wispish locks

¹ *Journal of Roman Studies*, vol. xviii (1928), pl. 23.

² E.g. *Germania Romana*, ed. 2, vol. iii (1926), pls. 13, nos. 1, 3 (Bonn); 25, nos. 2, 3 (Cologne).

³ E.g. *ibid.* pls. 21, no. 4 (Cologne); 25, no. 1 (Trier).

⁴ *Journal of Roman Studies*, vol. ii (1912), p. 148, fig. 16.

⁵ E.g. *Germania Romana*, ed. 2, vol. iii (1926), pls. 44, no. 5 (Munich); 47, no. 3 (Speier); *Roman London* (Royal Commission on Historical Monuments), pl. 11 (Guildhall Museum); *Journal of Roman Studies*, vol. ii (1912), pl. 5, fig. 2 (Corbridge lion).

⁶ *Archaeological Journal*, vol. lxxxii (1925), p. 1 ff. *Gryphus* in the text of St. Jerome is most probably an error for *Cryphius*.

⁷ F. Haverfield, *Catalogue of the inscribed and sculptured Stones in the Carlisle Museum, Tullie House*, ed. 2 (1911), p. 37, no. 103, with plate opposite.

which once framed the face. These locks are crowned by a diadem and a veil is drawn over the back of the head. The Museum label describes it as 'from a statue', perhaps of a 'priestess or deified Empress'. But since the head rests directly on a square base it can never have been attached to a body; and the style of the hair finds no parallel in the coiffure of any Empress or Roman lady of the first and second centuries A.D. Its find-spot, in a cemetery, rules out an Empress; and the scale would appear to be too large for that of a funerary portrait of a priestess. A head without a body in such a context is most likely to have been a funerary mask: Espérandieu's *corpus* of Gallo-Roman sculptures contains a number of large stone or marble masks resting directly on bases and attributed to funerary monuments. Such, for instance, are the Hercules mask from Mouriès (Bouches-du-Rhône), 83 cm. high, now used as a fountain-decoration in the Château de Servane (Pl. VI, fig. 1),¹ and the group of theatrical masks at Vienne (Pl. VI, fig. 2).² The Colchester fragment may be the left-hand portion of just such a mask, if somewhat more modest in dimensions, crowning a stele and probably representing a goddess.

So far as we can judge, the Colchester head was executed in the same classical style as Espérandieu's masks; but it and they had their native counterparts, both here and on the continent. The most striking piece of British work of this class is the head, now in the British Museum, from Towcester on Watling Street (Pl. VII, fig. 1).³ Carved in local grey stone, it stands some 22 inches high on a base measuring *c.* 12 inches from back to front. The modelling of the face stems from classical tradition; but the intensely doleful expression, conveyed by the staring eyes, puckered brow, and drooping mouth, and the highly stylized rendering of the hair and side-curls, give to the head a strange, barbaric power. In spiritual content it is almost medieval, an imposing instance of classical form infused with native feeling. Gaulish heads of similar type have been published recently by M. E. Thevenot.⁴ These naïve 'têtes coupées' may possibly be of some significance for Celtic religion.⁵ More probably they are rustic versions of the classical funerary mask.

The precise date of the Colchester head is hard to determine in

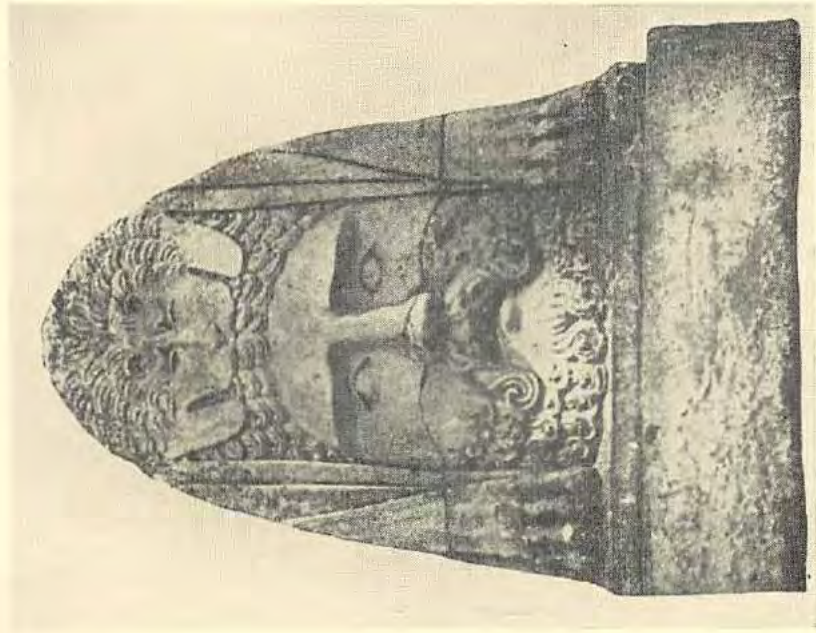
¹ E. Espérandieu, *Recueil général des bas-reliefs de la Gaule romaine*, vol. xii (1947), pl. 17, no. 7888, 1 and 2 (83 cm. high).

² *Ibid.*, vol. i (1907), pp. 276-277, nos. 396 (80 cm. high, 63 cm. wide, 41 cm. from back to front), 397 (60 cm. high, 53 cm. wide, 27 cm. from back to front).

³ Published by courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum. Cf. T. D. Kendrick, *Anglo-Saxon Art* (1938), p. 19, pl. 7, no. 1.

⁴ 'Sculptures inédites de Chorey' (*Gallia*, vol. v, part 2 (1947), pp. 427-433, figs. 3-5).

⁵ Cf. E. Thevenot, 'Apropos des têtes de Chorey' (*Gallia*, vol. vi, part 1, 1948 (1949), pp. 186-187. Cf. also P. Lambrechts, *L'exaltation de la tête dans la pensée et dans l'art des Celtes* (1952).



(1)
FUNERARY HEAD: CHÂTEAU DE SERVANE.

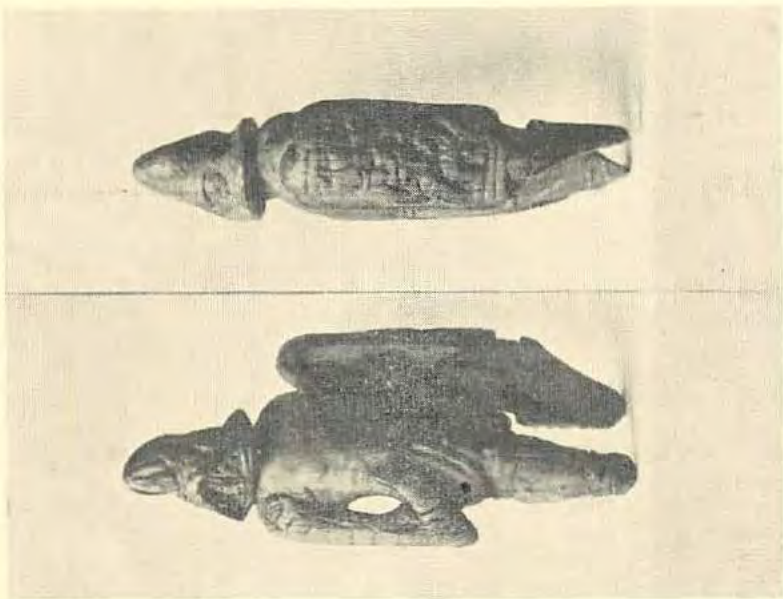


(2)
FUNERARY HEAD: VIENNE.



(1)

FUNERARY HEAD FROM TOWCESTER:
BRITISH MUSEUM.



(2)

(3)

IVORY GLADIATOR FROM COLCHESTER:
BRITISH MUSEUM.

view of its fragmentary state. But it has an early look, as of the first or second century.

V. THE IVORY GLADIATOR (Pl. VII, figs. 2, 3).¹

The small ivory statuette of a gladiator, found at Lexden, was presented to the British Museum by Pelham R. Papillon, Esq., in 1899. A line-drawing in the British Museum *Guide*, 1922, p. 47, and in Benham's *Colchester*, 1948, p. 12, are the only previous publications of it known to the present writer. The figure stands, in its present condition, 2.8 inches high, is 1.3 inches wide at its greatest extent, and measures .6 inches from back to front. The lower part of the right leg, from the knee downwards, is lost; so is the left foot, which must originally have rested on some support, since the left knee is raised and bent. The back of the right arm, the small of the back, the buttocks, and the left elbow have all been shorn off and produce a flat surface behind. The champion's equipment is of the normal 'Samnite' type. The head, turned towards his right, is enveloped in a crested helmet, with visor drawn down and a now undecipherable motif decorating the cap. The upper part of the body is naked, the right arm is cased in an arm-guard, and a scabbard and an 'apron', or loin-cloth, falling in vertical folds in front and in a sagging, horizontal line behind, depend from an ornamented belt. Both thighs are bare, but a decorated greave protects the left shin. The right hand flourishes a drawn sword, while the left hand rests on the upper rim of a large, cylindrical shield, which covers the left side of the figure completely. On the exterior of the shield, in relief, are two gladiators in combat, one lunging forward as he brings his opponent to his knees.

It is a realistic and spirited little piece, if of somewhat commonplace and clumsy craftsmanship.

VI. *En Barbotine* POTTERY (Pl. VIII).

Among the names of potters who signed the 'imitation-Samian' made locally at Camulodunum towards the end of the second century A.D.,² that of *Acceptus* is of particular interest, in that he has also left his stamp on a fragment of *en barbotine* ware, of the *Castor* type, found on the same kiln-site.³ This fact is of some importance, since it suggests that *en barbotine* ware was not, as has sometimes been

¹ The photographs on Plate VII are published by courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum.

² M. R. Hull, 'Eine Terra Sigillata Töpferlei in Colchester (Camulodunum)' (*Germania* (1934), pp. 27-36).

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 35-36.

hinted, a consciously native Celtic reaction against imported, continental traditions, or Celtic art 'behind the façade of romanization',¹ if some, at least, of the potters who made it, themselves reproduced in this country the Gaulish products. It is, indeed, possible that from this local 'Samian' pottery came also the four *en barbotine* black-coated pots for which Colchester is famous—the chariot-race beaker in the British Museum,² the beaker, known as the 'Colchester Vase', with a gladiatorial combat on one side of it,³ the lidded pyxis with hunting-scenes, found at Sheepen Farm in 1933,⁴ and the hunt-beaker.⁵ The last-mentioned pot shares with the back of the 'Colchester Vase' a rare motif—a two-tiered hunting scene; the latter vessel shows a hound pursuing a hare and two stags from left to right (Pl. VIII, fig. 1), the former, hounds speeding at the heels of a stag, hares, and fawns (?) in the reverse direction (Pl. VIII, figs. 2, 3). The dotted lines which frame each figure on the hunt-beaker are paralleled on the lidded pyxis; and on all three pots the treatment of hounds, stags, hares, fawns (?), etc., is remarkably similar and closely related, moreover, to that of the horses in the chariot-race. The whole quartette may well be the work of a single hand. The three Colchester beakers are of an identical squat shape, offering a contrast to the more elegant, elongated form of the Corbridge⁶ and Peterborough⁷ beakers, on both of which the dotted vertical lines also occur, but are of a finer and less conspicuous variety.⁸

VII. THE GLADIATOR PLAQUE (fig. 1).

Akin in style to the *en barbotine* pottery is a fragmentary terra-cotta plaque said to have been found at the Union House (St. Mary's

¹ R. G. Collingwood and J. N. L. Myres, *Roman Britain and the English Settlements* (1936), p. 257.

² *Guide to the Antiquities of Roman Britain in the British Museum* (1951), pl. 4, no. 13.

³ M. R. Hull, *Roman Colchester* (1947), p. 29; Benham's *Colchester* (1948), pl. opposite p. 80. The beaker bears the graffito *Secundus Mario Memnon sectator viii Valentina legionis xxv* (CIL vii, 1335, 3). But the fact that Legio XXX Ulpia was stationed at Vetera in Lower Germany (H. M. D. Parker, *The Roman Legions* (1928), p. 161) does not necessarily imply that the vessel was made in the Rhineland and imported into Colchester. It could equally well imply that it had passed into the possession of a gladiator, once attached to Legio XXX for the entertainment of the soldiery (cf. Tacitus, *Ann.* I, 22; Suetonius, *Tiberius* 72), who had settled in the *colonia*—if the legend does not refer to some famous army-gladinator, whom the attacking figure was intended to portray.

⁴ *Journal of Roman Studies*, vol. xxiv (1934), pl. 22. For the attribution of this pot to the late-second, or early-third, century see *ibid.*, p. 211, note 27.

⁵ Benham's *Colchester*, p. 97.

⁶ F. Haverfield, *The Roman Occupation of Britain* (1924), fig. 62.

⁷ F. Haverfield, *The Romanization of Roman Britain*, ed. 4 (1923), fig. 18.

⁸ One of the most intriguing objects in the Colchester and Essex Museum is a large, very fragmentary, *en barbotine* beaker, dark-chocolate- (almost black-) coated and decorated with a strange, perhaps consciously comic, *venatio* scene, in which hunters (one of them hunch-backed), hunch-backed and hooded dwarfs, and animals participate. The pot, which shows colour applied to the figures, is most probably later in date than the four vessels, discussed above, but was also possibly made at Colchester. It is to be published shortly by Mr. Hull.

PLATE VIII.



(1)

(2)

(3)

En barbotine CUPS FROM COLCHESTER: COLCHESTER AND ESSEX MUSEUM.

Hospital), Colchester, but now known only from a drawing made by Josiah Parish *c.* 1870, and discovered by Mr. Hull in a collection of drawings of many other Colchester antiquities. A photograph of this drawing is published here by kind permission of Mr. Hull, in the hope that it may elicit information as to parallels. Neither the accuracy of the drawing nor the authenticity of the object portrayed can, obviously, be guaranteed; and the size of the original is not recorded.



Fig. 1.—LOST TERRA-COTTA PLAQUE FROM COLCHESTER.

The scene is a novel and entertaining one. Beneath a running ivy-scroll a pair of armed gladiators, one complete, the other represented by one foot at the extreme left of the fragment, are fleeing for dear life along a rocky ledge, knee-deep in waves, before the onslaught of a whale-like monster, with crest erect and gaping jaws, which rises from a billow on the right. How are we to interpret this situation, in which two (or more) gladiators seem to have been surprised while 'paddling'? Is it a comic version of a marine *venatio*, in which the infuriated quarry successfully routs its human opponents?¹

VIII. THE GLASS 'MEDALLION' (Pl. IX).

On April 16, 1863, the Rev. John H. Pollexfen exhibited at

¹ Mr. Hull suggests to me that the fragment of a flat negative mould in the Colchester and Essex Museum, showing the figures of a gladiator and animal (?), may have belonged to the mould for just such a plaque as that depicted in the drawing.

the Society of Antiquaries of London a fully preserved glass 'medallion' which had been recently found in a 'black urn', brought to light by workmen while excavating the foundations of a house in Beverley Terrace, Colchester, on the site of the Roman cemetery.¹ Seven years later the medallion passed, with other objects from the Pollexfen Collection, to the British Museum, where it is now kept in the Department of British and Medieval Antiquities.² The medallion itself is of a deep, translucent blue, with a film of opaque white glass at the back, and measures $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter. It is mounted on a thin plate of bronze, once coated with white metal, which extends beyond the edge of the glass to form a convex frame, $\frac{1}{4}$ of an inch wide. The total diameter of glass and frame is $2\frac{1}{4}$ inches. The frame is damaged in two places; and the medallion has obviously been detached at some time from its mount and re-set in it incorrectly, for the breaks in the frame now appear on either side of the design (Pl. IX, fig. 1), whereas in the drawing made for the original publication they occur above and below it (Pl. IX, fig. 3). Moreover, the upper (now the right-hand) break, which, when the object was first discovered, seems to have been no more than a slight 'bite' into the rim, has since developed into a gap piercing the frame completely.³

The relief-design on the glass shows the frontal bust of a young man, clean-shaven, with neat, straight hair combed forward in the Julio-Claudian style, and wearing a cuirass, on the left shoulder of which appears the fold of a cloak. The face is turned slightly towards the spectator's left. Over each shoulder peeps the head of a young child, while the head of a third child nestles in front of the breast. Three other examples of this type of design (Type A) are known to the present writer—one, complete with bronze backing, frame, and ring, from Rheingönheim, now in the Pfalz Historical Museum, Speyer,⁴ the second from Haidin-bei-Pettau, now in Vienna,⁵ and a third, of unknown provenance, in the Department of Greek and

¹ *Archæologia*, vol. xxxix (1863), p. 508, pl. 24, fig. 1; *Ur-Schweiz*, vol. xv, part 4 (1951), p. 69, pl. 1, no. 8.

² Inv. No. 1870.2—24.2. Figs. 1, 2, 4, 5, 6, 7, and 8 on Plate IX are published by courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum.

³ The details of this design can be best studied in a cast (Pl. IX, fig. 2). For medallions of this series in general see (1) *VII Bericht d. Röm.-German. Kommission* (1912), p. 189 ff.; (2) F. Drexel in *Antike Plastik: Walter Amelung zum sechzigsten Geburtstag* (1928), p. 67 ff.; (3) *Germania Romana*, ed. 2, vol. v (1930), p. 23, pl. 36, figs. 2-4; (4) *Anzeiger für Schweizerische Altertumskunde*, vol. xxxv (1933), p. 19 ff.; (5) L. Curtius in *Röm. Mitt.*, vol. i (1935), p. 260 ff.; (6) F. Fremersdorf in *Bulletin van de Vereniging tot Bevordering der Kennis van de Antieke Beschaving*, vol. x (1935); (7) A. Alföldi in *Ur-Schweiz*, vol. xv, part 4 (1951).

⁴ Drexel, *op. cit.*, figs. 4 and 10; Fremersdorf, *op. cit.*, figs. 3a, 3b; Alföldi, *op. cit.*, p. 71, pl. 2, nos. 1, 2.

⁵ F. Eichler and E. Kris, *Die Kameen im Kunsthistorischen Museum* (1927), p. 60, no. 16, pl. 7; *Cambridge Ancient History*, Plates, vol. iv, 184, b; Alföldi, *op. cit.*, p. 71, pl. 5, no. 5.



1



2



3



4



6



7



8

Roman Antiquities of the British Museum.¹ Another type of design (Type B) shows a cuirassed male bust facing fully to front and the heads of two children, somewhat larger, and placed higher in the field, one on either side.² Of this type twelve examples are known to the writer, one found at Xanten, one at Niehl-bei-Köln, one at Vechten, and two at Nijmegen, while the rest are of unknown provenance. A third type is represented by a fragment from Xanten, now at Bonn, which shows part of the right side of a frontal cuirassed bust, with a small child's head surmounted by a star (set in the field at a point slightly lower than the heads on Type B, but higher than the lateral heads in Type A) above the right shoulder (Type C).³ Three more types known to the writer each present a frontal male bust unaccompanied by children—one, with cuirass and the head turned slightly towards the spectator's left, represented by three examples in the Museum of Vindonissa (where the piece was found), in the Giorgio Sangiorgi Collection, Rome (two examples), and in the British Museum respectively (Type D),⁴ the second, with the folds of a cloak on both shoulders and the head again turned slightly towards the spectator's left, represented by an example, which is equipped with a bronze backing, clamped to the glass by four clips, and a ring, in the British Museum (Type E = Pl. IX, fig. 6)⁵ the third, with cuirass and head turned slightly towards the spectator's right, also known from an example, somewhat damaged on the right-hand side, in the same collection and from two fragments in the Röm.-German. Zentralmuseum, Mainz (Type F = Pl. IX, fig. 5).⁶ Finally there is the type depicting a frontal bust of Agrippina I (Type G), known to the writer from three examples—a complete piece at Avenches, where it was found,⁷ a fragmentary specimen of unknown provenance in Berlin,⁸ and an almost perfect specimen found at Luguwallium (Carlisle) and now in private ownership, the only other glass medallion of this series,

¹ Drexel, *op. cit.* fig. 3. A variant of this type in the Musée d'Art et d'Histoire in Geneva shows the two lateral heads placed curiously and clumsily in horizontal positions (Drexel, *op. cit.* fig. 7). Cf. Alföldi, *op. cit.* p. 69, pl. 1, nos. 7 (and p. 67), 9.

² E.g. Drexel, *op. cit.* figs. 5, 6, 9; Alföldi, *op. cit.* pp. 69, 71, 73, pls. 1, nos. 2-6, 2, nos. 3, 9. Two fragments, one in the British Museum (H. B. Walters, *B.M. Cat. of Gems, etc.* (1926), no. 3921), and the other in the Louvre (*Bull. Musées de France*, May, 1950, p. 83, fig. 6) are unknown to Alföldi.

³ Drexel, *op. cit.* fig. 8; Alföldi, *op. cit.* p. 69, pl. 1, no. 1.

⁴ Curtius, *op. cit.* pl. 29, figs. 1, 2; Alföldi, *op. cit.* pp. 71, 73, pl. 2, no. 4, pl. 3, nos. 1-4; British Museum, Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities, Inv. No. 65.12-14.86; portrait in white on dull, dark-blue ground: unpublished (Pl. IX, fig. 4). The 'curdled' or 'scrambled' effect on the brow of the British Museum piece would appear to be due to some disturbance of the mould during the process of manufacture.

⁵ Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities, Inv. No. 1870, 2-24.1; Alföldi, *op. cit.* p. 73, pl. 1, no. 5.

⁶ Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities; Alföldi, *op. cit.* p. 69, pl. 1, nos. 10-12.

⁷ Drexel, *op. cit.* fig. 1; Alföldi, *op. cit.* p. 73, pl. 3, nos. 6, 7.

⁸ Drexel, *op. cit.* fig. 2.

besides the Colchester piece, discovered as yet on British soil.¹

All the medallions listed above show Julio-Claudian coiffure and style and are of uniform size and character; and Drexel suggested that the whole series was issued by order of the Emperor Gaius as a set of military decorations, worn on the person (hence the mountings and rings, which survive in the case of several specimens), for the German campaign of 39, and that they depict various members of the Emperor's family, whose memory he honoured with conspicuous piety.² The fact that the find-spots, when recorded, are all in, or near, military centres on the north-west frontiers of the Empire undoubtedly hints that some, at least, of these objects were distributed to, or inherited by, petty officers (?) stationed in those areas. In small, inexpensive works of this kind we can hardly look for minute iconographic precision; and while Agrippina I can be distinguished with certainty by her hair-style, the six male types are less easy to identify from hair and features, although we may assume (*pace* L. Curtius and A. Alföldi) that the variations between them indicate that they were meant to portray six different personalities. His great-grandfather, Divus Augustus, his father, Germanicus, his mother, Agrippina I, and his brothers, Nero and Drusus Cæsar, are commemorated on Gaius' coinage,³ and these numismatic commemorations may serve, in some measure, as a guide. Of the glass-medallion male types, Type F, the most idealised, lacks divine attributes and scarcely resembles even an exceptionally plump and youthful Divus Augustus, portrayed as *imperator* of the troops; it might show Gaius himself, looking, however, considerably younger than the age of twenty-seven to which he had attained in 39. But it would not be unnatural to suppose that, if Gaius issued the series, Type B portrays his father, Germanicus, with Nero and Drusus Cæsar (the two eldest members being selected to represent that notably large family) as boys. The last two princes may appear in adult guise in Types D and E. In Type A we might, in this context, recognise Gaius' paternal grandfather, Drusus I, with his three children, Germanicus, Livilla, and Claudius. Type C, with the child's head surmounted by a star, may have shown Gaius' maternal grandfather, Agrippa, with Gaius and Lucius Cæsar, to whose *Manes*, after their untimely deaths, divine honours were paid at Pisa,⁴ perhaps with the infant head of Agrippina I in front of the breast. The Pollexfen

¹ Ed. J. C. Bruce, *Lapidarium Septentrionale* (1870-75), p. 243, no. 485 (with woodcut); *Archæologia*, vol. xxxix (1863), p. 508 f. J. M. C. Toynbee and I. A. Richmond, 'A Roman glass phalera from Carlisle' (*Trans. Camb. and Westm. Ant. and Arch. Soc.*, vol. liii n.s. (1954), pp. 40-48).

² Cf. C. H. V. Sutherland, *Coinage in Roman Imperial Policy*, 31 B.C.-A.D. 68 (1951), p. 3 ff.

³ H. Mattingly and E. A. Sydenham, *The Roman Imperial Coinage*, vol. i (1923), pp. 116, 118, 120.

⁴ Dessau, *Inscr. Lat. Sel.*, nos. 139, 140.

medallion would, presumably, have been brought to Colchester by a soldier or veteran-colonist who had served under Gaius, or by the heir of such a soldier, and buried with its owner's remains.

To this theory of the series' date and origin one particular objection suggests itself. If Gaius ordered the series for the war of 39, we should expect to find in it one type, not only showing his portrait, but also singling him out as ruler; and while there is, as we have seen, one youthful portrait-type, Type F., which might be thought to reflect his features, it is of the same uniform size and character as the rest and in no way distinguished by special marks of sovereignty. A fragmentary blue glass medallion of larger size, found at Carnuntum and once in the Deutsch-Altenburg Museum but now, unfortunately, lost, bore, in very fine, high relief, a youthful head, laureate and facing three-quarters to front, which might pass as a portrait of Gaius of the type that we are seeking.¹ But even if we assumed (what is by no means certain) that this piece belongs to our series, there would still remain the difficulty of finding, on Drexel's theory, a suitable candidate for identification with the portrait of Type F.

There is, however, in the British Museum (from the Blacas Collection) the portion of a circular, or possibly oval, portrait-medallion (Pl. IX, fig. 7), executed in the same Julio-Claudian style and of the same deep, translucent blue as the pieces with which we have been dealing, but deriving from a piece considerably larger in diameter and carrying a laureate male head in profile to right.² The neck and bust have vanished, and with them all evidence for dress and attributes. Nor is there any record of the fragment's provenance. But the comparatively large size of the medallion and the laurel-wreath combine to suggest that we have here the likeness of a reigning Emperor, whose profile is not that of Augustus or of Gaius or of Claudius, as we know them from their coin-portraits, but shows the phenomenally large and markedly hooked nose familiar to us in coin-portraits of Tiberius.³ The British Museum fragment may, then, represent the key-type in the whole medallion-group, indicating that the date of its issue is to be sought within the principate of Tiberius, rather than within that of his successor. Since the identification of the female type as Agrippina I is certain, the group is likely to date from before the

¹ *Röm. Mitt.*, vol. liv (1939), p. 144, fig. 10; cf. Alföldi, *op. cit.* p. 70 and p. 80, notes 15, 16. The features of this head, at least as seen from the front, would seem to bear little resemblance, *pax* Alföldi, to those of Tiberius; the face is too full and square to be his. The upward glance is more suggestive of Nero; and this may have been the centre-piece of a later and quite different series and have been combined with Medusa-heads, Victories, and Dionysiac figures.

² Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities, from the Blacas Collection; Alföldi, *op. cit.* p. 73, pl. 3, no. 8. The writer reached this conclusion about the Tiberius piece before Professor Alföldi's paper came into her hands.

³ *Catalogue of Coins of the Roman Empire in the British Museum*, vol. i (1923), pls. 22-25.

beginning of open tension between her and Tiberius in 24;¹ and her presence in the series is unintelligible apart from that of other members of her immediate family, of her husband, Germanicus, and of her children. The one moment at which we might expect Tiberius to have accorded iconographic honours to the House of Germanicus was the occasion of the death of his own son, Drusus II, in September, 23, when the bereaved Emperor committed Germanicus' two eldest sons, Nero and Drusus, as 'unica praesentium malorum levamenta' and 'Augusti pronepotes', to the Senate's care.² To this occasion A. W. Byvanck assigns the famous 'Grand Camée de France' in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris,³ the main scene on which depicts, according to his interpretation,⁴ the presentation to the Roman world of the three sons of Germanicus, Nero, Drusus, and Gaius, as Tiberius' heirs, after their adoptive uncle's death. Returning to our glass medallions, seen in this context, we might identify Germanicus, with his three sons as infants, in Type A.⁵ In Types D, E, and F we might recognize the same three princes in more adult guise, more or less as they actually were in 23, Type F portraying the youngest, Gaius (who appears in military dress on the cameo) as somewhat mature for his eleven years. Type C we might still interpret, as in the context of Drexel's theory, as Agrippa,⁶ linking the sons of Germanicus directly with Augustus through their mother, Agrippina. Lastly, in Type B we might recognize a special commemorative portrait of the dead heir to the throne, Drusus II, with his twins, Gemellus and Germanicus Caesar, aged four in 23, the second of whom died late in the same

¹ Tacitus, *Ann.* iv, 17.

² *Ibid.*, iv, 8.

³ *Cambridge Ancient History*, Plates, vol. iv (1934), 156, b.

⁴ *Mnemosyne*, vol. xiii, part 3 (1947), p. 238 ff.

⁵ In the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities in the British Museum there is yet another unpublished medallion, oval in shape and of large size (c. 2.3 x 1.9 in.), showing the head of a youthful Julio-Claudian prince in profile to left, and executed in white glass on a dull, dark-blue ground. It is set in an ancient bronze frame, with traces of gilding on it, and is backed with bronze (Pl. IX, fig. 8). We cannot prove that this piece belongs to our series: but it may do so, since the small white-on-blue piece of Type D in the British Museum (*cf.* p. 19 note 4), executed in the same technique, clearly belongs. The new medallion is on an even larger scale than is the large fragmentary translucent blue piece portraying Tiberius (*vide supra*, p. 21); and it must represent an important personage. The features recall fairly clearly those of Germanicus in his coin-portraits (*Catalogue of Coins of the Roman Empire in the British Museum*, vol. i (1923), pls. 27, nos. 9-10; 28, nos. 1, 2; 29, nos. 3-6; 37, nos. 2, 9). As we have seen, the issue of a specially large and fine medallion with the portrait of Germanicus could be made to fit either of the two theories put forward above of the origin of our series. But if the British Museum medallion does belong to that series and represents Germanicus, we should expect that a correspondingly spectacular white-on-blue piece, portraying the reigning Emperor, either Gaius or Tiberius, was also issued and is still to seek. Medallions of this type are likely to have been presented to persons of higher rank than those who were decorated with the translucent glass pieces.

⁶ A small, oval glass medallion in the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities in the British Museum shows a white-on-blue male frontal bust, unaccompanied by children, with features reminiscent of those of Agrippa. This piece may possibly belong to our series, to which it is linked by the white-on-blue specimen of Type D.

year.¹ There is a distinct resemblance between the face of Type B as seen in profile and the coin-portraits of Drusus II.² Our medallion-group may represent a form of this 'family propaganda' designed for the north-west frontier armies, in which the memory of Germanicus and of the military exploits of his father and uncle was still held in particular reverence. The Pollexfen medallion might easily be the personal decoration of a Colchester veteran, who was presented with it *c.* 23 and died not long after the founding of the *colonia* in 49-50. The Carlisle medallion is unlikely to have been lost on that site before the establishment of a garrison there in the early seventies; and, if issued *c.* 23, it can hardly have been the personal decoration of the man who dropped it. But single pieces, once part of a set of nine (?) pieces, might have been bequeathed by those who received them, in the first instance, to their heirs and have been carried about by the latter, not as decorations, but as mementos or amulets. The find-spot of the Carlisle piece, and even that of the Pollexfen piece, could be explained not unreasonably on such lines.³

(The thanks of the Society are due to The Council for British Archaeology for a grant of £50 towards the cost of printing Professor Toynbee's paper.)

¹ Tacitus, *Ann.* iv, 15. It is possible that we have in Type C a variant of Type B, showing Drusus II with his twins, here portrayed as the Dioscuri with a star above the head of each: see Alföldi, *op. cit.*, p. 75 and p. 71, pl. 11, nos. 6, 7.

² *Catalogue of Coins of the Roman Empire in the British Museum*, vol. i (1923), pl. 24, no. 8.

³ According to Professor Alföldi's recently published view of these glass medallions (*op. cit.*), Types A, B, C and D all portray Drusus II, and the series was issued by Tiberius between the birth of his twin grandsons in 19 and the death of Drusus in 23: Types E and F respectively depict Nero and Drusus, sons of Germanicus; while in Type G we are to recognize a portrait of Livilla, wife of Drusus II. To this theory various objections present themselves:—(i) While it may be admitted that Type C is possibly a variant of Type B (*vide supra*, note 1), the persons portrayed in Types A, B and D would seem to be clearly differentiated from one another by features, hair-style, and number, or absence, of children. (ii) Our medallions are likely to have formed part of an original set of nine phalerae (*cf.* the Lauenfort set of nine, *Berlin W'inkelmannsprogramm*, 1932, and representations of sets of nine phalerae on military stelae). Of such a set we now have eight (or seven, if Types B and C are to be identified as variants of one another) different types and it seems impossible to believe that Drusus II would have appeared three times in the same set in different guises. (iii) The lady of Type G has the characteristic hair-style and features of Agrippina I; had Livilla been intended, it is likely that she would have been differentiated from Agrippina more sharply. (iv) A series of Imperial portrait-medallions produced, as these clearly were, for the Rhineland armies and intended as 'propaganda' for the unity of the two branches of the Imperial House, could hardly have included portraits of Germanicus' sons and omitted those of their parents, to whom the Rhineland troops had been so deeply attached. Professor Alföldi's statement that military decorations could not have carried portraits of dead members of the Imperial House (Divus Augustus excepted) is not convincing. Again, while the preservation of portraits of Germanicus and Agrippina I as military heirlooms at Colchester and Carlisle respectively is perfectly intelligible, the preservation of portraits of Drusus II and Livilla in such circumstances is not so easy to explain.

If our medallions formed a set of nine, the missing type might have been that of Antonia, mother of Germanicus. If Types B and C are variants of one another and there are two gaps to be filled, a second missing type could have been that of Livia.

There would appear to have been four different versions of the set in four different kinds of glass:—(i) dark translucent blue (the majority of extant pieces), (ii) lighter opaque blue (the Carlisle piece), (iii) translucent green (one of the Sangiorgi Collection examples of Type D), (iv) white-on-dark-blue (the British Museum example of Type D; *vide supra*, p. 19, note 4).

THE SOUTH WING OF THE ROMAN 'FORUM' AT COLCHESTER: RECENT DISCOVERIES

By M. R. HULL, M.A., F.S.A.

EARLY in the summer of 1953 part of the premises of Messrs. Kent, Blaxill was burnt out, and by November the site had been cleared. By the excellent co-operation of the firm and the architects, Messrs. Duncan Clark and Beckett, it was possible to cut a trench across the line of the south wing of the 'forum' before rebuilding began. It was also possible to watch the subsequent building.

The work thus fell into two parts, that done under my direction, and that done in excavating for the new building. Each operation had its advantages and disadvantages, and I am most grateful for the intelligent interest taken by two of Messrs. Hutton's workmen (Mr. W. Smith and Mr. R. Coan), and the patience of their Clerk of Works, Mr. Philip Hutton, without which this report could not have been written.

The first trench was 3 feet wide and 37 feet long north to south. After removing the brick footings and old floors of recent buildings there was less than a foot of dark sandy soil, presumably that of the gardens of the seventeenth-century houses. Below this lay several layers of little else but rubble from Roman buildings. Traces of masonry (or anything else) of the Norman period were sought, but none were found.

The building exposed had a single massive foundation, 15 feet broad from north to south, and was unquestionably Roman. It presented the appearance of having a well-built wall, only 18 inches thick, running east to west down its centre. Over this centre wall and northwards from it, extending beyond the north end of the trench, i.e., 25 feet or more, the rubble (B, C)¹ was so loose that it could not stand, and the trench had to be completely shuttered. It was noted, however, that the rubble seemed to lie in one continuous curved bank covering the masonry, and this was later amply confirmed elsewhere. South of the centre this bank was of yellowish loam and gravel, with a copious admixture of broken mortar and rubble, comparatively compact and stable. It was clear that the building had been robbed from the north.

¹ The letters refer to the section, fig. 3 A.

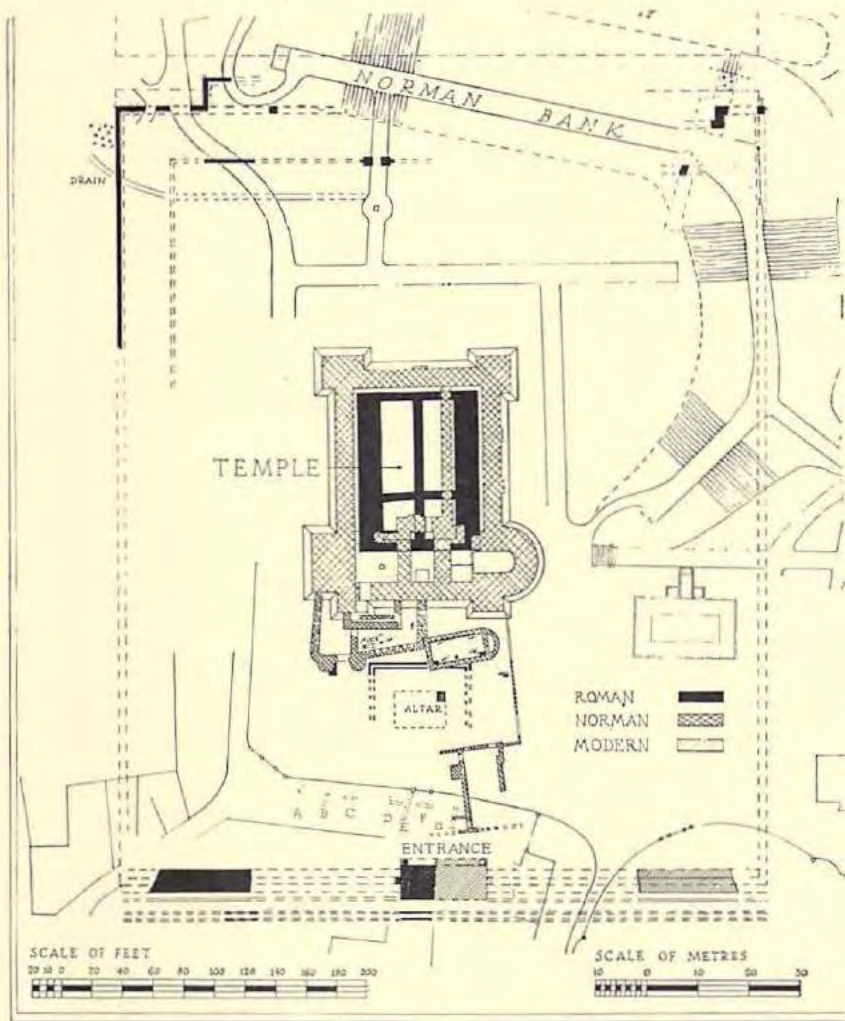


Fig. 1.—GENERAL PLAN OF THE TEMPLE AND 'FORUM' AT COLCHESTER.

Before the great demolition, which we ascribe to the Normans, the floors of the building had been robbed, and the wall-facings. There is about a foot of earth (D) lying, here and there, on the ruined floors, sealed down by the rubble of the demolition, and the line of a spoil-trench can be seen as a dip in the rubble, filled with mortar of a greyish colour or sometimes marked by dark earth. In all this layer very little was found. The few scraps of Roman pottery are all of fourth-century date.

The surface here slopes slightly down to the south, owing to the former presence of the remains of the Norman rampart and ditch. The natural yellow sand lies at 9 to 10 feet below, at about 78.5 above Ordnance datum. Into it was cut the foundation trench for a wall 15 feet thick. On the south side the wall was built against the yellow sand, on the north two or three feet of the trench was in excess and allowed the face of the wall to be built free. It shows as four carefully built courses of dressed stone standing on six inches of concrete. Above this the face of the wall is covered by an inch or more of rough but even plaster, the lower edge of which shows that it marked ground level. The total height of wall remaining is over four feet.

On the south face the lower part of the foundation slants inward as it did further east. In the upper part the coursing is visible, in the lower it is obscured by the mortar of the joints (Pl. II); there is no plaster and there has not been any. The material of the wall throughout seems to be large water-worn cobbles of septaria, which are only dressed when used in the face. The mortar is yellowish. The stones are from a sea-beach, some bearing barnacles, and many perforated by boring molluscs.

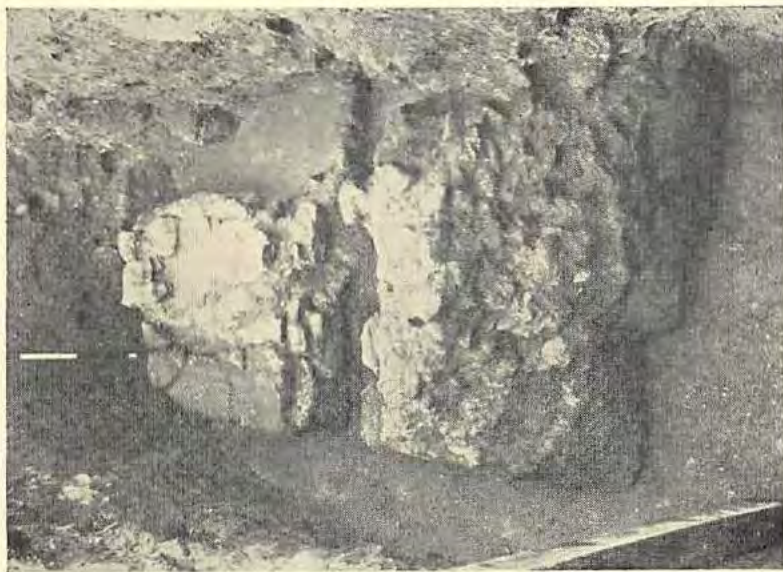
The top of the wall, as found, is irregular, but seems originally to have been levelled off and used as two floors, one on each side of the central wall. On the north about 2½ feet of pink mortar floor, 3 inches thick, extended from the central wall (Y), and remains of it were seen later behind this wall on each side of Hole 15. It was never possible to discover its original form to the north, and in Holes 14 and 43 it could not be observed with certainty at all, but this could be due to the way in which the builders did the excavation work. This floor is smooth but coarse, and finishes against the red plaster skirting of the wall. It slopes a little, down to the north. It seems always to be broken as it approaches robbed masonry, so that there may have been masonry all along its north side.

The raw surface left by the removal of this pavement and of the ashlar blocks (when the very hard mortar on which it was bedded came away with the stone, as it frequently did) extended often south of both walls and piers. On this south side it was very difficult to

PLATE I.



A. PIER 3 AND WALLS, LOOKING EAST.



B. PIER 3 AND WALL 4, LOOKING WEST.

come to any firm conclusion regarding the nature of the floor. It was first noticed in a pilot shaft sunk by the architects, when, after penetrating the heavy deposit of rubble, the men came upon a level surface of very white mortar, which was quite hard.

When this surface was exposed in our trench, close alongside, it appeared to me to be of yellowish-brown mortar, but afterwards when it had been exposed to some frost, I asked the men to remove it,¹ and after they had removed what would come away freely they left a more or less smooth white surface, lying on brown mortar, the removal of which seemed to me too laborious to be undertaken. Later still, the whole top of the platform was cleared from here eastwards and one part of this floor (or rather, I think, *bed* for a floor) could be examined. It lay on the south edge of the platform opposite pier 2 (visible in Pl. I, X in fig. 3), and was almost two feet wide, north to south, sloping down further to the hollow left where the cement bed for the ashlar lay. Its composition was clear, about three inches of brown mortar, then a thin, hard white layer, then another three inches of brownish mortar.

Elsewhere I searched particularly for signs of marks to show either variations in this mortar or traces of what had lain upon it. But the manner in which the work was done, the labourers simply working away as fast as possible with heavy shovels and trampling on the part exposed, really made useful observations impossible. I had the impression that the mortar layer varied, but in no comprehensible manner. I think it is safe to say that it bore no marks of slabs of stone or tesseræ, nor was it really ever smooth enough to have been itself a finished floor. The builders were of the opinion that the piece examined opposite pier 2 had been built upon, but I feel that if this were so we would have to suppose that pretty well the whole platform south of walls and piers was built upon, which I do not see can be contemplated.

The platform was erected to carry a structure built along its centre line, the visible remains of which appear to have belonged to five masonry piers linked by narrow walls bearing plaster skirtings. These were all recovered piecemeal, each discovery being made almost separately, and the measurements in each case could only be taken from the sides of the hole, sometimes with timbering in position, sometimes without. Consequently they are not reliable to an inch, and one might say not to a foot, were it not for the fact that, when plotted they fit in together so well that it seems we may rely upon them pretty closely.

¹ This was done following the suggestion of Sir Mortimer Wheeler that the masonry must be examined for joints.

The piers are normally built of a rubble concrete core, apparently continuous with the platform below, the mortar being yellow-brown. The core was usually well-defined, often having vertical and straight sides round the base to a height of eight or ten inches. Above this the core was usually damaged and receded towards the centre; the height remaining reaching two feet or more. But in one or two places the core was observed to overhang the flat face somewhat. The faces mark where ashlar blocks have been robbed, and one large example of these still lay in position at the south-west corner of pier 3 (Pl. I, A). It was so firmly bedded that it was difficult to remove intact even with modern tools. The ancient robbers must have broken many blocks, and a broken one was found abandoned against the east side of pier 2. They were laid, the builders told me, in 'hot' mortar; that is to say while the lime was freshly mixed and still warm, and this they assured me accounted for its great tenacity and hardness.¹

This very hard mortar is easily recognized where it remains round the piers, but it sometimes adhered to the ashlar and parted from the platform, leaving a ragged hole, the division of which from the adjacent natural surface of the platform is not always recognizable. Nevertheless, in the end we have been able to put together what appears to be a fairly consistent picture of the plan of these piers with their ashlar facing.

The piers were united by thin walls, the ends of all of which had been cut away in the operation of robbing the ashlar of the piers (Pl. I, A & B). The walls themselves had been neglected almost as much as the cores of the piers, for they contained no ashlar, but were built of septaria and tile, with plaster mouldings on both sides at the base.

We will now describe these units in detail:

PIER 5. This is the most westerly found, and it is unfortunate that we do not know how far it is from the south-west corner of the whole building. This distance might reasonably be something like 18 feet. The shaft sunk is not shown on the architect's plan and is unnumbered. It was 4 feet north to south by 6 feet east to west and lies under the T-junction of walls, near the north-west angle of the new building. It was excavated 20 August, 1953, and I was unable to have access to it to measure as I would have liked. In the centre of the hole lay the core of a pier, surrounded by the hard mortar bed for the ashlar facing. The width of the core was not secured; we have assumed that it was as usual.

¹ I have since learnt that this explanation is without scientific basis.

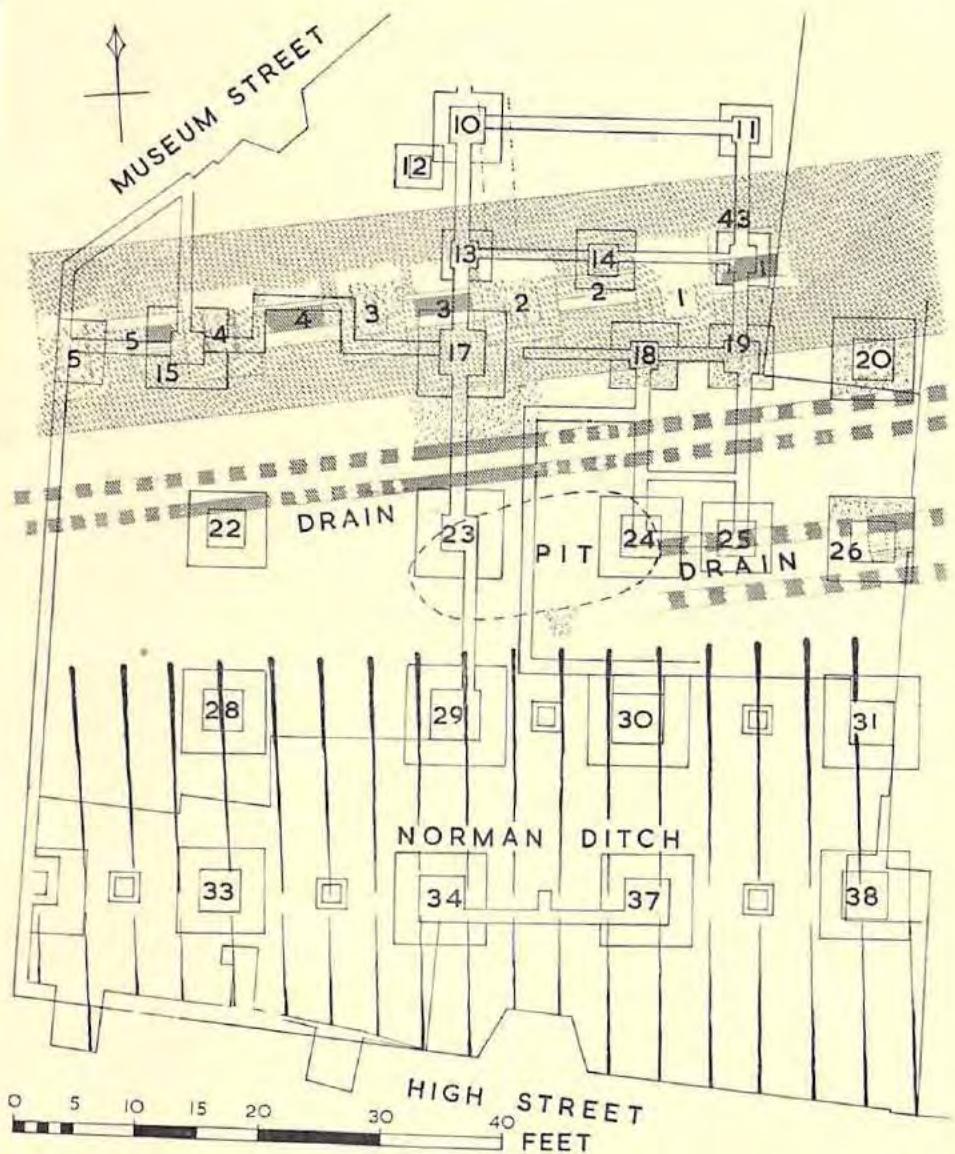


Fig. 2.—DETAILED PLAN OF THE KENT, BLAXILL SITE.

WALL 5.¹ Only seen in Hole 15, where its broken end protruded from the west side. Its base begins with two courses of septaria laid on the platform, to a width of 31 inches. Upon this is a foundation of four courses of tiles, 5 inches high and 21 inches wide. Upon this the wall was built, 15 inches wide, with a 3 inch offset on each side, consisting of two courses of septaria crowned by one of tile.

The stone base had been concealed by the flooring; on the south face the tile base had been plastered with fine hard white plaster, half an inch to an inch thick, with a step or offset at half height. So far as we know this plaster would be continuous with the surface of the floor. On the north the floor was in position, of hard pink mortar about 3 inches thick, laid upon a white mortar.

On both north and south sides a plaster moulding had been added at a later date. On the north this was a plain, tall skirting some 12 inches high with a convex curve. The surface was not carefully smoothed. On the south the moulding was set high up, so as to cover the offset of the wall, and had two limbs, both convexly rounded. The upper was nearly vertical on the face of the wall, the lower was fatter and more horizontal, covering the offset. The under side was smooth, where it had been set on the floor. The plaster of both skirtings was of large crushed tile in very white mortar.

South of the wall and Pier 4 our floor was the rough top of the platform, lying six inches below the level of the pink floor to the north. Upon it lay a few inches of brownish soil, otherwise the earth covering the remains here was all black, and that north of the wall was mixed with mortar.

PIER 4, in Hole 15. The core of the pier was of the usual nature; the mark of ashlar was clear on its west and south sides. The former would take a block 18 inches high by about 20 inches wide and perhaps 4 feet 6 inches long, but several blocks would be used to fill this space. The space on the front was 8 inches high and 17 inches wide, length unknown. The south face of the core, behind, was covered with smooth mortar, as if plastered, but it was thin and rough, and bulged forward at the top. The width of the ashlar on the east is conjectural.

WALL 4. Was uncovered in our own second trench at leisure. As in the case of the others it had been broken at both ends by the stone-robbers. At the west end there was a good two feet left between the broken end and the end of our trench, and in this space there must have stood the ashlar of Pier 4, but no trace of it could be found on the platform.

This wall was built as the last, having a base of septaria supporting a base of tile upon which stood the wall proper, built of septaria and

¹ Sections of the walls are shown, fig. 3, B-E.

PLATE II.



SOUTH FACE OF PLATFORM, WITH PIER 2 AND THE PLASTER MOULDING OF WALL 3 (left).

tile. On the north lay a portion of the same pink floor that we saw at Wall 5, on the south lay only the ragged top of the platform, at a low level.

The tile base consisted of three courses, $7\frac{1}{2}$ inches high and 27 inches broad, reduced at the top by an offset to 26 inches, the thickness of the wall, which had been of septaria and tile (see section). On the north, as in Wall 5, there was plastering, but in this case, perhaps owing to the thicker wall, it amounted to a flat plaster on the face of the wall. On the south there had first been the hard white plaster, with offset half way up, and later a new skirting had been made in the white mortar full of crushed tile. This had not a clear double moulding such as was found elsewhere, but was moulded in a broad flat curve, laid very horizontally so that it is the widest of all these mouldings. The soil under the overhang of this (where the floor had been) was yellow loam full of small gravel.

PIER 3 (Pl. I, B.). Was excavated by ourselves. The rubble core was well-preserved, being 3 feet 3 inches wide and nearly 3 feet high. Its sides were all straight at the base, where ashlar blocks had been robbed. Only one block, at the south-west corner, remained in position. It measured 26 by 10 inches in plan. The height was between 8 and 10 inches, for the under side is quite rough and undressed. The upper surface on the other hand is not only well-dressed, like the other four sides, but is worn smooth as by foot-traffic. It is unlikely that it was thus worn while lying in its position in the ruins, so that this seems to be a stone re-used from another building.

The floor around this pier was carefully examined for us by Mr. R. Dumbreck. To the south the face of the pier was perfectly flat, and the hard cement for the ashlar extended for a width of at least 19 inches, finishing with a broken edge, so that it might have been more (see plan). On the west the end of the existing ashlar block seems to have been the face of the pier, so that the ashlar course had been narrower, for the core overhung somewhat. On the east side one block had projected into the core to an extent of $19\frac{1}{2}$ by 7 inches, while the total extent of the thickness (at the south-east corner) had been 21 inches, as shown by the hard cement. Further back this decreased to 10 inches, but the east edge may be imperfect.

The evidence at this pier was better than at most, the width of the rubble was 2 feet $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches on the south face and 3 feet 4 inches further back. Like most of the piers there was here some slight suggestion that the east and west sides of the rubble splayed a little wider apart towards the north. In the rubble one or two fragments were noted of the same bluish lava which was used in definite facing courses in the masonry found in 1932.

WALL 3. This was the first masonry found. It was broken at both ends by robbers, but the centre was in good order. The base was of septaria built in one with the platform, and upon this stood the tile base, of five courses, 21 inches wide. This reduced by offsets to a wall only 15 inches thick, built of two courses of septaria followed by one of tile. The offsets were covered by plaster; in the first period, on the south side only, by a skirting of fine white plaster, with a sharp offset at half-height. The height was $11\frac{1}{2}$ inches, which is one Roman foot. In the second period the floor was raised a foot and a new skirting laid, consisting of a double-curved moulding 14 inches high and 12 inches broad, projecting 9 inches beyond the white plaster beneath. The under-side of this was perfectly smooth, showing that it lay on a perfect floor. The plaster this time was of large crushed tile in very white mortar, and the finish was almost a polish (Pl. III, A).

On the north side the skirting was also of pink mortar, but not, I think, of the same mix as on the south, moreover it ran into the pink mortar floor, with which it was continuous, so that I do not know whether this floor is of period one or period two. But the question depends on whether we have two floors on the north side at Wall 4.

PIER 2. The rubble core of this pier stood high. As at Pier 3 it extended eastwards towards the rear, so here it extended westwards. The trenches cut through walls and rubble to extract the ashlar on each side were very clear, and easily distinguished, for once, by a different shade in the mortar. In the eastern trench lay the remains of one of the stone blocks, abandoned presumably because it was broken. The south front of the rubble was 3 feet wide and quite rough, it projected one foot beyond the limit of the pink plaster, whereas the south front of Pier 3 was in line with the latter. But the southern part of this pier was destroyed by the pilot-shaft, so that the position of the ashlar face is quite conjectural. In the later clearance of this area we had hopes that we might determine the outline of the rear, or north, side of this Pier. But when the occasion came the builders were in such haste that no opportunity could be gained to examine the surface of the platform. As I watched I had the impression that there was no more to be seen than what we already had on the plan.

WALL 2. This was the one case where the builders really let us down. Traces of pink plaster along the south front were noted early in the clearing of the boiler room, but remained untouched in the bank until the last, when the work of clearing approached from the north side. I saw the earth removed up to the back of the wall, when there was revealed the pink plaster skirting of the north side in perfect condition, looking exactly like that of Wall 3. Mr. Philip Hutton

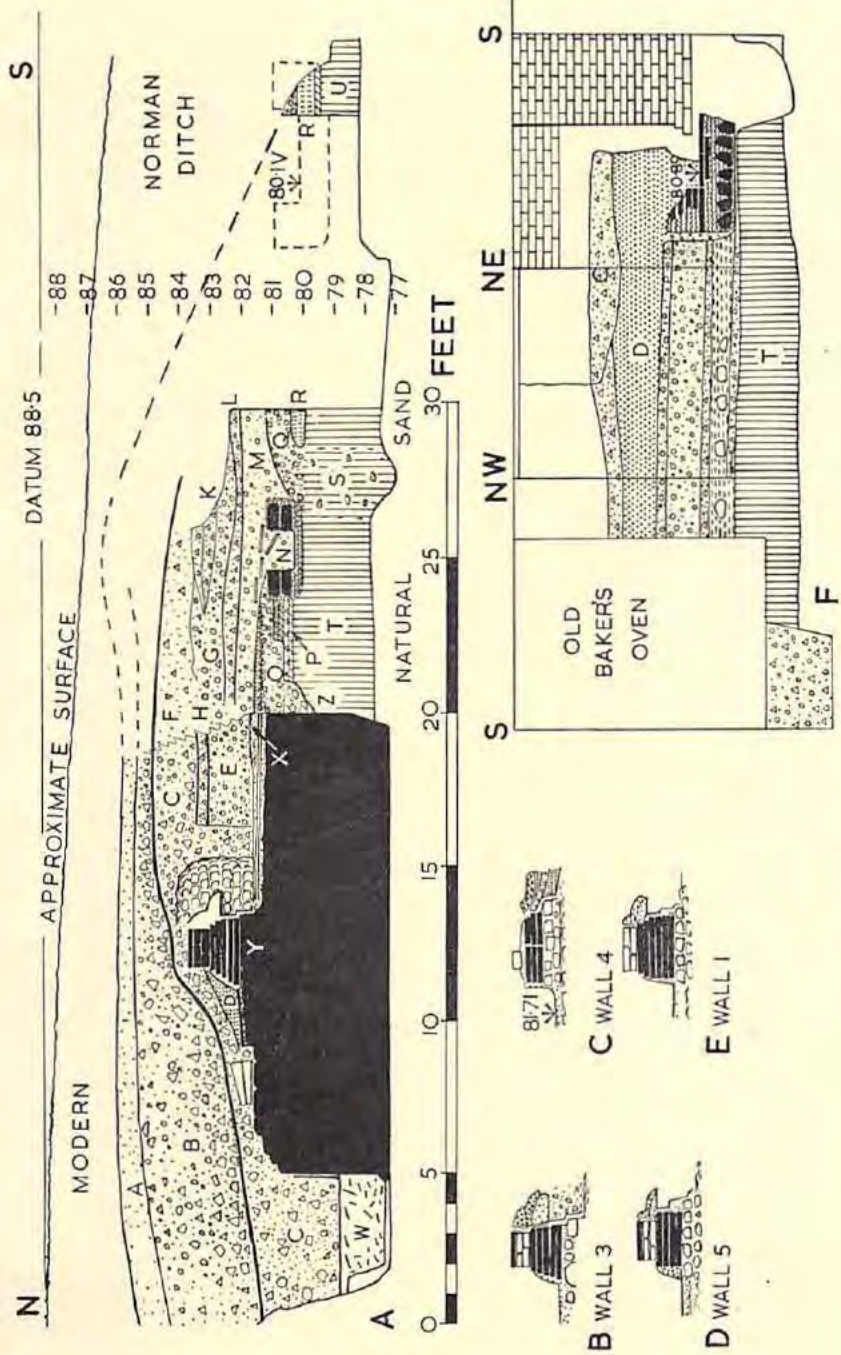


Fig. 3.—SECTIONS A TO F, KENT, BLAXILL SITE.

had said he would preserve anything found for me, but on return from lunch I found the men looking very guilty, and the whole wall broken out and removed except for some large pieces of the pink plaster.

This wall, so far as I can now guess, was a duplicate of Wall 3, but this cannot be regarded as certain. The men tried to tell me that there was nothing more there than the north skirting, but this I do not believe, or at least, find it hard to do so. If it was so I think the wall must have been much further south than any of the others. The exact position of the north skirting was not obtained and its position on the plan is assumed. I feel that the plaster we saw from the south was not the south side of the north skirting, but the broken edge of the south skirting, with which its height above the top of the platform would agree. Unfortunately we shall never know the truth.

The pieces broken out and shown to me were rather strange; for some of the lower part of the wall adhered to the plaster, and it consisted of small pieces of tile in very dry mortar with many cavities. It seemed much less careful than the other walls, and reminded me of the pier removed at St. Martin's House in 1950.

PIER 1. This pier was scarcely recognizable, the robbers had practically razed it. All that was left was part of the trace of the hard mortar for the ashlar round it, and, in the middle, some large rough stones set in the top of the platform as a base for the rubble core. (*cf.* the large stone under Wall 3). Otherwise, however, it falls into its right position, and seems to have been of the regular dimensions. The exact dimensions of the ashlar are not certain, for some of the marks are ambiguous, as shown on the plan.

WALL 1. By the time we came to this wall we had gained experience of the regular spacing to be expected, and were ready for it. Unfortunately, this wall had been damaged more than the others. It was founded like the rest, with four courses of tiles on septaria, the tiles having one offset; above them were two more courses of tile each offset a little. The lowest tile course was $24\frac{1}{2}$ inches wide, and the wall itself was 17 inches. Parts of two courses of septaria remained.

On the south we found the usual first skirting of white plaster with sharp offset. Upon it was laid the second skirting of pink or red still 10 inches wide, but broken, and its original shape uncertain, but apparently again different from the others. On the north side the pink skirting was thin, just sufficient to cover the tiles. Its continuation as a pink floor could not be clearly made out.

Owing to the piecemeal way in which the work was done, the accurate plotting of the remains was difficult, especially before the lines of the new building had been laid out. After this a plumb-bob could be used. It was even very difficult to lay out the line of the great

PLATE III.



A. SOUTH FACE OF PLATFORM.



B. THE SMALLER DRAIN.

platform. In the end, however, we feel that the plan submitted is satisfactory. The centre line of platform and wall were definitely fixed in relation to the corner of the existing red brick building, and the south edge of the platform in relation to stanchion 23 of the new building. When plotted on these lines all discoveries fall into the correct positions where they were made. The only variation possible being a very slight swing about the position of the first point mentioned.

When drawn out at 4 feet to the inch, on an enlargement of the 1 : 500 map (where some little latitude must be allowed), the line of the platform strikes the masonry found in 1932 correctly on the west side.

The broad, tiled drain, the line of which we have, can also be projected, and joins accurately with the same drain on the 1932 plan. Our foundation joins the 1932 one about the middle of the west side, and the 5 feet thick wall found in 1932 begins to look like the easternmost pier of our series.

The next consideration is whether or not our foundation really runs through to join the masonry of 1932. In that year we were digging in a very confined space, and it was quite impossible to uncover the foundations of the east to west wall. On the other hand we did find an edge, or an offset, along the west side of the great foundation. I am, however, quite unable after this lapse of time to say whether we might then have missed seeing our foundation had it been present. I feel that had it been present we would have known.

Next, if it were present, the 5 feet wall should be one of our piers and I feel that it cannot be so. With the ashlar our piers seem to have measured at the very least 6 feet from south to north. This wall retains its facing (in the upper part) and this is of small (though well-cut) blocks. We know that the lower part of our ashlar was of large blocks, but we have hints that the upper part may have been of smaller stuff. This may account for the undercutting seen in 1932, which would then be due to the extraction of the large blocks lying low down. Indeed, we are now illumined on the fact that part of a large block actually remained in situ in the deepest part of the undercutting at the south-west corner of the great 1932 foundation. The facing higher up, here too, was of small blocks.

It is not impossible, therefore, that the style of the facing may have been similar throughout our building.

Despite the difficulty of measuring and aligning masonry at the bottom of deep excavations it is encouraging to find our plan coming out as consistently as it does. Thus Wall 3 appears to have been 6 feet 6 inches long, with Pier 2 on its east 6 feet 3 inches wide, and

Pier 3 on its west 5 feet 7 inches wide. Wall 4 seems to have been 6 feet 7½ inches long, and Pier 4 about 6 feet wide. The position of the core of Pier 5 (not at all accurately known) seems to indicate that Wall 5 was 6 feet 6 inches long, and Pier 5 5 feet 6 inches wide. Eastwards, the mark of the ashlar of Pier 1 suggests that Wall 2 was 6 feet 6 inches long, and the pier itself 5 feet 6 inches, with ashlar of uneven thickness. There is nothing to indicate how long Wall 1 was, but we assume 6 feet 6 inches.

The walls therefore seem to be quite standard at 6 feet 6 inches; the piers are not so uniform, but seem to have run alternately at widths of 5 feet 6 inches (nos. 1, 3, 5) and 6 feet (nos. 2, 4). Though equal in length, all the walls seem to have differed in some way, sometimes in thickness, always in outline of the red plaster moulding, and I strongly suspect, in the dimensions of the first white plaster moulding. The piers may have differed more than we know, for the outlines of the marks of the ashlar are only occasionally certain. The exact line of the face of the ashlar of Piers 3 and 2 is not certain. In the case of the former it was never properly uncovered, in the case of the latter it was cut away by the pilot-shaft sunk by the architects. There are other cases, such as Pier 1, where the signs are ambiguous or too vague for certainty. There also remains the doubt about the very flat face of the core on the face of Pier 3; one wonders whether it was actually faced or exposed.

Before going on to describe the nature of the loose and broken ruins lying over these remains we will complete the description of the Roman remains found in situ south of the great foundation. (Fig. 3 A and F.)

In the first trench cut, as we left the platform, the layer of white mortar was found to continue at a level about 6 inches lower. But it could perhaps originally merely have been thicker, and so have continued horizontal. It ran on southwards for 4 feet when we came upon a drain (N) built of stone and lined with plaster, running parallel to the platform. First impressions were that the walls of this drain were shoddy, but the plaster was strong, for the floor was all plaster and several inches thick, and so strong that the builder's men said it was special waterproof stuff. Our photograph failed and we have only the unsatisfactory Press photo. which we use (Pl. III, B), and which, nevertheless, does give some poor idea of how the alabaster blocks were visible in its walls.

When demolished this drain proved to be of inferior workmanship. The floor was of very thin plaster (the thickness noticed in section 1 was purely local), but thick under the walls, so that, with two courses of stone on top, the walls seemed to contain three courses, but the lower one was plaster. The walls were thinly plastered over, but it

PLATE IV.



FRAGMENTS OF COLOURED MARBLES.

Cipollino.

Africano

Rosso Antico.

Carrara.

Purbeck,

White and pink.

Pavonazetto.

Giallo Antico.

Scale of inches.

was possible to discern the white blocks of alabaster, which were almost continuous in the lower course on the north side, and frequent on the south.

One of the upper stones on the south side was the large lump of moulded plaster (no. D 6 below) lying face down. Not far away another stone in the wall had been cut from a larger stone carved, apparently, with a wreath. The other stones were either rough lumps of (Lincolnshire?) limestone, broken from larger pieces, or rough blocks of alabaster, rough only because of decay, for they had, it seemed, been well-shaped. The drain therefore was built of reused material, and I attribute the decay of the alabaster to the action of fire. The whole could have been salvaged from the ruins of the Temple after its destruction by Boudicca, and one can imagine that this drain might have been built in this comparatively shoddy manner in a rehabilitation scheme carried out at great speed.

Beyond the drain some trace of a street was sought, but there were only the layers R and Q which appeared to be earlier than the drain, but actually the ground was disturbed of old, and, more recently by a large pit full of black soil and pottery of seventeenth-century date.

The most notable point here was that the natural sand, found at approximately the same level as on the north side, was overlaid by a layer of soggy, clayey loam (T) $2\frac{1}{2}$ to 3 feet thick, which was obviously placed in position, for it raised the surface two feet or more above the equivalent natural surface on the north, and, against the foundation, contained odd septaria blocks (at Z). Careful watch showed no pottery or other remains in it.¹ In the opinion of the builder's men it was laid to make the drain waterproof.

This first section was spoilt by the seventeenth-century pit. Later excavations for stanchions 24, 25, 26, fell on the line of the broad drain discovered in 1932 (Pl. VIII, A). This was first found in Hole 26, where excavations for cellars and a baker's oven had left the northern part of the drain in position. In Hole 25 a cellar or oven had completely removed it, but in Hole 24 part of the northern half was again seen, and the two exposures give the line on which this drain comes through this part of the site. It is parallel to the foundation, and the centre-line of the drain (assuming it to have been three feet wide as before) is 18 feet 6 inches from the south face of the foundation. In neither case could one gather anything of its relationship to any other levels. Its floor was at 80.59 above O.S. datum; that of the smaller drain was 80.36.

In the long, broad cut made between stanchions 23 and 24 (see

¹ Exceptions noted on p. 51.

section, fig. 3, R) some road-metalling was seen on the line of this drain, and since it rises higher than the bottom of the smaller drain it must also have interrupted the larger drain. Thus we have to expect that the latter stops or turns aside at stanchion 24.

Disappointingly, little evidence regarding the Roman street was found. It was hardly to be expected between the foundation and the smaller drain, but we hoped to find it south of the latter. In our first trench we were baulked by the large black pit which had cut nearly everything away. The west side of the trench, however, gave the impression that we were looking at the side of the pit. Upon the natural sand was a somewhat dirty layer of loam and pebbles, and upon this a confused layer, including black soil, and a large slab of fine pink concrete with broken edges, which I judged to be well out of place. Other odd pieces of this were found tumbled in the filling of the pit. Above the concrete was about 3 inches of broken plaster. Then there had been a thick layer of gravel, possibly a road which had been partly dug away, and then levelled with yellowish loam. Above this there was what appeared to be a road, consisting of over a foot of yellowish loam and gravel, with some mortar, and the top of it appeared to have formed a gravelled surface. Now the top of this lies at 82.77 feet, which is well above the top of the platform and fits in better with the level of the turf line over the Roman ruins.

I must register my lack of confidence in this part of the work. I felt that, although I drew in what I saw, so far as I could, there was something amiss, either in interpretation or in the soil before me. I felt, among other things, that lumps of the side of the large pit might have slipped and appear before me in a wrong order, but this could never account for something appearing *too high up* in the section, which I think this 'road' does. I am quite at a loss to account for heavy fragments of concrete—apparently flooring—being found at a low level outside (south of) the smaller drain.

Later, when this cut was widened to 10 feet or more (eastwards), it was found that the pit had spared a portion of road which lay (as I think did that just mentioned) upon the spongy pug under the small drain (fig. 3, above U). On the pug lay a 2-inch layer of grey clay stained with charcoal, and then a very fine road-metalling of extremely hard sand, pebbles, and mortar, $6\frac{1}{2}$ inches thick (R). Above this there was a small fragment of a second metalling of a more loose gravel, also $6\frac{1}{2}$ inches thick. The top of the larger remnant was particularly smooth and hard. Its level is at 80.96 feet—that is about level with the top of the wall of the smaller drain, and much lower (1.8 feet) than the gravelling just mentioned, which may correspond to the next layer above. Since this lies upon the pug it must represent the first

PLATE V.



A. STONE WITH INCISED CARVING.



B. STONE BEARING PART OF A CARVED WREATH (?).
Scale of inches.

Roman street (for there is none, and has never been one, lower). No other remains of a street, as such, were observed, chiefly due to the way in which the ground was disturbed by cellars and other old excavations. Before continuing with other gravel levels we will deal with the deposits covering the remains of the masonry.

In the first trench, which we cut ourselves, the rubble was found to be piled high over the centre of the foundation or platform. Indeed, it was covered by only about two feet of modern rubbish. It turned out to consist, northwards of the centre, of very loose lumps of mortar, stone and tile, in very confused layers, and south of the centre, of several layers of yellowish earth variously admixed with mortar and scattered rubble. (Modern deposits are here omitted.) The whole followed a general pattern whereby it was humped high over the centre and sloped down to north and south and this seemed satisfactorily equated with the Norman rampart.

Now we are told by Morant that the Normans had a wall with towers here, and we know that about 1683 Robert Northfolk filled in the Norman Ditch and built houses upon it. Accordingly, we were always aware that Norman remains might be encountered, with signs of Northfolk's activity. It can now be said, briefly, that the signs of cellars, cesspools, etc., of Northfolk's houses were certainly found, with an abundance of remains of clay pipes, and the Norman Ditch had certainly been filled in (with little or nothing in the filling), but of any Norman masonry there was no trace at all (but see p. 45).

The observation of the layers in the section of the bank of rubble presented many difficulties. In the first trench (Section I) observation was only partial, owing to the necessity to shutter the sides. Later, the broad cuts made by the builders without shuttering gave much better opportunity for observation, but sections were short and incomplete, and the surface had been lowered, so that it was difficult to make vertical measurements. The following is the best account I can give:

From work done east of Trench I it was clear that the main mass of rubble was divided by a former surface or turf line. Below this line the rubble was connected with the broken masonry, but divided from the broken top of the platform, at least in places, by yellowish earth often containing much gravel. This lower rubble (C) contained no chalk. Above the turf-line the rubble was quite different in character, being very loose and open, and full of lumps of chalk (B). The main mass of rubble, in each case, lay north of the centre of the walls and piers, south of this mortar and rubble appeared in most layers, but not in comparable quantity.

The rubble layers seemed to have been very uneven on top in

some places, and in our second trench, which ran westwards from the first one, along the line of the piers, we were cutting down straight into rubble, which, at least in one place, was lying on black soil (D) containing Norman and Roman pottery. Here I could not see the turf line. In both these trenches we found masonry remains as soon as we entered the rubble. Over Wall 3 there were two lumps of conjoined voussoir-tiles from an arch, and lumps of a thick slab of Puzzolana stone, with smooth top where marble slabs had been bedded. These were all jumbled up with blocks of septaria, broken tile and mortar. Immediately north of this, under all the rubble, two conjoined voussoir-tiles lay on the pink floor of the platform. In Trench II there was so much fallen rubble packed so tightly that it was quite difficult to decide when we had come down upon the firm masonry of a pier. Over Wall 4 there was a large piece of an arch, with a few courses of stone and tile above the voussoirs lying on its face. Here and there in the rubble other recognizable pieces were found, which are described among the finds. It was uniformly observed, throughout the work, that wall-plaster, whether coloured or plain, was absent, except for a few fragments of the large red skirting mouldings. There is, therefore, we feel, no question of any of the walls in the second period of the building having been plastered.

On the other hand there is evidence that both they and the floor were covered with marble. Many fragments of cut slabs, some thin, some thicker, were found lying along the top of the smaller drain (N). The marble is chiefly of Purbeck type, but foreign marbles also occur. Some of the thinner slabs have dowel holes in the edges for the iron-holdfasts. There are also fragments of mouldings and other carved work in marble, but no lettering or statuary.

Our knowledge of the stratification on the north side is poor. In Trench I natural yellow sand was found at a little over 9 feet from the surface on the south, and at 10 feet on the north. But the foundation trench (W) for the masonry had gone 18 inches lower. Its width appeared to be 3 feet, and it was full of fragments of fine white wall-plaster, with a fine, polished, ivory-like surface. This I cannot believe came from our building, and I think it may have come from the ruins of the Temple. Further east, when the boiler-house was excavated, I could not see traces of this foundation trench, which may not have been a continuous feature. There was only a slight indication of an old surface on top of the white plaster, its presence was better indicated by the unmistakable bottom edge of the rough plaster on the north face of the platform. This is at 78.25 feet and there never seems to have been another floor above it. The earth may, however, have accumulated slowly so as to raise the level, but the

PLATE VI.



A. CORNICE-MOULDING WITH DOWEL-HOLES.



B. SPRING-MOULDING WITH DOWEL-HOLES.

evidence is against this, for the only pottery found in the next 3 feet (including the lower rubble) was fourth-century. This is the same layer that underlay the fallen column, which lay north of Pier 4, in which some peculiar pieces of glass were found, one of them painted.

This fallen column is somewhat of a problem. We already knew from fragments of segmental tiles, that we had to deal certainly with built columns of nearly 3 feet diameter, and probably with others of smaller diameter, but hardly expected to find one fallen and recognizable. There was a length of at least 8 feet lying north to south, where it had fallen from some part of Pier 4; we could not determine which part. Its foot lay higher than its head, confirming our impression that the ground level on the north always lay below the top of the platform. It had been shattered in its fall, so that every stone and tile was loose, and much had been taken away by robbers; nevertheless, much of the shaft could be recognized. The remarkable fact was that I could find no trace of any facing plaster, from which I conclude that this column had stood erect so long that the plaster had weathered off completely. If so, it would have made a heap at the base, but this must have been disturbed when the building was robbed, and before the column fell.

It is time now to consider the extremely difficult stratification south of the platform. It is not at all clear whether anything lay on this site before the platform was built. The only evidence was in the south end of Section A (west side), and this was no more than a pebble surface on the sand at 79.3 feet; for the concrete, plaster, and gravel, a little higher to the south could have been put in at the same time as the pug and the smaller drain. I feel that the pug is contemporary with the platform, and was put in to carry the drain and a path (at P and O). The path was, at first, of concrete, but had been altered more than once (compare the successive paths at the larger platform further east), always, it seems in such a way as to continue the floor over the platform. The latest path was a rather poor one, of gravel. These paths drained into the smaller drain. One naturally begins to think of the drip from a portico, but no portico could have existed, for there is no stylobate, nor are there separate bases for columns.

Further east, the nature of this path becomes even more difficult. We are hampered by the lack of a full section, but it is clear that besides the gravel path which covered (if patchily as found by us) both the south part of the platform and the space to the drain, we have to deal with other features. The section along the south side of the platform (westwards from Hole 19) shows that the white concrete path was here 7 inches thick and particularly good, being of medium-sized

gravel in pure white mortar, at the east end, but in several layers of this and other materials, further west. Here too the gravel floor above is very thick, enough for a road, and shows in its lower part evidences of several repairs or alterations. Upon it there lies a layer of earth and rubbish, chiefly dark sandy soil with mortar on top. Above it is a second broad and level expanse of gravel about six inches thick, its surface approximately level with the top of the red mortar skirting. Above this there is a final accumulation of dark earth and mortar, which is capped by the very distinct turf layer. This consists of about two inches of clay, often accompanied by about an inch of very black material, probably containing much charcoal or soot.

We were fortunate to be able to obtain a section continuing these layers over the platform. In this section there is a remarkable feature. Between the white concrete path and the platform is a layer of a peculiar material, which is no other than a mixture of wood-shavings in mortar, which produces a kind of soft breeze. This lies on a filling of septaria in loose mortar and soil against the foundation, which we saw less clearly in Section A (at Z). The next three layers run up to the remains of Wall 5 as if they are all Roman. If so, the upper gravel belongs to a period when the building was old and neglected, for it covers the skirting, which is damaged.

Apart from one portion, which was cut under conditions precluding a record being taken, this section was continued further north from the platform than we had previously seen. It will be noticed that the critical point where the foundation trench might be found could not be touched. Otherwise the section shows much more clearly than our first trench the nature of the strata over the foundation. There are a number of confused tips of rubble lying in soil which is dark or light, according to the quantity of mortar loose in it, with, at one point in the upper layer, a large block of tumbled masonry. All this is quite parallel to the discoveries made by us in Trenches I and II. Despite its tumbled nature, all this rubble is fairly level on top, where it is sealed by the turf line.

Above the turf line, beyond question, we have the remains of the rampart of the Norman Castle, and on the left (north) the several tilted layers of rubble, gravel, and sand, point to the approximate position of the tail of the bank. It is quite clear that the turf line formed before the Norman bank was thrown up, and that after the turf line formed, there was an enormous bank of rubble laid upon the Roman ruins. This formed the core of the rampart, and was full of lumps of chalk. We have seen chalk in Norman connection under the rampart north of the Castle, and it seems that this rubble is perhaps not equivalent to another plundering of Roman ruins at this

PLATE VII.



A. DRESSED STONE WITH HOLLOW-MOULDING.



B. WHITE PLASTER MOULDING.

Scale of inches.

point, but to the cleaning up of the Keep site by the removal of waste material (which must have been very great) from the dressing of the stones and tiles used in building the Keep.

The following, therefore, is the sequence on the site:

1. Pre-Boudiccan, possibly nothing, at most something at present indefinable.

2. Post-Boudiccan, the great platform, built in conjunction with the greater platform further east, bearing an architectural screen comprising an arcade with columns at the piers, and mostly sheathed in marble. Reused material in the small drain probably comes from the Temple destroyed by Boudicca.

3. The screen receives repairs, and a new floor and skirting on the south side.

4. The building falls into disrepair.

5. A new street is laid down covering the plaster skirting.

6. The building is demolished, and the ruins ransacked for stone.

7. A turf line forms over the ruins.

8. Rubble is dumped upon the ruins, the Norman ditch is excavated, and its upcast thrown upon the rubble to form the Norman rampart.

Eight is Norman, and so may be 6 and 7. If they are, the turf line should represent the pause in building between the erection of the first 30 feet of the Keep and the completion of the upper part. The two layers of rubble could thus correspond to the two periods of building, and the second ties in with Mrs. M. A. Cotton's suggestion that the rampart was built after the Keep; it also has chalk tying in with the chalk layer found by her.

We are left with the most interesting possibility that the Street 5 is Roman, or may, we hope, be even post-Roman. Its surface is at 83.5 feet. In a section taken along the north side of a trench which followed the south side of the larger platform further east (in 1932) there is a similar layer of gravel lying upon the intensely black soil which covered the platform, with more black soil above it, and then the gravel of the Norman rampart. The parallel seems complete and it looks as if there was a late road running on this line, which is only seen along the south side of our platforms, the ground north of it, so far as we know, being then in a chaotic state.

For before this gravel could be laid down we must suppose that the Roman buildings were in decay. They had been spoiled for building-stone and marble (the latter to burn for lime), and of the former we have only a few pieces to show the nature of the rich spoil available, of the latter we have many pieces, but unfortunately only of

a scrappy nature, chiefly fragments of sheathing from walls and floors, but there are remains of panelling and carvings to show such things were present; there is, however, no trace of an inscription. Apart from a few pieces found in the rubble, all the marble was found in a limited area which extended along the line of the smaller drain. I can offer no suggestions to account for this. It would appear that when the robbers came to remove the marble from the building it was already in a dilapidated condition, and fragments of the marble lay scattered around—or possibly the robbers scattered it in taking it off—at any rate the pieces which had fallen along the line of the drain, and some into the filling of the drain, escaped observation when the bulk was collected.

The main destruction of the building followed, and over the larger platform, was succeeded by a period long enough for 2 feet 6 inches of intensely black soil to accumulate.

Finally, a word about the Norman ditch. Accurate observation on this was not possible because the work was done in stanchion-holes at great depth with complete shuttering. The line of the ditch is along the south side of the site, and is occupied by the cellars of the buildings, destroyed in the fire. These are of 'Tudor' and of modern brick, and it is not clear how far we may trust the simplicity of the story of Northfolk filling in the ditch and building houses, for the buildings west of the site, including Weddell's and Farmer's shops, are clearly older than 1683, and were therefore not built by Northfolk, yet they stand directly upon the filled ditch.

Although these cellars occupy so much of the ditch, much of its filling remained to be moved. The bottom seemed to lie approximately on the line of stanchion-holes 33 and 37, and was 18 feet below the High Street. The northern lip seemed to me to show somewhere about the north side of stanchion-hole 29, and, to the eye, it appeared as if the south lip must extend part of the way under High Street. The width was certainly not less than 36 feet. One would expect a width of 54 feet against a depth of 18 feet, but about 5 feet must be deducted from the 18 feet to allow for subsequent accumulation of earth. If we call the depth 13 feet, a width of 39 feet would be reasonable.

The filling was most disappointing. No layering or festooning could be seen in it, and the archaeological finds were few. In parts a great quantity of very large food-bones occurred. Now and then a few pieces of pottery were found, and these were particularly disappointing. The bottom, in which we had hoped for a good haul of distinctive Norman material, was no more productive than the filling—perhaps less—but it did produce one or two problems.

PLATE VIII.



A. DRAIN FOUND IN 1932.



B. (1) POTTERY BALL. (2) LUG-HANDLE OF A VESSEL WITH GREEN GLAZE, 16th century.

Hole 30, on the north slope of the ditch, revealed, on its south side, at a depth of 13 feet 6 inches, a row of Roman tiles, lying flat about 6 inches above the natural sand, 'like a path', as the men reported. I did not see them in position. In Hole 29, next to the west, tiles, stones, and mortar, were lying on the sandy slope of the ditch, and in Hole 38 there was a layer nearly 2 feet thick across the bottom of the ditch, composed of masonry rubble. Much of this, in all the holes mentioned, was good, including whole Roman tiles and blocks of masonry. The general effect was to give the impression that after the ditch was cut some demolition had been carried out on masonry along the north side of it, from which a certain amount had rolled into the ditch and been left there. But as we have seen, we do not find that the strata show that any such thing was done, and one has to consider the possibility that this rubble in the ditch is from a Norman bridge or barbican, the foundation of which we have not found.

Throughout the work the analysis of nearly 40 samples of mortar carried out by Dr. Norman Davey, of the Building Research Station, Watford, has been invaluable in correlating and identifying different sections of the Roman work, and in the case of the masonry found in the ditch filling he has shown this is mainly of a certain type which is quite different in composition from any of the Roman samples, and may, therefore, be set down as belonging to Norman masonry which formerly stood on top of the rampart or formed a bridge or barbican.

The bottom of the ditch was further remarkable for the fact that it had a drainage ditch about 18 inches deep running along it.

There is left for discussion the fragments of the building which were found in the lower part of the rubble. Although there was so much of the latter, pretty well every stone which could be used for building had been extracted. The few significant pieces which remained are as follows:

A. MARBLES.

Over 200 fragments of marble slabs were found varying in thickness from about $\frac{1}{2}$ inch to 1 inch or more. All are quite plain, none having any mouldings for panelling. One fragment alone preserves part of a carved astragaloid-moulding (Pl. IV).

We are greatly indebted to Miss M. O. Morris and her colleagues of the Geological Museum, who came to Colchester specially to examine the material and also took much of it back to their Museum for direct comparison with the specimens there.

Some of the Purbeck slabs have small dowel-holes in the edges which show that they have been attached to upright walls by T-shaped iron

clamps. The more detailed description we leave to Miss Morris, whose report is appended below.

B. OTHER STONES.

Alabaster. Great quantities of alabaster were found used in the construction of the smaller drain, and fragments occurred elsewhere. The specimens were damaged building blocks which had been dressed as ashlar, but in every case one side had been more or less damaged, presenting the appearance of having been eaten away by acid. We assume that these had been used in some early building, possibly the Temple of Claudius itself, and had suffered this damage from fire, after which they were used as waste material and built into the drain reversed, so that the best side was exposed. This material is a soft white alabaster with some red veining, but its source cannot be determined, nor can that of the one or two blocks of gypsum which were also found.

Brown Shale. Two pieces of brown shale must be mentioned. One about $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches square and $\frac{1}{2}$ inch thick, the other shaped like an ordinary Roman building tile, about 17 inches by 12 inches by 2 inches thick. The material resembles Kimmeridge shale.

C. INDIVIDUAL STONES.

(1) A piece of freestone, 13 inches wide by 5 inches high by 10 inches deep, slightly tapered backwards, bearing a deeply-incised pattern on the front. The top is cut in a peculiar manner, and the stone must have come from a decorated façade. The material seems to be the same as that of the next two (Pl. V, A).

(2) A small piece of a projecting cornice (Pl. VI, A).

(3) A fragment of an ornamental string-moulding (Pl. VI, B).

These bear very weathered carving and it appears that a restoration became necessary, for both stones bear several dowel-holes cut in them. I can only think that these were to peg a substitute over them, though I must admit that I have never heard of such a remarkable method of effecting a restoration.

(4) A piece of fine limestone, perhaps from Lincolnshire, preserving part of a carving, possibly part of a wreath. This was found in the walling of the smaller drain (Pl. V, B).

(5) Part of a stone bearing a deeply cut hollow-moulding. This also is a very fine limestone and the cutting is exceptionally good (Pl. VII, A).

D. OTHER REMAINS.

(6) Remains of white plaster have already been mentioned. The largest example is about 16 inches long and about 7 inches wide by

4 inches thick, and comes from a heavy convex moulding from panelling or the jam of a door. This fragment was also found with others built into the smaller drain and, therefore, comes from the earlier building (Pl. VII, B).

(7) Between the piers on the platform we found fragments of arches, in some cases several voussoirs were still joined together by their mortar. These are carefully made of good red clay. They measure 15 inches or 19 inches long by 10 inches wide and are 2 inches thick at the small end and perhaps twice that at the opposite end.

(8) Among the rubble there were very many fragments of tiles in a segment of a circle—in this case apparently about a 6th of a circle—but none could be found complete so that we cannot give the diameter. Some of these had been chamfered round the edge as if to assist in building bases which would be finished in plaster.

(9) There is one complete building tile, 16 inches by $10\frac{1}{2}$ inches by $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches, with one end chamfered before firing.

E. THE BUILDING STONE.

The Geological Museum Report shows that the limestone imported for building was more difficult to identify than might have been expected. The ashlar of the piers was of a shelly limestone which has now been identified as from Ham Hill in Somerset. The other limestone is identified as coming from Taynton (?) in Oxfordshire, and a third, of fine grain, has proved impossible to identify. It may have come from abroad but is more likely to be British, and if so its probable source is in the neighbourhood of Lincoln, where there may be an undiscovered Roman quarry. We are very grateful to the staff of the Geological Museum for the great trouble they have taken in working upon these stones.

NOTES ON DECORATIVE AND BUILDING STONES FROM THE TEMPLE SITE, COLCHESTER.¹

By MARGARET O. MORRIS, B.Sc.

Specimens of decorative and building stones from the Kent, Blaxill site at Colchester, collected by Mr. M. R. Hull during recent investigations at the site, have been examined at the Geological Museum.

Their variety is considerable and it is clear that their sources are widespread. In preface to the following notes it must, however, be emphasized that one can rarely be quite certain on geological evidence

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alone, without historical evidence in support, of the exact original source of a stone used in an ancient building.

The specimens can be separated into four groups.

TRUE MARBLES (Pl. IV).

These are marbles by geological definition—limestones or dolomites which have been completely metamorphosed and recrystallized.

Identification of the source of these is an essentially empirical process of attempting to match them with localized specimens in museum collections. The principal criteria are colour, texture, and pattern of veining and brecciation. There can, of course, be great variation in the pattern of a brecciated marble from a single bed in a single quarry, and it is particularly difficult to be sure of a good match if the specimens are small.

All the true marbles from the Kent, Blaxill site are certainly foreign.

Africano Marble.—There are sixteen specimens of a coarsely brecciated marble, varying considerably in colour and pattern, which after careful examination and comparison we think are all from one source. The marble consists of white, purple and pink fragments in a black or very dark green groundmass. We believe that this is the Africano Marble which was largely used in Ancient Rome.¹ The source of this marble is not definitely known, but it is said to have come from Asia Minor. Our slabs are mostly an inch or more in thickness.

Rosso Antico.—There are twelve pieces of an even-textured unpatterned marble of a deep red colour. These appear identical with museum specimens of Rosso Antico quarried in the Cape Matapan peninsula of Greece.

Pavonazetto.—There are nine pieces of a white or pale cream marble, with purple and red veins, which correspond with museum specimens of Pavonazetto, including one from the Forum Augusteum and others from a villa in Rome. It is recorded that this marble comes from quarries in Phrygia in Asia Minor. Our slabs are thin, rather less than .5 inch thick.

Both Rosso Antico and Pavonazetto were extensively used in Ancient Rome.

Giallo Antico.—A thin slab of yellow marble with some red veins is closely comparable with museum specimens of the marble known as Giallo Antico or Marmor Numidicum, which is also known to have been used in Rome and is recorded as coming from quarries in Algeria and Tunisia.

¹ For notes on the sources of marbles used in Ancient Rome see *British and Foreign Marbles and Other Ornamental Stones*, J. Watson, Cambridge University Press, 1916, and *What Rome Was Built With*, Mary W. Porter, Henry Frowde, London and Oxford, 1907.

Cipollino.—There are some small chips of a white and green banded marble which resemble specimens of Cipollino Marble—Marmor Carystium—from Greek quarries on the Island of Eubœa. The characteristic banded pattern is due to the presence of scales of mica and talc interlaced with the white calcite. Our fragments are .5 inch thick.

Carrara.—Two specimens of a white uniformly crystalline marble precisely match a fragment of statuary in Carrara Marble from the Claudian Aqueduct, Rome.

Other Specimens.—There are also fragments for which we have not been able to suggest a name—a brecciated white and pink marble, and a chip of black marble.

OTHER DECORATIVE STONES.

Green Greek Porphyry.—Among the decorative stones other than marble is a small chip, one inch square, which is a green porphyritic rock. It has a dark green groundmass in which are embedded lighter green felspar crystals. The petrological characteristics of this rock are highly distinctive and there is no reasonable doubt of its source. It is the Green Greek Porphyry obtained from quarries between Sparta and Marathonisi.

Alabaster.—Other stones which may have been used for decorative work on this site include several specimens of weathered alabaster—soft, white and fine-grained with some red veining—the massive variety of the mineral gypsum. There is no geological criterion by which the source of the alabaster can be established; it may be foreign or it may be from a British source.

Tufa.—There is also a specimen of calcareous tufa—soft limestone deposited by spring waters. Again, there is no special characteristic to indicate its source.

PAVING STONES.

There is a great variety of sawn slabs an inch or two thick, which are presumably decorative paving or facing stones. All these specimens are Purbeck Marble. We have no doubt that they come from the Purbeck Beds, near the top of the Upper Jurassic rocks in the Isle of Purbeck.

Purbeck Marble is a fresh-water limestone and consists very largely of myriads of shells of the small gastropod *Viviparus*. It is not a true marble in the geological sense, but a limestone hard enough to take a polish. The highly distinctive pattern of the polished surface is produced by the fossil shells. Some varieties of Sussex Marble, from the Weald Clay, of Lower Cretaceous age, resemble Purbeck Marble, but there are certain differences in tint and in the contained fossils.

BUILDING STONES.

The fourth group of specimens from the Kent, Blaxill site consists of massive building stones in large quantity. All of them are limestones, but there are at least four different types.

Dr. F. W. Anderson, Mr. R. V. Melville, and other officers of the Geological Survey and Museum, have kindly given much consideration to the nature and likely sources of these stones.

Kentish Rag.—One type can be identified with certainty. It is a tough fine-grained dark-grey sandy limestone, which is Kentish Rag, from the Hythe Beds of the Lower Greensand of the Weald.

Ham Hill Stone.—There is a great amount of coarse-textured limestone varying in colour from yellow-grey to yellow-brown, and chiefly composed of comminuted shell fragments. It is very like Ham Hill Stone, quarried from strata of Jurassic (Upper Lias age) in Somerset, and Mr. Melville has no doubt that this limestone comes from the Ham Hill neighbourhood.

?Taynton Stone.—Mr. Melville has also examined chips of a shelly oölitic limestone taken from a column found at Colchester. He judges this to be from the Great Oölitic Series of Oxfordshire, and it closely resembles Taynton Stone, which is known to have been worked by the Romans.

Undetermined.—Finally, there is a cream-coloured shelly limestone composed of small rolled grains of calcium carbonate and unidentifiable shell debris in a matrix of calcium carbonate. Some of the rolled grains may be recrystallized organic matter. We have not so far been able to suggest a source for this stone. It is probably of Jurassic age. It seems to have been used in Colchester in considerable quantity, and we might therefore expect it to be from Britain and not from a foreign source, but we do not know of any British limestone which matches it closely. It may nevertheless be from this country; the Lincolnshire Limestone has been suggested as a possible source. Alternatively it may have been brought from France.

MUSEUM COLLECTIONS

The museum specimens used for comparison with the specimens from Colchester are in the collections of the Geological Museum. Two collections of stones from Rome, presented by Dr. St. Clair Baddeley and by Miss L. F. N. Preston, have been particularly useful.

I am indebted to Mr. A. W. G. Kingsbury for facilities to examine the Corsi Marbles at the University Museum, Oxford, in order to confirm certain comparisons.

THE POTTERY.

Pottery was scarce and much of it unstratified owing to the many comparatively recent disturbances on the site, and also the fact that it was not possible to watch closely the recovery of it all. It is, however, noticeable that the Roman sherds found in the later disturbances are practically all of late Roman type. The stratified sherds are nearly all of the same period, and it seems clear that post-Roman activities found practically no pottery but late Roman lying about.

The two earliest sherds are a fragment of base of f.140 and a rim of 266, both from the pug layer (T). The only others are mortaria rims, perhaps late first century.

The remainder presents a late fourth-century group and is illustrated in figs. 4 and 5.

There are many points of resemblance in *form* with the pottery from the late bath at Cobham (*S.A.C.*,¹ l., 84, figs. 5, 6, 7, 8), and from the late fourth-century kiln in New Field, Farley Heath (*S.A.C.*,¹ xlvi, 38, fig. 3). There can be no doubt about the late fourth-century date of our group; and the proportion of fine red-coated ware, Castor ware, late mortarium forms, and gritted ware, is typical of the period.²

In the following description the number in brackets is the number in the field list. The number in the margin is that on the illustration.

The wares are divided into four categories as follows:

I. COLOUR-COATED WARES.

A. Tile-red paste (sometimes partly grey, owing to poor firing) with fine red coating, polished. It was intended to be Samian and, now that Samian glaze is said to be merely a clay slip, it is not really distinguishable from Samian. There are several varieties, indicating more than one place of manufacture. If the red slip is accidentally burnt it becomes black or chocolate in colour, and is then liable to be confused with the commoner and better-known class of colour-coated ware. The transition from the one to the other is only one of degree, and both could well have been made in the same pottery. The link is completed by No. 13, a typical piece of class A with a very fine slip, bearing the white painted scroll of C.

B. A duller red paste, with deeper red, usually matt coating.

¹ *S.A.C.*, *Surrey Archaeological Collections*.

² I have been much concerned about the gritted rims, for they resemble those found at Rayleigh Castle, which should be Norman at the earliest, and on pursuing the matter I find a certain amount of support for the theory in various publications which speak of the late Saxon and early Norman gritted cooking-pots. However, I am now of the opinion that such resemblances are fortuitous and that our rims are Roman.

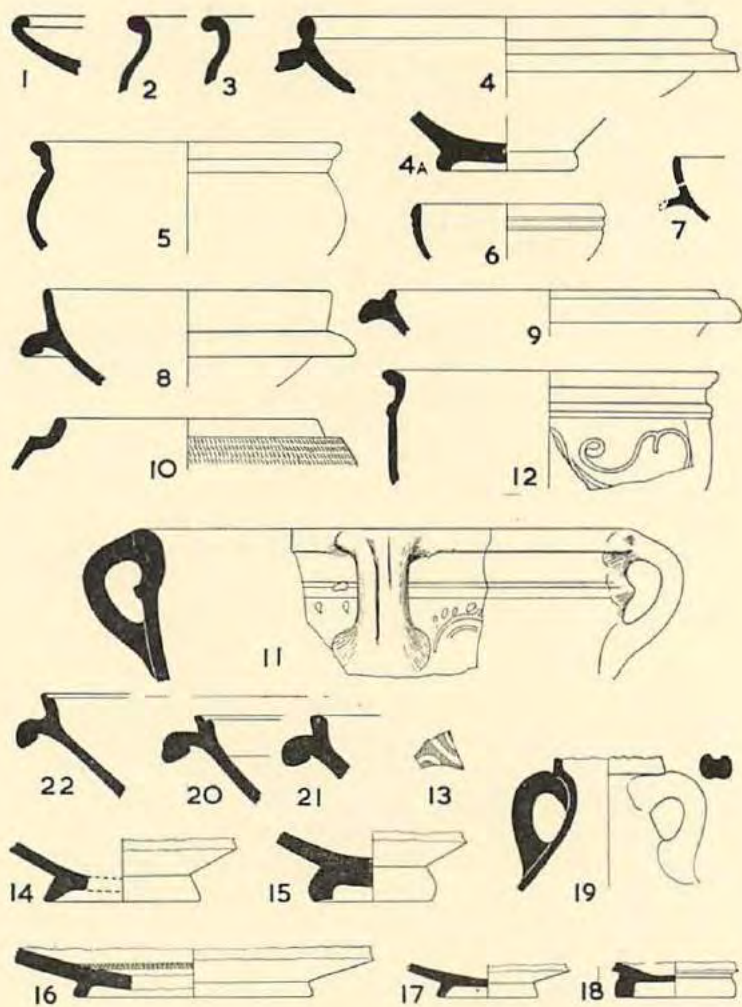


Fig. 4—ROMAN POTTERY FROM THE KENT, BLAXILL SITE. Scale $\frac{1}{4}$.

C. Colour-coating (usually chocolate to black, but bright red is common and other shades occur) on white, cream, red-brown, and red paste. The white and cream probably come from the Peterborough district (Castor) and/or Swanpool. The others are probably local. The Castor, as usually on late sites, runs to some unusual forms.

1. Rim, diam. $8\frac{3}{4}$ inches, orange-red ware and coating, finely polished, resembling Samian, found in or under rubble over east end of platform (48). The type seems to imitate form Drag. 32.

Cf. Sandford, *Arch.* lxx, figs. 1, 5, which has no connection with Walters form 79 and is not *c.* 190 in date.

2. Rim of bowl form 314, with slight cordon and rouletting on neck, vermilion-red paste with grey core and bright glossy red coating. Black soil under mortar, layer D, fig 3 (21).
3. Rim of similar bowl without cordon and rouletting, hard light red, with bright red coating, or possibly only polished. Diam. $6\frac{3}{4}$ inches. Under rubble in dark soil (46).

These two are of a well known fourth-century New Forest form, compare Hambleton, *Arch.*, lxxi, figs. 11, 70 and 74, and *A.C.*,¹ lxxv, 51, nos. 34 and 35 (with painted decoration) and lxxvi, 31, no. 148; also lxxviii, 109, 83.

4. Rim of mortarium, diam. $9\frac{1}{8}$ inches, hard, micaceous, buff-red ware, flaking; surface blood-red, shading to black (uneven or accidental firing). Polished outside on lip. Grit small, fine, coral-line-pink. Under rubble in dark soil. (47).
- 4A. Base of the same, or another vessel, similar clay, grey at core where thick. Polished outside and under base, but burnt nearly black. Black soil (layer D) between pier 4 and wall 4 (34).

Cf. *A.C.*, lxxv, 58, no. 81. Colour-coated, etc., as ours, and deposited in second half of fourth century.

Worn fragment from ledge of a similar vessel; pale orange-red with thin orange-red slip. Unstratified (41).

5. Rim of bowl like nos. 2 and 3 but neck resembling a double-banding (Cf. *Cam.* form 48; Plate li). Very fine orange-red clay with similar darker coating. Diam. 6 inches. Black soil, layer D, fig. 3 (26).
6. Rim of small bowl of unclassified type; fine red-buff ware, with purplish-red coating darkened by fire and flaking off. Double groove outside. Diam. 4 inches. Unparalleled (?). Layer D (50).
7. Rim of bowl, form 316A. Red-buff ware with fine red polished coating; much damaged and diameter uncertain. Layer D by wall 4.

¹ *A.C.*, *Archeologia Cantiana*.

8. Rim of similar bowl, bright red paste, slightly micaceous, with grey core, blood-red colour-coating, mostly flaked off. Diam. $7\frac{1}{8}$ inches. Under tail of Norman rampart (39).

Rim of similar form, possibly the same ware, but red all through and slip not so dark. Layer D, fig. 3 (6). Cf. Hambleton, *Arch.* lxxi, figs. 12, 84 and 85.

9. Rim of bowl form 305, creamy paste with chocolate-purple coating. Layer D (46).
10. Rim of bowl form 308, very fine and hard red ware, overfired to grey (nearly stone-ware). Surface red to chocolate, rouletted. Layer D, fig. 3.
11. Rim of large bowl with at least one three-ribbed handle. Paste nearly white, with grey, metallic-chocolate coating, painted scroll in white. Layer D, by wall 4 (38).
12. Similar rim from a smaller and lighter vessel, no handle preserved; same ware, slip, and decoration. Layer D (6).

In 28 years' work on the masses of Roman pottery in Colchester I have not seen anything like these two rims, which seem to be Castor ware. Something similar has occurred several times at Richborough in polished grey ware and in colour-coated ware of local type: e.g. *Richborough*, I, nos. 128, 129, both attributed to mid-fourth century; and III, nos. 330, 331, dated similarly.

There is a chip in the same ware from a large vessel, and another, also from a large vessel, is decorated with rouletting and white slip, both quite similar. Unstratified.

13. Chip from a globular vessel of red ware, red-coated, decorated with white scrolls. Layer D, at wall 4.

There are several bases of vessels in fine red ware which merit publication.

14. Fragment of base, fine orange-red ware, with slip like Samian, large and tall, angular foot-ring. Unstratified.
15. Heavy base of bowl of thick dull red ware, with heavy foot-ring of squarish section. Unstratified (36).
16. Fragment of a heavy base, copying form Lud. Sb., with deep double groove inside, one groove rouletted. Foot-ring of large diameter, perhaps about $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches. Surface almost resembling a glaze, unstratified.

Fragment of base of another wide bowl, in dull red ware. Of similar outline, but foot-ring rounded in section. Found in rubble (4).

17. Fragment similar to No. 14, same ware, but smaller. Under tail of Norman Rampart (39).

18. Base similar to No. 15, same ware, but smaller. Unstratified. This and 15 are almost certainly from copies of forms Drag. 38 (Form 316).

These bases can be paralleled at Canterbury, *A.C.*, lxiii, 110, 96 and 97.

Of ten other red fragments several come from large closed vessels (olla-shaped or even narrower in the mouth) and lack any colouring on the inside.

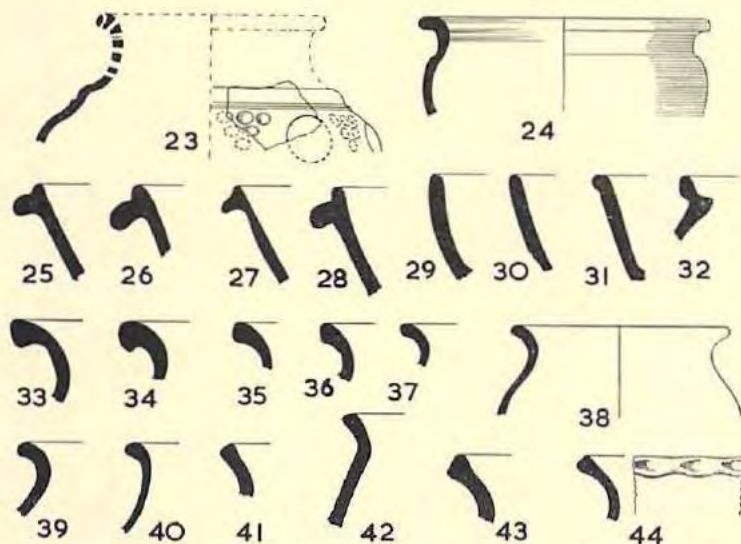


Fig. 5—ROMAN POTTERY FROM THE KENT, BLAXILL SITE. Scale $\frac{1}{2}$.

The colour-coated wares of more usual shades are:

a. Of usual pattern.

A fragment from a large bulbous beaker with applied overlapping scales (form 396), in bright red ware with chocolate slip, from layer D, fig. 2 (21).

A base of a tall beaker of form 319C, or 407A, with beaded foot and grooved beneath; red buff ware, chocolate coated. Level H (8).

b. Of unusual pattern. Besides numbers 11 to 13 there is:

19. part of the neck of a flagon or jug with one or two handles, red ware, chocolate-coated on the outside, possibly spoilt polish. Probably fourth century. Found under rubble with rim No. 40 (44).

2. WHITE AND BUFF WARES.

Rims of five mortaria, two of which are early but unstratified:

Thick buff ware, with small white grit, mostly gone, which ran over the rim. The form is 195A and the date should be around A.D. 100.

Whitish-buff, with sparse white grit; flange well above lip, form 496. Date, Trajan-Hadrian.

20. Rim of hard white ware, form 505, with deep groove on lip and slight one on flange. Small coralline grit. Level H (8).
21. Another rim, same form, without grooves; fine hard white ware, with pale-orange core; surface shading to biscuit colour. Grit small, coralline. From below yellow sand, Hole 11, under tail of Norman Rampart (39).
22. Three fragments of one rim, same form, grooved as number 14; fine hard red ware, white coated, with grey core. Part of spout remains. Grit small, coralline. Layer D in fig. 3, Hole 26.

This type of mortarium is well known in the fourth century. Cf. Hambleton, *Arch.*, lxxi, figs. 14, 121 and 122; Canterbury, *A.C.*, lxiii, 106, no. 66, and 109, 92; *Ibid.* lxi, 26, no. 18, "Late 4th to 5th-century", and 33, no. 55. Many other quotations could be given.

The remaining fragments are rather indefinite, a few fragments of buff ware lay on the top of the pug below the level of the lesser drain, but the only recognizable piece was part of a base almost certainly form 140. This might have made the pug date soon after A.D. 50, but, unfortunately, just here it shows a disturbance in Roman times and is mixed with pieces of mortar or plaster. The whole being sealed by the drain and path.

The remaining fragments are of no account, except that it is noteworthy that the cup-mouth flagon, form 156, is represented by only one unstratified fragment.

3. GREY AND BLACK WARES.

23. A fine grey fragment, polished outside, is of form 339, with large bosses and groups of small round impressions. Layer D, fig. 2 (26).
24. Rim and shoulder in the same grey ware, but not decorated, from Layer D, at Wall 4 (50).

These two belong to a series which Mr. J. N. L. Myres holds to be late Roman in date and verging on Saxon.

25. There are four rims of form 305 in coarse grey black
26. ware, two with red core. There are no examples of
27. 305B, and what we have are not typical 305A, because

28. the exterior is polished in bands only and not all over, with one exception which is crudely finished.

One rim was under the Norman rampart in Hole 11, one was in the filling of the Norman ditch, and another may have lain in Layer M, but this is not certain. This is a well known fourth-century form and further references are unnecessary.

29. Two rims resembling a deep worn f. 39 (side over 2 inches high), are of good grey-black clay, black polished inside and out. Both were unstratified (41). Another chip is of form 40A, found in rubble (48); another rim is of form 40B (36). Two sherds are from under the Norman Rampart, and a grey base with scored pattern on the inside is from the seventeenth-century pit.
32. A rim of black ware, with a little sparse white grit, is of the so-called Derbyshire type (form 276) from Layer D, fig. 2.
33. A coarse brown rim of unclassified form, unstratified.

Cf. *Canterbury, A.C.*, lxiii, 110, 95, and *Richborough III*, 346.

Cf. *A.C.*, lxxv, 60, 93. Form Lullingstone, sandy-buff, fourth century, and cf. *Richborough IV*, 470.

The fragments of jars are unimportant; there are fifteen rims, some polished, some not. Most important is a fragment of form 266 which was stratified in the pug under the smaller drain. It should be Claudius-Nero, but could easily have come where it was in Flavian times (52). Of the rest, a large form 272 is recognizable, unstratified. The remainder are too small to identify. The body fragments include no typical form 278 or 279, and no rim can be identified as form 268, which is very remarkable. Two fragments might come from the late form 119 (3, 37), one was in the rubble, one under it, and there is one fragment with a panel of dots (as form 123) (35).

4. GRITTED WARES.

This is a most interesting section, comprising twenty-one fragments, many of which would be pronounced Roman without hesitation, but one has a waved lip which should be Norman and two or three rims so much resemble those found at Rayleigh Castle that one is forced to consider them with some care.

After careful consideration I have come to the conclusion that all these pieces should be regarded as Roman with the possible exception of the last three.

The ware is coarse, mixed with crushed grit (very fine, probably shell), the colour varying from black to yellow-grey, and light brown-red to light brown. One piece, No. 38, alone seems to have an almost glossy wash over the irregular surface.

34. Grey rim with grey to black surface and sparse white grit, unstratified.
35. Small fragment, same ware, diam. c. 6 inches. Under rubble (3).
36. Chip of rim, same ware, diam. about 6 inches, under rubble (46).
37. Rim, clay black to red with much white grit, diam. $4\frac{3}{4}$ inches, under rubble by Wall 4 (47).
38. Larger fragment, similar in clay and shape, found with the preceding, diam. $4\frac{3}{8}$ inches.
39. Similar rim but almost with a lip, similar ware, harder and thicker, diam. about $5\frac{1}{4}$ inches. Under rubble (6).
40. Rough yellow-grey ware, with knobby surface and almost glossy wash, mottled. Diam. 4 inches. Found in rubble (4).
41. Rim with squarish lip, black clay with white grit, unstratified (11).
42. Similarly everted rim, but not hollowed inside, hard brown-red ware, *hand-made*. In Layer D at Wall 4. Possibly Saxon.
43. A large rim like No. 41, with which it was found, red with white grit.
44. Similar rim of hard red clay with white grit. The rim slightly waved or frilled as shown, unstratified, presumably Norman.

With these rims compare the following: *A.C.*, lxiii, 106, 70 (*hand-made*), and 76 to 80; with references to *Richborough* I, 57, 2149, 3, 333 to 334, all these are referred to the late fourth century, but the clay is not gritted; see also *ibid.*, no. 94, with reference to *Arch.*, lxxxiv, 257, no. 21, described as very common, after A.D. 379. Similar rims have been found at Chester with examples of our 7, 8, and 9 (*Cheshire and North Wales Soc.*, xxxiv, 32, fig. 7, 1) and compare *ibid.*, xxiii, 55, 10, 8, calcite gritted, with crushed snail shell, references to *Segontium* 161, 163, fig. 78, 58, and Prestatyn, *Arch. Camb.*, 1938, 181, nos. 2, 6.

With our No. 42 compare Lullingstone in *A.C.*, lxxv, 59, 82, which is also *hand-made*, and *Richborough* III, pl. xl, 333

The Contents of the Ditch

The bottom of the ditch contained no visibly distinct deposit, and no remains, such as potsherds, were found of an earlier date than thirteenth to fourteenth century. Even these were quite few.

From about midway up in the filling there was a greater amount of pottery and great quantities of food bones. These must antedate Norfolk's houses (1680) and, since the pottery is nearly all dateable to c. 1650 onwards, it seems reasonable to connect this deposit with

the period of the Siege of the Town in 1648, especially when the following analysis of the report on the bones¹ is considered.

The percentages are as follows:

Cattle	34.6	Sheep	24.3
Pig	17.9	Cat	12.8
Horse	5.0	Dog	3.8

Despite the small proportion of horses, the large proportion of cats associates this collection with the Siege, for the besieged were reduced to eating even the vermin, after slaughtering all domestic animals—especially, of course, the horses of the troops, which we know were butchered exactly here, in the Castle Bailey. The small number of horses in this lot of bones is partly made up for by the size of some of the joints, one in particular consisting of about 18 inches length of backbone.

The pottery of this period comprises the usual brown glazed wares, plus Delft, drug-pots, stone-ware and beer-jars, and only two pieces of this late material from the whole excavation call for comment.

Pl. VIII, B 1, is a ball of yellowish clay, about 2½ inches in diameter, with a small hole through the middle. It is cast in a mould, quite solid, with continuous parallel ribbing. Its purpose is quite unknown.

Pl. VIII, B 2, is a very curious, flat, lug-handle in green-glazed ware with an incised human face.

Summary

The general nature of the building which extended across the S. side of the insula containing the Temple of Claudius is now to some extent revealed to us. It consisted—so far as we know it (see fig. 1)—of a massive central block set in a long façade erected on a platform 15 feet wide. Any suspicion that there may have stood here a range of buildings of commonplace utility, such as shops or offices is now quite disposed of, and it is natural to suppose that it was purely ornamental.

If that is true, then we have to try to imagine what kind of an architectural embellishment would at once appeal to contemporary taste and suit a plan such as we have before us. One naturally tries to turn to other known plans where a large temple court is separated from a main street by a purely decorative feature. No temple of the Emperor has ever been so far explored as to furnish us with this detail, nor has the writer, with the means to hand, been able to find any really similar lay-out. The Colchester plan, in this respect at least, is grander than

¹ We are greatly indebted to Mr. F. C. Fraser, of the Natural History Museum, for a detailed Report on the bones.

those of the Forum of August, Paris, and St. Bertrand de Comminges; it has something in common with the temple on the Schönbühl at Augst, where the surround of the temple is purely ornamental, but there is no architectural screen—for that is what we have here.

The massive platform was built to carry a series of solid piers which probably averaged about 6 feet wide by 8 feet deep. These were united by brick arches. On the breast of each pier, before, we think, and, certainly, behind, stood a column about 2 feet 6 inches diameter.

The arches were closed by thin, but carefully built, walls, so that the whole became a series of arched recesses or *exhedræ* which would be extremely effective as positions for statuary or reliefs or inscriptions—unfortunately we have not the smallest suggestion of such.

The central block is to be imagined as carrying a monumental gateway opening into the temple court, and the whole south front, facing the street, was carefully decorated with marbles from all over the Roman world.

The north side, as has been remarked, was much less carefully finished. Either it was invisible, even from the inside, or it was frankly utilitarian. It is not easy to imagine either, but one may point to the temple of Artemis at Gerasa as one solitary—though far more elaborate—parallel to our plan. There, there was a row of vaulted chambers, in the same position as our screen, and doubtless presenting to the street a very effective façade, which ours may well have been built to imitate. Further, the vaulted chambers are undoubtedly treasuries, and it may be suggested that each of our *exhedræ* was allotted to one of the British tribes and had a small lock-up behind it. This would provide a utilitarian aspect to the back of the screen—but the idea is pure imagination and without supporting evidence. Indeed, the imagination could provide a number of attractive solutions to the problem of the purpose and appearance of this screen, but in the absence of any evidence of inscriptions or statuary there is insufficient evidence for more than the broad statement that the temple court was divided from the street by a massive columnated arcade, to some extent sheathed with marble, and with a monumental entrance in the middle.

This purely ornamental feature need not have been begun before the insurrection of Boudicca in A.D. 61; it was certainly, we think, not finished until after that date. It seems probable that the ruins of the first temple supplied much material fit for it.

Its subsequent history was noteworthy among Roman remains, for it seems at all times to have been kept clean and free from the usual accumulation of pottery, bones, etc., which normally disfigured Roman buildings, even those of public importance. Considering the length of the Roman occupation, in this case from about A.D. 50 to

A.D. 400, the number of levels, or consecutive layers, is small for a place which was, beyond doubt, much frequented, and there is only one major period of repair indicated—apart from the first disaster of A.D. 61, which probably preceded this building.

There is no deposit of black earth and pottery until we reach the one such level which has to cover the whole period from A.D. 400 to A.D. 1066. We conclude that this very important public building was kept clean and in good repair throughout the Roman occupation, and even after the adoption of Christianity had seen the end of Emperor worship. It is even possible that in Colchester the Christians took over the Temple. But our present inability to date fourth-century pottery more accurately precludes any attempt to date the actual abandonment of the site.

(The thanks of the Society are due to The Council for British Archaeology for a grant of £35 towards the cost of printing Mr. Hull's paper.)

THE SAXON BURIALS AT GERPINS FARM, RAINHAM

By JOHN G. O'LEARY,
Librarian, Borough of Dagenham.

GERPINS Farm lies in Gerpins Lane, Rainham (Ordnance Survey National Grid 51/5583). Some time before 1937 gravel winning was commenced on part of the farmlands. In the year mentioned, the gravel diggers (the process being carried out by large mechanical grabs) noticed objects strange to them among the gravel. Some local gossip concerning these things reached the ears of Mr. G. Carter, a local resident, who had also worked for many years in the neighbourhood, and at this time was a Public Health official with the Borough of Dagenham. He bought the objects from the men in question as they found them and eventually he got together the collection listed below. He wrote to Mr., now Sir Thomas Kendrick, F.S.A., at the British Museum, who immediately came to Romford and took the collection back to the British Museum, where it was examined and displayed.

It was Mr. Carter's wish that it should form part of the newly-formed Museum devoted to Dagenham antiquities and local history. As the site of the discovery was adjacent to the Borough, the collection was accepted for permanent preservation on its return from the British Museum. At the outbreak of war, it was packed away, and in 1945 was again brought out and displayed. No further particular attention was paid to this collection until the organisers of the Festival of Britain South Bank Exhibition made enquiries as to the whereabouts of a singular piece of Saxon glass, reported to be part of the find. This was a drinking-horn, made of glass, described in the *Archæological News Letter*, dated July, 1950 (Vol. 3, No. 2), by Dr. D. B. Harden, F.S.A. This horn, practically complete, had been mounted and repaired at the cost of the Borough of Dagenham, and it was lent to the Festival Exhibition. Two other portions of an incomplete horn had been presented by the finder to Mr. J. Herington, now lecturer in Classical Archaeology at the University of Manchester. Mr. R. L. S. Bruce-Mitford, F.S.A., Keeper of the department of English and Medieval Antiquities, asked to see the collection and consequently the British Museum applied for the loan of the glass horn for exhibition. It was now generally realized that this piece of Saxon glass was of some rarity.

PLATE I.



By courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum.

GLASS VESSELS OF THE SAXONS FOUND IN ENGLAND.

The Rainham drinking-horn shown in centre.

The Borough of Dagenham decided not to lend the glass horn to the British Museum, but to present it for permanent preservation in the collection of Saxon Glass there, and Mr. Herington also presented his two fragments. These can now be seen to-day in the North Gallery (Pl. I). The remainder of the collection is in the Dagenham Museum at Valence House, Dagenham, with one exception, namely a coin-pendant or bracteate. This was a gold coin of Mauritius Tiberius, A.D. 582-602, made into a pendant with twisted gold wire. I have never seen this object. It went to the British Museum with the original material and a cast was made of it there and it was photographed (Pl. II, 1). I was personally handed the collection by Sir Thomas Kendrick (all properly packed) at the Museum and brought it back to the Dagenham Museum for display in new cases provided by the Borough Council. No inventory or catalogue, or list of objects, was given to me, and consequently the existence of the gold bracteate was completely unknown. Mr. Bruce-Mitford raised the question of this gold bracteate, which he was very anxious to examine. He knew of it from the casting and photographs made in 1937-8. The original wrappings used for packing the collection were still in existence and were thoroughly searched but without success, and this bracteate is missing.

The interest aroused in this find prompted me to have an expert description made; all this would probably have happened long before had not the war intervened. I approached Mr. Bruce-Mitford, whose work at Sutton Hoo had won wide attention, but he felt unable to spare the time to deal with the matter, and suggested the name of Miss Vera Evison, a lecturer at Birkbeck College. The descriptions of the Saxon objects printed below are hers. A complete and fully illustrated account of the Gerpins Farm burials will appear in the forthcoming volume of *Archæologia*.

The importance of the burials may be summed up under two headings:—

- (1) Evidence of Saxon life on the north bank of the Thames which has so far been sparse and is matched only with the Prittlewell burial.
- (2) The singular contribution made by this find to the known examples of Saxon glass.

SAXON OBJECTS FOUND AT GERPINS FARM, RAINHAM.

Coin-pendant or bracteate (diam. 2.3 cm.): a gold coin of Mauritius Tiberius (582-602), set in a double row of coarsely-beaded gold wire. The suspension loop is apparently composed of five rows of braided wires, or an imitation of such filigree work, a decoration

commonly used on seventh-century jewellery, although its use on the loop of coin-pendants is less usual. (The description is taken from the cast and photographs in the British Museum.)

Bronze-gilt square-headed brooch, 3.5 inches long. There is a zoomorphic border to the top and sides of the head, and a pair of descending animals occupy the central field on each side of a small square. The bow is convex with a descending animal in each panel, and a circle-and-dot centre stud. The foot is undivided, with lozenge-shapes in the centre and downward-biting animal heads above; there is a small mask at each side terminal, one immediately below the bow, and a large and unusually realistic one, complete with ears, at the foot. The damaged ends of both side arms and of the foot are wide and flat and decorated with a repeated punch of two V's, one inside the other. At the sides of the foot, just below the side terminals, there appear to be a pair of descending animals, but details are obscured by damage to the brooch (Pl. II, 2).

Bronze square-headed small-long brooch, 2.5 inches long. The sides of the head curve inwards and narrow towards the bow. Traces of three parallel scored lines outline the head. Immediately below the bow are triangular lappets merging into a circular shape and triangular finial. Two lines are scored across the end of the foot (Pl. II, 3).

Bronze square-headed small-long brooch, with lozenge-shaped foot, 2.2 inches long. A scored double line borders the head, which has a circle-and-dot motif at each corner and centre. Similar circles are irregularly spaced on the foot, which is scored by horizontal lines about half-way down and again towards the terminal. The surface reveals traces of tinning (Pl. II, 4).

Bronze girdle-hanger, 5.2 inches long. The shaft ends in a broken suspension-ring, and a horse's head. The shape of the nostrils is not clear, but the eyes are prominent knobs, and below these are four scored transverse lines. The shaft is slightly hollowed behind the horse's head, but the rest of the hanger consists of a T-shaped flat band, the ends of which continue upwards parallel to the shaft and end in birds' heads with curling beaks. Circular impressions are irregularly stamped along the edges of the shaft and arms (Pl. III, 5).

Bronze finger-ring. The hoop is a flat band widening towards a circular hollowed bezel, about 3 mm. deep (Pl. III, 1).

Bronze coin, perforated for suspension and worn smooth both sides (Pl. III, 4).

Bronze disc, .8 inch diameter, with a hole in the centre surrounded by a slightly raised rib. There is a second circular rib between this and the outside edge. At one point the edge projects slightly and is

PLATE II.



Fig. 1.—COIN-PENDANT, MAURITIUS TIBERIUS, A.D. 582-602.



Photos. by British Museum.

SAXON BROOCHES.
GERPINS FARM, RAINHAM.

PLATE III.

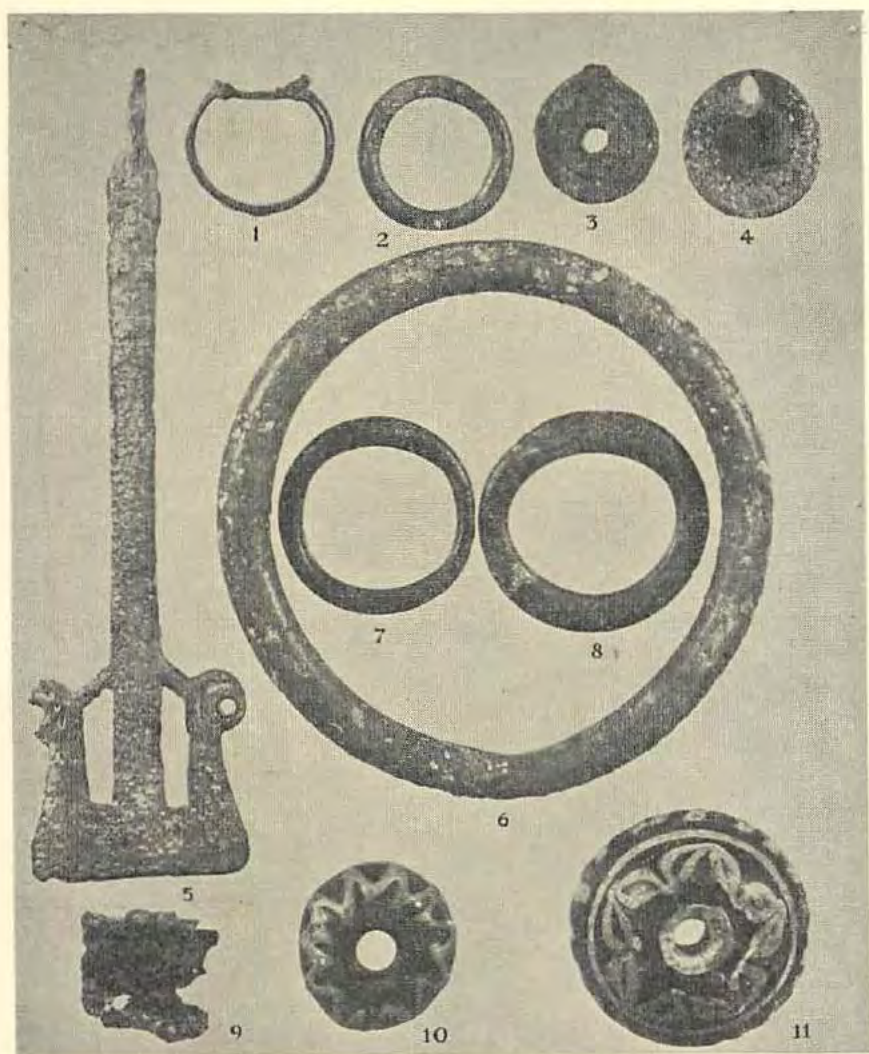


Photo. by British Museum.

SAXON BRONZE GIRDLE-HANGER, RINGS, ETC., AND GLASS BEADS.
GERPINS FARM, RAINHAM.

folded over to the back. At the opposite edge on the back is a tiny square projection. It seems likely that these are the remains of a hinge and catch, and that this is the lid of a Roman seal-box (Pl. III, 3).

Bronze ring, 3.6 inches in diameter. Round in section. May possibly be an arm-ring (Pl. III, 6).

Bronze ring, 1.3 inch in diameter. Roughly round in section, worn thin in places (Pl. III, 7).

Bronze ring, 1.5 inch in diameter. Rather flatter than the one last listed and irregularly worn (Pl. III, 8).

Bronze ring, 1 inch in diameter. Round in section (Pl. III, 2).

Bronze-bound wooden vessel, 3.7 inches high. Made of vertical pieces of wood held together by three horizontal bronze hoops, each .7 inch wide, at top, bottom, and centre. The lower edge of the top band is decorated with a row of impressed dots. Three vertical bands, slightly thicker, with toothed edges and borders of punched dots, are pierced by a rivet with a circular washer at the points where they cross the hoops, and are folded over the top of the vessel to be fastened inside by the top rivet. These vertical bands were no doubt originally equidistant from each other. There is no trace of a handle. The wood is .2 inch wide at the base and narrows to a sharp edge at the top. A narrow bronze tubular rim ran over the top hoop, but underneath the vertical bands. At one point a short bronze band is rivetted over the edge, probably as a mend to the tubular rim. Just below the top rivet each vertical band is pierced by a bronze staple, from the loop of which swings a bronze spangle, decorated with punched dots.

Bronze-bound wooden vessel, 3.8 inches high. Similar to above, but none of the hoops has survived, although marks of them are preserved on the wood. The hoop, .3 inch from the base, was .65 inch wide, the centre one .7 inch wide, and that at the top .9 inch wide. The two vertical bands are .4 inch wide, thin, and lightly fastened to the wood by looped staples; one finishes with a rounded end .4 inch above the rim of the wood and a short bronze band inside is rivetted to it. Sandwiched in between them are the remains of another bronze band, no doubt the end of a handle. Inside, and .3 inch from the bottom, is a groove in the wood to receive the base.

Bronze-bound wooden vessel, 4.4 inches high. Similar to above, but has traces of four bronze hoops, the widest, 1.2 inch wide, being at the top. Four vertical bands, two of which still lap over the top, are fastened with four or five looped staples. There is no trace of a handle, but there are traces of a tubular rim.

A number of iron sword fragments in two widths, about 2 inches and about 1.7 inch; the fragments together total about 73 inches in length and include one tip and one hilt. These pieces must have constituted at least two swords and possibly more. Remains of a wooden scabbard are evident on most pieces. Radiographs made of three of the pieces revealed pattern-welding in each case.

Iron spearhead, 14.3 inches long, leaf-shaped blade with a split socket.

Iron spearhead, 9 inches long. An angular blade with a split socket and the tip missing.

Iron spearhead, fragment 5.8 inches long, with a split socket 2.5 inches long.

Iron shield-boss. Wide flange, incurved waist, straight-sided dome ending in a wide, flat button. Diameter about 7 inches, height 3.5 inches.

Iron shield-boss. Narrower flange, upright waist, straight-sided dome with knob. Diameter about 7 inches, height 2.3 inches.

Iron shield-boss. Flange damaged. Upright waist with ridge at carination, slightly convex dome, with stud. Diameter about 7 inches, height 3.2 inches.

Iron shield-boss. Wide flange, sloping waist, ridge at carination, convex dome, with stud. Five silver-plated disc-headed rivets remain in the flange. Diameter about 6.7 inches, height 3.4 inches.

Iron shield-boss. Flange damaged, knob missing, vertical waist, dome slightly concave.

Iron shield-boss. Fragments; sloping waist, straight-sided dome, button.

Iron spike. 3.5 inches long, circular in section, pointed at both ends. Possibly used to push the woven threads closer together when weaving.

Glass drinking-horn. Put together from broken pieces by British Museum craftsmen. The outside contour measured about 18.5 inches. The diameter at the mouth is 2.8 inches. The glass is 3 mm. thick at the mouth and solid for about two-and-a-half inches from the point. The glass is olive green and bubbly. The body is slightly twisted, and the rim is roughly chipped. It is decorated with self-coloured trails; there is a thick snickered band 1 inch below the rim, and 1 inch below this is a thick trail pulled down into the shape of arcades. Thick vertical trails run from the point of each arcade to the tip of the horn, where they are flush with the surface (Pl. IV).

Glass drinking-horn. Fragments only. Similar to above. Diameter at the mouth is 3.15 inches.

PLATE IV.



By courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum.

SAXON GLASS DRINKING-HORN,
GERPINS FARM, RAINHAM.

Glass bead, 1.6 inch in diameter and in the shape of a truncated cone. Of very dark brown or black glass decorated with creamy-coloured marvered threads forming a five-petalled flower in a circle, and with a zig-zag line round the outer edge (Pl. III, 11).

Glass bead, of a maximum diameter of 1.1 inch. An irregular and flattened disc with rounded edges, and of dark blue glass decorated with an off-white, unmarvered, zig-zag thread within a circle of white thread (Pl. III, 10).

Fragments of a Frankish wheel-made bi-conical bowl (restored). 3.5 inches high, 3.8 inches diameter at mouth. Of hard, light-grey ware, it has a slightly everted rim, and a ridge just below the neck.

The base shows marks of severance from the wheel. There are two rows of faint, irregular, chevron-patterned rouletting on the shoulder.

Cooking pot with flat base and almost parallel sides. 4 inches high, 3.9 inches diameter at mouth. Very roughly hand-made, coarse, badly fired clay, discoloured by fire.

Globular pot with an almost vertical neck, slightly everted, base slightly flattened. 5.1 inches high, 3.6 inches diameter at mouth. Hand-made of reddish ware, discoloured by fire. It is pitted by marks of grass or other plants used in mixing and shows some traces of burnishing. It is decorated completely by rows of dots, probably made by the teeth of a comb; there are four parallel, horizontal rows round the neck, a zone of diagonal parallel lines on the shoulder, and three parallel and horizontal lines below.

Bowl. 4.5 inches high, 4 inches diameter at mouth. Rounded, but with sharply carinated shoulder, slightly everted rim and flattened base. It is hand-made of grey ware with a black burnish. The base has been discoloured by fire and there is no decoration.

(The thanks of the Society are due to the Borough of Dagenham for defraying the cost of the blocks illustrating this paper.)

PART OF THE KALENDAR OF A XIIIth-CENTURY SERVICE BOOK ONCE IN THE CHURCH OF WRITTLE.

By FRANCIS C. EELES, O.B.E., D.Litt., LL.D., F.S.A.Scot.

THE Dean and Chapter of Liverpool have recently acquired, through the generosity of Sir Frederick Radcliffe, two leaves from the Kalendar of an early thirteenth-century service book which at one time belonged to the church of Writtle, about four miles west of Chelmsford, then, and until modern times, in the diocese of London. Although only containing the four months of May, June, July, and August, these two leaves are of exceptional interest as they represent one of only three surviving books of the liturgical use of St. Paul's, London. In 1414, Richard Clifford, bishop of London, with the consent of the Dean and Chapter, ordered the substitution for the old use of St. Paul's of the increasingly general English use of Sarum.¹ With the exception of two psalters in the library of St. Paul's Cathedral, other service books which have survived from the pre-Reformation diocese of London are later than 1414 and therefore of the use of Sarum. We now have four pages from the Kalendar of a third book of the older use.

In the following pages an attempt will be made to describe and analyse the contents of these leaves, here presented in printed form, and also to compare them with the Kalendars of the other two St. Paul's Service books, which are here printed for the first time. In addition to these there is a Kalendar in a book of Statutes printed by the Camden Society.²

The two leaves are of vellum, measuring about $12\frac{3}{4}$ inches by 9 inches. They have been cut down at the top and also to an extent at the sides. The ruled area is about 9 and $\frac{9}{10}$ th inches by 7 inches. The writing is of the usual English type used about 1200 or a little later. The initials KL are decorated with a little rough acanthus foliage. The feasts of first dignity are in blue and red, and have been filled in at a rather later date.

A second series of entries, with a feast-grading which applies to all the original entries also, was added early in the fourteenth century;

¹ The text of the mandate, edited by the late Dr. Sparrow Simpson, is printed in *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of London*, vol. xiv, p. 118.

² *Documents illustrating the history of St. Paul's Cathedral*, ed. W. Sparrow Simpson, D.D., 1880, p. 61.

a few more names were added at the very end of the fourteenth century, while some time in the fifteenth century a rough attempt was made to adapt the Kalendar to the use of Sarum by adding certain feasts and crossing out others.

In 1348, or soon after, an obit was added which proves the connection of the book with Writtle. It is on 20th May and reads:

Obitus fratris Iacobi de ciuitate sancti angeli custodis ecclesie omnium sanctorum de writtle Anno domini millesimo. cc^oc x^ol viii^o cuis anime propicietur deus.

Now the constitutional position of the church of Writtle was very unusual. According to Tanner's *Notitia Monastica* it is said to have been given by King Stephen to the Cluniac monastery of Bermondsey and subsequently transferred by King John to the Hospital of St. Mary in Saxia at Rome, otherwise called the Hospital of the Holy Spirit for English people. An ecclesiastic called a *custos*, or in one document a *prior*, appears to have been sent from this Roman house to administer affairs at Writtle, and no doubt to collect the revenues and send them to Rome. Brother James of the city of Saint Angel must have been one of them; the designation *de ciuitate sancti angeli* appears to indicate that he came from the city of Saint Angelo de Lombardi in Campania, not far from Naples.

The connection of the church with this Roman Hospital must have ceased before the end of the fourteenth century, as Richard II gave it to the Warden and Scholars of Winchester (i.e. New) College, Oxford, in 1391.

We will now try to analyse the Kalendar itself. Generally speaking we may class it with the calendars of the earlier or non-Sarum type, such as were in use in England before the introduction of the Sarum rite. Of the subsequent additions, the first set are chiefly non-Sarum names, while the later ones appear to be part of an adaptation to Sarum use after its introduction in London in 1414.

For convenience we will take the normal Sarum kalendar as the groundwork and will examine the entries which form no part of it, and first those in the original hand. These are:

20 May	St. Aelbert or Ethelbert, king and martyr
3 June	St. Osida, virgin
?	St. Erasmus, bishop and martyr
4 "	St. Quirinus
21 "	St. Leufrid, abbot
8 July	St. Grimbald, bishop
13 "	St. Silas, apostle

29 July	St. Olave, king and martyr
31 „	St. Neot, abbot
6 August	Transfiguration of our Lord
20 „	St. Philibert, confessor
25 „	St. Genesisius, martyr

St. Aelbert is St. Ethelbert, regarded as the original founder of St. Paul's Cathedral, d. 793. St. Osida is the same as St. Osyth, 7 October. St. Erasmus has no special local connection but is common in non-Sarum English kalendars and St. Quirinus is not common, but St. Leufrid is frequently found, so also St. Grimbald. St. Silas occurs at Barking but is not common. St. Olave is found at Exeter and Aberdeen, St. Neot at Exeter and Croyland.

The Transfiguration, 6 August, one of the principal feasts of our Lord in the Orthodox Eastern Church, was not generally observed in the West until after 1457 when Pope Calixtus III ordered its observance in thanksgiving for the victory over the Turks at Belgrade, and it did not find its way into the Sarum rite until about 1480. But it was observed earlier in some places, e.g., at Exeter Cathedral and among the nuns of Barking.

St. Philibert, 20 August, was an abbot of Jumieges, and not a martyr.

We now come to the saints added early in the fourteenth century:

27 May	St. Petroc, confessor
7 July	St. Marcial, disciple of Christ
13 „	St. Middrithe, virgin
15 „	St. Eadgythe, virgin
31 „	St. Paulinus
„ „	St. Aidan, bishop

St. Petroc is the great Welsh missionary to Cornwall; his name is found not only in West country kalendars, such as Winchester, Evesham, Sherborne, Wells, and Exeter, but in parts of England as far away as Reading, Bury St. Edmunds, and York. His usual date is 4 June. St. Edith is usually on 16 September.

The late fourteenth-century additions are:

17 June	St. Botolph
26 July	St. Anne
18 August	St. Helen

The scribe of this second series of additions has added the feast-grading with some care on the right side of each page. This is

remarkable, as it follows the unusual classification of *prime, secunde, tercię dignitatis, novem leccionum, trium leccionum, (cum) pronu(nciatione evangelii)* and *commemoracio*. This corresponds, with but slight difference of nomenclature, to the classification in the Statutes collected by Ralph Baldock, Dean of St. Paul's, 1294-1305, for St. Paul's, London. The only difference is that the statutes speak of *quarte et quinque dignitatis* for *novem et trium leccionum*.

The present writer cannot recall any other instance of this form of classification. Its adoption here seems to amount to proof that the use of St. Paul's, London, was followed in parish churches in the diocese.

The following are summarised from the thirteenth-century *Statutes of St. Paul's Cathedral*, book i; Statutes of Baldock and Lisieux, par. iii, cap. 46¹

Prime dignitatis.

Christmas, SS. Stephen, John, Innocents, St. Thomas of Canterbury, Circumcision, Epiphany, Conversion of St. Paul, Purification, Annunciation, Easter and three days following, St. Erkenwald, St. Ethelbert, Ascension, Pentecost and three days following, Trinity, St. John Baptist, SS. Peter and Paul, commemoration of St. Paul, feast of relics, St. Laurence, Assumption and Nativity of B.V.M., Dedication, All Saints, Translation of St. Erkenwald.

Feasts of Second Dignity.

'Sunt et alie festivitates secunde dignitatis inferius notate, que apud nos simpliciter dupplices dicuntur'—SS. Michael, Jerome, Osyth, Martin, Katharine, Andrew, Nicholas, Vincent, Gregory, Ambrose, *Octava Pasche*, SS. Mellitus, Philip and James, Invention of Holy Cross, St. Mary Magdalen, St. Peter's Chains, St. Augustine, Translation of St. Thomas of Canterbury.

Feasts of Third Dignity.

SS. James, Oswald, Octaves of St. Erkenwald, of SS. Peter and Paul, of St. Laurence, of the Assumption, Exaltation of Holy Cross, Octave of Nativity of B.V.M.

Feasts of Fourth Dignity.

'que simplices dies dominicos . . . imitantur' having nine lessons.

Feasts of Fifth Dignity.

'Preter has . . . sunt et alie quinti ordinis et ultimi que videlicet tres tantum habent lecciones . . . in his non negligenda diversitas est.

¹ *Registrum Statutorum et Consuetudinum Ecclesie Cathedralis Sancti Pauli Londiniensis*, ed. W. Sparrow Simpson, London, 1873, pp. 52 seq.

Nam cum de Sanctis non nisi iij lecciones leguntur, tunc vel pronuntiatur evangelium, et illius expositione omnes ille tres lecciones fiunt, vel saltem prima de expositione evangelii, et due relique de vita ipsorum: vel non pronuntiatur evangelium et legitur tantummodo de vita ipsorum'.

From this it would seem that the term 'double feast' was used rather loosely at St. Paul's for feasts of first and second dignity, that fourth dignity was equivalent to a feast of nine lessons elsewhere, and that feasts of fifth dignity were feasts of three lessons and were divided into those on which the gospel was read at mattins with or without lessons of the saints, and those on which the gospel was not read but only the lessons of the saints.

Later in prescribing for the ringing of bells the phrases *iij leccionum sine pronunciatione Evangelii* and *iij leccionum cum pronunciatione Evangelii* are used as a distinction exactly as in this kalendar.

The last series of entries in the kalendar dates from some time in the fifteenth century after the introduction of the Sarum books into the diocese of London, and represents a rather rough and ready adaptation to the use of that illustrious church of the months of May and June.

The scribe has written *non Sarum* against St. John of Beverley (7 May) and the Translations of St. Andrew and St. Nicholas (9 May); he has drawn a line through St. Ethelbert (20 May) and St. Urban (25 May); he has written *non Sarum* against St. Petroc (27 May), drawn a line through SS. Osyth and Erasmus (3 June), adding *vacat* and *Nichomedis martyris*. He puts *non Sarum* after St. Quirinus (4 June). On 9 June he adds *Translacio Sancti eedmundi confessoris*, and he adds *non Sarum* to St. Botolph on 17 June and St. Leufrid on 21 June. He has done nothing towards adapting July or August to Sarum use save to write *vacat* against St. Neot (31 July); there are several non-Sarum feasts he has not indicated in any way and he has not added St. Edward the Martyr on 20 June, nor the Translation of St. Swithun on 15 July. He has indicated by the letters 'b' and 'co' over SS. Primus and Felician on 9 June, and 'a' over Translation of St. Edmund, that the latter takes precedence with only a commemoration of the former.¹ On the 16th SS. Ciricus and Julitta and the Translation of St. Richard are similarly treated.

THE KALENDAR OF ST. PAUL'S, LONDON.

The Writtle fragment we have described only includes four months. For comparison with the other three extant St. Paul's kalendars, a

¹ This is apparently the interpretation of 'co' though one would expect the Sarum word *memoria*.

transcript follows of the whole year as given in the kalendar of a thirteenth-century psalter, MS. 40 B, in the library of St. Paul's Cathedral, with which have been collated the kalendars in the Greater Statutes and in a smaller and later psalter, MS. 38 c. 19.

Entries not in MS. 40 B, but in the Statuta Majora, are marked †, those in MS. 38 c. 19 are marked ‡. Entries not in the Statutes kalendar are enclosed in square brackets, those not in the smaller psalter in round brackets.

Some contractions, e.g., Sci., have not been extended, for the sake of space. As † has been used for certain additions § has been used to indicate erroneous spellings retained. The feast-grading has been retained as contracted.

The later psalter appears to be a fourteenth-century book probably written for some individual, and it gives the impression of being more for use in private than in choir. Moreover, it found its way to the continent, for there is added in a very late hand 'Ad usum monasterij S. Petri de Principiano'. The Kalendar contains a number of entries in a late hand, which were probably added abroad and are unconnected with St. Paul's. The value of this book as representing the use of St. Paul's does not seem to be very high.

When we come to analyse the St. Paul's Kalendar as exhibited in the text here given, which is that of the thirteenth-century psalter collated with the one in the Statutes and with that in the not very satisfactory fourteenth-century psalter, we arrive at the same general conclusions that result from an examination of the four months in the Writtle fragment. There is a general likeness to the pre-Sarum kalendars and there are the special London festivals of St. Mellitus, 24 April,¹ and St. Erkenwald, 30 April,² and 7 May.¹ The feast on 30 April is the Despositio: what is this feast on 7 May? The Translation is on 14 November.¹ Strange to say none of these feasts of St. Erkenwald are in 40 B save 30 April in a later hand. The London feast of St. Ethelbert on 20 May is in 40 B, but not in the others. Yet two feasts of St. Erkenwald and that of St. Ethelbert are *prime dignitatis* in the Statutes, where SS. Osyth and Mellitus are *secunde dignitatis*.

There are a number of saints who seem to have had no special reason for inclusion, but who occur in one or other of the older English Kalendars. Some had a widespread cultus, e.g., St. Milburga, 23 February, or St. Felix 'in Britannia', 8 March, i.e., St. Felix of East Anglia.

Others seem to have had little local connection. St. Gregory on

¹ In Statutes not in 40 B.

² Later addition in 40 B but original in Statutes.

9 March is probably St. Gregory Nazianzen kept in Milan on this day. The ordination of St. Gregory the Pope, 31 March, is more usually on the 3 September. St. Pancras on 3 April is not the boy martyr but a Sicilian bishop. St. Eufemia on 13 April seems to be an obscure Euphemia of Chalcedon who was really the same as Euphemia the Great. St. Marcellus, Pope, 26 April, is usually on 16 January.

The feast of St. Edburga, patroness of Winchester, on 18 July, is her Translation.

St. Edith seems to have been transferred from 16 to 17 September in MS. 38 *c* to make room for St. Euphemia.

St. Byrnstan, 4 November, was a bishop of Winchester.

Of the additions made in MS. 38 after being taken to Italy we note SS. Thomas Aquinas, 7 March; Honofrius, 11 June; St. Anthony of Padua, 13 June; St. Vanerius, 16 June; St. Margarita, 5 July, the Ambrosian date; St. Jacobus de Voragine, bishop of Genoa, d. 1298, 6 July; St. Brigid, 24 July (Translation of St. B. of Sweden); St. Bernard, 20 August; St. Hermes, 28 August; St. Romulus, bishop of Genoa, 13 October; St. Raphael the Archangel, 30 December—a festival apparently very rare. Although included here these festivals have nothing to do with St. Paul's.

For the fragmentary Kalendar from the Writtle service book, and the Kalendars of two St. Paul's service books, see the next and following pages.

FRAGMENTARY KALENDAR FROM WRITTLE SERVICE BOOK.

KL *Maij. A* [*postolorum Philippi et Iacobi*], ij^e dig.

- 2
 3 *Inuencio see crucis* ij^e dig.
 4
 5
 6 *Sci Iohannis ante pota† latinam fm'.*
 7 *Sci Iohannis epi de Beuerlaco. 'non sar'.¹ co'.²*
 8
 9 *Tr^{ns}l Sci Andree et Sci Nicholai 'non sar'¹ p'n.*
 10 *Scor' Gordiani et Epimachi, martirum iij lc'.*
 11
 12 *Scor' Nerei et Achillei et Pancracij, martirum pn'.*
 13
 14
 15
 16
 17
 18 festu'
 19 *Sci Dunstani archiepi et conf' et Potenciane virg'¹*
 20 *'Sci Aelberti reg et mr'¹ Obit fris Iacobi de ciui j^e dig.*
 21 *tate sci angli custodis ecce' oium scor' de writtle*
 22 *Anno doⁱ. millo'. ce^oc. x^ol. viii^o cuius aie propiciet^r d's.²*
 23
 24
 25 *'Sci Urbani pape et martiris et¹ sci Aldelmi iij lc'.*
 26 *Sci Augustini anglor' episcopi fm'.*
 27 *'Sci Petroci confessoris¹ 'non sar'¹*
 28 *'Sci Germani episcopi¹ iij lc'.*
 29
 30
 31 *See Petronille uirginis iij lc'.*

¹⁻¹ added early 14th c. ²⁻² Obit of 1348.
¹⁻¹ added 15th c.; but ¹⁻¹ on 20th and 25th struck out, 15th c.

KL *Iunij. Sci Nicomedis martiris iij lc'. [iij lc'.*

- 2 *Scor' Marcellini et Petri martirum*
 3 *See^{va}.¹ Oside^{est}.¹ et Sci Herasmi epi et mr'^o 'Nichomedis mr'¹ iij lc'.*
 4 *Sci Quirini episcopi et martiris 'non sar'¹ [p'n.*
 5 *Sci Bonefacii episcopi et martiris*
 6-7
 8 *Sco' confessorum Medardi et Gildardi p'n.*
 9 *Sb^{cor}' Primi^{oo} et Feliciani 'Tra^o 'nslacio Sci eedmundi conf¹ p'n.*
 10
 11 *Sci Barnabe apostoli ij^e dig.*
 12 *Scor' Basilidis, Cirini, et Naboris, iij lc'.*
 13
 14 *Sci Basilij episcopi iij lc'.*
 15 *Scor' Uiti et Modesti martirum iij lc'.*
 16 *Sb^{cor}' Cirici et Iulitte^{oo} matris ei' 'Tra^o 'nslacio Sci Ricardi¹ p'n. [p'n.*
 17 *'Sci Botulli abbatis¹ 'non sar'¹*
 18 *Scor' Marci et Marcelliani martiris ix lc'.*
 19 *Scor' Geruasij et Protasij martiris ix lc'. [iij lc'.*
 20
 21 *Sci Leufridi abbatis 'non sar'¹*
 22 *Sci Albani martiris ix lc'.*
 23 *See Edeldride virginis Vigilia p'n. [j^e dig.*
 24 *Natiuitas Sci Iohannis Baptiste [p'n.*
 25
 26 *Scor' Iohannis et Pauli martiris*
 27
 28 *Sci Leonis pape Vigilia p'n.*
 29 *Apostolorum Petri et Pauli j^e dig.*
 30 *Commemoracio sci Pauli j^e dig.*

¹⁻¹ added early 14th c.
²⁻² added late 14th c.
¹⁻² struck out 15th c.

- KL Julij. Oct' sci Iohannis Bap-
tiste p'n.
- 2 Sc'i Swthuniſ epi et maris.
bProcessi et Martiniani co.
- 3
- 4 Translatio sci Martini p'n.
- 5
- 6 Oct' Apostolorum iij^o dig.
- 7 'Sci Marcialis discipuli christi'.
Translacio sci thome mar-
tiris j^o dig.
- 8 Sci Grimbaldi episcopi iij lc'.
- 9
- 10 Septem fratrumſ p'n.
- 11 Translacio sci Benedicti p'n.
- 12
- 13 Silee apostoli ¹et sce middrithe
virginis² pro'n.³
- 14
- 15 'Sce Eadgythe virginis¹
- 16
- 17 Sci Kenelmi martiris p'n.
- 18 Sci Arnulfi episcopi et martiris
iij lc'.
- 19
- 20 Sce Margarete uirginis ix lc'.
- 21 Sce Praxedis uirginis iij lc'.
- 22 *Sce Marie Magdalene* ij dig.
- 23 Sci Appollinaris martiris iij lc'.
- 24 Sce Cristine uirginis *Vigilia*
iij lc'.
- 25 *Sci Iacobi apostoli* ij^o dig.
- 26 'Mte Anne matris marie³ ix lc'.
- 27 Septem Dormientium iij lc'.
- 28 Pantaleonis. Samsonis. Nazari et
Celsi iij lc'.
- 29 Felicis Simplicij. Faustini. et
Beatricis. et Olanj iij lc'.
- 30 Scor' Abdon et Sennen martirum
iij lc'.
- 31 Sci Germani episcopi et ⁴Neoti
abbatis ^{est}⁴

1-3 added early 14th c.

2-3 added late 14th c.

4-4 added 15th c.

- KL Aug. *Ad uincl'a Sci Petri*
ij^o dig.
- 2 Sci Stephani pape et martiris
p'n.
- 3 Inuentio corporis sci stephani
ix lc'.
- 4
- 5 Sci Osuualdi regis et martiris
iij dig.
- 6 Sixti epi. felicissimi. et Agapiti.
et t'nsfiguratio dni iij lc'.
- 7 Sci Donati episcopi et martiris
iij lc'.
- 8 Sci Siriaci martiris p'n.
- 9 Sci Romani martiris *Vigilia*
- 10 *Sci Laurentii* martiris j^o dig.
- 11 Sci Tiburcij martiris co.
- 12
- 13 Sci Ypoliti sociorumque eius p'n.
- 14 Sci Eusebij *Vigilia*
- 15 *Assumpcio sce marie* j^o dig.
- 16
- 17 Oct'. sci Laurentij martiris
iij^o dig.
- 18 Sb⁴ci Agapiti martiris ⁴ ²Sce
Helene regine³ ix lc'.
- 19 Sci Magni martiris co.
- 20 Sci Philiberti martiris co.
- 21
- 22 Oct'. Sce Marie. et Timothei. et
Simpthoriani iij^o dig.
- 23 [Sci] Appolinaris martiris *Vigilia*
- 24 *Sci Bartholomei apostoli* ij^o dig.
- 25 Sci Genesisij martiris iij lc'.
- 26
- 27 Sci Rufi martiris iij lc'.
- 28 Sci Augustini doctoris ij^o dig.
- 29 *Decollatio Iohannis baptiste*
- 30 Scorum Felicis et Audacti iij lc'
- 31 'Sci Paulini. aidani episcopi'

1-3 added early 14th c.

2-3 added late 14th c.

KALENDARS OF TWO ST. PAUL'S SERVICE BOOKS.

KL January.

- 1 Circumcisio domini
 2 Oct. Sci Stephani prothomartiris
 3 Oct. Sci Iohannis euangeliste
 [† Genouefe v.]
 4 Oct. S'corum Innocentum
 5 [Sci Simeonis monachi] † Oct. S. Thome
 6 *Epiphania domini*
 7
 8
 9 [† Trs. Iudoci C.]
 10 [(Sci Pauli primi heremite.)]
 11
 12
 13 [*Oct. Epiphantie, S'coru' Hylarii et*
 Remigii]
 14 Sci Felicis in pincis.
 15 Sci Mauri abbatis.
 16 Sci Marcelli pape.
 17 Sci Antonii abbatis.
 18 † Prisce
 19 [(S'corum Marii et Marthe) † Wlstan]
 20 S'corum Fabiani et Sebastiani martirum
 21 *See Agnetis uirginis*
 22 *Sci Vincentii martiris*
 23 (See Emerenciane uirginis)
 24 [(Sci Babille episcopi)]
 25 *Conuersio Sci Pauli † et S. Preiecti,*
 martiris
 26 [(Sci Policarpi episcopi)]
 27 (Sci Iuliani episcopi et confessoris)
 28 *See Agnetis secundo*
 29
 30 [See Baltildis regine]
 31

KL March.

- 1 [(S'corum Albini Dauid confessoris)]
 † Donati martiris
 2 † Cedde
 3 (Sci Cedde) † Albani episcopi
 4
 5
 6
 7 S'carum perpetue et Felicitatis † Thome
 de Aquino
 8 † Felicis in Brittannia
 9 [Sci gregorii]
 10
 11
 12 *Sci Gregorii pape*
 13
 14
 15
 16 [(See Eugenie uirginis)]
 17 † Patricii episcopi
 18 Sci Edwardi regis et martiris
 19
 20 *Sci Cuthberti episcopi et confessoris*
 21 *Sci Benedicti abbatis*
 22
 23
 24
 25 *Annunciatio See Marie, uirginis*
 26
 27 † [(Resurreccio Domini)]
 28 † [Ordinacio sancti Gregorii pape]
 29
 30
 31

KL February.

- 1 [(Sci Ignacii mr'. Sci Seueri episcopi)]
 See Brigide v'g.
 2 *Purificacio See Marie uirginis*
 3 Sci Blasii episcopi et martiris
 4
 5 *See Agathe uirginis*
 6 S'coru' Vedasti et Amandi episcoporum
 7
 8
 9
 10 *See Scolastice uirginis*
 11 [(See Eualie uirginis)]
 12
 13
 14 Sci valentini martiris
 15
 16 *See Juliane uirginis*
 17
 18
 19
 20
 21
 22 *Cathedra sci Petri*
 23 [(See Milburge uirginis)]
 24 [Sci Mathie apostoli]
 25
 26
 27
 28 [Sci Oswaldi archiepiscopi]

KL April.

- 1 [See Marie egyptiace]
 2 [(Sci Pancracij martiris)]
 3 Sci Ambrosii episcopi et confessoris
 4
 5 [(Sci Sixti pape et martiris)]
 6
 7
 8
 9
 10
 11 [(Sci Gudlaci confessoris)]
 12
 13 [(See Eufemie uirginis)]
 14 S'corum Tiburcii et Ualeriani, martirum
 15
 16
 17
 18
 19 (Sci Aelphegi archiepiscopi)
 20
 21
 22
 23 Sci Georgii martiris
 24 † Melliti episcopi
 25 *Sci Marci euangeliste letania maior*
 26 [(Sci Marcelli pape)]
 27
 28 Sci Uitalis martiris
 29 [(Sci Germani episcopi)]
 30 (Sci Erkenwaldi episcopi)

KL May.

- 1 *S'corum Apostolorum Philippi et Jacobi*
 2 ((Sci Athanasii episcopi et confessoris))
 3 *Inuencio Sancte Crucis* † *S'corum Alexandri Euentii Theodori*
 4
 5
 6 *Sci Iohannis ante portam latinam*
 7 ((Sci Iohannis archiepiscopi)) († S. Erkenwaldi) † Victori m.
 8
 9 *Translatio (Sci Andree et) Sci Nicholai*
 10 *S'corum Gordiani et Epimachi martirum.*)
 11
 12 *S'corum Nerei Achillei et Pancracii*
 13
 14
 15
 16
 17
 18
 19 *Sci Dunstani archiepiscopi.* [See Potentiane virginis.]
 20 ((Sci Adhelberti martiris))
 21
 22 [† Sci Desiderii]
 23
 24
 25 *Sci Urbani pape et martiris* † *Aldelmi C.*
 26 *Sci Augustini anglorum apostoli*
 27 ((Sci Germani episcopi.))
 28 [† Germani]
 29
 30
 31 *See Petronelle virginis*

KL July.

- 1 (*Oct' Sci Iohannis baptiste*) † *De*
 2 (*S'corum processii et martiniani martirum*)
 † *Deposicio Sci Swithuni*
 3
 4 *Translatio Sci Martini episcopi et confessoris*
 5 † *Margarite*
 6 *Oct' Apostolorum Petri et Pauli* † ([*Jacobi de Voragine ep. Januensis*])
 7 ((*Translatio Sci Thome martiris*))
 8 † *Grimbaldi confessoris* † *sacerdotis*
 9
 10 *S'corum Septem Fratrum*
 11 † *Benedicti Abbatis*
 12
 13 († *Silec Apostoli* † *Mildrede virginis*)
 14
 15 [† *Translatio Swithuni*]
 16 ((*Sci Eustachii sociorumque eius*))
 17 *Sci Kenelmi martiris*
 18 († *Arnulphi episcopi*) † *Eandurge uirginis* † *Osith*
 19
 20 *See Margareta virginis*
 21 *See Praxedis uirginis et martiris* † *Erasmi*
 22 *See Marie Magdalene*
 23 *Sci Apollinaris martiris*
 24 *See Christine virginis Vigilia* † *Brigide*
 25 *Sci Jacobi apostoli Christophori martiris*
 26 † *Anne Mat[ris] Marie*
 27 *S'corum Septem Dormientium* (et *beatricis*)
 28 *Sci Pantaleonis martiris* [† *Sci Samsonis epil Nazari Celsi*]
 29 ((*See Marthe virginis.*)) *S'corum Felicis, Simplicii, Faustini et Beatricis*
 30 (*S'corum Abdon et Sennen martirum*)
 31 *Sci Germani episcopi et confessoris*

KL June.

- 1 [Sci Nichomedis Martiris]
 2 *S'corum Marcelli et Petri*
 3 † (*Erasmi Episcopi*)
 4 ((*Sci Petroci conf*))
 5 *Sci Bonifaci (episcopi et martiris) † cum sociis*
 6
 7
 8 (*S'corum Medardi et Gildardi episcoporum*)
 9 *S'corum Primi et Feliciani martirum*
 10
 11 *Sci Barnabe Apostoli.* † *sci honorii*
 12 (*S'corum Basilidis, Cirtini, Naboris et Nazarii martirum*)
 13 † *sci Antonii padua*
 14 *Sci Basilij episcopi et confessoris.*
 15 (*S'corum Uiti et Modesti Martirum*)
 [See *Edburge virginis*]
 16 (*S'corum Ciri et Iulite matris eius*)
 † *sci Vanceri*
 17 † (*Bothulphi Abbatis*)
 18 (*S'corum Marci et Marcelliani Martirum*)
 19 *S'corum Geruasi et Prothasii Martirum*
 20
 21 (*Sci Leofridi abbatis*) † *Iuliani*
 22 *Sci Albani martiris* [et *S'corum Achaii Melidis Martirum*] *Vigilia*
 23 (*See Etheldride virginis*)
 24 *Natiuitas Sci Iohannis baptiste*
 25
 26 *S'corum Iohannis et Pauli martirum*
 27
 28 *Sci Leonis pape Vigilia*
 29 *S'corum apostolorum Petri et Pauli*
 30 *Commemoracio sci Pauli* † *Marcialis conf.*

KL August.

- 1 *Ad uincula sci petri*
 2 *Sci Stephani pape et martiris*
 3 *Inuencio corporis sci Stephani*
 4
 5 *Sci Oswaldi regis et martiris*
 6 *S'corum Sixti Felicissimi et Agapiti martirum* † *Transfiguracio*
 7 *Sci Donati epi et martiris*
 8 *Sci Ciriaci martiris*
 9 (*Sci Romani martiris*) *Vigilia*
 10 *Sci Laurentii archidiaconi martiris*
 11 *Sci Tiburcii martiris*
 12 † *Radegundis* † *Clare*
 13 *Sci Ypolitis martiris* † *cum sociis*
 14 *Sci Eusebii confessoris Vigilia*
 15 *Assumptio sancte Marie uirginis*
 16
 17 *Octaue sci Laurentii*
 18 *Sci Agapiti martiris* † *elene*
 19 † *Magni martiris*
 20 († *Philiberti abbatis*) † *Bernard*
 21
 22 *Oct' see Marie* *S'corum Timothei et Symphoriani martirum*
 23 † (*Timothei et Apollinaris*) *Vigilia*
 24 *Sci Bartholomei apostoli* † *Sci Audofeni*
 25 († *Gjenesii Martiris*)
 26
 27 † *Ruffi martiris*
 28 *Augustini episcopi et confessoris* † et *Sci Hermetis*
 29 *Decollatio sci Iohannis baptiste* ((*See Sabine virginis*))
 30 *S'corum felicis et adaucti martirum*
 31

KL September.

- 1 Sci Egidii abbatis
- 2 (Sci Antonini martiris.)
- 3 † Ordinacio Gregorii
- 4 († Translacio Cuthberti) † Trs. Byrini epi
- 5 † Sci Bertini abbatis
- 6
- 7
- 8 *Nativitas Sancte Marie virginis.*
- 9 Sci Gorgonii martiris
- 10
- 11 S'corum Proti et Iacincti martirum
- 12
- 13 † Mauricii episcopi
- 14 *Exaltacio Sancte Crucis* (Cornelis et Cipriani)
- 15 († Oct Marie et Nichomedis)
- 16 (See Eufemie uirg) † Nichomedis
- 17 (Sci Lamberti martiris) † Edwithe virginis
- 18 † Lamberti martiris
- 19
- 20 *Vigilia*
- 21 *Sci Mathei apostoli*
- 22 † Teele virginis et martiris
- 23 † Mauricii sociis †† Teele v m
- 24 † Conceptio Sci Johannis Baptiste
- 25
- 26 (Isci Cypriani martiris)
- 27 S'corum Cosme et Damiani martirum
- 28
- 29 *Sci Michael archangeli* † in monte Gargano
- 30 Sci Ieronimo presbyteri et confessoris

KL November.

- 1 Festiuitas omnium sanctorum
- 2 Sci Eustachii sociorumque eius (Sca† Winefride uirg Mart M^odecc^oxj)
- 3
- 4 † Sc Byrnstani episcopi et See perpetue uirg
- 5
- 6 Sci Leonardi confessoris
- 7
- 8 S'corum quatuor coronatorum (Sci Theodori martiris)
- 9
- 10 *Sci Martini episcopi et confessoris*
- 11
- 12
- 13 Sci Bricii episcopi et confessoris
- 14 († *Translacio Erhenwaldi*)
- 15 † Machuti¹ episcopi et confessoris
- 16 (Sci Edmundi archiepiscopi Cantuariensis et confessoris)
- 17 Sci Aniani episcopi et confessoris (Oct. Sci Martini episcopi)
- 18 (Oct. Sci Martini episcopi)
- 19 See vitalis²
- 20 *Sci Edmundi regis et martiris*
- 21 († Columbani abbatis) † Sci Ruffini confessoris
- 22 *See Cecilie virg. S'corum Tiburcii et Ualeriani*
- 23 *Sci Clementis pape et martiris* † columbani
- 24 Sci Grisogoni martiris
- 25 *See Katerine uirginis et martiris*
- 26 [Lini pape et martiris]
- 27
- 28
- 29 Sci Saturnini martiris *Vigilia*
- 30 *Sci Andree apostoli*

¹ Machloui in 39 c. ² Later addition.

KL October.

- 1 Sci Remigii episcopi
- 2 Sci Leodegarii episcopi et martiris
- 3
- 4 [Sci Francisci confessoris (et ordinis fratrum minorum fundatoris)]
- 5
- 6 See Fidis uirginis et martiris († Osithe virginis)
- 7 ([† Translacio sci Oswaldi episcopi])
- 8
- 9 Sci Dionysii Rustici et Eleutherii martirum
- 10 (Paulini episcopi)
- 11 ([Nichasii martiris]) † Edelburge virginis
- 12 [Wilfridi episcopi]
- 13 († Translacio Edmundi¹ regis) † Romuli
- 14 Calixti pape et martiris
- 15 ([Sci Michael in monte tumba])
- 16
- 17
- 18 Sci Luce euangeliste † et Sancti Iusti
- 19
- 20 † Austreberte virginis
- 21 (Undecim milia uirginum) † Ursule
- 22
- 23 † Romani
- 24
- 25 Crispini et Crispiniani martirum
- 26 † Amandi confessoris
- 27
- 28 S'corum Apostolorum Simonis et Iude
- 29
- 30 † Germani episcopi
- 31 Sci Quintini martiris *Vigilia*

¹ Mistake for Edwardi.

KL December.

- 1 S'corum Crisanti et Darie martirum
- 2
- 3 [† Birini episcopi]
- 4
- 5
- 6 Sci Nicholai episcopi et confessoris
- 7 Oct Sci Andree apostoli Sci Ambrosij¹
- 8 († *Conceptio Marie*)
- 9
- 10
- 11
- 12 († Damasi pape)
- 13 See Lucie uirginis
- 14
- 15
- 16 [See Barbare uirginis]
- 17 ([Sci Ignatii martiris]) (IO Sapiencia)
- 18
- 19
- 20
- 21 Sci Thome apostoli
- 22
- 23
- 24 *Vigilia Domini Nostri*
- 25 *Nativitas Domini Nostri Ihesu Christi*
- 26 *Sci Stephani prothomartiris*
- 27 *Sci Iohannis apostoli et euangeliste*
- 28 *Sanctorum Innocentium*
- 29 *Sci Thome archiepiscopi et martiris* † tome
- 30 † Rafacelis
- 31 *Sci Siluestri pape et confessoris*

¹ Later addition.

THE BOURCHIER SHIELD IN HALSTEAD CHURCH

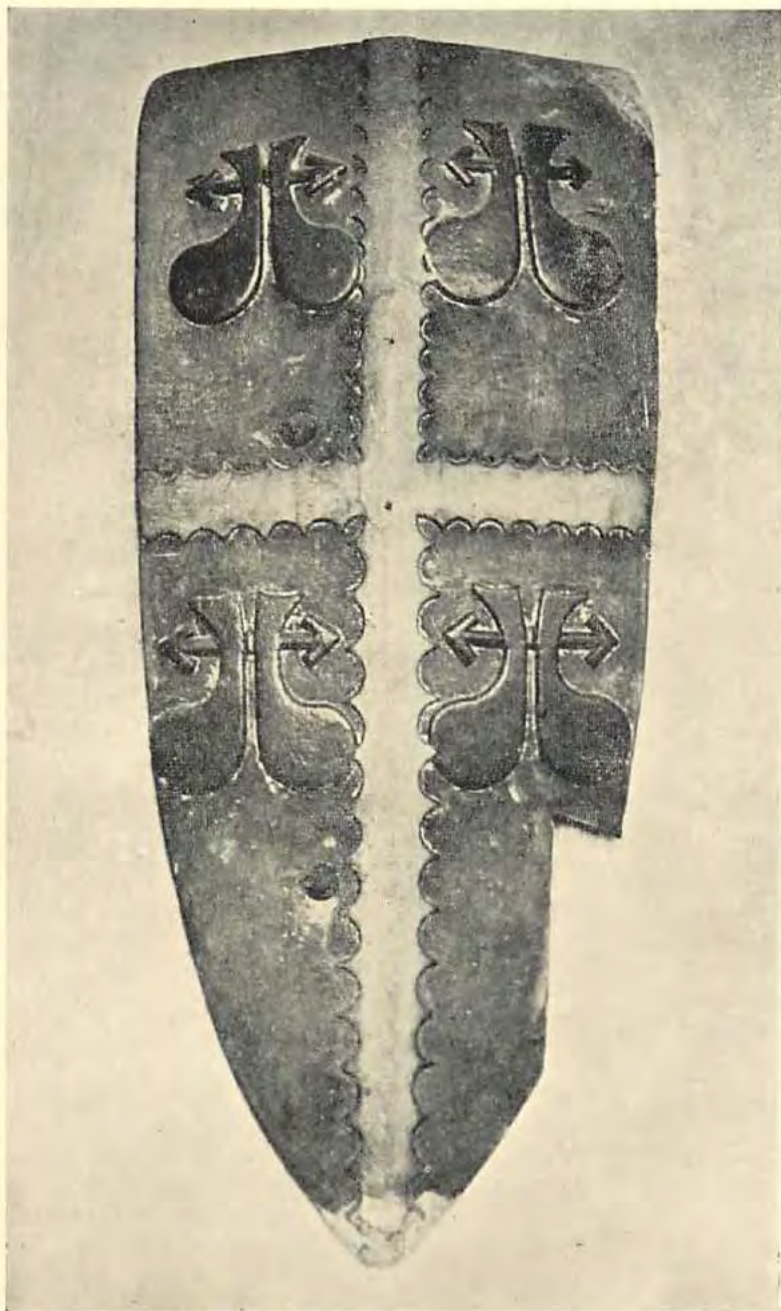
By THE REV. T. D. S. BAYLEY, M.A., F.S.A.

IN his paper 'Armour in Essex', published in these *Transactions* in 1939,¹ Mr. J. G. Mann, M.A., B.Litt., later Sir James Mann, Pres.S.A., gives some account of a wooden shield in Halstead church, which he then thought 'may be as old as the early years of the fourteenth century', and thus 'must be added to the exiguous number of English medieval shields'. At that time, however, the shield was fastened to the wall under the arch of the monument to John, second Lord Bourchier, K.G., and Elizabeth (Coggeshall), where it could not be closely examined. It can just be seen in this position in Pl., p. 150, R.C.H.M., *N.W. Essex*. It is not known when it was fastened there, but probably during the extensive repairs and alterations carried out in the church during the eighteen-forties and -fifties; to these there are references among the parish records, but a search revealed no mention of the shield.

In February, 1950, an altar was being set up in the south aisle or 'Bourchier's chapel'; at the same time the stained and dingy walls and stonework were being distempered, and repairs to the monument undertaken. It then became necessary for the shield to be taken down, thus providing an opportunity to study it at leisure and enquire more fully into its purpose and history. It was found to be a fine piece of carpentry, carved from a solid block of wood. A small fragment detached from the back was sent to the Forest Products Research Laboratory at Princes Risborough, and pronounced to be 'definitely oak'. The shield has rounded corners, and is 36 inches long by 15 inches at the widest part. It presents a convex surface, its greatest thickness, near the centre, being as much as 2¼ inches, but at the sides it dies away to about ¼ inch. The top edge is throughout about 1 inch thick. On the front is excellently carved, in relief about ¼ inch high, the arms of Bourchier. The correct blazon is *argent a cross engrailed gules between four water-bougets sable*, but consideration of the painting the shield has received may be deferred until later. From the lower part of the sinister side a portion had been removed by two neat cuts with a saw; and, rather higher up on this side, a small wedge-shaped piece had been similarly cut out and supplied with a fragment of oak, which was loose when the shield was taken down. The purpose of

¹ Vol. xxii (N.S.), p. 292 and pl. viii.

PLATE I.



From photo. in R.C.H.M., Essex, vol. i, pl. p. xxxiii. By courtesy of H.M.S.O.

THE BOURCHIER SHIELD IN HALSTEAD CHURCH,
before removal from the wall of the south aisle,

these mutilations, believed to be of nineteenth-century date, is unknown. A photograph of the back of the shield (fig. 1) shows clearly these details. The back is of uneven but smooth surface, and, in the centre, is shaped to an angle of 155° to a depth of 6 inches



Photo. by Mr. David George.

FIG. 1.—BACK OF SHIELD.

from the top. There are no nail-holes, nor any indications whatever of a former lining or strap. About the middle and to one side is a protuberance. Deliberately so fashioned, its purpose is unknown; it is of no assistance to the seating of the shield when fastened in the manner presently to be described. The shield had been attached to the wall by two very large nails, the heads of which are visible in the plate previously mentioned, and here reproduced (Pl. I); but not there discernible is another hole, at the intersection of the arms of the cross, which passed originally right through the shield, and was then blocked from the front, thus reducing its depth to 2 inches.

Shortly after the removal of the shield from

the wall, Sir James Mann kindly journeyed to Halstead to examine it. It was his view that, from its general character, it was probably of seventeenth-century date, and certainly not a mediæval piece. He also drew attention to its unnatural proportions, it being far too narrow for its length. But this consideration might not apply, if the shield was carried, or were a replica of one carried, by a man of unusual size. The writer's height is 6 feet 4 inches, and he has exceptionally long legs. Standing before a mirror, with the shield adjusted in precisely the position of the

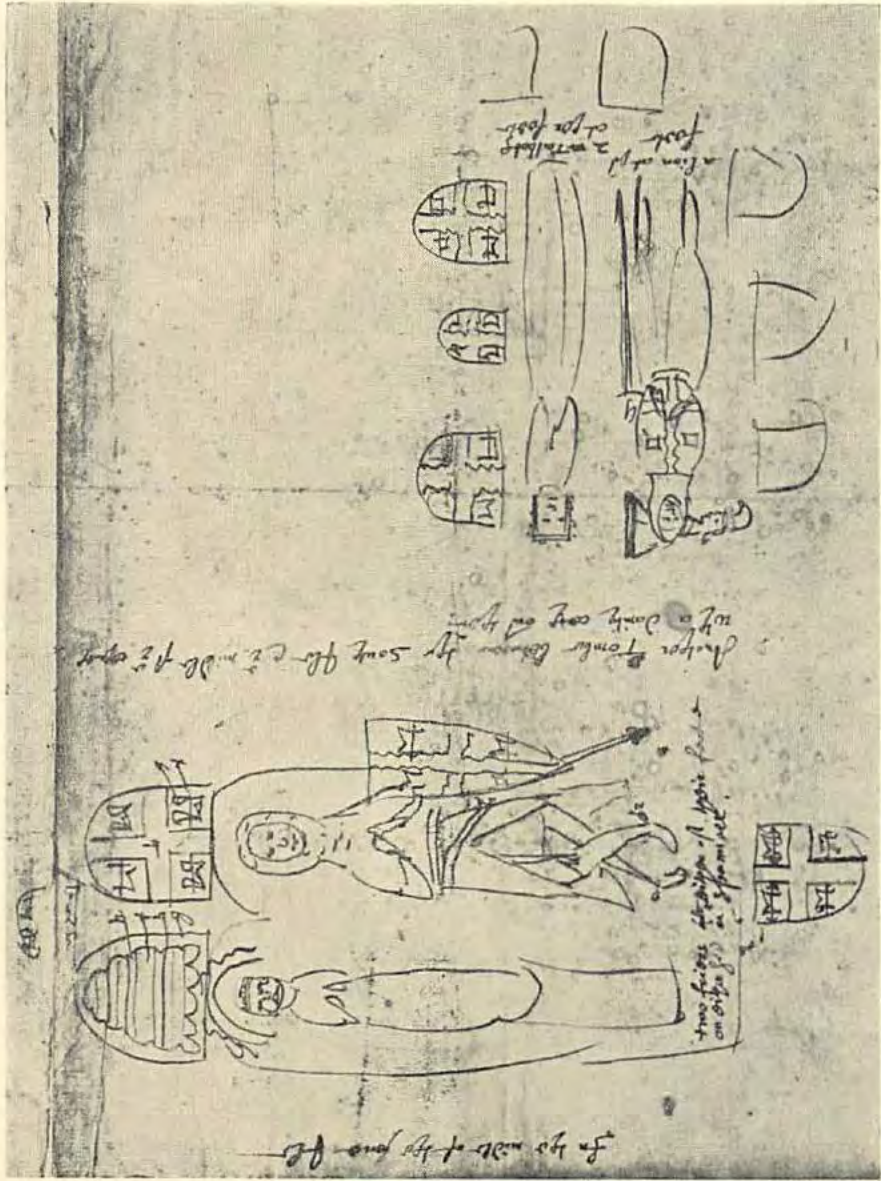
very normal fourteenth-century shield shown on the brass of Sir William FitzRalph at Pebmarsh,¹ he found that the base reached to an identically similar point on his thigh. The shield was then submitted for an opinion to the late Professor E. W. Tristram, D.Litt., F.S.A., who was also inclined to a seventeenth-century date. It is noteworthy that these two authorities, each in their respective spheres in the foremost rank, came to a similar conclusion. But it will be well for a final opinion on this point to await an appraisal of further evidence and discussion.

The shield is traditionally associated with a monument, now placed against the south wall, to the east of that previously mentioned. Formerly it stood in the aisle, and it will be convenient to trace the history of both shield and monument together, for there is a good deal of documentary material concerning them. R.C.H.M. opines that the fragments of carved panels, now assembled to form an altar-tomb for the slab and pair of effigies above, are of later date. But, if this were so, there is strong evidence that the union had taken place by the beginning of the seventeenth century, a very unlikely happening. William Tylottson, c. 1594, recorded² the Bouchier arms as being in the church, but he may have seen the coat elsewhere than on the shield. On 29 June, 1629, however, there was made in 'South Halsted Church', by an unknown hand, rapid pen-and-ink sketches of each of three monuments in the south aisle, all of which carried a pair of effigies. These are on fol. 146 and v. of *Harl. MS.* 4204 (Pl. VIII and II), and the old catalogue (1808) at the British Museum states that this volume 'seems to have been the work of Robert Brooke the herald'. Ralph Brooke,³ who became York Herald in 1593, is evidently indicated. Although the last digit of the year in the MS. is not very clear, several experts consulted are in agreement that it is a 9. In that event, the sketches cannot be by Brooke, for the Parish Register of Reculver, Kent, records his burial there on 15 October, 1625. Moreover, this sheet is written in a hand different from that on many other pages in the volume. One only of the three sketches shows a cross-legged male effigy (Pl. II), and is hereafter for convenience referred to as by 'Brooke'. It is headed: 'In the middle of the s[a]me Ile', and beneath is written 'two friers at either of their feete on either sid[e] a spannell'. Especially worthy of note is that a shield can be seen fixed to the left arm of the male effigy. That this is the same shield as that which still exists cannot be proved. But it is obviously a disproportionately longer one than might have been expected; rough and almost childish though

¹ *Trans. E.A.S.*, vol. xxii (S.S.), p. 279, fig. 2.

² *Soc. of Antiq.* MS. 4.

³ See T. D. Kendrick, *British Antiquity* (1950), pp. 152 ff.



Two figures standing, a figure kneeling
 on either side of a monument.

Another figure kneeling by some other monument
 with a canopy over it.

a fine old
 2 with 1/2
 of the foot

for the north of the church

By courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum.
 SKETCHES OF MONUMENTS IN HALSTEAD CHURCH (Hartl. MS. 4204).

the sketch is, a comparison of another sketch on the back of the same sheet (Pl. VIII) with the existing monument of John Lord Bourchier and his wife, shows every detail exactly reproduced; here, indeed, is no artist, but a man with considerable knowledge, an accurate observer with a keen eye for detail. Above the effigies, two shields are tricked, the arms of Bourchier over the man, and over the woman this coat, *gules a fesse between two bars gemel argent within a bordure engrailed azure*. In the centre above these, the Bourchier arms are repeated on a smaller shield, and at the feet of the effigies, in the centre, the Bourchier arms appear again. Except on the smaller shield, however, the Bourchier cross is not engrailed. These coats, no doubt, were to be seen on the two ends of the altar tomb.

Turning next to the record of Richard Symonds,¹ who visited the church on 10 March, 1637, his description of the monument may be given in full:

In the middle of this Chappel lyes a Monument of Free Stone about one foote from the Ground upon the surface thereof lyes the portrait of a man in Chayned Armo^r, his leggs lying cross^d the right leg lying over the left. Upon his left arme an Escoccheon of wood was fastened Whereon is very neatly carved a crosse engrailed between Fower waterbudgetts. Upon his right side lyes the statue of a woman. Upon the south side of the Tombe these 4 coates are carved in stone—[tricked but not blazoned].

[1] [gules] *a fesse between two bars gemel* [argent]. Prayers.²

[2] [Bourchier, with engrailed cross]

[3] [As No. 1]

[4] *Barry of eight* [evidently in error for *ten, argent and azure*. Mountchensy.]

Since William Holman ministered for 30 years in the Independent Chapel almost opposite the church, it might have been expected that his record³ of c. 1715 would be of exceptional value. On the contrary, he omits some important details⁴ noticed by Symonds, but he adds a description of the little figures at the feet of the effigies, and also that the shields 'at the feet and sides' are 'pendant between imagery work'. Symonds had not mentioned the shields at the ends of the tomb noticed by 'Brooke'. Symonds and Holman agree, however, on one point, which seems to be of particular importance, namely, the tenses of the verbs they use. The tomb either *lyes* or *is* in the chapel; the wooden shield *was* fastened on the arm. Taken in

¹ MS. at College of Arms, *Essex*, vol. 2, p. 623.

² This attribution of the coat by Symonds is no doubt correct, and the additional note at the end of this paper seems to offer convincing proof. Nevertheless, a long search at the College of Arms failed to identify it.

³ Printed in T. G. Gibbons, *Holman's Halstead*, pp. 108-9.

⁴ How the legs were crossed, and the charges on the shields.

conjunction with 'Brooke's' sketch, this suggests that shield and effigy parted company at some time between 1629 and 1637.

Examination of the fragments of the altar-tomb which still remain shows that the panels (about 18 inches high) contained a series of quatrefoils, occupied alternately by a shield and a weeper. Seven would be required to fill a side, and, if the same arrangement was used, which is uncertain, three for each end. It is noteworthy that each of the coats mentioned by Symonds is represented on the existing fragments; moreover, upon the large piece now leaning against the wall beside the tomb (fig. 2), the top of the Mountchensy shield has chipped away, so that the coat might at first sight be considered *barry of eight*,



Photo. by Mr. David George.

FIG. 2.—EFFIGY WITH SHIELD (BEFORE RESTORATION) ATTACHED.

and the injury is clearly of long standing. A prolonged attempt to re-assemble the existing fragments in the manner indicated by combining 'Brooke's' sketch of the two ends and Symonds's description of the south side, ended in failure; a process complicated by the fact that no one has recorded the north side. Very probably this carried the same shields in a different order. On the fragment against the wall, the shield of Mountchensy is not at the extreme end of a row, as it must have been on the south side, if four shields alternating with weepers are to be fitted into seven quatrefoils. This fragment, therefore, probably belonged to the north side, and F. Chancellor's

PLATE III.



Photo. by Mr. David George.

EFFIGIES OF ROBERT, FIRST LORD BOURCHIER, AND MARGARET (PRAYERS).

conjectural restoration¹ of it may well be correct. Taking the foregoing evidence together, the suggestion is strong that wooden shield, effigies and altar-tomb are all parts of the same monument, to Robert, first Lord Bourchier, who died in 1349, probably of the Black Death, and Margaret, née Prayers (Pl. III).

It was in or about 1747 that disaster befell the Bourchier chapel.² The fate of the tomb, with which the wooden shield was concerned, and of other monuments there, is disclosed in the album³ of notes and drawings compiled by the Rev. D. T. Powell, for which excellent and too rarely quoted antiquary the writer would here record his deep regard. He visited Halstead on 3 September, 1804, and made extensive and detailed notes on the monuments of the Bourchiers. Powell wrote with indignation:

This church formerly contained many tombs of that family [Bourchier], but, infamous to relate, the splendour of their name was not able to save those monuments from the destructive hand of modern innovation, and, although they only occupied that part of the building which was their own property, and the beauty and grandeur of the tombs would have proved an interesting and gratifying spectacle to posterity, by order of a late rector⁴ [i.e., vicar] (Son-in-law to a Bishop of London⁵), most of them have been removed, and I came just in time to notice some fragments, which by this time are lost for ever. This was done by leave⁶ of the Bishop, for the purpose of increasing the number of pews.

Of the wooden shield Powell made a drawing (Pl. IV). No part is shown as cut away from it, nor are any holes in it indicated; but the drawing is unfinished. He gives the correct blazon, which must then have been visible. He saw the shield 'against the east wall on the side of the window [of the Bourchier chapel] fixed by 4 iron clamps'. These clasped the shield at the sides and not through the holes. The effigies, however, Powell did not see; here a valuable informant was 'the old clerk', who told him:

At the alteration . . . this monument was taken down and the slab and figures, which was of the enormous weight⁷ of 70 cwt. or 3 ton and half, was turned with the face downward into the earth and laid level with the pavement of the chapel, the bottom of the immense slab⁸ of which is now to be seen as the pavement of the pews.

¹ *Ancient Sepulchral Monuments of Essex* (1890), pl. xx.

² Gibbons, *op. cit.*, p. 150.

³ *Addl. MS.* 17460; pp. 171-188 concern Halstead.

⁴ Christopher Wilson, D.D., vicar 1744-68; afterwards Bishop of Bristol.

⁵ Edmund Gibson.

⁶ This note suggested that a faculty might have been obtained, but a search of both Vicar-General's and Bishop's Register was fruitless.

⁷ A local monumental mason, invited to estimate the weight, thought five tons a more likely figure.

⁸ 7 feet 1 inch by 3 feet 5 inches.

Powell anticipated the view of R.C.H.M. that the effigies were those of John Bouchier, Justice of the King's Bench, who died in 1328, and Helen (Colchester). He also saw 'the side or pannels of the tomb', which 'the clerk shewed me thrown in a corner under the tower', of which he made careful drawings. He was not deceived by the injury to the Mountchensy shield, and underneath his drawing made the valuable note: 'These shields I discovered on the pannels with some of the original colours still remaining'. There is now no trace of colour visible.

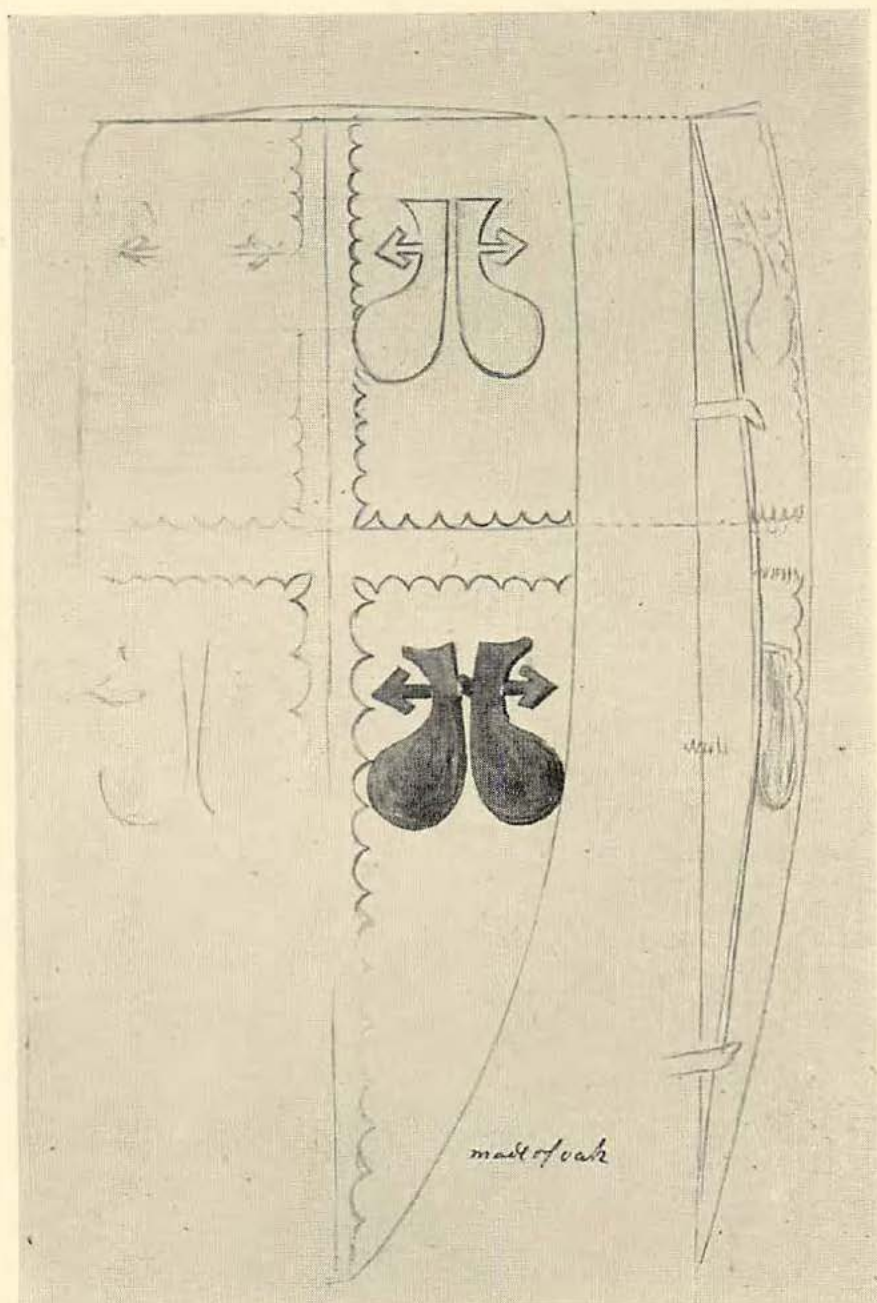
The effigies were recovered from the floor about the middle of the nineteenth century. But their condition is not wholly accounted for by the shocking and deliberate wrecking of the tomb at the hands of one who became a prelate in the Church. They are grievously worn and defaced, the faces and the tops of the canopies especially, but a century's sojourn upside down in the earth would not account for this. The lower parts are well preserved, but the uppermost surfaces are worn, but not evenly, throughout. It may be that, at one period, either people sat in a seat with their feet on portions of them, or clambered over them in order to reach a pew. The ecclesiastic at the man's left foot has lost his head, where a small hole may represent a repair, but the shoulders are now worn down. A curious feature of the man's left forearm is that a shallow oblong piece has been deliberately cut out and plastered in again.

The method of fastening the wooden shield to the effigy may now be described. A portion of the rounded upper arm was cut away to provide a flattened area as a seating for the shield. In this area a hole, about $1\frac{3}{4}$ inch deep and $\frac{3}{4}$ inch in diameter, was bored in the stone. A peg, firmly wedged in this hole, engaged with the hole in the centre at the back of the shield. It is possible that the other two holes in the shield were added, as an afterthought or at a later date, to ensure greater stability; through them passed two other pegs, which were received into two additional holes bored into the stone; one of these holes is about $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches above the other on the flattened area, and the other on the scabbard, just below the hilt (Pl. III and fig. 2).

At this stage of the enquiry, therefore, the conclusion of the matter seemed to be that, probably in the early part of the seventeenth century, someone with an antiquarian turn of mind decided to renew the missing shield in wood. There was, at this period, a good deal of activity of this kind. Sir Thomas Kendrick has given a lively account¹ of some of these antiquaries, several of whom were officers of the College of Arms. A good Essex example can be seen in the

¹ *Op. cit.*

PLATE IV.



By courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum.

THE BOURCHIER SHIELD; DRAWING BY THE REV. D. T. POWELL, 1804.

very curious set of mural monuments in the Pointz chapel in North Ockendon church,¹ said to have been set up by Sir Gabriel Pointz, died 1607, in memory of his ancestors; the figures being portrayed in quite tolerable representations of the armour and costumes of the periods in which they lived. It is just possible that a shield, which formerly hung over the tomb of John of Eltham, died 1336, in Westminster Abbey, was a renewal of such early date as to deceive William Camden, *c.* 1600. The only reference known to it is by Ralph Brooke, previously mentioned, a capable herald and a scholar, who, in the course of a violent controversy² with Camden, wrote³:

. . . lett any of Iudgment vewe the said Tombe at Westminster, and the Targe of armes pendant over the same, and They will neither saye nor judge the same to be 266 years ould, for so long is it sence Iohn of Eltham died, neither was there . . . such fashion of Targe used at Noblemens funerells in that age nor in many yeares after Iohn of Eltham's death.

It cannot now be determined whether Brooke was sufficiently informed on the subject of medieval armour to pronounce so confidently on the date of this shield; for his bitterness against Camden may well have warped his opinion.

However that may be, it is highly improbable that the renewal of the Halstead shield was nothing more than a quaint piece of antiquarianism. On the contrary, it seems to have been a much more intelligent act than at first sight it appeared. Most unlikely, moreover, is the view, to which the writer at first inclined, that the same restorer effected the flattened area, thus removing all trace of a former stone shield; perhaps he enlarged one (or both) existing holes thereon, while that in the scabbard is even more likely to be his work.

II.

An unexpected happening directed the writer to a fresh line of enquiry. Having occasion to consult the R.C.H.M. volume on Westminster Abbey for quite a different purpose, he thought something was indicated in one of the plates which was worth investigation. When he visited the Abbey, he was given much help by Mr. Lawrence E. Tanner, M.V.O., F.S.A., and by Mr. R. P. Howgrave-Graham, F.S.A., both of whom gave him the benefit of their extensive knowledge, and offered him every facility for examining what he desired to see; Mr. Howgrave-Graham, moreover, kindly remained late one evening in order to take photographs by artificial light. On the north side of the

¹ F. Chancellor, *op. cit.*, pp. 181 ff., pls. lv-lx.

² T. D. Kendrick, *op. cit.*, pp. 148, 152 ff.

³ *Second Discoverie of Errors*, ed. 1723, p. 126.

presbytery is the splendid monument of Aymer de Valence, Earl of Pembroke. The level of the floor of the ambulatory is a good deal lower than that of the presbytery, and for this cause the effigy is more commonly examined and pictured from the south, although the left arm can be clearly seen from the opposite side. Just above the point of the elbow, and in line with the sculptured guige across the breast, is a small hole (Pl. V, fig. 1), which clearly provided the sole support for the lost shield. It could have been but a flimsy fixing, little more than for a pin the size of a pencil. If the lost shield was of wood, it must have been very thin and light; it might very well have been of metal. Moreover, as evidence that, from the first, the sculptor envisaged a separate shield, the 'other end' of the guige is shown¹ emerging from underneath the body about the middle of the left upper arm as a sculptured strip on the slab. Since the date of this effigy hereafter becomes of some importance, the evidence afforded by a document² to which Mr. Tanner kindly drew the writer's attention, is valuable; this shows that the monument could not have been begun until after Aymer's death in 1324, for it was only subsequent thereto that the King decided he should be accorded burial in the Abbey.

In the next bay of the presbytery to the east is the equally sumptuous monument of Edmund Crouchback, Earl of Lancaster, died 1296, and dated by the late Professor Lethaby³ c. 1300. On the left arm (Pl. V, fig. 2) is a flattened area, but larger and less defined than that at Halstead. In this area are two holes, about 2 inches apart and $\frac{3}{8}$ inch in diameter. Particularly interesting is the fact that the uppermost hole still contains the remains of a broken wooden peg. Since, when the monument is viewed from the south, this peg is out of sight and reach of prying fingers, it may well be the original support remaining when the shield was wrenched away. Two such pegs would have been adequate to carry the weight of a shield of some solidity. In this instance the 'other end' of the guige is not portrayed. Professor Lethaby thought it possible that the missing shields on these two monuments 'were originally separate works of enamel like the shield of William de Valence'.⁴ William's magnificent shield, however, is an object of some weight, in section very similar to the Halstead shield, well bonded in at the back to the side of the effigy, and along the sinister edge to the slab.⁵ Such an object as William de Valence's shield could have been held by Crouchback's two pegs, but hardly by his son Aymer's solitary pin.

¹ R.C.H.M., *Westminster Abbey* (1924), pl. 186.

² *Archaeologia*, vol. lxxvi, p. 435.

³ *Westminster Abbey and the Kings' Craftsmen* (1906), p. 184.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 269.

⁵ R.C.H.M., *Westminster Abbey*, pl. 186.

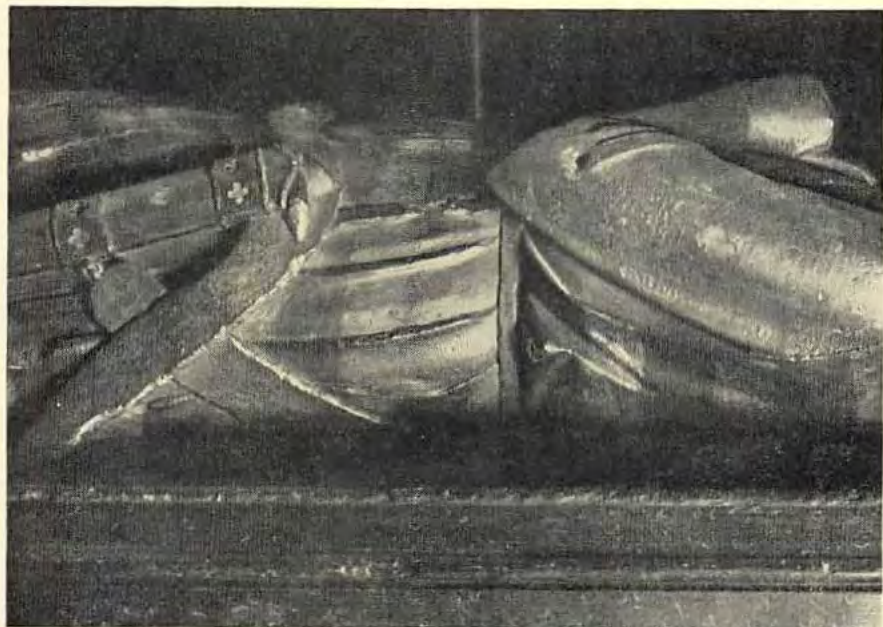


FIG. 1.—Aymer de Valence, Earl of Pembroke.



Photos. by Mr. R. P. Howgrave-Graham, F.S.A.

FIG. 2.—Edmund Crouchback, Earl of Lancaster.

EFFIGIES IN WESTMINSTER ABBEY.

These evident tokens of the use of separate shields of other material in connection with stone effigies made it apparent that the Halstead example was not without parallels, and it seemed likely that, at some time, the whole matter had been investigated. This may be so, but some rather extensive enquiries failed to locate information on the subject. The writer then consulted Mr. Arthur Gardner, M.A., F.S.A., who has studied and photographed so many effigies, but the point had not previously engaged his attention. Mr. Gardner, however, kindly examined his large collection of photographs, with a view to discovering other examples, and, at his suggestion, a visit was paid to Englefield church, Berks., a building standing in a park of great beauty. Here, in a modern arched recess in the south wall of the nave, lies a stone effigy, hemmed in by rows of pews. It represents a knight with legs crossed, clad in mail and in the act of drawing his sword, and appears to be of *c.* 1300. The left elbow (Pl. VI, fig. 1) has an oval flattened area, about 4 inches long and 2 inches across, and thereon is a hole, about $\frac{3}{8}$ inch in diameter; a second minute hole near it is probably only a fault in the stone. Moreover, on the inside of this elbow is sculptured the *énarme*, through which the arm passed to hold the shield. The effigy¹ is commonly attributed to a member of the Englefield family, but there are now no heraldic indications to prove this. The conjecture is also made by Charles Tomkins,² who in a drawing makes an odd mistake in interpreting the left elbow; he thought it was an oval piece of reinforcement strapped on over the mail, and he, accordingly, furnished the *right* elbow with a like addition to match. Reference to Ashmole's notes on the church in the Bodleian Library,³ dated 12 July, 1665, however, makes it clear that the Englefield arms were then visible on the surcoat, thus confirming the attribution:

In an Arch of the South wall of the Church is cut in stone the Portraiture of a Knight, lying cross-legg'd, in armour of male, over wth a loose Coate girt close to him and thereon the following armes painted, *Barry argent and gules on a chief or a lion passant azure*. [Englefield.]

In the margin is written, in a later hand, 'his shield is tore away'; either the writer of this note had more insight than Tomkins, or it may be that the stump of a peg in the hole or some fragments of the shield yet remained to give the clue. It is very probable that the effigy is of Sir Roger de Englefield,⁴ died *c.* 1316. Thanks are due to

¹ *V.C.H., Berks.*, vol. 3, p. 410; *Berks., Bucks. & Oxon. Arch. Journal*, vol. 17, p. 101 and pl. 34.

² *Views of Reading Abbey, with those of the churches originally connected with it, in the County of Berkshire* (1805).

³ *MS. Ashmole 850*, p. 12. Thanks are due for this reference to Mr. P. S. Spokes, F.S.A.

⁴ *V.C.H., Berks.*, vol. 3, p. 406; *Knights of Edward I*, Harl. Soc., vol. 80, pp. 308-9.

the Rev. G. B. Ashburner, M.A., for his efforts to obtain a photograph in exceedingly difficult conditions.

Following our Society's visit to St. Stephen's chapel, Bures, on 20 May, 1950, it became possible to add another example to the foregoing. Among the monuments transferred in 1935 from Earls Colne Priory to this restored chapel is the effigy believed to represent Robert de Vere, 5th Earl of Oxford. The altar-tomb beneath it is of considerably later date, and may well belong to a different monument.¹ The portrayal of the 'other end' of the guige immediately recalled the like feature on the tomb of Aymer de Valence; here, however, it not only is shown on the upper surface of the slab, but it hangs down over the moulded edge and the chamfered side of it. This detail must be very uncommon, and it would not be surprising if it was confined to these two effigies. Close comparison between them revealed a number of other resemblances, sufficiently marked as to warrant the suggestion that they may be of some significance. The following are worthy of notice: the lozenge-shaped cushion under the head and the little figures on either side of it; the quatrefoils on the scabbard; the 'fluted' effect of the loose sleeve, and the sharply-pointed elbow; the continuation of the loose end of the sword-belt on the slab; while the curving back, turned head and protruding left fore-trotter of the boar at the feet recall the like attitude of the less spirited lion at Aymer's feet. There was, however, no trace of a hole on the left arm for the shield. But, when these monuments were set up at Bures, small additions were made in plaster to replace chipped and missing portions, *e.g.*, in this instance the nose, and the pommel of the sword. This was skilfully done, and it is not now always possible to identify with certainty the original stone. With the approval and kind co-operation of the owner of the chapel, Col. G. O. C. Probert, C.B.E., an investigation was made. Taking the effigy of Aymer de Valence as a guide, the exact spot where the hole should have been was determined, and a penknife pushed into the arm. This at once withdrew a plug of plaster from a hole about $\frac{3}{8}$ inch in diameter and $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch deep (Pl. VI, fig. 2). The Earl died in 1296, and therefore his effigy is, almost certainly, earlier than Aymer's, which, as already stated, should not be earlier than 1324. Among the Kings' masons mentioned by Lethaby² was one, Master Richard of Wytham, records of whose activities he notes from about 1290 to 1310. The date of his death does not seem to be known. But he was followed

¹ Dr. Fairweather, F.S.A., considered it to belong to that of Robert, sixth earl, d. 1331 (*Archæologia*, vol. lxxxvii, p. 287n).

² *Op. cit.*, pp. 174, 184 ff., 363; *Westminster Abbey re-examined* (1925), p. 97.

PLATE VI.



Photo. by Rev. G. B. Ashburner.

FIG. 1.—ENGLEFIELD, BERKS.: EFFIGY OF (? SIR ROGER) DE ENGLEFIELD.



Photo. by Mr. David George.

FIG. 2.—ST. STEPHEN'S CHAPEL, BURES: EFFIGY OF ROBERT DE VERE,
5TH EARL OF OXFORD (?).

by Reginald of Wytham,¹ possibly his son, who was working in London as late as 1336. If these men came from Witham in Essex, distant only about eleven miles from Earls Colne, it is possible that one of them was concerned with the making of both effigies. When it was in the passage at Earls Colne Priory, stated to have been built about 1827, this de Vere effigy stood with the left side against a wall, and was in consequence never illustrated from that side.² Daniel King's drawing³ of 1653, however, was made from the left side, but it is so inaccurate and crude as to be valueless for the purpose of this enquiry; hardly any of the above-mentioned details are apparent. The only point of interest that emerges is that no shield is shown on the arm; it had evidently disappeared by King's time. The effigy and altar-tomb are now set up at the north-west corner of the chapel at Bures, where there is a narrow passage between them and the north wall. Thanks are due to Mr. David George for the photograph he obtained, notwithstanding the confined space and the absence of any near-by window to afford light.

It is quite probable that other instances could be cited of knights with these queer 'vaccination marks' on their left arms. But they are not easy to trace, for, unless a photograph or illustration is made from that side and is very detailed, it is of no value; moreover, the laconic 'shield gone' used by antiquaries in their descriptions is particularly unhelpful, for these words may betoken a *stone* shield which has broken away. Nevertheless, the five examples described suffice to establish the practice of fixing these wooden, or it may be metal, shields to the arms of stone effigies in certain instances during, approximately, the first half of the fourteenth century. It may be said with tolerable certainty that no original example of such a shield remains, and that the Halstead shield is, probably, the only survivor of any such that were later renewed. Of effigies with stone shields numerous examples remain; but they are invariably well bonded in, both to the arm and elsewhere on the side of the effigy, or the slab beneath it. The two types of shield are clearly distinguishable, nor can it be that the flattened areas on the arms are the work of later antiquaries, who thus obliterated all traces of former stone shields, for two of the instances described have not any such areas. Attempts to explain the reason for these detachable shields are unconvincing. Some considerations may, however, be worthy of mention, for there is always the possibility that one of them might receive some illumination or support from a literary or documentary source.

¹ Lethaby, *Westminster Abbey and the Kings' Craftsmen*, pp. 188, 193.

² *E.g.*, R.C.H.M., *N.E. Essex* (1922), pl. p. 86.

³ *Archaeologia*, vol. lxxxvii, pl. 87.

(1) It might simply represent the taste and fancy of certain tomb-designers. The use of mixed materials is not uncommon.¹ The great tomb of William de Valence, previously mentioned, is a notable example, with its stone base surmounted by a chest and effigy of wood, the effigy covered (and the chest formerly so) with copper plates adorned with enamel. In Towcester church, Northants., is the remarkable monument of Archdeacon Sponne, died 1448, the head and hands of whose effigy, previous to an unfortunate restoration in 1883, were of wood, while the remainder of the figure is of stone.² On the other hand, it is difficult to believe that sculptors, who produced such solid memorials as stone effigies, would have been content to render the shields in such impermanent a fashion, for they must, before many years, have become peculiarly liable to come adrift.

(2) Our late President, Canon T. H. Curling, M.A., for many years vicar of Halstead, thought it possible that the Bourchier shield might have been preserved in the family as an heirloom.³ He explained to the writer how evident it was that the shield belonged to the effigy.

(3) The obvious suggestion that the shield was the one actually carried in battle by the knight concerned⁴ meets with equally obvious difficulty. One could imagine that a knight might desire that an old and trusted shield, which had served him well in the field, should form part of his memorial. But, although the three holes in the Bourchier effigy at Halstead and the two in Crouchback's arm at Westminster might have held pegs sufficiently robust to have supported such an object, it is not credible that the single pin attached to the arms of the other three examples would have been competent to have done so.

(4) To Major M. R. Trappes-Lomax, Somerset Herald, is due the suggestion that, conceivably, if a man in medieval times set up his own memorial during his lifetime, the shield might be attached thereto after his death, to complete it, and make it, by this token, definitely his own. If so, it could be that, by reason of the minority of the heir, or on account of his service in the wars in France, this process might be delayed, or even neglected entirely; a glance at the *Complete Peerage* suggested that such conditions might certainly have obtained in regard to the subjects of one or two of the monuments concerned. An interesting piece of evidence, which seems to offer some support for this ingenious theory, is provided by the two effigies which display

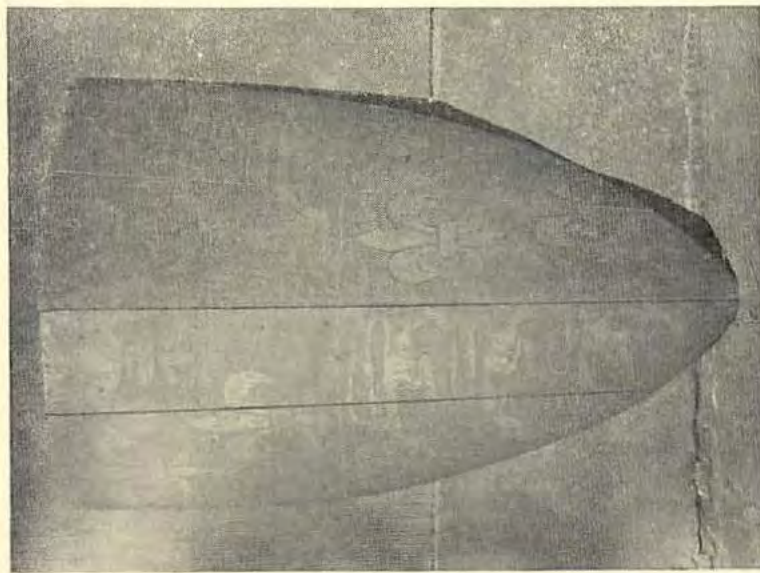
¹ F. H. Crossley, *English Church Monuments* (1924), p. 26.

² Albert Hartshorne, *Portraiture in Monumental Effigies*, pp. 34-5; *V.C.H., Northants.*, vol. i, p. 410, with drawing (dated 1869) by Mr. Hartshorne.

³ *Guide to St. Andrew's Church, Halstead* (1950 edition), p. 8.

⁴ Of this explanation of the Halstead shield, Mr. Fred Roe (*Essex Survivals* (1929), pp. 138-9, with two drawings) erroneously thought 'there is not the slightest doubt'.

PLATE VII.



Photos. by Mr. David George.

FIG. 1.—Front, with Royal Arms.

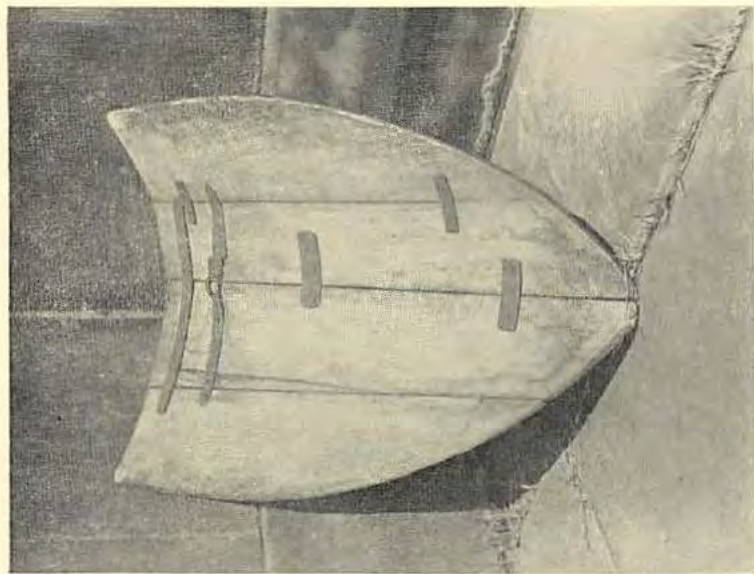


FIG. 2.—Back, showing iron strap for suspension.

SHIELD AT BAKEWELL, DERBYSHIRE.

the 'other end' of the guige. This feature would, of course, have subsequently been concealed by the attachment of the separate shield. But one of these two is that of Aymer de Valence, previously stated to have been erected after his death. Is it, however, possible that it was made before, but not erected until after, that event? Or, alternatively, have been erected elsewhere, before burial at Westminster had been decided by the King? In this connection it is noteworthy that both Lethaby¹ and R.C.H.M.² incline to date Aymer's effigy some years previous to his death. On the other hand, an effigy would have looked very odd without any shield, particularly when it was new, and resplendent in all its detail and colour, and it is difficult to resist the thought that a knight represented with a guige across his breast, and no shield attached thereto, must have looked 'improperly dressed' in a peculiar degree. A modern statue of a British general, in all the glory of full-dress uniform with cocked hat, and a belt without a sword, is hardly to be imagined!

(5) The writer, working on a theory almost the converse of the foregoing, examined the methods by which a funeral shield³ in medieval times was suspended over a grave, after it had figured in the ceremonies at the funeral, with the thought in mind that it might have been transferred to the arm of the effigy when it was set up, perhaps many years later. The result, although perhaps of some interest in itself, does not seem to help the present enquiry. The materials for the study of the subject are very slight. The conventional representation of a shield as pendant from a peg by a strap, attached to either side of the shield at the back near the top, is so common in medieval sculpture that it must have been a usual practice to suspend it thus by means of the guige; an alternative method is to place the strap in a central position, as in the quatrefoils on the altar-tomb at Halstead. The shield associated with the Black Prince's tomb at Canterbury appears in a drawing,⁴ stated to be of early sixteenth-century date, fastened, without visible means of support, to the north side of the pier at the north-west corner of the tomb, with, above it, another shield now lost. On this pier can be seen two L-shaped hooks with rounded uprights. Since two exactly similar hooks occur on the opposite pier on the other side of the Trinity chapel, just west of Henry IV's tomb, it may be that they held a pair of tie-bars, like the hooks in the chapter-house at Westminster, or even at one time supported some textile

¹ *Westminster Abbey and the Kings' Craftsmen*, p. 184.

² p. 24 b.

³ Sir Guy Laking, *A Record of European Armour and Arms*, vol. v (1922), p. 179, records the opinion of others that the Halstead shield was a funeral piece.

⁴ Laking, *op. cit.*, vol. i (1920), fig. 185.

hanging.¹ Nevertheless, the two hooks are in precisely the right position to have held the shields. Such a hook is exactly what is needed to carry a wooden shield painted with the Royal Arms, *quarterly France modern and England*, now on a shelf at the west end of the north aisle at Bakewell, Derbyshire (Pl. VII, fig. 1), to which Sir James Mann kindly drew the writer's attention. Its origin is obscure, but it may well be of late medieval date. At the back (Pl. VII, fig. 2), besides several modern patches of iron, is an ancient iron strap near the top, which in the centre bows out into a loop. If placed over a hook, rather thicker at the bottom than the top, this would in time make such a mark on the back of a shield as this one bears *below* the loop; one of the Canterbury hooks does taper in this manner. It looks as if a similar hook supported the curiously-shaped shield, together with the forward end of a lance, on the tomb of John of Gaunt in Old St. Paul's, illustrated in Hollar's engraving.² The shield over Henry V's tomb at Westminster, however, has, so far as can be ascertained, always been fastened to the wooden beam by means of two iron grips, clasping it at the sides, in exactly the manner in which Powell saw the Halstead shield secured. Notwithstanding the head of a screw visible in one of these grips, they appear to be ancient, or at least replacements of early date. It is reasonable to suppose that this method of fastening a shield inspired the convention in sculpture of a shield held by an angel or other figure, the tips of whose fingers appear round the edge on either side; at a later date, this convention could degenerate into the suggestion of fingers only, as on the Duke of Gloucester's tomb at St. Albans (1450). Although this digression points only to diversity of method in the manner of suspending shields over tombs, it may serve to bring the notion of such a shield being intended for subsequent transfer to the arm of an effigy less outside the bounds of possibility.

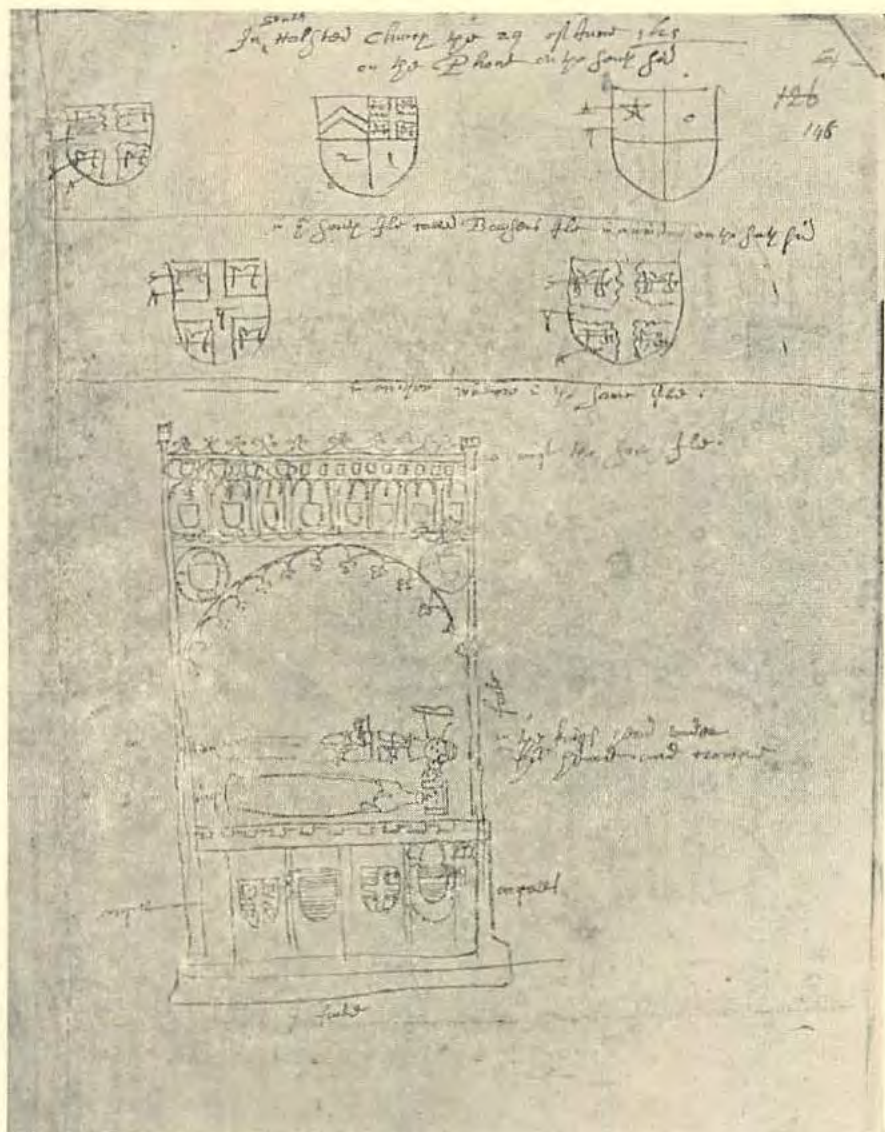
(6) There is evidence to show that, whatever were the circumstances which gave rise to the practice of fixing detachable shields to stone effigies, they must be applicable with equal cogency to effigies of wood. Of military effigies of this material a number survive,³ and it is remarkable how closely the technique and design of the carvers in wood followed the principles of the craftsmen in stone. The tendency of the medieval carpenter to borrow ideas from the mason has often been observed by antiquaries, for example in screenwork and tracery. It is not, therefore, strange that, in regard to the shield, similar

¹ But the eighteen hooks, one on each nave pier, at Winchester Cathedral, stated to be for this purpose, are much larger, with flattened uprights, and each is supported by a stay.

² John H. Harvey, *Henry Yevele* (1944), p. 66, pl. 51.

³ Alfred C. Fryer, *Wooden Monumental Effigies* (1924).

PLATE VIII.



By courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum.

SKETCH OF MONUMENT IN HALSTEAD CHURCH TO JOHN, SECOND LORD BOURCHIER, K.G., AND ELIZABETH (COGGESHALL) (*Harl. MS. 4204*).

analogies are found. These shields, one imagines, were normally also of wood, but Mr. F. H. Crossley, F.S.A., thinks that they may sometimes have been of metal.¹ Thus, the shield is shown as an integral part of the composition, as on the effigy, *c.* 1310, at Elmstead.² In the north aisle of Bures church, however, is a very fine wooden effigy; here the shield is most carefully bonded in, both to the figure and the slab beneath it, in exactly the same manner as in many stone examples. One of the wooden effigies (*c.* 1270), belonging to Little Horkeley, carries a shield treated in a similar manner.³ But at Danbury are three wooden effigies, where the shield, now lost in each case, was pinned to the side of the body, in precisely the manner previously described. There is the same flattened areas on all three of the upper arms. In two cases, the guige crossing the breast ends with a round hole in the side of the body, about 1 inch and $\frac{1}{2}$ inch in diameter respectively. Although the third effigy carries a guige, there is no hole at all, and it is not clear how this shield was secured.

(7) Attention may be drawn to the exalted stations occupied by four of the men commemorated by these shields. Aymer de Valence and Edmund Crouchback were near of kin to the Crown and buried among the Kings; Robert Bouchier had been Lord High Chancellor, although for a few months only in 1340, being the second layman appointed to that office; Robert de Vere inherited the office of Lord Great Chamberlain, or, more correctly, that of Master Chamberlain of England, though adherence to the cause of Simon de Montfort resulted in his loss of the office in 1265. It might be supposed that, in the case of certain effigies set up to commemorate persons of great consequence and wealth, a practice grew up of issuing a separate order for a shield of peculiar richness and beauty, to a different craftsman, at the same time as the effigy itself was put in hand. But again the argument on these lines is stultified by the existence of the effigy at Englefield; so far as can be ascertained, no member of this ancient family was of anything like comparable status or wealth, *c.* 1300, with the other four persons concerned.

Here these speculations must be left, and it will be well to return to the Halstead shield, and explain in detail exactly what has been done to it, lest antiquaries of the future should, as a result, become still more puzzled. It was entrusted to the tender and experienced hands of Mr. Kenneth Mabbitt, F.S.A., who took much trouble to accord to it the best treatment. It was clearly wrong to leave it displaying incorrect tinctures, and false heraldry as well. The complicated story of the painting the shield had undergone gradually

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 26.

^{2, 3} R.C.H.M., *N.E. Essex*, pl., p. 170.

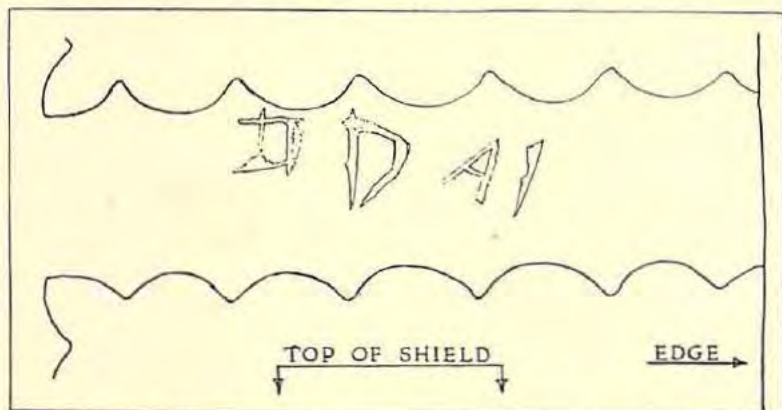
emerged. Before receiving attention, the cross displayed a coating of gold leaf over oil size, the water-bougets were painted black and the field a broken white, although grime had given to the latter a semblance of brown. It was found that underneath all these was a thick coat of pale stone-coloured paint, of an attractive shade and completely covering the whole of the shield. This coat was retained on the field to represent *argent*; the water-bougets, being already correctly coloured *sable*, were only touched up where the stone colour showed through. The period within which these two applications of colour were made can be exactly defined; both must have been between 1804, when Powell noted the *gules* on the cross, and 1890, when F. Chancellor wrote that the shield had been 'wrongly tintured by some restorer'.¹ Mr. Mabbitt observed that the uppermost coats might well have been the work of a Victorian coach-builder, who were often good craftsmen. When the stone colour was, in turn, removed from the cross, traces only of the original *gules* were found, a very little at the extreme top, and some quite definite indications at the end of the sinister arm. The cross was then repainted *gules*, with the exception of this latter portion, which Mr. Mabbitt covered with an ingenious hinged contrivance of leather, invisible until closely examined, and which can be unhooked to reveal the original paint underneath. It was found that between this original paint and the oak a very thin undercoat had been applied, but this was certainly not gesso. The missing pieces from the side of the shield Mr. Mabbitt supplied and fitted, painting them in harmony with the stone colour of the field. The shield was then attached to the effigy by means of screws, passing through the two holes from the front into wooden plugs driven into the corresponding holes in the arm and scabbard of the effigy, the tops of the holes being afterwards closed by small discs painted over. Previous to this operation, a large accumulation of grime was gently removed from both the effigies. That the shield, notwithstanding its size and proportions in relation to the effigy, should be thus dealt with appeared reasonable and proper, for it is part of the chequered history of the monument. It now looks extremely decorative. The restoration of the Bouchier chapel has caused the worn effigies to be stationed within the communion benches, where they are hardly ornamental; to them the shield serves to some extent as a mask, and affords a needed touch of colour to this attractively furnished little sanctuary.

Finally, the date to which the shield should be ascribed must be reconsidered, for there are indications of a date earlier than the seventeenth century. Although the pieces of evidence that follow are in

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 77.

each case unconvincing in themselves, yet taken together they carry considerable weight.

(a) It will be remembered that in 1629 the observant 'Brooke' recorded the shield, and it is difficult to believe he would have done so without comment if it was then of quite recent date.



From drawing by Mr. Kenneth Mabbitt, F.S.A.

FIG. 3.—MARKS SCRATCHED ON SHIELD.

(b) Mr. Mabbitt is strongly of opinion that the oak, unless it has acquired an unnatural appearance of age through undergoing some abnormal process, is *at least* as old as the middle of the sixteenth century, and that it could well be much older. The view of so experienced a student of medieval woodwork is particularly worthy of respect.

(c) When the paint was being removed from the cross, the initial A and three other marks were found to have been scratched on the dexter arm (fig. 3). They are obviously the work of some vandal of uncertain date, and although the first rather looks like a cross on steps, it is impossible to give a satisfactory description of the scratchings of a casual idler. Oddly enough, they afford further evidence, if such be needed, that the shield was formerly attached to the effigy, for the culprit stood at the head thereof to write; the letters are upside down when the shield stands upright. Later applications of paint had filled the scratchings, which are not now visible. As has been stated, the shield seems to have been separated from the effigy before 1637.

(d) Some fragments of the lowest application of paint were submitted to Dr. A. E. Werner, of the National Gallery, in the hope that an analysis of them might prove helpful. Dr. Werner took infinite

pains, preparing cross-sections of two of the fragments in order to obtain an idea of the relationship of the various layers. 'There is nothing particularly remarkable', Dr. Werner reported, 'about the pigments present, since they have all been in use since the earliest days of painting . . . The only possible clue which emerges, and which might give an indication of date, is the use of *tempera* as a medium. This medium began to go out of fashion about the middle of the sixteenth century. I do not believe that the painting would be as late as the seventeenth century, because I should then have expected to find an oil medium instead of *tempera*. This is, of course, not a very convincing argument, but rather some indication of a probable date.'

A conclusion, then, not without reason and support, is that 'probably early sixteenth century' is a likely date for the Bouchier shield. If this be accepted, by whom was this renewal effected? Idle though it be to speculate further, it is difficult to resist the temptation to mention two possible men. John Bouchier, Lord Berners (d. 1533), and Henry Bouchier, Earl of Essex (d. 1540), both¹ had marked historical and heraldic interests, and both were lineal descendants of the Lord Chancellor himself.

The writer desires to thank all those named in this paper for their kindness in assisting this enquiry, and would mention also Mr. F. W. Steer, F.S.A., for his help with the heraldry. The vicar of Halstead, the Rev. A. W. Swallow, B.Sc., at all times gave every facility for the study of the subject, and has shown keen interest in this unusual possession of his church.

ADDITIONAL NOTE.

It has been stated that 'Brooke' sketched two other monuments in Halstead church, and some information concerning them may now be given.

(1) Beneath the sketch of the monument with the shield is a very rough outline of a monument which has entirely disappeared (Pl. II). It is of 'Another Tombe betweene the South Ile & y^e middle of y^e Church wth a dainty arch ou' them'. There is no indication of what this arch was like, but a pair of effigies lies on an altar-tomb. They appear to resemble in every detail those of Sir John, second Lord Bouchier, and his wife, still to be seen in the church, but there is a second dog at the lady's feet. There is, however, one interesting variation; the tilting helm under the man's head points in the opposite direction. On this account it is possible for the 'long cap' on the 'old man's head', which forms

¹ D.N.B.

part of the strange Bouchier crest,¹ to be introduced. If this cap had been added to the head at the top of the helm on Sir John Bouchier's monument, it would have been pointing into his wife's face. 'Brooke' shows three shields on either side of the tomb, and two at the foot of it; the three on the north side all carry the Bouchier arms, but the others are blank. Gibbons² gives Holman's description of this monument, but Symonds is more precise:

Within the South Wall of Boussers Chappel a lofty and stately Arched Monument of White Stone is erected. The portraiture of a man and a woman lying about 4 feete from the floor w^hin the Walle. Under his head is a helmet whereon is a Saracen's head Crowned and w^h an antique Capp, the feet resting upon a lyon and hers upon a Dog. Upon the breast was a Crosse engrailed between 4 Waterbudgets, one of them stille remaynnes. Three Escocheons which were on the for^e part towards the bottom are quite worn away and decayed. At each end are Angells supporting an Escocheon w^h is carved in y^e Stone, and the charge embossed out. [Arms of Bouchier drawn.]

Powell, who had made a copy of 'Brooke's' sketch, identified the pathetic remains of this monument. 'The clark had preserved', he wrote, 'the fragments of a statue of a noble person of this family [Bouchier], as appeared by the surcoat of his arms [*sic*] still tho' faintly remaining on his surcoat'. Then follow sketches of three fragments: (1) a section of the waist, with the lower half of the two arms of the engrailed cross, and the belt for the sword over it; (2) the trunk, from the neck to where it joined the fragment just described. The uppermost dexter water-bouget is vaguely indicated, but the sinister one is clearly defined, thus confirming Symonds's statement that 'one of them stille remaynnes'. Here the writer must record the satisfaction with which he found the two excellent antiquaries, their visits to the church separated by 167 years, noting the same small point, passed over by the better-known but not always so acute Holman; (3) the upper part of an arm, with the note 'mail sculptured in the finest manner'. There were also 'fragments of his hands and thighs scattered about'. Of all these painful tokens of Bishop Wilson's appalling vandalism in the previous century no trace whatever now remains.³

Powell, moreover, noted: 'On inspecting the present pavement there is good reason to think that many [monuments] were reversed and placed in the ground'. In 1950 the whole of the pavement of the aisle, from the door to the east end, was renewed, but nothing of the kind was found.

¹ Chancellor, *op. cit.*, p. 77.

² *Op. cit.*, p. 108.

³ The pieces of diapered stonework now set against the wall behind the tomb of Robert Lord Bouchier, appear to be portions of the soffit of a canopy to a tomb, but these by no means suggest 'Brooke's' 'dainty arch' (fig. 2).

(2) The reverse of the same leaf (Pl. VIII) bears a sketch of the monument to John, second Lord Bourchier, K.G., and Elizabeth (Coggeshall). Of the very full details represented, the following are not now visible: (1) the breast of Sir John's effigy bore the Bourchier arms; (2) of the six panels on the lower part of the north side, the westernmost, which has now entirely disappeared, contained, like the easternmost, an angel and a cockle-shell (for Coggeshall). This is, of course, the heraldic scallop with a flat top to the hinge, and not the shell known as a cockle to-day;¹ (3) the four shields between these two panels, now entirely defaced, bore, alternately, the arms of Bourchier and those previously attributed to Prayers. This occurrence adds to the likelihood of the attribution being correct, for a coat twice repeated on the side of a man's tomb, not being that of his wife, is in all probability his mother's. These shields were so well protected by pews that Powell had difficulty in drawing them; since they are now completely blank, they have probably been deliberately mutilated since 1804.

There are also defaced shields in the lower part of the east and west ends. These are supplied by Symonds, who says that they bore, respectively, the arms of Bourchier and of Coggeshall (*argent a cross between four scallops sable*), and adds that the shields were all coloured. He also gives the position of the monument in his time, 'Between the uppermost pillars of y^e church and next to this Chappel'.

(The thanks of the Society are due to the Rev. T. D. S. Bayley for defraying the cost of the blocks illustrating his paper.)

¹ 'Cockle' is used now for one particular genus of bivalve shells, but was anciently used for any ribbed 'shellfish', apparently derived from Gk. *kokhlos*; the use of the word 'cockled' for wrinkled or wavy paper is an illustration. The word 'cockle' would therefore equally apply to *Cardium* (the true cockle), or to *Pecten*, the scallop, both of which have ribbed or grooved shells. The cockle referred to by ancient writers is undoubtedly the scallop (*Pecten jacobaeus*), a common Mediterranean species. (Information kindly supplied by British Museum (Natural History)—Mollusca Section.)

WALL-PAINTINGS IN ESSEX CHURCHES

IX

A Wall-painting recently discovered in Lambourne Church

By E. CLIVE ROUSE, M.B.E., F.S.A.

and

Essex Wall-paintings of St. Christopher

—By THE REV. G. MONTAGU BENTON, M.A., F.S.A.

IN July, 1951, extensive repairs were being carried out in the church of St. Mary and All Saints, Lambourne; and after traces of wall-painting had been observed on the removal of some plaster and lime-wash, I was asked to visit the church and make an examination and report. This I did, and partly uncovered a particularly fine example of a painting of St. Christopher, which I should have liked to deal with myself. But as time was pressing, and I was already heavily committed elsewhere, the work was entrusted to Mrs. Monica Bardswell, formerly resident near-by, and an associate of the late Professor E. W. Tristram.

My report was as follows:

'The church, though extensively altered in the eighteenth century, retains a considerable amount of medieval work. In particular, far more of the nave walls appear to be of this early period than was at first thought.

'On the North Wall traces of several layers of Post-Reformation texts on successive coats of limewash were found. These were very fragmentary and since much of the basic twelfth-century plaster of poor, sandy quality had perished, these very small fragments do not justify preservation. The removal of defective plaster also disclosed the stone jamb, part of the head, and deep splay of one of the Norman lights. As a matter of structural interest this should be preserved. No other remains of paintings could be found on this wall.

'On the South Wall, the western section was found to contain considerable remains of a post-Reformation text in an elaborate frame of yellow strap-work and scrolls outlined in red. This, though fragmentary, should be kept, and I have indicated the appropriate areas

on the plaster. The central section of this wall contains a most interesting discovery—a large figure of St. Christopher and the Holy Child. The head of the figure is cut off by the eighteenth-century plaster cornice of the nave roof, and the bottom of the figure is destroyed by a wall tablet. The intervening portion is, however, in good order and many of the essential details, including the features of the Saint and the entire figure of the Child, are exceptionally well preserved. The painting has additional interest in that it is a palimpsest, a fourteenth-century St. Christopher whose curly beard and one eye are traceable, having been repainted in the late fifteenth or early sixteenth century. The Saint (14 feet high to the nave cornice) wears a blue cloak and purple tunic with brown neck hem. He looks upward at the Child seated on his left shoulder.

‘The staff, with tau-cross top, is in his right hand. The Child has a green cloak, lined with ermine, caught by an elaborate morse, and a purple tunic. In one hand he holds a red orb with green and yellow cross, and blesses with the other hand.

‘The whole is on a deep red ground, powdered with very small sixfoils in a darker red.

‘The elaborate colour scheme, and the preservation of so much detail, make the painting, in spite of the damage it has suffered, an extremely important discovery, and goes yet further to prove the universal popularity of this Saint in medieval England.’

Mrs. Bardswell completed the uncovering and cleaning, and there is little to add, except that she found evidence of the flesh tints being laid over a dark under-painting, such as is met with in several fourteenth-century paintings in England, namely, at Longthorpe, St. Albans, and elsewhere. The range of colours is particularly striking, especially the brilliant blue, green, and reds. The repainting is also a rare feature, for our medieval predecessors had little antiquarian prejudice as a rule, and preferred to embark upon something entirely fresh. But it may be the small space available dictated to them.

The painting is recorded in the late E. W. Tristram's posthumous volume, *English Wall Painting of the Fourteenth Century* (1955).

The accompanying illustration is printed from a block kindly lent by the Rev. Ralph Stevens, M.A., rector of Lambourne. E.C.R.

Called by Martin Luther ‘a fine Christian poem’, the legend of St. Christopher is so familiar that there is no need to repeat it here. The story may be read at length in *The Golden Legend*, compiled by Jacobus de Voragine, Archbishop of Genoa, about 1275.¹

¹ *The Golden Legend*, translated by Wm. Caxton, Temple Classics, vol. iv, pp. 111-119.

There is no doubt that the name of the saint (Christ-bearer) was the starting-point of his legend. The earliest evidence of his cult dates from A.D. 452, 'but, as nothing authentic was known about him, a legend was invented after a conventional pattern, relating his Eastern origin, conversion, missionary work, and consequent martyrdom, prolonged by various tortures. Then, in the twelfth century, it seems that



Photo. by Mr. C. Bignell Pratt.

LAMBOURNE CHURCH: WALL-PAINTING OF ST. CHRISTOPHER.

a south-German poet gave the story an entirely new and attractive character by inserting in it a romantic episode, such as would appeal to the age of chivalry and the Crusades'.¹

In 1924, the late H. H. Brindley, F.S.A., published a table and map showing the distribution of English wall-paintings of St. Christopher by counties.² Extant and recorded examples that had been obliterated numbered 234, all told, and there have been several later additions. Norfolk headed the list with 43, followed by Suffolk with

¹ G. McN. Rushforth, *Medieval Christian Imagery* (1936), p. 222.

² *Antiq. Journ.*, vol. iv, pp. 228-231.

22, Wiltshire, 17, Cambridgeshire, 14, Hampshire, 10; then came a drop from Devonshire, 9, to Leicestershire, Nottinghamshire, and Staffordshire, one each. Essex was the eleventh on the list of thirty counties, with 7 (since increased to 12)—a rather small number for an extensive eastern county.

Although we have a fair number of wall-paintings of St. Christopher dating from the fourteenth century, his cult did not become popular in England until the fifteenth century, during which period it has been conjectured that 'every English church possessed a figure, either in painting or sculpture, of this saint'. Probably this is an overstatement, though St. Christopher's immense popularity is unquestionable. He was usually depicted on the north wall, opposite the south door, the principal entrance, so that he could be easily seen by the passer-by. 'There is', as the late Dr. G. G. Coulton aptly remarked, 'the best of reasons for his popularity and his position; the sight of him was talismanic'.

A glance at the gigantic figure of the saint, striding through the river, clutching his staff, and turning his head to look at the Christ-child seated on his shoulder—the latter wearing a royal mantle, and with the orb of sovereignty in one hand, and the other raised in blessing—assured the beholder that on that day at least he would be preserved from harm. The origin of this superstition, which is probably of fairly late growth, is somewhat obscure. It finds expression in a Latin couplet occasionally placed under the saint's picture, and of which there are various versions:

*Christophori sancti speciem quicumque tuetur
Ista nempe die non morte mala morietur.*

(Whosoever seeth the representation of St. Christopher, on that day surely he shall not die an evil death.)

As might be expected, St. Christopher was frequently engraved on amulets worn as ornaments upon the person. The squire in the 'General Prologue' to Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*, wore:

A Cristophere on his brest of silver sheene.

And the saint, whose figure is often met with on the bezels of fifteenth-century finger-rings, occurs on a gold signet-ring of the period, found at Layer Marney.¹

The cult of St. Christopher, like that of many of the saints, was entirely due to popular enthusiasm, at a time when the saints were prominent in the lives and beliefs of the people.

It will be seen from the following list that including two problematical instances, twelve wall-paintings of St. Christopher have been

¹ *Trans. E.A.S.*, vol. (N.S.), p. 82 and illus.

noted in Essex. Of these, six are no longer extant; the traces of three are slight; and only three, namely those at Little Baddow, Lambourne, and Layer Marney, are, at least in part, fairly well preserved.

A monograph, entitled *St. Christopher in English Mediæval Wall-painting*, with forty-three illustrations, by H. C. Whaite, appeared in 1929, and should be consulted for comparative purposes. Attention may also be called to two comprehensive papers on the subject, namely: 'Notes on the Mural Paintings of St. Christopher in English Churches', by H. H. Brindley, *Antiquaries Journ.*, vol. iv (1924), pp. 226-241; and 'St. Christopher in English Medieval Art and Life', by John Salmon, *Journ. Brit. Archl. Assocn.*, vol. xli (1936), pp. 76-115.

BADDOW, LITTLE.—This fine example of a St. Christopher was exposed in 1922, on the north wall of the nave, opposite the south door. The colouring is unusually brilliant, and the head of the saint and the figure of the Child are well-preserved—the orb held by the latter, surmounted by a tall cross with flying pennon, is a conspicuous feature—but the lower part of the picture is somewhat indistinct. A chapel is depicted on the saint's right, in front of which stands a hermit carrying a lantern. The painting, which is of fifteenth-century date, and measures about 10 feet by 7 feet, is superimposed on an earlier masonry pattern, of which slight traces are visible here and there.

Canon Jesse Berridge, the then rector, was led to the discovery by a tiny spot of colour on a rubbed portion of the wall, and by the following entry in the churchwardens' accounts for 1749:

To plaistering about the new door and putting out Saint Christifer, 3s. 0d.

Described and illustrated in *Trans. E.A.S.*, vol. xvi (N.S.), pp. 210-12; *Essex Review*, vol. xxxii, p. 41 and pl. 1; *R.C.H.M., S.E. Essex*, pp. 184, 186; and by H. C. Whaite, *op. cit.*, p. 30 and pl. 24.

BRADWELL-JUXTA-COGGESHALL.—High up, on the north wall of the nave, near the west end, and facing the south porch, is a small head, probably of the Infant Christ. The subject and position of this fragment suggest that it may be the remains of a St. Christopher.

CANEWDON.—Morant records (*Hist. of Essex*, vol. i, p. 317, *footnote*) that 'in the year 1711, when the Church was beautified, a figure of St. Christopher, painted on the right side of the door, appeared'. It has long since been obliterated.

FAIRSTEAD.—On the south wall of the nave, opposite, but a little to the left of the north door, is an indistinct painting of St. Christopher. Although hardly more than a faded silhouette remains, the staff and posture of the saint indicate that it dates from the fourteenth century;

it lacks the elaborate details which characterize fifteenth-century representations.

Described and illustrated in *Trans. E.A.S.*, vol. xxii (N.S.), p. 216, and pl. VII (a).

FEERING.—A wall-painting of 'St. Christopher carrying Christ' was discovered about 1845 above the north doorway, during repairs to the church. It is said to have been 'in bad preservation', and no trace of it is now visible. *Journ. Brit. Archl. Assocn.*, vol. ii (1847), p. 190.

FINGRINGHOE.—A large painting of St. Christopher was discovered in 1917-18 above the north doorway, and in the usual position opposite the main entrance. It is in a very fragmentary and faded condition, but in a favourable light the main outlines can be faintly seen. The saint, whose features are just discernible, appears to be bareheaded, and has a nimbus with black invected border. He bears the Divine Child—who wears a flowing light-blue robe, and carries an orb surmounted by a cross—on his right shoulder, and holds a staff in his left hand.

Benton, *The Church of St. Ouen (alias St. Andrew), Fingringhoe* (1938), p. 22.

INGATESTONE.—In or about 1867 a painting of St. Christopher, 'small, very faded, and scarcely visible', was revealed 'on the wall near the tower', only to be covered up again almost immediately after its discovery. It was assigned to the fourteenth century.

Trans. E.A.S., vol. iv (O.S.), p. 140; and E. E. Wilde, *Ingatestone and the Essex Great Road* (1913), p. 74.

LAMBOURNE.—Described above.

LATTON.—This is a remarkably small St. Christopher, being only about 20 inches in height. It is regrettable that it is so fragmentary, since it must have been of an unusual artistic excellence. Dating from the latter part of the fifteenth century, it occurs on the wall of the north or Arderne chapel (built c. 1470), by the west door. The head of the saint is gone, except for an outline on the right side, and the beard. He wears a red cloak of two different shades, edged with a narrow double yellow stripe and with a green lining, which billows out in the wind; the skirt is also edged with a similar stripe. The fingers of the right hand remain, grasping the staff (imperfect); the left leg is clearly visible; and two fish can be seen swimming in the river. There is now no trace of the Christ-child, but he is shown carrying an orb, and seated astride the saint's neck, in a drawing of the painting, made many years ago, which hangs in the chapel; the drawing also includes the small figure of a hermit, holding a lantern—another missing feature.

The above note is based on a photograph, kindly taken at my request,

by Mr. Wyndham D. Clark, in 1943, and on the detailed description that accompanied it. Since it was written, I have been informed that all traces of the painting were practically obliterated when the chapel was redecorated about three years ago. This recalls a similar incident at Good Easter, where traces of painting, dating probably from the thirteenth century, were likewise effaced in recent times.

The drawing in question is reproduced in J. L. Fisher's *The Harlow Deanery* (1922), p. 100.

LAYER MARNEY.—On the north wall of the nave, immediately to the west of the chancel screen, is a late painting of St. Christopher, which is easily visible from the south doorway. The picture is at least half an inch deeper than the surrounding whitewash. It dates from the early part of the sixteenth century, and was brought to light in or about 1870 (*Trans. E.A.S.*, vol. i (N.S.), p. 62). The figure of the saint is somewhat squat and ungainly, and it is evident that since its discovery it has been 'touched up', and the outlines renewed. A large rosary hanging from the waist is a rare feature; the only other recorded instance in English wall-paintings of the subject occurs at Bramley, Hants. The Christ-child, who carries an orb, is seated on St. Christopher's right shoulder, but the figure is faded and the lower part obliterated. An eel curls round the saint's right leg, and fish are seen swimming in the river, which flows between rocky banks. On the left is a small standing figure of a fisherman, with a bait tub by his side.

The painting is illustrated in Percy Lindley's *New Holidays in Essex* (N.D., c. 1895), p. 48.¹ It is also described and illustrated by H. H. Brindley, *op. cit.*, p. 238; *R.C.H.M., N.E. Essex*, p. 157 and pl. p. 155; H. C. Whaite, *op. cit.*, p. 37 and pl. 35.

ONGAR, CHIPPING.—A St. Christopher, discovered on the north wall, and destroyed prior to 1883, is recorded by C. E. Keyser (*List of Buildings having Mural Decorations* (1883), p. 191).

ORSETT.—On the north wall of the north aisle, almost opposite the south porch, a fragmentary painting was discovered in 1917. Little more than traces of a long staff and small figure were visible, but doubtless they were the remains of a St. Christopher. The painting perished during a disastrous fire in 1926.

R.C.H.M., S.E. Essex (1923), p. 105; J. W. Eisdell, *A Few Notes on Orsett Parish Church* (1928), p. 8.

G.M.B.

¹ This little oblong handbook, well-illustrated and bound in boards, and issued at the modest price of 6d., did much to arouse an interest in Essex and its antiquities. Reginald A. Beckett, in his attractive volume, *Romantic Essex* (1901), gratefully acknowledges the debt he owed to it.

ARCHÆOLOGICAL NOTES

An additional note on a Brass at Saffron Walden (*Trans. E.A.S.*, vol. xxiv, p. 157).—When describing the brass of a priest recently returned to Saffron Walden church, the ornament on the orphreys of the cope seemed familiar to my colleagues and myself, but we were unable at the time to locate it. Subsequently, I came across, by chance, in *The Oxford Journal of Monumental Brasses*, vol. i, p. 176, an illustration of the lost brass of Robert Abdy, Master of Balliol College, 1493, formerly in the church of St. Mary Magdalene, Oxford. This must have been the brass we had in mind, for it was practically a replica of the Walden figure. It was only 2½ inches less in height, and the treatment of the front orphreys, and of the surplice and hands was identical. The design of the orphreys is described as 'double-stalked oak leaves, tied round the stalk'; and there was the same single roundle on either side of the tie. A very narrow orphrey, decorated with annulets and carried round the hem of the cope, was the only fresh element.

It is evident that both brasses came from the same workshop, and the unusually close resemblance between them is remarkable. Their geographical position leaves little room for doubt that they were the work of the London School of engravers. The distance from London to Saffron Walden is 44 miles to the north-east, and to Oxford, 57 miles to the north-west.

G. MONTAGU BENTON.

British Stater found at Shoebury.—A gold coin unearthened in March, 1952, in a garden in Antrim Road, Shoebury, within a foot of the surface, has been identified by the British Museum as an ancient British Stater (c. 90 B.C.). Gold staters were the earliest coins struck in this country. They were crude imitations of the gold stater of the Kings of Macedon and were uninscribed. Mints existed in Gaul and in Britain, and it is not possible to say in which country the present find was struck, since the distribution of these coins found in this country, between Gaulish and British mints, is uncertain. The design consists of a head in profile with flowing hair and, on the reverse, a horse surrounded by grapes. The diameter is 21 mm., and the weight, 6.680 grms. A specimen is described and illustrated in J. Evans' *The Coins of the Ancient Britons* (1864), p. 50 and pl. A4.

At the suggestion of the British Museum, it is hoped to explore the site further, though the fact that a bomb disturbed the ground in the vicinity may be confusing.

W. A. VOSS.

A Saxon land-owner of Essex birth.—In 1066 Alwin Godtuna held Cuica (Quickbury in Sheering) as three hides.¹ He was a man of some importance with more extensive holdings over the border in Hertfordshire, where he held three hides under the abbot of St. Albans. His own estate seems to have been at Stanstead Abbots, where he had 11½ hides.² As a man of King Edward, he held a hide at Hoddesdon,³ whilst at Ayot (St. Lawrence) a man of his held 9 acres of the King⁴ and at Stanstead ten men of his had three hides and gave custom to the king's sheriff 12*d.* yearly.⁵

He is the alleged donor of Ayot to Westminster Abbey, Edward the Confessor, in 1060, confirming the grant of the *collif* there with its appurtenances which Ælfwine Gortune and his wife had held and had granted to St. Peter's for their souls.⁶ Between 1080 and 1086, the Bishop of Lincoln and the sheriff of Hertfordshire were notified by William I that St. Peter's, Westminster, were to have their manor of Ægate with the church and other appurtenances given them by Alfwinus Cotton and his wife as confirmed by King Edward.⁷ His local importance is indicated by an instruction from the Conqueror in 1067 to Edmund, sheriff of Hertfordshire, Alfwin Gottun and Leofwin Scufe to let St. Peter of Westminster have full possession of estates at Datchworth and Watton (Herts.).⁸ As all his lands had passed to others in 1086, Alfwine had presumably died before that year.⁹

Tengvik identifies *Godtuna* with Gotton (Somerset);¹⁰ von Feilitzen suggests an unidentified place in Hertfordshire.¹¹ It is much more likely that Alfwine took his name from a lost place in Hempstead (Essex)—*Godington*.¹² This is no great distance from Sheering and Alfwine's other possessions just over the border in Hertfordshire. Although this place has been noted only once, and though it is often dangerous to speculate on the basis of a solitary form, the name was probably originally *Godan-tun*, 'the farm of Goda'. This would develop quite naturally to *Godetun*, *Godton*, *Gotton* or, alternatively,

¹ *V.C.H., Essex*, vol. i, p. 474a.

² *V.C.H., Herts.*, vol. i, pp. 277-8.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 343b.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 343a.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 326b.

⁶ Kemble, *Codex Diplomaticus Ævi Saxonici*, 864. See also 1066 *ib.*, 824, where Ælfwine, Gottune—Ægete (as printed) should read Ælfwine Gottune (granted) Ægete.

⁷ H. W. C. Davis, *Regesta Regum Anglo-Normannorum*, 235.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 16.

⁹ See also F. E. Harmer, *Anglo-Saxon Writs*, p. 552.

¹⁰ *Old English Bynames*, pp. 43, 125.

¹¹ *Pre-conquest Personal Names of Domesday Book*, p. 181.

¹² P. H. Reaney, *Place-names of Essex*, p. 592.

to *Godenton, Godington*. Both developments could exist side by side. The by-name is noteworthy for the early loss of the prepositional *de*. In Domesday Book, we have Aluvinus *de Godtona* thrice,¹ side by side with Aluvinus *Godtuna, Godton, Gotone*.² In the two charters from Kemble and the two documents of William I, all four references are without the preposition.

P. H. REANEY.

John Ball in Essex.—John Ball's part in the Peasants' Revolt of 1381 is well known. He was then in Kent, but several years before then he had been preaching his revolutionary sermons in Essex. As early as 1364 he had been excommunicated by the Bishop of London, Simon of Sudbury,³ who was to be murdered in the rebellion, but he seems to have disregarded this, as in 1367 Simon de Langham, Archbishop of Canterbury, as appears from the following extract from his Register, ordered notice to be given in the deanery of Bocking⁴ that nobody should attend John Ball's sermons, and that the disobedient and John Ball himself should be cited to appear before the Archbishop.

CONTRA J. BALLE ET SIBI ADHERENTES.—Simon etc. decano de Bocking nostre jurisdictionis immediate omnibusque aliis et singulis rectoribus vicariis et capellanis parochialibus dicti decanatus salutem etc. Ad nostrum pervenit auditum fama publica referente quod quidam Johannes Balle presbiterum se pretendens infra jurisdictionem nostram predictam multiplices errores et scandala [predicet] tam in anime sue et ipsius in hac parte fautorum animarum salutis dispendium quam universalis ecclesie scandalum manifestum. Nos vero hujusmodi absque nostre consciencie lesione tollerare salubriter non valentes, vobis conjunctim et divisim committimus et mandamus firmiter injungentes quatinus omnes et singulos dicti decanatus nostre jurisdictionis subjectos in forma juris efficaciter moneatis et vestrum quilibet quatenus ad ipsum attinet moneat cum effectu, eis peremptorie inhibendo ne quis eorum predicacionibus dicti Johannis interesse presumat sub pena excommunicationis majoris, quam omnes hujusmodi monicionibus canonice non parentes mora et culpa eorum precedentibus incurrere volumus ipso facto. Reclamantes vero seu delinquentes si quos inveneritis vel vestrum aliquis invenerit in hac parte citetis eosdem seu citari faciatis peremptorie quod compareant coram nobis aliquo certo die juridico quem eis videritis prefigendum ubicumque in nostris civitate diocesi aut provincia Cantuariensibus tunc fuerimus, etc. Citetis insuper seu citari faciatis peremptorie dictum Johannem Balle quod compareat personaliter coram nobis aliquo certo die

¹ ff. 118b, 140, 142b.

² ff. 36, 135b, 143b.

³ *Registrum S. de Sudbivia* (Canterbury and York Society), vol. ii, p. 138.

⁴ The deanery of Bocking consisted of the parishes of Bocking, Stisted, Latchingdon and Southchurch in Essex, and Hadleigh, Monks Eleigh and Moulton in Suffolk, all in the Archbishop's immediate jurisdiction.

juridico quem sibi videritis prefigendum super certis articulis et interrogatoriis correccionem et salutem anime sue tangentibus ex officio nostro eidem obiciendis responsurus et de veritate dicenda si oporteat personaliter juraturus et juri in omnibus pariturus. Et quid feceritis in premissis certificetis nos dictis die et loco per litteras vestras patentes vel certificet ille vestrum per suas harum seriem et citatorum hujusmodi nomina et cognomina continentes. Data ut supra [28 January, 1367].¹

But nothing seems to have had any effect upon the preacher, as we find a commission dated 13 December, 1376 from the King to the rectors of Panfield and Little Tey, to Thomas Joye and John Blyton, both of Colchester, and John Flecham, of Shalford, to arrest John Ball as a contumacious excommunicate.²

A. C. WOOD.

Dengewell Hall in Great Oakley.—In *Place-names of Essex* (p. 345) it is suggested that this name would seem to be of manorial origin, but the place from which the family derived its name was unknown. They probably came from a place *Denscevelle*,³ which does not seem to exist to-day, but was probably in or near Layham (Suffolk).

P. H. REANEY.

Wall-paintings in Writtle Church.—Owing to the foresight of Mr. G. J. Bragg, L.R.I.B.A., the architect in charge, traces of painting were brought to light in the north and south aisles of Writtle church in 1948, when the walls were cleaned down previous to colour-washing.

Over the north doorway is a very fragmentary St. George and the Dragon; the upper part is entirely missing, and little more than the dragon's head, showing a fearsome set of teeth, remains, though slight traces of the armoured right leg of the saint, and of the horse's forelegs, lance, etc., are visible. The painting is outlined in red, the only relief being a narrow slanting band in black. It is surrounded by new plaster, and there is nothing left to show whether the original design included the frequent accompaniments of the castle, with the king and queen, and the princess; but the figures of St. George and the Dragon, when complete, probably resembled those in the woodcut of the subject in Caxton's *Golden Legend*, 1493.

For references to representations of St. George in Essex, see *Trans. E.A.S.*, vol. xxii, pp. 12 and 16-17. Miss Ethel Carleton Williams, F.S.A., listed 94 examples of the subject in her article 'Mural Paintings of St. George in England', published in 1949 (*Journ. Brit. Arch.*

¹ Langham's Register, f. 52. Printed in Wilkins, *Concilia*, vol. iii, p. 64.

² *Calendar of Patent Rolls, 1374-77*, p. 415.

³ *Cal. Anct. Deeds*, vol. i, A 7163 (thirteenth century).

Assocn., Third Series, vol. xii, pp. 19-36); of these, only two were in Essex.

On the north face of the arches of the north arcade of the nave, and on the south face of one of the bays of the south arcade, a simple, painted design was revealed a good many years ago, and is recorded by the R.C.H.M. It is dated 'probably thirteenth century'.

In 1948 scattered fragments of painting were discovered on the wall of the south aisle, midway between the Carpenter chantry-chapel and the porch. Nothing can be made of them in their present condition, but they are not without interest, and provide an object lesson.

Last year I had the privilege of accompanying Professor Kurt Wehlte, of Stuttgart, during his tour in Essex, when he was studying the general condition of wall-paintings in England, on behalf of the Central Council for the Care of Churches, with a view to recommending the best method of preservative treatment in the line of modern scientific advance. Writtle was among the churches we visited (on 22 July, 1954), and the Professor's attention was drawn to these fragments. After a careful inspection he said that they belonged to three paintings of different periods that had been superimposed one on another, as was a common practice. To recognize the several paintings in such cases obviously requires the specialized knowledge of the expert, whose advice, it was emphasized, should always be sought before any attempt is made to uncover and preserve paintings that have long remained hidden on the walls of our ancient churches.

G. MONTAGU BENTON.

Copto Family of High Easter.—In the church of High Laver is a brass (c. 1495) on which are effigies of Edward Sulyard and his wife Myrabyll, their daughter and four sons.¹ Myrabyll was a granddaughter² of John Coptoo of High Easter who held land in Essex and Suffolk and has left his name in Coptoes in Great Welnetham in the latter county.

His will was made in November, 1469, and proved at Lambeth in January, 1470³:

He desires his body to be buried in the church of Highestre near the grave of Sir Thomas Coptoo, clerk, his brother. He leaves to his wife Johanna an annuity of 12 marks from his lands and tenements in Great and Little Whelnetham, Newton, Stanfeld, Brend-bradfeld, Cokefeld, Lawshull, Hau-stede and Bury, all in Suffolk. All his lands in these towns are held in trust

¹ For a full description, with the inscription and illustrations, see *Trans. E.A.S.*, vol. vii (N.S.), pp. 13-16.

² Not a daughter as in *op. cit.*

³ Printed in full in *Great Whelnetham Parish Registers* (Suffolk Green Books, vol. xv, 1910), pp. 242-4. A photograph of Coptoes in Great Whelnetham is given *opp.* p. 459.

for 'Merabil, daughter of my son Thomas Coptoo' until she comes of age, and if she die without lawful heirs, to Johanna, his daughter, wife of Robert Parker, and her heirs; failing such, to John, son of John Coptoo his brother.

Other bequests are:

To the repair of *le Closet* of the Holy Trinity in the church of High Easter, 6s 8d.

To the high altar of the church of Great Dunmowe for tithes and offerings, 3s. 4d. To the repair of the said church, 3s. 4d.

To the mending of the muddy way in the king's highway between my tenement called *Podypoles* (Pooty Pools in Roxwell) and the tenement of William Trenchaunt, 6s. 8d.

To every priest who comes to my funeral and to the mass on the day of my burial, 4d.

To every clerk who comes in like manner, 2d.

For distribution among the poor who are most in want on the day of my burial, 20s.

To Johanna my wife all my household goods.

To the friars Minors preachers of Chelmsford, 10s.

To the friars Minors of Badwell,¹ 20s.

To the friars Minors of London, 20s.

To the repair of the church or Chapel of Bishoppeswoodchapell (near Bishop's Green in Great Dunmow), 6s. 8d.

For the keeping of torches burning round my body within the church of Higestre on the day of my burial, 6s. 8d.

Various bequests to servants and relatives including: to Johanna his daughter, wife of Robert Parker of Writtle, 20 marks; to Johanna, wife of Henry Bury, his cousin, 10 marks; to Margaret Edolf his cousin, 10 marks; to John Coptoo his cousin, 20s.; to Henry Parker, son of Johanna his daughter, when he comes to an age to find himself at school, 20s.

His wife Johanna to have the custody of Merabil, daughter of Thomas Coptoo his son, until she is of legal age.

Residue to Johanna his wife, Robert Kylliner, rector of Mashhebury, William Pecok, rector of Margaret Rothing, Henry Bury and Walter Bust, who are appointed executors. Supervisors: Geoffrey Gattes *miles* and John Grene *armiger*.

John Coptoo was clearly a man of some wealth and importance, but little is known of his ancestors or his descendants.

In 1413 William Copto and Agnes his wife were parties to a fine concerning 2 messuages, 1 toft, 280 acres of arable, 18 acres of meadow, 40 acres of pasture, 5 acres of wood and 10s. rent in the Suffolk parishes in which John Coptoo held land in 1469 (excepting Cockfield and Lawshall).² This transaction, which puzzled the editor of the Great Whelnetham Parish Registers, must have been a settlement or mortgage, not a sale, for the lands were still in the possession of John Coptoo fifty years later.

¹ An error for Babwell Friary near Bury St. Edmund's.

² *Great Whelnetham Parish Registers*, pp. 284, 459.

This must be the same William Copto and Agnes his wife who, with their son William Copto, had land in South Ockendon in 1419.¹ The earliest reference to William is in 1393, when he was one of the parties² to whom John Scolemayster of Chelmsford quitclaimed one toft, etc., in Great Dunmow.³ In 1412, William was one of eight plaintiffs (including Joan, countess of Hereford) to hold 3s. rent in South Ockendon.⁴

In his will, John Coptoo refers to the grave of his brother, Sir Thomas Coptoo, clerk. This can hardly be any other than the Thomas Copto, chaplain, who in 1435 was granted the free chapel of Alvethlee (Aveley), void by resignation of John Wellys, last warden, in the king's gift by reason of the minority of Edmund Inglethorp, kinsman and heir of Elizabeth Pole.⁵ On 22 June, 1437, when rector of North Ockendon, he acknowledged a debt of £100 to John Gladwyn, of Westthorndoun (West Horndon), and on 12 October of the same year he acquired a messuage called *the Feldehowes* with 200 acres of land and 10 acres of meadow in East and West Horndon, Childerditch and Bulvan (now represented by Field House in West Horndon) from Thomas Gladwyn, of Great Whelnetham (Suffolk), heir of John Gladwyn, of Westthorndoun.⁶

Whether William and Agnes Copto were the parents of John Coptoo of High Easter is not proved, but it appears most probable. The dates agree and William, John, and Thomas were all connected with the same parts of Essex and Suffolk. John Coptoo in 1469 made a bequest to his cousin John. Was this John a son of the John Cobto (Coptoo, Copto) of Riale or Royall (Ryhall in Rutlandshire), who was collector of taxes in Rutland between 1401 and 1416?⁷ If so, this John was a brother of William.

P. H. REANEY.

The New History of Felsted School.—We are now in the period of School Quater-centenaries, and the imminence of these important events has spurred faithful masters to write their School histories.

In 1946 Mr. J. H. Johnson's *Chelmsford Grammar School* was reprinted in booklet form from his serial history in the *Essex Review* for

¹ *Essex Fines*, vol. iii, p. 270.

² Including Richard Waldegrave, whose family had land in Great Whelnetham in 1420 (*Great Whelnetham Parish Registers*, p. 285) and Clement Spice, one of the trustees of William Copto in 1413.

³ *Essex Fines*, vol. iii, p. 218.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 259.

⁵ *Cal. Pat. Rolls Hy VI (1429-36)*, vol. ii, p. 490.

⁶ *Cal. Close Rolls Hy VI (1435-41)*, vol. iii, pp. 124, 159.

⁷ *Cal. Fine Rolls*, vol. xii, pp. 115, 188; vol. xiii, p. 92; vol. xiv, p. 171.

1945-46. This excellent account anticipated by five years the School's celebrations of 1951, and thus gave past and present scholars plenty of time to learn about their long history before the quater-centenary arrived.

The History of Colchester Royal Grammar School (1539-1947), by G. H. Martin, followed in 1947. This carefully compiled brochure, embodying considerable research, is noteworthy as being the work of one who was at the time a senior scholar at the School.

Brentwood School's four-hundredth anniversary is to be celebrated in 1957, and it is good to know that a new history of the School is being prepared by a member of the staff.

Felsted School believes in noticing two quater-centenaries—1555, when Lord Riche founded Felsted Chantry, and 1564, when he converted it into a School. And in 1955 there has appeared a noble *History of Felsted School, 1564-1947*, written by Michael Craze. In this 360-page book, well produced by Cowells of Ipswich, the author has presented a chronicle of absorbing interest which should increase all Old Felstedians' pride in their foundation. Mr. Craze has preserved a good balance between the early and recent history of the School, and has dealt with both with equal devotion. It is important to set down some of the discoveries made by him in the course of his extensive research. These comprise:

- (1) the Funeral Record of Richard, Lord Riche, in the College of Arms, and the Edward Turnour Latin letter of 1602 to his son at school, both printed in appendices;
- (2) a series of letters between 1690 and 1712, between Patron, Vicar, and Headmaster, heavily drawn on in the Simon Lydiatt chapter;
- (3) biographical details of the early headmasters, especially George Manning, Martin Holbeach, Christopher Glascock, Simon Lydiatt, and Thomas Surridge.

Apart from all this new material, Mr. Craze has cleared away the cobwebs of legend at point after point, not least in the nineteenth century. He dispels the illusion (perpetrated even in A. L. Rowse's *England of Elizabeth*) that Lord Riche filched a bit of the churchyard on which to build his new School. This point is emphasized—it gives the reader something of a shock—in the caption 'Guildhall' (not Old School) to the illustration of the building affectionately known to all Felstedians and Essex archæologists.

This book sets a high standard of scholarship which other schools will find it difficult to emulate, and it should be on the shelves of everyone interested in the history of Essex. F. G. EMMISON.

The Geldart Collection of Drawings.—Mr. Duncan W. Clark, F.S.A., has called attention to a collection of drawings by the Rev. Ernest Geldart, which has recently been presented to the Library of the Royal Institute of British Architects by Miss N. Kerr, through the kind offices of Mr. John Betjeman. The Librarian of the Institute states that this collection 'deserves particular mention'; it should certainly possess a special interest for Essex ecclesiologists.

Ernest Geldart was rector of Little Braxted from 1881 to 1900. He was an authority on church architecture, and on leaving Braxted he practised as an architect, for which profession he was originally trained, having been a pupil of Alfred Waterhouse, R.A., in 1864. He travelled much on the Continent and in Australia and America (*The Times*, July 16, 1929). He was ordained in 1873. As a decorator and restorer he did work in several Essex churches during his incumbency. He believed in symbolism, and his point of view was that of the Victorian ecclesiologist; but if his designs are in conflict with present-day standards, they reflect the taste of the time, and for that reason are not without interest.

The exuberant decoration of Geldart's own church at Little Braxted, with its painted walls, was intended to illustrate what he would have termed the Ministry of Art. On its completion he published a booklet (now very scarce), entitled *The Story of the Church for old and young, told to the parishioners of S. Nicholas, Little Braxted in 1886, some of it by the Church itself, and the rest by the Rector*, which gives an insight into his approach to such matters. Incidentally, there is also a humorous allusion to his personal appearance, for in describing the original Norman windows, he said they were like himself, 'small, narrow, and round-headed'. Other works of his in Essex included: Ardleigh (sanctuary paintings); Coggeshall and Wickham Bishops (organ-cases); Kelvedon (almsbox); Leigh (reredos). He was also responsible for the restoration of Tolleshunt d'Arcy, Wendens Ambo, and Wennington churches.

He was the author of *The Art of Garnishing Churches* (1882), and *A Manual of Church Decoration and Symbolism* (1899), as well as of several other publications.

Geldart died on 11 July, 1929, at Holmbury St. Mary, Surrey, at the age of 81.

I am indebted to the Rev. J. W. M. Vyse, M.A., the present rector of Little Braxted, for the loan of records in his custody.

The Font Cloth in Essex.—Although fonts had permanent wooden covers, a cloth was also used in medieval times to veil the font-bowl; or it may have hung on or over the cover itself—at St. Nicholas, Warwick, in 1556, *4d.* was 'Payd for Iron and workemanshype to hange the clothe on over the Font.' A number of churches possessed two or three of these font cloths, and St. Columb Major had as many as eight. Originally protective, they became an outward sign of reverence. The material seems to have been usually of white linen, or coloured silk; sometimes they were 'paynted or stayned,' or otherwise decorated. Their use, if not general, was widespread in England, and the custom was observed, to some extent at least, in counties as far apart as Cornwall, Surrey, Lincolnshire, and Yorkshire. It was also practised in Essex, as the following extracts from the Edwardine inventories of 1552 show :

BARDFIELD, GREAT.—A white clothe for the fonte.¹

BENTLEY, LITTLE.—Itm one founte clothe.²

BRADFIELD.—Itm a flownte clothe.³

EASTWOOD.—Itm a lynnyn clothe for the funt.⁴

HOCKLEY.—Itm one clothe for y^e founte.⁵

LAVER, LITTLE.—A fonte clothe, Delivered to the curate for the Divine Service.⁶

RAYLEIGH.—[Received] for one paynted fount cloth sold to John Hastler, iij^s iij^d.⁷

WIX.—A fount cloweth that Nycholases Roith had, p^rce, ij^s iij^d.⁸

The inventories of church goods, dated 1582-93, in the wardens' accounts of St. Mary, Chelmsford, contain the following entry :

Three very old torne table cloths, of which one serveth to cover the fonte, and one hath red crosses,

This supplies additional evidence that the use of the font cloth in England survived the Reformation. Indeed, the custom prevailed at Luccombe, Somerset, and Lynton and Martinhoe, Devon, until the middle of the nineteenth century.

The late Dr. Francis C. Eeles, writing in 1908, stated that the font cloth is 'an ornament of which very little is known. More evidence would have to be collected before very much could be said about it.' Thanks to Dr. Eeles' subsequent researches, fresh light has since been thrown upon the subject, see his paper, 'The Font Veil,' *Archl Journ.*, vol. cvii (1952), pp. 78-83.

G. MONTAGU BENTON.

¹ *Trans. E.A.S.*, vol. xi (N.S.), p. 310.

² *Ibid.*, vol. i (N.S.), p. 8.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 10.

⁴ *Ibid.*, vol. iv (O.S.), p. 219.

⁵ *Trans. E.A.S.*, vol. iv (O.S.), p. 226.

⁶ *Ibid.*, vol. ii (N.S.), p. 233.

⁷ *Ibid.*, vol. v (O.S.), p. 119.

⁸ *Ibid.*, vol. i (N.S.), p. 26.

IN MEMORIAM

WILLIAM KAHLED STUART KING.

† William Kahled Stuart King died at his home, The Abbey, Mistley, on 3 February, 1948, at the age of 83. He was elected a member of the Essex Archaeological Society in 1925, and, although he did not take an active part in its affairs, he did most valuable work in collecting voluminous historical records of Mistley and the adjoining parishes of Bradfield and Manningtree. His typescripts, which are carefully arranged and bound in files, will prove of the greatest service to future local historians, and his wish that they should eventually find a home in the Library of our Society has been carried out by his niece, Miss Anchoretta E. King.

Mr. King was a director of Messrs. Free, Rodwell and Co. Ltd., maltsters, of Mistley, for forty-four years, and chairman of the Board for nearly twenty years. A native of Northern Ireland—his brother, Richard, was Dean of Derry from 1921 to 1946—he spent some years as a planter in Behar, India, before going to Mistley in 1903. He was a member of the Harwich Conservancy Board, a Foundation manager of the Norman Primary School, and a churchwarden of St. Mary's Parish Church, Mistley.

He paid much attention to the upkeep of the churchyards in Mistley, and he was deeply interested in the discoveries made when the site of the destroyed church of St. Mary was excavated in 1923. The foundations of the building were then uncovered, as well as several memorial and altar-slabs. It is intended to embody the photographs and careful notes on the subject that he left, in a paper which it is hoped will appear in these *Transactions*.

His study of local history was of long standing, and for many years past absorbed much of his leisure. He was also a keen gardener.

Religion coloured his whole life, and he was a loyal member of the Church of England. He supported many charities; generosity was habitual to him, and was as unbounded as it was little paraded. He attended the early service on 4 January, when he received what might almost be termed his viaticum, for three days later a serious fall caused his fatal illness.—R.I.P.

G. MONTAGU BENTON.

SIDNEY CHARLES RATCLIFF, I.S.O., M.A.

✠ Sidney Charles Ratcliff died at Chichester on 8 September, 1948, at the age of 75. Born on 22 January, 1873, he was educated at the City of London School, and Wadham College, Oxford. He began his career at the Public Record Office of Ireland, in 1896, and was transferred to London in 1903—he was lent to Belfast for a year in 1923—and in 1929, on the death of R. C. Fowler, our Hon. Editor, became a senior Assistant Keeper of the Public Records.

He was secretary of the Historical Manuscripts Commission, 1923-38, and at the end of the latter year was appointed a Commissioner. He was awarded the Imperial Service Order in 1930. He edited *Elton Manorial Records* for the Roxburghe Club in 1936, and was joint-editor of the first seven volumes of *Warwickshire County Records*, and planned the scheme of the whole series; he also compiled the P.R.O. *List of Papal Bulls*. For many years, and until 1947, he was secretary of the Canterbury and York Society.

Referring to his work at the P.R.O., *The Times* said: 'He built up a wide knowledge of all sorts of records. His advice was continuously sought by his colleagues, and imparted to them with lavish kindness and rare clarity of expression. Indeed, to most of the younger men he stood in an almost paternal relationship. He was equally accessible to students of records outside the office, particularly in the field of local history.'

Ratcliff's association with our Society dated from 1929, when he was elected an Hon. Member; in 1931 he was appointed to the Council, and grateful acknowledgements are due to his memory for the kindness and help he generously afforded in various ways. He shared Fowler's interest and wishes regarding *Essex Fines*, and undertook the exacting task of collating the parts of volume III as issued (see preface). I was in the habit of visiting his familiar room at the P.R.O., as in his predecessor's time, to seek his help in solving problems incidental to research. He was always available, and spared no pains to settle the questions submitted to him. His knowledge was such that, seated on the edge of the table, he would readily supply out of his well-stored brain the information required, or, if necessary, he would consult books in the library on one's behalf. Moreover, he grudged neither time or trouble in placing his knowledge and experience at the service of any of our student members who enlisted his help.

In himself he was the gentlest and kindest of men, and possessed in abundance those unobtrusive qualities which make friendship precious—sympathy, loyalty, and wise counsel; a truly lovable character.

I have happy recollections of days spent with him at his home in

Sussex the year before he died, and of visits to Boxgrove Priory, the Roman villa at Bignor, with its remarkable tessellated pavements, and other places of interest. He was an ideal companion, but his eyesight was beginning to fail, and this affliction, together with loss of memory, clouded the last twelve months of his life, and prevented him from pursuing his old interests. He was, however, without pain, and faced these discomforts with simple faith and courage. His allegiance to the Church meant much to him, and, fortified by the Sacraments, he passed peacefully 'into the world of light'.—R.I.P.

G. MONTAGU BENTON.

HENRY WILLIAM LEWER, F.S.A.

✠ Henry William Lewer, who died at his home, Priors, Loughton, on 13 April, 1949, aged 90, was a staunch friend and one of the leading personalities of this Society. He became a member in 1902, had served on its Council since 1912, appointed Treasurer in 1917, and in 1944 was elected a Vice-President 'in recognition of his varied and devoted services to the Society'. He was elected a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries in 1914.

He was born at Wimborne, Dorset, on 11 August, 1858, and educated at Mr. de Winton's School in that town, and afterwards at Clifton. On leaving school in 1876, he entered the firm of W. H. Smith and Sons, booksellers. Here he was under a manager who was a keen book-lover, and it is possible that this may have fostered his love of books, and such literary ability as he displayed later. On the death of an uncle, who founded the business, he joined, at the age of 22, the staff of John Galpin, paper-makers' agents, and remained with the firm for 68 years, becoming in due time Managing Director. He naturally had much to do with publishers and books, and, it may be said, spent his life among them. His love of antiquarian research may have been inherited from his grandfather, Edward Lewer, of Merley Hall, Wimborne, who was instrumental in restoring the Minster, which contains a window dedicated to his memory.

Short, and of slight build, Lewer's energy was remarkable, and when he and his brother, Sidney (d. 1951, aged 89), came to London, and lived at Highbury, they used to walk to business and back (some 7 miles) each day, to keep fit for football and cricket; later, he played tennis. He was also a keen gardener.

I well remember the occasion when we first met. It was in 1919, in the Board Room at Liverpool Street Station, at a special function arranged by the Society. Our mutual interests quickly cemented a



HENRY WILLIAM LEWER, F.S.A.

Treasurer, Essex Archæological Society, 1917-1949.

lasting friendship. He was essentially humble in heart, and the kindest counsellor and ally. Moreover, he was given to hospitality. The life and craftsmanship of Medieval England fascinated him, and he found a delight in tracing the by-ways of the past; he was also particularly interested in old china and furniture, and 'by-gones'. His attitude of mind is reflected in the following extract culled from one of his letters: 'I dislike immensely, as you do, hearing sweet words, etc., at the Annual General Meeting. Our one wish is to do all we can to help our beloved Society'. Certainly he used every opportunity to promote its honour and interest. For many years, and until the last war, the Council meetings of the Society were held at his office, 40-43 Fleet St., E.C.

A busy business man, he devoted his week-ends to dull routine work in connection with the Hon. Treasurership, at the expense of more congenial activities; he also paid all the postal charges out of his own pocket. Of the many other generous acts with which he benefited the Society, only a few can be mentioned at random. He made numerous gifts to the Library, and also invited our late Hon. Librarian to visit his private library and take away with him any Essex books and MSS. that he thought the Society should have. He provided the paper used for the book on *The Church Plate of Essex*, and gave a handsome donation towards the cost of its production. He presented the seventeenth-century President's chair in the Library at Holly Trees. Distressed to find an early eighteenth-century Communion Cup and Paten, formerly belonging to Pattiswick church, in a silversmith's shop in London, he purchased and presented them to the Society, so that it might loan them to the church in perpetuity. Afterwards he agreed that the Society should present them to the church on condition that arrangements were made to prevent their future alienation. He presented five valuable silver spoons, of Tudor and later date, to the Society, in order that they might be given to the Borough of Colchester as tokens of appreciation of the debt the Society owed to the Corporation for many kindnesses received in the past. He also bequeathed to the Colchester Museum his collection of silver caddy-spoons, 300 in number, and probably the finest collection of its kind in existence. But enough has been said to show what manner of man he was.

With regard to his literary output, it is remarkable that apart from notes, book-reviews, and obituaries, his sole contribution to these *Transactions* is a paper on 'The Testament and Last Will of Elizabeth, widow of John de Veer, thirteenth Earl of Oxford' (1930). Several articles by him, however, appear in *The Essex Review* (of which he was formerly a director). He edited *A Book of Simples* (1908), the elaborate green and gold binding of which is a reduced facsimile of the

binding of the original MS. The compilers of *An Anthology of Essex* (1911) state that 'the volume owes its being to the enthusiasm of an untiring friend, Mr. H. W. Lewer'. He was also the author (with J. Charles Wall) of *The Church Chests of Essex* (1931), *The China Collector* (N.D.), and (with MacIver Percival) *The Bric-à-Brac Collector* (N.D.).

Notwithstanding his great age, and the disability of deafness, which had been a serious trial for many years, he remained active in the affairs of business almost until the last. Less than seven months prior to his death he could write: 'To bed always at 10.30 p.m. I live by rule and find that it works well. Called at 7.30 a.m., breakfast, and off to the city by 9 a.m.'. Eight days before he died he visited the auditor and signed the Society's annual statement of accounts as Hon. Treasurer.

He was twice married, first, in 1888, to Florence Eliza Stressiger, by whom he had two sons, the eldest son, Richard Roy, F.G.S., a promising geologist, having died of war wounds in 1916; secondly, he married, in 1918, Mabel Maud Longley, by whom he had one son; she died in 1940.

At the funeral service at Manor Park Crematorium, the Society was represented by the Hon. Secretary and Mrs. Benton, Mr. W. Addison, and Miss I. L. Gould. The ashes were afterwards buried in the grave of his second wife, in the churchyard of St. Gennys. This Cornish village was for him the 'one spot . . . beloved over all'. He owned a house there (Trenance), where he spent his holidays, and he was greatly attached to the parish church, to which he made several gifts, including a stained glass memorial window.

No history of the Society during the past half-century will be complete unless it includes the figure of Henry William Lewer. One feels that yet another of the good old school of antiquaries has left us, never again to be replaced, and it is counted an act of *pietas* to pay this tribute to his memory.—R.I.P.

G. MONTAGU BENTON.

EXCURSIONS, 1950-1952.

On Saturday, 6 May, 1950, a party of 80 members and friends visited Thorrington and St. Osyth. Thorrington church was described by the Rev. T. D. S. Bayley; St. Osyth's Priory, by Mr. David George, and the church by the vicar (Rev. E. B. Holtby). St. Clere's Hall was also inspected by courtesy of Mr. and Mrs. V. A. Grantham. Six new members were elected.

On Saturday, 20 May, 1950, about 48 members and friends took part in an excursion to West Bergholt, Wormingford, and Bures (Suffolk). West Bergholt church was described by Mr. David George; Wormingford church by the Rev. T. D. S. Bayley. Church Hall was also visited by courtesy of Colonel H. D. Harington; Bures church was described by the vicar (Rev. Cyril Sharp), and St. Stephen's chapel, containing the monuments of the Earls of Oxford, formerly at Earls Colne, by Colonel G. O. C. Probert. Two new members were elected.

On Wednesday, 21 June, 1950, an excursion to Manningtree and District was attended by about 70 members and friends. Manningtree church was described by the Rev. T. D. S. Bayley, who acted as guide throughout the day. A brief visit was afterwards paid to Mistley Towers, and the other buildings inspected comprised: Little Bromley church; Bradfield church, Hall (by courtesy of Mr. F. C. Bradnam), and Bradfield Place Hotel (Mrs. Widdicombe); Wix Abbey (exterior, by courtesy of Mr. G. K. Mitchell, jun.) and church.

On Wednesday, 20 July, 1950, a party of nearly 150 took part in an excursion to Stebbing and Thaxted. Stebbing church was described by Mr. Laurence King; the old 'Church House', immediately to the east of the churchyard, also attracted attention. An hour was afterwards spent in viewing, in the sunshine of a perfect summer day, this attractive village, which retains a considerable number of houses and cottages dating from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Among those visited were Church Farm (by courtesy of Mr. and Mrs. Howland); Parsonage Farm (Mr. James Lanyon); and Porter's Hall (exterior, Mrs. Moore). After a picnic lunch in the vicarage garden, members left for Thaxted, where the church was described by the

vicar (Rev. J. C. Putterill). The fifteenth-century Guildhall, north-east of the church, was also inspected. But interest was not confined to these two outstanding features, for the whole aspect of the little town is eloquent of the past. The party then went on to Horham Hall, which was visited by invitation of Lady Binney, who, in addition to a kindly welcome, gave an interesting description of this important building, chiefly of early sixteenth-century date. Tea was taken in the garden before departing for the homeward journey at 5 p.m. Five new members were elected.

On Wednesday, 27 September, 1950, there was an excursion to Leighs and Felsted, at which some 140 members and friends were present. Great Leighs church was described by Mr. Laurence King. Leez Priory was next visited by courtesy of Mr. V. E. Goodman, under the guidance of Mr. Harry East. After a picnic lunch in the garden, the party went on to Felsted, where the church, and the adjoining Guildhall (not Old School House) were described by Mr. M. C. G. Hooton; the sixteenth-century barn at Bury Farm was also inspected by kind permission of Mr. H. T. Smith. Fifteen new members were elected.

Two excursions to London were held in 1951. On Saturday, 7 April, a visit to Blackfriars was attended by about 105 members and friends. The party assembled at the College of Arms, Queen Victoria Street, which was described by Major M. R. Trappes-Lomax (Somerset Herald). After lunch a brief tour of the district was made from Blackfriars Tube Station, followed by a visit to Apothecaries' Hall, by courtesy of the Worshipful Society of Apothecaries of London. Mr. William Kent, F.S.A., editor of *An Encyclopædia of London*, described the building, and tea was served in the Great Hall of the Company. Five new members were elected.

On Thursday, 26 April, a party of 75 visited Westminster. In the unavoidable absence of the rector (Canon C. H. E. Smyth), St Margaret's church was described by the verger, Mr. A. J. Elliott. The President (Rev. G. Montagu Benton) then gave a detailed account of the famous east window, which dates from c. 1520, and was, it seems, purchased by St. Margaret's in 1758. He said that this important example of glass painting undoubtedly had Essex associations, but fact and fiction were so interwoven in the story connected with it, that it was impossible to trace its exact history. After carefully reviewing the evidence, all that the late Professor W. R. Lethaby was prepared to admit was that 'the window appears to have been made for the Chapel of New Hall, Essex, as rebuilt by Henry VIII, and to be the

work of the successors of Barnard Flower', the King's Glazier. Following the luncheon interval, the whole afternoon was devoted to exploring the precincts of Westminster Abbey, 'the treasure-house of medieval England'. Under the expert guidance of Mr. Lawrence E. Tanner, C.V.O., F.S.A., Keeper of the Muniments, two delightful hours were spent in touring the less familiar parts of the Abbey buildings, including the Library and Muniment Room, where items of Essex interest had been given special prominence. Mr. R. P. Howgrave-Graham, F.S.A., also exhibited and described some of the effigies of wood and wax, on whose restoration he had been working with infinite patience since the end of the war. Tea was afterwards served at Church House, Great Smith Street, and at 5 p.m. the coach departed for Colchester. Eight new members were elected.

On Thursday, 28 June, 1951, about 125 members and friends joined in an excursion to Clavering, Wendens Ambo, and Audley End. Clavering church was described by Mr. Laurence King; and the Old House, near-by, was visited by courtesy of Mrs. Elizabeth Atha. Lunch was afterwards taken in the garden at Dancey's, by kind permission of Lt.-Colonel T. Slingsby. The party then went on to Wendens Ambo church, which was described by the vicar (Rev. H. E. Gardner); the 'Tiger and Mirror' bench-end was also described by the President, who said it was on a visit to the church in 1920 that he had had the pleasure of informing the Society of the true significance of this strange carving, which had long been a puzzle to antiquaries (see *Trans. E.A.S.*, vol. xv (n.s.), pp. 267-271). A visit to Audley End (usual entrance fee remitted by the Ministry of Works) completed the day's programme. A succinct account of the house and its various owners was given by Mr. William Addison, whose recently published book, *Audley End*, should give pleasure to those who have visited this historic Jacobean mansion. After a picnic tea members departed for the homeward journey at 5.15 p.m. Five new members were elected.

On Wednesday, 18 July, 1951, a party of about 90 visited Helion and Steeple Bumpstead, and Great Yeldham. Helion Bumpstead church was described by Mr. Laurence King, and Steeple Bumpstead church by the vicar (Rev. L. C. Smale). The School House (Moot Hall), Post Office, and other old buildings in the vicinity of the latter church were also viewed. On arriving at Moyns Park (by courtesy of Capt. J. P. and Mrs. Walker), lunch was taken in the picturesque garden, which, with the moat and surroundings, was pronounced a delightful spot. The house—a striking and handsome building of c. 1580—was afterwards inspected under the guidance of Mrs. Walker,

who did not spare herself in describing the various points of interest. Great Yeldham church, described by the Rev. T. D. S. Bayley, was next visited; also the fifteenth-century Rectory (by courtesy of the Rev. H. E. and Mrs. Gant). Tea was taken in the Rectory garden before leaving for the homeward journey at 5 p.m. Four new members were elected.

An excursion to Chelmsford on Thursday, 16 August, 1951, was attended by at least 70 members and friends. The Cathedral was described by Mr. G. J. Bragg; and after the luncheon interval the party made its way to the Shire Hall, to visit an Exhibition, illustrating 'Eight Centuries of Essex History in Records'. A display of historical manuscripts, paintings, and prints had been arranged by the County Record Office, and Mr. Francis W. Steer, and Mr. A. C. Edwards conducted members round, and explained many of the items. Miss Hilda E. P. Grieve later gave a lecture on 'Medieval Chelmsford To-day', illustrated by records. In conclusion tea was served at Cannon's Restaurant at 4.15 p.m. Five new members were elected.

A party of 86 journeyed to Bury St. Edmunds (Suffolk) on Wednesday, 26 September, 1951. The site, and the Gateway and Norman Tower of the Abbey were visited, as well as the Cathedral Church of St. James, St. Mary's church, the Unitarian chapel (1711), and Moyse's Hall—a Norman dwelling, which houses the Borough Museum. Tea was served at the Town Hall (by courtesy of the Borough Council), where a notable collection of documents and manuscript books had been specially placed on view by the local Record Office. It included a thirteenth-century Bury Chronicle; a fifteenth-century psalter from the Abbey; and an account of the Keepers of the shrine of St. Edmund, 1520-1521. Certain entries in the latter document attracted particular attention, namely: a payment of 8*d.* to the door-keeper of the refectory at Whitsun and Michaelmas for administering the cup of St. Edmund to pilgrims and other strangers; and payments to minstrels, and for cleansing and repair of the sword of St. Edmund, and 5*s.* to the two keepers of the shrine for carrying it. Mr. H. J. M. Maltby, curator of the museum, kindly acted as guide for the day. Seven new members were elected.

On Saturday, 10 May, 1952, about 120 members and friends visited Hatfield (Herts.), where, after a welcome by the rector (Rev. S. E. Woods), the church was described by Miss Butterfield. The rest of the day was devoted to Hatfield House, the home of the Marquess of Salisbury, K.G., F.S.A. 'The building is on the scale of a palace rather than of a country house, and is one of the finest existing examples of

early seventeenth-century architecture.' Nearly two hours were spent in viewing the pictures and many artistic and historical treasures it contains. Tea was afterwards served in the Banqueting Hall of the Old Palace (built by Cardinal Morton, archbishop of Canterbury, in 1497), and at 5 p.m. the party dispersed. Three new members were elected.

An excursion to Southwark on Thursday, 29 May, 1952, was attended by about 50 members and friends, and 50 girls from the Fonnereau House School, Ipswich. They were met at the Chapter House, St. Thomas's Street (part of the original St. Thomas's Hospital), by Canon T. P. Stevens, chaplain to the Sheriff of London, who kindly acted as guide throughout the day. The George Inn, rebuilt *c.* 1677, with galleries, was first visited before going on to Southwark Cathedral, which has passed through many changes of fortune. 'A hundred years ago it looked derelict and moribund. To-day it is as alive and as beautiful as it has ever been.' The sites of the Globe and Rose Theatres, associated with Shakespeare, were afterwards visited, and at 4.40 p.m. tea was served in the Chapter House. The party was welcomed by the Mayor of Southwark (Miss F. Stroud). Two new members were elected.

On Saturday, 28 June, 1952, a party of 120 went to Shalford, Finchingfield, and Great Bardfield. Shalford church was described by the vicar (Rev. R. B. Vaizey). Spains Hall was visited by courtesy of Sir John Ruggles-Brise, Bart., who kindly conducted members over the house—a fine example of Elizabethan brickwork, of *c.* 1570; lunch was afterwards taken in the garden. Finchingfield, with its spacious green surrounded by old houses, pond, and winding road leading up to the church (described by Professor J. Wallis), and the old timber-framed Guildhall, has the reputation of being the most picturesque village in Essex, and sufficient time was spent there to enable members to appreciate its charm. Great Bardfield church was described by the vicar (Rev. R. O. Masheder), and Place House was visited by courtesy of Mr. J. A. M. Aldridge. Tea was afterwards served in the Village Hall. Eleven new members were elected.

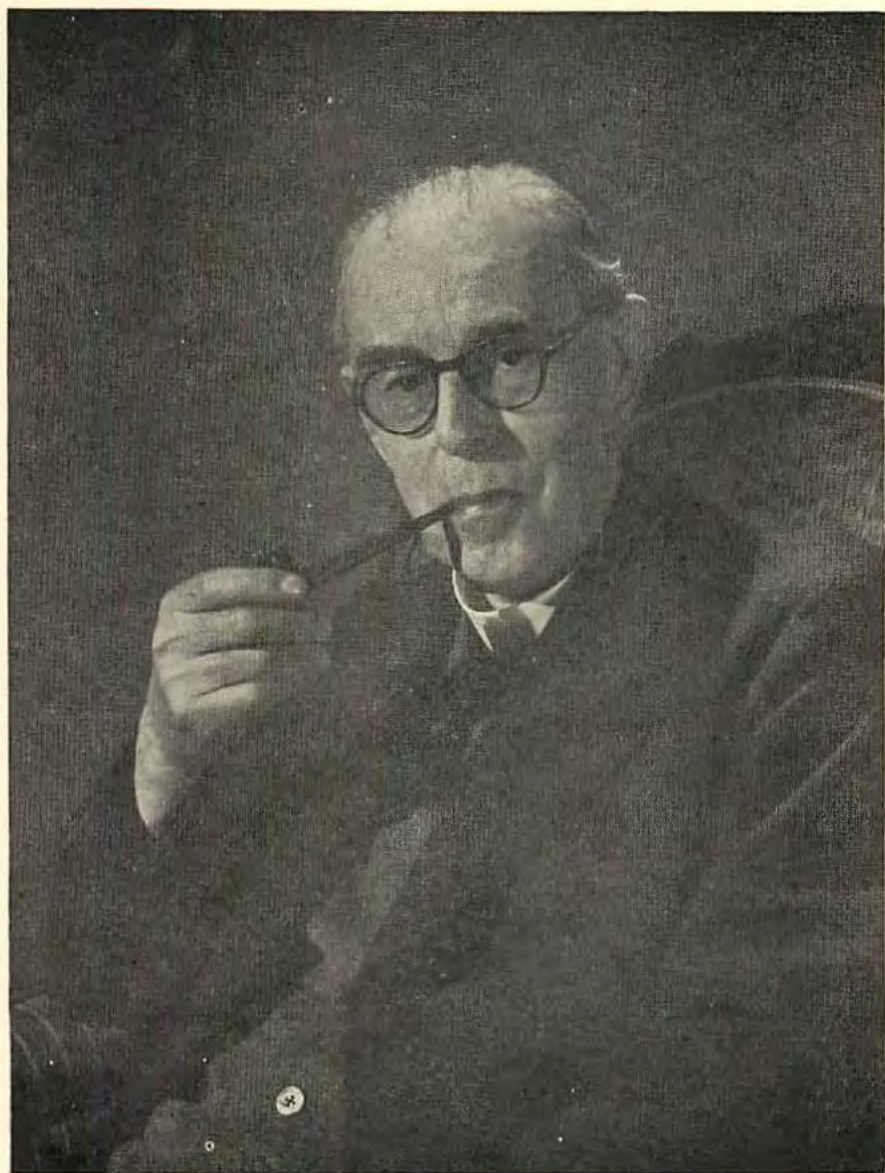
On Tuesday, 22 July, 1952, about 80 members and friends joined an excursion to Great and Little Chesterford, Strethall and Chrishall. Little Chesterford church, and the thirteenth-century Manor House, were described by Mr. Laurence King, who acted as guide throughout the day. After lunch in the garden of Great Chesterford vicarage, by kind permission of the vicar, the church, and the churches of Strethall and Chrishall were visited. Five new members were elected.

An excursion to Mount Bures, Pebmarsh, Alphamstone, and Middleton, held on Friday, 26 September, 1952, was attended by about 120 members and friends. Mount Bures church was described by the rector (Rev. W. R. Saunders)—the fortified mount to the north of the church was also visited by courtesy of Mr. D. McMaster; Pebmarsh and Alphamstone churches were described by the Rev. T. D. S. Bayley. Lunch was taken in the garden of Mill House, Pebmarsh, by kind invitation of Sir Ronald Storrs. Middleton church, which is greatly in need of repair, was described by the rector (Rev. O. E. R. Alexander), and in response to an appeal the sum of £4 17s. 6d. was contributed by members to the restoration fund. Tea was afterwards served at Ballingdon Hall. Eight new members were elected.

(The warm thanks of the Society are due to the Rev. T. D. S. Bayley, F.S.A., late Hon. Excursion Secretary, for arranging, with few exceptions, and at the expense of much time and labour, the sixteen interesting and varied excursions recorded above.)

Lectures, 1950-1952

- J. W. Brailsford, M.A., F.S.A. : *The Mildenhall Treasure*. 23 March, 1950.
- Dr. G. H. S. Bushnell, M.A., Ph.D., F.S.A. : *The Braybrooke Collection*. 22 June, 1950.
- Sheppard S. Frere, M.A., F.S.A. : *Recent Excavations at Canterbury*. 11 January, 1951.
- Mrs. Aylwin Cotton, O.B.E., M.B., F.S.A. : *An Account of the 1950 Excavations in Colchester Castle Park*. (A joint meeting with the Friends of the Museum.) 8 March, 1951.
- R. P. Bedford, F.S.A. : *Sculpture, Ancient and Modern*. 28 December, 1951.
- Dr. C. Willett Cunnington : *English Fashions in Christian Names*. 5 June, 1952.
- Marcus Fitch, F.S.A. : *Wanderings in Greece*. 27 November, 1952.



THE REV. THOMAS DENIS SCOTT BAYLEY, M.A., F.S.A.

*President of the Essex Archaeological Society,
1945-1950.*

ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING OF THE
ESSEX ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY,
AT THE TOWN HALL, COLCHESTER,
ON THURSDAY, 22 JUNE, 1950.

THE minutes of the previous meeting were read and confirmed.

Following a Commemoration of deceased members of the Council, a tribute was paid by Mr. Benton to the memory of the late Mr. H. W. Lewer, F.S.A. A brief silence was then observed.

An Address of Welcome was given by the Mayor (Councillor J. Andrews), who spoke with appreciation of the work of the Society. The President expressed the Society's thanks to the Mayor, and to the Corporation for the use of the Grand Jury Room.

The Rev. T. D. S. Bayley, M.A., F.S.A., the out-going President, said he had had the honour of serving as President for the full term of five years, and now proposed the Rev. G. Montagu Benton, M.A., F.S.A., as his successor, with a view to his holding office in the Centenary year, 1952. Canon Fisher seconded, and the resolution was carried with acclamation. Mr. Benton then took the Chair and expressed his thanks to the meeting for the honour accorded him.

The new President moved a hearty vote of thanks to Mr. Bayley for his invaluable services to the Society as President and Hon. Excursion Secretary during the past five years. The resolution was seconded by Mr. A. Laver Clarke and carried with acclamation.

The President also referred to the three new officers of the Society; to the excellent work of Miss I. L. Gould, when acting as Hon. Treasurer after the death of Mr. Lewer; and to the approaching Centenary of the Society.

The Vice-Presidents and Council were re-elected *en bloc*, with the addition of the Rev. T. D. S. Bayley as a Vice-President, and Dr. J. Llewellyn Jones as a member of the Council.

On the motion of the President, the Annual Report was taken as read and adopted.

The Hon. Treasurer presented the Annual Statement of Accounts, which was approved and adopted on the motion of Mr. W. Addison, seconded by Mr. Duncan Clark.

The President, Mr. Duncan Clark, and Canon J. L. Fisher, were re-elected as the Society's representatives on the Museum and Municipality Committee of the Colchester Town Council, on the motion of Mr. Bayley, seconded by the Assist. Hon. Secretary. The Rev. W. R. Saunders, B.Sc., B.Litt., was nominated in place of Mr. G. O. Rickword, resigned, on the motion of the President, seconded by Mr. Bayley.

Eleven new members were elected.

Sir Godfrey Haggard called attention to the serious condition of Black Chapel, at Ford End, and suggested that the Society should approach the Trustees. It was agreed that Mr. F. W. Steer be asked to act for the Society; Miss A. M. Ward also promised to make enquiries regarding the Trustees.

The President referred to a panel of ancient stained glass belonging to East Horndon church, which was damaged during the war, and is now in a builder's workshop at Brentwood. Repairs and reinstatement would cost £12, and the money was not available in the parish. Eventually it was agreed that Mr. F. W. Steer should make further enquiries and act on behalf of the Society.

Following the adjournment for luncheon, the party assembled in the Lecture Room at the Public Library, where a lecture on 'The Braybrooke Collection', illustrated by lantern slides, was given by Dr. G. H. S. Bushnell, F.S.A.

The important Braybrooke Collection, consisting of a magnificent series of Romano-British and Anglo-Saxon antiquities, with valuable objects of both earlier and later date, was formed by the Hon. R. C. Neville, afterwards 4th Lord Braybrooke, mainly from his excavations in Cambridgeshire, and N.W. Essex about a century ago. It has recently been acquired by the Cambridge University Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, of which the lecturer is Curator.

A unanimous vote of thanks was subsequently accorded the lecturer, on the motion of the President.

REPORT FOR 1949.

THE Council has pleasure in presenting its ninety-seventh Annual Report.

During the year the Society has lost 48 members by death, resignation and deletion; 43 new members have been added to its roll.

The total membership, which on 31 December, 1948, was 592, on 31 December, 1949, was as follows:—

Annual members	-	-	-	483
Life members	-	-	-	101
Honorary members	-	-	-	3
				—
				587
				—

A serious loss has been sustained by the death of the Hon. Treasurer, Mr. H. W. Lewer, F.S.A. Although quiet and retiring in public, owing to extreme deafness, he rendered, with a rare devotion, manifold services to the Society, and for upwards of half-a-century was one of its outstanding members. He published several books, and was co-author (with Mr. J. C. Wall) of *The Church Chests of Essex* (1913). Other losses by death include the Rev. F. L. Bridges, M.A., a generous benefactor; Canon H. J. E. Burrell, M.A., F.S.A., a gifted craftsman in wood, whose work in Balsham Church, Cambridgeshire, and elsewhere, bears witness to his remarkable knowledge and skill; Sir Charles Nicholson, Bt., the eminent Church architect; and Mr. E. J. Wythes, C.B.E., elected a life member in 1895.

Under Rule 6, the Rev. T. D. S. Bayley, M.A., F.S.A., having served for five successive years, retires from the Presidency of the Society. The Council wishes to place on record the deep sense of gratitude felt by members to Mr. Bayley, who as President, as well as Hon. Excursion Secretary, has spared no pains in furthering their interests. He has not missed presiding over a single meeting, and the courtesy and ability he has displayed have added considerably to the well-being of the Society. It is a happy coincidence that the conclusion of his term of office as President should be marked by his election as a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries.

The Council recommends the election of the Rev. G. Montagu Benton, M.A., F.S.A., as President for the ensuing year. Elected a member in 1913, and of the Council in 1919, Mr. Benton has, throughout this long period, been entirely devoted to the affairs and welfare of

the Society, of which, indeed, he has been for many years the main-spring. With one exception he has held each of the Society's offices in turn, and has been Hon. Secretary since 1923. But he has not yet been its President, and the Council considers it fitting that he should be now elected, with a view to holding office at the celebration of the Centenary in 1952. The re-election of the Vice-Presidents, with the addition of the Rev. T. D. S. Bayley, is further recommended; also the re-election of the Council, with the addition of Mr. J. Llewellyn Jones, B.A., M.B., B.S., in place of Canon R. H. Jack, resigned.

The Society has been fortunate in securing the services of the Rev. O. E. R. Alexander, M.A., Henny Rectory, Sudbury, Suffolk, as Hon. Treasurer. The death of the late Treasurer inevitably dislocated the business routine of the Society and this threw much additional work on the shoulders of the Hon. Secretary. Fortunately, the burden was considerably lightened by Miss Isabel L. Gould, of Chigwell, kindly acting as Hon. Treasurer during the interregnum. She carried out her self-imposed duties most efficiently, and the Council wishes to express its warm appreciation of her timely and valuable help in bridging over a difficult period.

Owing to the new Hon. Treasurer's distance from London, and to suit his convenience, Messrs. Norman Green & Co., Chartered Accountants, of Sudbury, Suffolk, have been appointed auditors to the Society in place of Mr. J. Robert Avery. The Council much regretted the necessity for the change, and is not unmindful of the debt owing to Mr. Avery, and his late father, for their long and largely honorary services.

The Rev. W. R. Saunders, B.Sc., B.Litt., Mount Bures Rectory, Colchester, has been elected Hon. Librarian, to succeed the Hon. Secretary, who has been temporarily acting in this capacity since the death of Mr. P. G. Laver, in 1941. Mr. Benton has agreed to assist the Librarian in conjunction with Mr. Duncan W. Clark.

Mr. David C. George has accepted the office of Assistant Hon. Secretary.

During the year the Index to Vol. III of *Feet of Fines* was issued to members. The long delay in publishing Part I of Vol. XXIV of *Transactions* is much regretted, but it is now in an advanced stage and will be a substantial volume. *Essex Sessions of the Peace, 1357, 1377-79*, is also in the printers' hands and is making satisfactory progress.

Negotiations are taking place with the Essex Roman Society with a view to co-operation.

It is with feelings of gratitude and relief that the Council announces the receipt of £500, bequeathed by our late member, the Rev. F. L. Bridges, of Bath. In view of the work in hand, and the present high cost of printing, this windfall has arrived at an opportune moment. The executors have expressed the hope that 'the money will be devoted entirely to the printing of publications, or to literary research work in connection therewith, and, to a limited extent, to the purchase of books for the Library'.

Excursions were held at follows:—

- 30 April: Earls Colne.
- 14 May: Fyfield, Chipping Ongar and Greensted.
- 30 June: Waltham Abbey, Roydon, and Stanstead Abbots and Hunsdon (Herts.).
- 27 July: Halstead and District.
- 28 Sept.: Horndon-on-the-Hill, Stanford-le-Hope, Corringham and Fobbing.

The Annual General Meeting was held at Colchester on 6 October, and was followed, in the afternoon, by a lecture on 'The Sutton Hoo Ship-burial', given by Mr. R. L. S. Bruce-Mitford, F.S.A., to a crowded audience.

Five Excursions have been planned for 1950 (two on Saturdays); and arrangements have also been completed for two or three Lectures to be given at Colchester.

The Hon. Librarian reports that progress has been made in unpacking and arranging on the shelves, in the room formerly known as the 'Rendall Library', at Holly Trees, the numerous parcels of books that have been in store since the war. The previous inadequate accommodation, and the influx of accessions in recent years, had caused serious congestion, which is now being remedied.

A notable gift has been received from Sir A. Claud Hollis, G.C.M.G., C.B.E., comprising a type-script 'History of the Hollis, Ainslie, Bullock, Smith, Griffiths, Murkin, and Perry Families, and Widdington Village', compiled by the donor, and the result of many years' research. It is gratifying that our members are recognizing that it is desirable their personal manuscript collections, or copies of them, should find a place in the Society's Library, either by gift or bequest.

Members are reminded that gifts of books on general archæological subjects are always welcome, as well as old drawings and photographs of Essex churches, houses and antiquities.

ACCOUNT OF RECEIPTS AND PAYMENTS

1948.	Dr.			
£ s. d.		£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
	To Subscriptions—			
8 5 0	Arrears		13 0 0	
	For the year 1949	278 7 2		
	Less amount returned	1 16 0		
305 14 6			276 11 2	
6 0 0	In advance		11 5 0	
			300 16 2	
	„ Other Subscriptions and Donations—			
2 12 0	Colne Priory Chartulary			
42 0 0	Life Compositions			
27 2 5	Sale of Publications			11 4 2
	„ Dividends, etc., on Investments—			
4 8 10	3½% Conversion Stock		4 8 10	
3 15 0	3½% War Stock		3 15 0	
3 1 8	3% London County Consoli- dated Stock (<i>less</i> Tax)		3 1 8	
4 15 10	3% Savings Bonds		4 15 10	
2 5 0	Colchester Building Society Interest		2 5 0	
			18 6 4	
33 19 0	„ Excursion and Lecture Receipts			36 12 3
	„ Rev. F. L. Bridges Bequest			500 0 0
634 18 2	„ Balance from previous year			910 10 7

 £1,078 17 5

 £1,777 9 6

FOR YEAR ENDED 31 DECEMBER, 1949.

1948.	Cr.		
£ s. d.		£ s. d.	£ s. d.
	By Colchester Corporation—		
	Curator's Salary	.... 30 0 0	
	Rent—Holly Trees	.... 30 0 0	
60 0 0		-----	60 0 0
26 13 8	„ Printing	....	525 19 6
2 15 6	„ Blocks	....
2 6	„ Advertising	....
13 3 6	„ Secretarial Expenses	....	25 6 3
13 19 2	„ Postages, Stationery, Printing and Addressing Members' Circulars	.... ....	51 16 0
11 9 4	„ Purchase of Books for Library	....
	„ Subscriptions, etc.	....	14 16 0
2 6 0	„ Insurance (Library)	....	2 6 0
2 5 6	„ Binding Books	....
5 5 0	„ Audit Fee	....	5 5 0
30 0 0	„ Library Endowment Fund	....	25 0 0
6 8	„ Morant's Grave	....	6 8
	„ Lecture Expenses	....	2 10 2
168 6 10			713 5 7
	„ Balance—		
830 5 10	At Bank on Current Account	462 19 5	
100 0 0	Colchester Building Society	.... 100 0 0	
	East Anglian Trustee Savings Bank	.... .... 500 0 0	
	Amount due from Library Fund	.... .... 3 5 10	
3 16 8	In Hand, etc	....
934 2 6		1,066 5 3	
23 11 11	Less Amount due to Secretary	2 1 4	
910 10 7		-----	1,064 3 11
£1,078 17 5			£1,777 9 6

FINANCE REPORT, 1949.

THE Treasurer reports that:—

Members' subscriptions during the past year, including arrears £13, and payments in advance £11 5s., amounted to £300 16s. 2d., compared with £319 19s. 6d. in 1948.

Sales of publications amounted to £11 4s. 2d., a decrease of £15 18s. 3d. compared with 1948, when sales were abnormally large.

The total standing to the credit of the Library Endowment Fund on 31 December 1949 was £557 3s. 4d. This is represented by investments; the balance being held on Current Account at the Bank.

The large expenditure on 'Printing', viz. £525 19s. 6d., includes sundry payments on account for printing the Index to Volume III of the *Feet of Fines* and the First Part of Volume XXIV of *Transactions*.

One hundred and one members have compounded their subscriptions, and the total amount received from them is £588. The unexpended balances on the Excavation Funds, viz., £52 6s. 7d., are the same as in the previous year, but they have now been amalgamated into one Excavation Fund; and that on the Trust Fund is also unchanged, viz., £15 3s. 6d. The Rev. F. L. Bridges' bequest of £500 has been placed on deposit with the East Anglian Trustee Savings Bank.

To meet its liabilities the Society had investments valued on 31 December 1949 at £643 7s. 0d., and cash at the Bank, etc. amounting to £1066 5s. 3d. The surplus in favour of the Society is, therefore, £1044 0s. 9d., as compared with £913 14s. 2d. on 31 December 1948.

ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING OF THE
ESSEX ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY,
AT THE TOWN HALL, COLCHESTER,
ON FRIDAY, 28 DECEMBER, 1951.

THE minutes of the previous meeting were read and confirmed.

An address of welcome was given by the Mayor of Colchester (Councillor H. Hepburn Reid), who spoke warmly of the Society's work for the town.

The President expressed the Society's thanks to the Mayor for his address, and to the Corporation for the use of the Grand Jury Room.

The Rev. G. Montagu Benton, M.A., F.S.A., was unanimously re-elected President, on the motion of the Rev. T. D. S. Bayley, seconded by Mr. F. G. Emmison. Mr. Benton then resumed the Chair, and returned thanks.

On the motion of Mr. Duncan Clark, the Vice-Presidents were re-elected; and on the motion of the President, the Council was re-elected, with the addition of Mr. F. W. Steer.

The President and Hon. Secretary presented the Annual Report. He called attention to the forthcoming Centenary of the Society in 1952, and to the special Centenary volume of *Transactions*, which was to be issued to commemorate the event. He said that Volume XXIV had cost over £1,000 to produce, and appealed for donations towards the cost of the Centenary publication.

The Rev. T. D. S. Bayley, chairman of the Centenary Celebrations Sub-committee, gave some details of the preliminary arrangements for the celebrations. Mrs. B. M. Rose drew attention to the unsatisfactory condition of the brass tablet in Coggeshall church, commemorating the Rev. E. L. Cutts, the virtual founder of the Society. Colonel R. J. Appleby volunteered to clean the brass.

On the motion of Mr. W. Addison, seconded by Mr. K. R. Mabbitt, the Report was taken as read and adopted.

The Hon. Treasurer presented the Annual Statement of Accounts, and moved its adoption. In seconding, Mr. Duncan Clark called attention to the financial position of the Society, which he described as critical. A special Sub-committee on 'Ways and Means' had been appointed, and had prepared a report for consideration by the Council. A lengthy discussion followed: Colonel R. J. Appleby felt that in order to increase its membership the Society needed more publicity, and its aims and objects should be more clearly set forward; Mr. A. F. J. Brown said the Society could secure publicity through other organizations with kindred interests.

The Accounts were unanimously approved and adopted.

The Society's four representatives (see p. 130) on the Museum and Muniment Committee of the Colchester Town Council were re-elected on the motion of Mr. W. Addison, seconded by Mr. F. W. Steer.

Four new members were elected.

The President drew attention to the Memorandum on Ancient Monuments, published by the Council for British Archæology, and distributed copies to several interested members.

The meeting then adjourned for luncheon. At 2.30 p.m. members re-assembled in the Lecture Room of the Public Library, when a lecture on 'Sculpture, Ancient and Modern', illustrated by a fine series of lantern slides, was given by Mr. R. P. Bedford, R.W.A., F.S.A., formerly Keeper of Sculpture in the Victoria and Albert Museum.

REPORT FOR 1950.

THE Council has pleasure in presenting its ninety-eighth Annual Report.

During the year the Society has lost 99 members by death, resignation, and deletion; 55 new members have been added to its roll.

The total membership, which on 31 December, 1949, was 587, on 31 December, 1950, was as follows:—

Annual members	-	-	-	443
Life members	-	-	-	98
Honorary members	-	-	-	2
				—
				543
				—

One member compounded for life during the year. Four life members died. After making 39 deletions for serious arrears of subscriptions, there are now 23 still due for 1950, otherwise all subscriptions have been paid up to date.

It must be emphasised that the rising costs of printing make an increase in membership absolutely necessary, if the standard of our publications is to be maintained. Members are therefore urged to interest their friends in the aims and objects of the Society.

The losses by death include Sir Alfred Clapham, C.B.E., F.B.A., F.S.A., a Vice-President, who, as editor to the Historical Monuments Commission, made an outstanding contribution to the historical study of English architecture; Major Allan D. Laurie, a benefactor to the Society (see Financial Report); and Dr. Thomas Wood, the eminent musician.

The Council recommends the re-election of the Rev. G. Montagu Benton, M.A., F.S.A., as President for the ensuing year, also the re-election of the Vice-Presidents, and of the Council.

No publications were issued during 1950, but in view of the proposed Centenary volume of *Transactions*, it was decided that instead of confining the next issue to Part I it should comprise volume XXIV complete, save for title-page and index. This will be in course of circulation at the time this report reaches members.

The Hon. Assistant Secretary (Mr. David C. George, 7 Wellesley Road, Colchester) has agreed to relieve the Hon. Secretary, as far as possible, of the routine secretarial work of the Society, which hitherto has absorbed much of his valuable time.

Excursions were held as follows:

- 6 May : Thorrington and St. Osyth.
- 20 May : West Bergholt, Wormingford and Bures.
- 21 June : Manningtree and District.
- 20 July : Stebbing and Thaxted.
- 27 Sept.: Leighs and Felstead.

A Meeting was held at Colchester on 23 March, when a lecture was given by Mr. J. W. Brailsford, F.S.A., on 'The Mildenhall Treasure'. The Annual General Meeting was also held at Colchester on 22 June, and was followed in the afternoon by a lecture on 'The Braybrooke Collection', given by Dr. G. H. S. Bushnell, F.S.A.

The Council wishes to express its gratitude to the Rev. T. D. S. Bayley and Mr. Laurence King for the time and careful thought they give to their exacting task of arranging excursions. Without interesting excursions—they are certainly more than pleasant outings—the membership would undoubtedly fall by nearly half, and the finances of the Society would thereby suffer seriously in consequence. This important fact is, perhaps, not always sufficiently realized.

The Hon. Librarian reports that satisfactory use continues to be made of the Library. The chief accession during the year was a copy of Professor E. W. Tristram's *English Medieval Wall Painting: the thirteenth century*, in two part. This was purchased out of the generous bequest made by the late Rev. F. L. Bridges, and is inscribed to his memory. Numerous publications and transactions of learned societies, at home and abroad, have also been received.

An additional library rule has been introduced, whereby borrowers are requested to insert a paper strip in each space from which a book is removed. It is now possible to see at a glance from which shelves books have been taken, and missing volumes can be tracked with greater accuracy.

The inaugural meeting for the purpose of establishing the Essex Archæological Society was held at Colchester on 14 December, 1852. Arrangements, therefore, will shortly have to be made for celebrating the Centenary of the Society. It is also proposed to issue a special Centenary volume of *Transactions*. Several important contributions have been promised, and it will be a well-illustrated and noteworthy publication if sufficient funds are available for its production. Owing to its various commitments, and the high cost of printing, the Society will require generous financial support. Contributions, however small, for the purpose are earnestly invited, and should be sent to the Hon. Treasurer (Rev. O. E. R. Alexander, M.A., Henny Rectory, Sudbury, Suffolk). A list of donors will be printed.

The Council rarely advertises the action it takes from time to time in regard to the preservation of ancient buildings and other antiquities, and this appears to have led to some misunderstanding. It therefore seems desirable to quote from a statement published by one of our members in connection with the Dene-holes in Hangman's Wood, Grays:

'The Urban District Council of Thurrock had decided to fill in these ancient excavations, and a letter of protest was sent by the Essex Archæological Society, and contact made with the Ministry of Works. The Society were alone in making the protest against the proposed vandalism, but public opinion began to turn in their favour and gained volume. At a later meeting of the Thurrock Council it was reported that the Ministry of Works had agreed to schedule the workings as "ancient monuments" and protect them for all time under the Act. This shows how local representatives of a learned Society can assist in preserving the amenities and ancient history of "England's green and pleasant land".'

Another case in point is Gosfield Hall. Two of the Society's officers attended, by request, a public enquiry concerning the future of this important building, and it is hoped that their evidence contributed towards the making of an order for its preservation; but the final issue is, it is believed, not yet determined.

It may be added that our Hon. Secretary has for many years been Chief Hon. Correspondent in Essex for the Ministry of Works, and that he, Mr. Bayley, and Canon Fisher are members of the Chelmsford Diocesan Advisory Committee for the Care of Churches. Mr. Benton is also a member of the Central Council for the Care of Churches.

FINANCE REPORT, 1950.

The Treasurer reports that:—

The amount of members' subscriptions during the past year, including arrears £34 10s., and, in advance £6 15s., was £347 2s., as compared with £300 16s. 2d. for 1949.

Sales of publications amounted to £20 17s. 6d. as compared with £11 4s. 2d. in 1949.

Major Allan Dyson Laurie left '£100 to the Society on condition that they will invest it separately and call it the Allan D. Laurie Memorial Fund, the interest to be paid to the General Expenses Fund as my Perpetual Subscription, for I have been a life member so long that I feel I have become a liability rather than an asset to the Society'. It has been invested in 2½% Defence Bonds.

The total standing to the credit of the Library Endowment Fund at 31 December, 1950, is £580 8s. 10d. This is represented by investments in £100 3½% War Stock, £270 3% Savings Bonds, and £100 2½% Defence Bonds, the balance being held on Current Account at the Bank.

Ninety-eight members have now compounded their subscriptions, and the total amount received from them is £577 10s. The unexpended balances on the Excavation Funds and the Trust Fund are unaltered, namely £52 6s. 7d. and £15 3s. 6d. respectively.

To meet these liabilities the Society had investments valued on 31 December, 1950, at £753 14s. 11d., and cash at the Bank, etc., amounting to £1,318 2s. 8d. The surplus in favour of the Society is, therefore, £1,420 2s. 6d., as compared with £1,044 0s. 9d. on 31 December, 1949.

Lack of space has made it necessary to omit the Accounts and Balance Sheet for 1950. The receipts and payments for that year, however, are shown in the Accounts for 1951 (pp. 150-153).

ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING OF THE
ESSEX ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY,
AT THE TOWN HALL, COLCHESTER,
ON THURSDAY, 5 JUNE 1952.

THE minutes of the previous meeting were read and confirmed.

An address of welcome was given by the Mayor (Councillor W. C. Lee), who referred to the President's book on Fingringhoe Church; the approaching Centenary Celebrations (in which he desired to participate), and the work of the Society's representatives on the Museum Committee.

The Rev. G. Montagu Benton, M.A., F.S.A., was unanimously re-elected President for the ensuing year, on the motion of the Rev. T. D. S. Bayley, seconded by Mr. F. W. Steer. On resuming the Chair, Mr. Benton returned thanks to the meeting.

The Vice-Presidents and Council were re-elected on the motion of Colonel R. J. Appleby, seconded by the Rev. M. W. Manthorp, Mr. L. E. Dansie being added to the Council on the motion of Mrs. K. Gilmour, seconded by the President.

It was agreed that names and number of attendances at Council meetings be printed in the Annual Report, on the motion of Mrs. Gilmour, seconded by Mr. E. Calvert.

The Council's proposal that Life Membership be abolished without prejudice to the rights of existing Life Members, was adopted on the motion of the President, seconded by Mr. L. E. Dansie.

The Hon. Secretary presented the Annual Report, and on his motion, seconded by the Rev. M. W. Manthorp, it was taken as read and adopted. Several points were discussed by members.

The Hon. Treasurer presented the Annual Statement of Accounts, and on his motion, seconded by Mr. F. G. Emmison, it was approved and adopted.

The Hon. Excursion Secretary spoke of the difficulty in arranging excursions, and Miss Campkin, Sir Godfrey Haggard, Mrs. Cater, and Miss Baggs, offered to help in their respective districts.

A proposal to increase the annual subscription was discussed, but on the motion of Mrs. Gilmour, seconded by Colonel Appleby, it was decided that it be left to voluntary gifts for the present, the matter to be reconsidered by the Council before the next Annual Meeting.

The Society's four representatives (see p. 130) on the Museum and Muniment Committee of the Colchester Town Council were re-elected on the motion of the Rev. T. D. S. Bayley, seconded by Mrs. Pearson.

Ten new members were elected.

On the motion of the President, a hearty vote of thanks was accorded the Mayor and Corporation for the use of the Council Chamber.

Mr. L. J. Wickes suggested that an Exhibition might be held, in conjunction with the proposed Bring and Buy Sale, as a means of raising funds.

The President spoke in commendation of the newly formed Association of Friends of Essex Churches.

The meeting then adjourned for luncheon. In the afternoon Dr. C. Willett Cunnington gave a lecture on 'English Fashions in Christian Names', in the Lecture Room at the Public Library.

REPORT FOR 1951.

THE Council has pleasure in presenting its ninety-ninth Annual Report.

During the year the Society has lost 57 members by death, resignation, and deletion; 56 new members have been added to its roll.

The total membership, which on 31 December, 1950, was 543, on 31 December, 1951, was as follows:—

Annual members	-	-	-	441
Life members	-	-	-	98
Honorary members	-	-	-	3
				<hr/>
				542
				<hr/>

No one compounded for life membership during the year. Nine members died; 38 resigned; and 10 were deleted owing to non-payment of subscriptions.

Owing to the present inadequacy of the fee, the Council is of opinion that Life Membership should be abolished, without prejudice to the rights of existing Life Members.

The losses by death include Mr. Francis W. Reader, an authority on domestic wall-paintings, several of whose fine drawings have been reproduced, some in colour, in the Society's *Transactions*; and Canon J. T. Steele, M.A., who, elected in 1897, was the senior member, but one, and a life-long student of ecclesiology.

The Council recommends the re-election of the Rev. G. Montagu Benton, M.A., F.S.A., as President for the ensuing year, also the re-election of the Vice-Presidents and Council.

During the year Vol. XXIV of *Transactions* was issued for the years 1944-1949. It appears to be generally agreed that the long and regrettable delay in publication is more than atoned for by the size and interest of the volume. But the cost of its production, with incidental expenses, amounted to the almost incredible sum of £1,147: 7s.: 8d., and in consequence the Society is faced by an acute financial problem. It is obvious that with printing costs increased by two hundred and fifty per cent., and the annual subscription increased only by about fifty per cent., extra money must be forthcoming if the Society is to carry out its publication programme.

The work in progress includes *Essex Sessions of the Peace, 1351, 1377-1379*—this important work is mainly in type and will entail a heavy expense; as an economy measure, Mr. G. H. Martin, B.A., has generously undertaken the exacting task of compiling the indexes to vols. XXIII and XXIV of *Transactions*, for which there has been a considerable demand from the libraries; several valuable contributions, with numerous illustrations, have already been received for the projected Centenary volume of *Transactions*; and the material for a good many parts of *Feet of Fines for Essex* awaits printing.

The Council has appointed a sub-Committee to consider 'ways and means', and it is anxious that the urgency of the matter should be fully realized by members. A campaign to increase membership is suggested; and those who are able to do so are invited to voluntarily increase their annual subscription, or to make a donation to the publications fund. Contributions should be sent direct to the Hon. Treasurer (Rev. O. E. R. Alexander, M.A., Henny Rectory, Sudbury, Suffolk).

Excursions were held as follows:

- 7 April : London—Blackfriars.
- 26 April : London—Westminster.
- 28 June : Clavering, Wendens Ambo, and Audley End.
- 18 July : Helion and Steeple Bumpstead, and Gt. Yeldham.
- 16 Aug. : Chelmsford.
- 26 Sept. : Bury St. Edmunds (Suffolk).

A Meeting was held at Colchester on 11 January, when a lecture was given by Mr. Sheppard S. Frere, F.S.A., on 'Recent Excavations at Canterbury'. A meeting was also held at the Moot Hall on 8 March, in conjunction with the Friends of the Colchester and Essex Museum, when Mrs. M. Aylwin Cotton, F.S.A., gave 'An Account of the 1950 Excavations in Colchester Castle Park'. The Annual General Meeting took place at Colchester on 28 December, and was followed in the afternoon by a lecture on 'Sculpture, Ancient and Modern', given by Mr. R. P. Bedford, F.S.A., formerly Keeper of Sculpture in the Victoria and Albert Museum.

The Council is gratified by the growing use that is being made of the Library. But the Hon. Librarian reports there is still room for improvement in the treatment of the books—owing to a borrower's carelessness the back of a newly-bound volume has been smothered with tar—and in the manner they are returned to their shelves; sometimes they are carelessly placed in any gap that may occur, and in consequence cannot easily be found when required. Two of the missing books have been surreptitiously placed on the shelves after

an absence of some years; but Gibson's *Flora of Essex* is still lacking—the gift of a copy of this rare work would be very acceptable.

Among the more notable accessions during the year are a transcript of Sandon parish registers, 1554-1812 (Baptisms, selections only), and two MS. books containing miscellaneous notes, mostly relating to Sandon church, from the Rev. J. F. Williams, F.S.A.

A sub-Committee has been appointed to make arrangements for the Centenary celebrations, which it has been decided to postpone until May or June, 1953.

FOR YEAR ENDED 31 DECEMBER, 1951.

1950.		Cr.				
£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	
By Colchester Corporation—						
60	0	0		60	0	0
—				700	0	0
,, Printing "Transactions" on a/c						
,, Postages, Stationery and Sundries—						
			11	2	0	
			28	0	10	
			1	1	4	
			5	11	6	
			5	17	0	
62	5	2		51	12	8
2	11	0				
,, Photographs						
5	9	0				
,, Subscriptions, Museum Reports, etc.						
				19	1	2
2	6	0		2	6	0
,, Insurance (Library)						
5	5	0		5	5	0
,, Audit Fee						
25	0	0				
,, Library Endowment Fund						
	6	8			6	8
,, Morant's Grave						
78	9	11		120	1	5
,, Excursion and Lecture Expenses						
100	0	0				
,, Purchase of 2½% Defence Bonds						
341	12	9		958	12	11
,, Balance—						
706	13	6	223	18	3	
At Bank on Current Account						
100	0	0	100	0	0	
Colchester Building Society						
511	9	2				
East Anglian Trustee Savings						
			524	4	8	
Bank						
				848	2	11
1,318	2	8				
£1,659	15	5		£1,806	15	10

		Dr.		LIBRARY	
£	s. d.			£	s. d.
	1950.				
103	2 10	To Balance from previous year	....		119 17 10
25	0 0	„ Grant from General Fund	....		—
		„ Interest—			
	6 15 0	3% Savings Bonds	....	6 14 3	
	3 10 0	3½% War Stock	....	3 10 0	
	2 10 0	2½% Defence Bonds	....	4 4 5	
					14 8 8
<u>£140</u>	<u>17 10</u>				<u>£134 6 6</u>

BALANCE SHEET AS

		Liabilities.			
£	s. d.			£	s. d.
	1950				
	£ s. d.	To Life Compositions—			
451	10 0	86 Members at £5 5s. 0d.	....	451 10 0	
126	0 0	12 Members at £10 10s. 0d.	....	126 0 0	
					577 10 0
	6 15 0	„ Subscriptions paid in advance	....		15 15 0
		„ Special Funds—			
	52 6 7	Excavation Funds	....	52 6 7	
	15 3 6	Essex Archæological Trust Fund	....	15 3 6	
	580 8 10	Library Endowment Fund	....	551 11 6	
					619 1 7
1,420	2 6	“ Accumulation Fund—			
		Surplus of Assets in favour of			
		the Society	....		864 9 8

£2,652 6 5£2,076 16 3

We have examined the foregoing Accounts with the Books and Records the Investments.

O. E. R. ALEXANDER,
Hon. Treasurer.

ENDOWMENT FUND.

1950.			£ s. d.		
£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
—	—	—	100	0	0
21	0	0	By Purchase of 2½% Defence Bonds	....	....
			.. Purchase of Books	....	....
			.. Balance—	....	....
119	17	10	At Bank on Current Account	....	34 6 6
<hr/>			<hr/>		
£140 17 10			£134 6 6		

AT 31 DECEMBER, 1951.

1950		<i>Assets.</i>		<i>Market Value</i>	
£	s.	d.	<i>Cost.</i>	<i>31 Dec., 1951.</i>	
£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
			By Investments—		
201	0	11	£199 11s. 2d. 3% Savings Bonds, 1955/65	199	11 2 182 18 4
48	5	0	£50 0s. 0d. 3% Savings Bonds, 1965/75	50	0 0 41 17 6
182	2	4	£186 15s. 9d. London County Consolidated 3% Stock, 1962/67	176	17 6 162 10 0
100	16	0	£107 4s. 10d. 3½% War Stock	100	1 9 86 4 0
121	10	8	£126 18s. 6d. Conversion 3½% Stock, 1961	100	0 0 103 12 0
94	0	0	£100 0s. 0d. 3½% War Stock, 1952 (Library Fund)	99	12 3 80 7 6
100	15	0	£100 0s. 0d. 3% Savings Bonds, 1955/65 (Library Fund)	100	0 0 91 10 0
98	5	0	£100 0s. 0d. 3% Savings Bonds, 1960/70 (Library Fund)	100	0 0 86 15 0
100	0	0	£100 0s. 0d. 2½% Defence Bonds (Library Fund)	100	0 0 100 0 0
67	11	0	£70 0s. 0d. 3% Savings Bonds, 1965/75 (Library Fund)	70	0 0 58 12 6
100	0	0	£100 0s. 0d. 2½% Defence Bonds (Allan D. Laurie Memorial Fund)	100	0 0 100 0 0
			£100 0s. 0d. 2½% Defence Bonds (Library Fund)	100	0 0 100 0 0
<hr/>			<hr/>		
1,214	5	11		1,296	2 81,194 6 10
			.. Cash at Bank and in Colchester Building Society and East Anglian Trustee Savings Bank—		
1,318	2	8	General Fund	848	2 11
119	17	10	Library Endowment Fund	34	6 6
				882	9 5
			.. Library Collection of Antiquities at Museum and Stock of Publications (not valued)		
<hr/>			<hr/>		
£2,652 6 5			£2,076 16 3		

of the Society and find them in accordance therewith. We have verified

33, King Street, Sudbury, Suffolk.
12th March, 1952.

NORMAN GREEN & CO.
Chartered Accountants.

NEW MEMBERS

- 1950.
- 17 Jan. GOODEN, C. WYNN, Cremyll, Earls Colne.
 MANDLER, D. H., F.B.S.S., 1 Creffield Road, Colchester.
 ROOME, M. B., Bemerton, Holden Way, Upminster.
 WARREN Miss SALOME, Rockhaven, Earls Colne.
- 21 Feb. GEORGE, Commander ERIC F. B., R.N.(Ret.), Sheepcote, Great Henny, Sudbury, Suffolk.
 GEORGE, Mrs. GLORIA W., Sheepcote, Great Henny.
 LAWRENCE, GEOFFREY W., L.D.S., R.C.S., 111 Upton Road, Bexley Heath, Kent.
 STEPHENSON, E. K., M.A., Pines Hill, Stanstead Mountfitchet.
 MINNESOTA, UNIVERSITY LIBRARY OF, Minneapolis 14, Minnesota, U.S.A.
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 CHAMBERLIN, Mrs. K. L., c/o Hedingham Castle.
 ISHERWOOD, Mrs. B. E., The Curatage, Castle Hedingham.
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- 6 May BROOKS, Miss DOROTHY, The Cottage, Chapel, Colchester.
 DUNCAN, T. B., 40 Chadwick Road, Westcliff-on-Sea.
 FRENCH, T. H., 30 Nelson Road, Lexden, Colchester.
 HART, CYRIL J. R., 104 Heathway, Dagenham, Essex.
 JOHNSON, F/Sgt. H. S., R.A.F. Station, Upper Heyford, Oxon.
 WILLIAMSON, Mrs. C. F., Church Hill, Finchingfield, Braintree.
- 20 May MAY, Miss ELIZABETH, 80 Roman Road, Colchester.
 TRYDELL, Capt. J. A. S., 8 East Hill, Colchester.
- 22 June CHISWELL, Mrs. CONSTANCE V., The Folly, Great Easton.
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 HILKIN, Mrs. E. BARKLEY, Red House, Clare, Suffolk.
 LEIGH, Miss C. R., Hawkwood Manor, Sible Hedingham.
 MACKINTOSH, Mrs. JAMES A., Scrave's, Broomfield, Chelmsford.
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 SNOW, Mrs. R. S., High Pale, Bures, Suffolk.
 WIDDICOMBE, Mrs. B., Bradfield Place Hotel, Manningtree.
- 20 July FITZGIBBON, Mrs. F., 104 Lexden Road, Colchester.
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 GANTZ, Mrs. N. M., Nether Houses, Pebmarsh, Halstead.
 LAZELL, Miss ALICE M., 6 Fitzwalter Road, Colchester.
 NETTLETON, EDWIN L., 32 Balgores Lane, Gidea Park, Romford.

- 27 Sept. ALLEN, Miss EVA E., Little Orchard, White Colne.
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 The Old Manse, Stansted Mountfitchet.
 FITCH, D. C., Heather Cottage, Alresford, Colchester.
 FURBER, Mrs. E. C., B.A., Ph.D., c/o History Dept., University
 of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa., U.S.A.
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 pesfield.
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 LAURIE, Mrs. V. S., The Old Vicarage, South Weald.
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 MOODY, AUBREY R., Thatched Cottage, Little Braxted, Witham.
 SYMONS, Miss D., High Stile, Dunmow.
 WOOLSEY, Mrs. CATHERINE A., 5 Piercing Hill, Theydon Bois.
- 1951.
- 11 Jan. ALPORT, C. J. McC., T.D., M.P., The Cross House, Layer-de-
 la-Haye.
 BARKER, Mrs. Barbara, The Hall, Abberton, Colchester.
 BOOTH, E., The Vicarage, Earls Colne.
 CAPSTICK, Mrs. W., North House, Dunmow.
 CATTLEY, Mrs. J. M., Twins, Pebmarsh, Halstead.
 FARRANDS, Lieut.-Commander. R. H., R.N.R., 26 Main Road,
 Harwich.
 HUGHES, Col. A. M., O.B.E., M.C., T.D., Riversdale, North
 Fambridge.
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 PILMER, Miss JEAN G., St. Osyth's Training College, Clacton-
 on-Sea.
- 8 Mar. JONES, Mrs. MARGARET, Greys Cottage, Kelvedon
 MAGOR, Mrs. RICHARD, Springfield Lyons, Chelmsford.
 MUDD, Miss PAULINE, Pantiles, Southminster.
 TINSON, Mrs. M. R. H., 8 Ireton Road, Colchester.
- 7 Apl. BLACK, Miss HELEN, High Bushes, Little Baddow, Chelmsford.
 COTTINGHAM, Mrs. M. B. C., Graemere House, Layer-de-la-
 Haye.
 CROSSMAN, Mrs. J. M. A., Glebe House, 31 Queen's Road, Col-
 chester.
 GREGORY, Mrs. C., Cow Cottage, Woodham Walter, Maldon.
 OSWALD, ARTHUR, Rosslyn House, Dormansland, Lingfield,
 Surrey.
- 26 Apl. BROWN, A. F. J., B.A., 146 Lexden Road, Colchester.
 GREEN, Mrs. F. G., Easterling, Ardleigh, Colchester.
 HINGSTONE, Miss E. A., The Limes, Great Cornard, Sudbury,
 Suffolk.
 JOHNSON, C. R., 51 Hall Lane, Walton-on-the-Naze.
 NASH, Miss C. K., Abbots, Althamstone, Bures.
 SAWARD, A. C., 10 Colne Road, Brightlingsea.
 WHITELAW, Mrs. M. A., The Limes, Great Cornard, Sudbury,
 Suffolk.
 CHELMSFORD, The Rt. Rev. SHERARD FALKNER ALLISON, D.D.,
 Lord Bishop of, Bishops court, Chelmsford (Hon. Member).

- 28 June CLARK-KENNEDY, Mrs. P. G., The Lodge, Great Abington, Cambs.
CLAY, Mrs. JANET, Penny Pot, Alton Road, Clacton-on-Sea.
GORDON, Mrs. STRATHEARN, Quilter's Farm, East Hanningfield.
HAGGARD, Admiral Sir VERNON H., K.C.B., C.M.G., Littlecourt, Stock.
ROGERS, R. H., 10 Sandle Road, Bishop's Stortford, Herts.
- 18 July CUNNINGTON, Mrs. P. E., The Nothe, West Mersea.
HOOD, Mrs. WALTER R., Hill Cottage, Little Baddow.
MABER, Mrs. H. E., The Dale, Hadham Road, Bishop's Stortford Herts.
TUKER, Mrs. GILES, E., Thorn Cottage, Danbury.
- 16 Aug. MOREING, Mrs. A. H., Fyshe House, Bures, Suffolk.
ROBINSON, Lady M. Z., Blackbrook, Dedham.
SKETCH, F. G., Burnt House, Alphamstone, Bures.
SKETCH, Mrs., Burnt House, Alphamstone, Bures.
VICKERS, JAMES, Paycocke's House, Coggeshall.
- 26 Sept. FULLER, E. W. J., Breeze, Stradbroke Grove, Buckhurst Hill.
GOODWIN, Mrs. J. B., Hopwell's Farm, Great Maplestead.
GOSNELL, Mrs. IDA, 43 Cowdray Avenue, Colchester.
MATHER, Mrs. LUCY I., The Mount, Stansted Mountfitchet.
TRENDELL, Mrs. E., Manor House, Pebmarsh, Halstead.
VERNER, Miss ROSE, Little Garlands, Layer-de-la-Haye.
WINKLEY, G. W. D., The Bank House, Stansted Mountfitchet.
- 28 Dec. BOVILL, EDWARD W., Little Laver Hall, Harlow.
BOVILL, Mrs. SYLVIA MARY, Little Laver Hall, Harlow.
CLARKE, H. FRANCIS, Sunny Holme, Great Bentley.
ROBERTS, Mrs. LEWELLYN, Pebmarsh, Halstead.
- 1952.
- 19 Feb. FARRELL, SYDNEY B., Healey, Chelmsford Road, Brentwood.
GIBBS, L. G., 21 Kavanaghs Road, Brentwood.
SHEED, ALICK H., Town Farm House, Hatfield Broad Oak.
- 27 Mar. BURDON, ERIC R., M.B.E., c/o Bury Free Press, Bury St. Edmunds.
COWAN, ARTHUR, Broughton, Wakes Colne, Colchester.
HOMES, J. H., B.A., Braeside, Well Lane, Stock. Ingatestone.
WRIGHT, Dr. JAMES, Brothock House, Great Bentley, Colchester.
- 10 May JENNINGS, Mrs. F. E., Ivy Cottage, Pebmarsh, Halstead.
LAURENCE, Mrs. N. W., Crownside, Kelvedon Hatch, Nr. Brentwood.
RUSSELL-SMITH, Mrs. FAITH, Pinfarthings, West Mersea, Colchester.
- 29 May JENNINGS, Mrs. G. WELLS, The Old Rectory, Wickham Bishops, Witham.
RANDALL, Miss B., Northrepps, Park Way, Shenfield.
- 5 June BROOKS, Lt.-Col. C. ATTFIELD, The Lecture House, Dedham.
BYFORD, Miss G. E., 8 Honywood Road, Colchester.
BURT, Mrs. JAMES, Staneway, Rayne, Braintree.
GARDNER, JOHN S., Monkwell, Coggeshall.
LUBBOCK, Mrs. MARK, The Old Forge, Althorne, Nr. Chelmsford.
PAWSEY, Mrs. E., 14 Courtauld Road, Braintree.
SEELEY, G. S., 39 Thames Avenue, Chelmsford.
SEELEY, Mrs. F. M. K., 39 Thames Avenue, Chelmsford.

- 5 June WARRELL, JOHN, 33 Rosebery Avenue, Colchester.
WILSON, Dr. WILLIAM, Hillside, Burnham-on-Crouch.
- 28 June BROTHERS, Miss LOUIE G., Gowan Brae, Broad Road, Bocking,
Braintree.
GUTHRIE, Miss CHARLOTTE A. I., Cowan Brae, Broad Road,
Bocking, Braintree.
HERBERT, Miss DIANA, Greenwood School, Halstead.
LUPTON, H. R., Parsonage Downs, Dunmow.
LUPTON, Mrs. JOYCE, Parsonage Downs, Dunmow.
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Burnham-on-Crouch.
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WALLIS, Professor J., Finchingfield.
WARD, The Rev. JOSEPH H. M.A., The Rectory, Stanford
Rivers, Nr. Ongar.
WATLEY, G. STUART, Gatwoods, Finchingfield.
- 22 July HEARSEY, J. E. N., Tronoh House, Peldon, Colchester.
HEATH, Mrs. J., 3 Windhill, Bishop's Stortford.
LAMB, Mrs. V. M., The Cottage, Foxearth, Sudbury.
WARD, Mrs. DAVID, The Cottage, Foxearth, Sudbury.
WICKES, Dr. IAN, Ballards Croft, Stock, Essex.
- 26 Sept. ARCHER, Miss LUCY M., L.R.A.M., 24 St. Edmunds Road,
Ipswich.
CARROLL, E. W., Hanford House, Thorpe-le-Soken.
ELLINGER, Mrs. N. G., Brooke House, Newton Green, Sudbury.
GLASGOW UNIVERSITY LIBRARY.
GREEN, Mrs. JOHN, J.P., Hedingham Castle, Essex.
MCMASTER, DAVID, The Hall, Mount Bures, Colchester.
PUGH, Miss E., Macmurdo's, Wickham Bishops, Witham.
WILCOX, Miss G. MAY, 58 Fourth Avenue, Chelmsford.
- 27 Nov. DRINKELL, LEONARD, Ernest Road, Wivenhoe.
EMERY, W. H., F.C.I.S., Balgownie, Waverley Lane, Farnham,
Surrey.
JONES, Miss MARY E., R.R.C., 10 Vint Crescent, London Road,
Colchester.
LEICESTER, University College Library.
MANSFIELD, Captain A. D., R.A., F.R.G.S., Redlow, Kingsland
Road, West Mersea.
REANEY, P. H., Litt.D., Ph.D., 35 Leigh Road, Hildenborough,
Tonbridge, Kent.
UPJOHN, Lady, The Old Rectory, Little Tey, Colchester.

DONATIONS TO THE SOCIETY

1 January, 1950 to 31 December, 1952.

Mr. R. W. WALLACE, Tunbridge Wells—

'The Flora of Essex', by George Stacey Gibson, 1862.

Mrs. E. CLARK, Sandgate, Kent—

'The Memoirs of Thomas Brand-Hollis'.

Mr. C. A. NEWNUM—

'Essex County Hospital: Colchester and District Workers' Committee. Annual Reports, 1911-1948'. (Bound volume.)

The late Rev. F. L. BRIDGES, M.A.—

Transcripts of the Court Rolls of the Manors of Old Hall, New Hall, and Dickley, in Mistley; Court Rolls of the Manor and Rental (1529) of the Manor of Dale Hall, in Lawford; Lands and tenements belonging to the Manor of Little Bromley, 1592.

Mr. DOUGLAS SCOTT HEWETT—

'The Church of St. Peter, South Weald', by the donor, 1950.

The HEADMASTER, Brentwood School—

'The Brentwoodian', vol. xv.

'Greenwood', 1928-1952.

Mr. W. A. FOYLE—

'A Short History of Beeleigh Abbey', 1950.

The Rev. J. D. ALLEN, B.A.—

'The Parish Church of S. Leonard, Beaumont-cum-Moze', by the donor, 1950.

WOODFORD HISTORICAL SOCIETY—

'Woodford, Essex, 1600-1836', by E. J. Erith, 1950.

Mr. G. ELAND, F.S.A.—

'The Church of St. Mary the Virgin, Great Canfield, Essex', by the donor, 1951.

Miss A. D. HARRISON—

'Copford in History', by the donor, 1951.

Mr. G. F. STRAKER—

'The House of Straker, 1800-1950.'

This business was founded by William Buck, a native of Coggeshall, in 1800. He started work as a printer at Romford, at the age of 22, following in the footsteps of his forebears, one of whom was Thomas Buck, Printer to the University of Cambridge, 1622-1639. In 1803 he married Jemima Moss, member of a well-known Coggeshall family, and in the same year returned to his native town. He did not remain there, but returned again in 1813, when he added a book shop to his printing interests, and opened a branch at Halstead. The business was finally removed to London in 1825.

Mrs. GLADYS A. WARD, Ph.D.—

'Essex Local History: a short Guide to Books', compiled by the donor, 1950.

Mr. E. AUSTON—

'The Colne Valley', by the donor, 1950.

THE RECORDS COMMITTEE OF THE E.C.C.—

'Ornament and Decoration in Essex Records', by Hilda Grieve and Frederick Roberts, 1950.

'Essex in Pictures', 1952.

COUNCIL FOR BRITISH ARCHÆOLOGY—

'Archæological Bulletin for Great Britain & Ireland, 1948-1949.'

Mr. CYRIL HART, M.B.—

'John Clarke, M.D., c. 1583-1653'. [Son of Clement Clarke, gent., of Brooke Hall, in Wethersfield; President of the College of Physicians, 1645-1650], by the donor, 1951. Reprint.

Mr. F. W. STEER, F.S.A.—

'Thaxted in Essex', by the donor, 1951.

The Rev. G. MONTAGU BENTON, F.S.A.—

'The Coming of the Friars', by Augustus Jessopp, 1908.

'The Calendar of the Prayer-Book illustrated', Parker, 1872.

'The Memoirs of Ann Lady Fanshawe, 1600-1672.' Ed. by Evelyn John Fanshawe of Parsloes, 1907.

'An Essex Pie', by T. M. Hope, 1951.

'Worthy Dr. Fuller', by William Addison, 1951.

'East Coast Maritime Exhibition', Colchester, 1952. Catalogue.

Mr. A. F. J. BROWN, B.A.—

'Smuggling and Wivenhoe', by the donor, 1951.

Mr. F. H. LAWS—

'Maldon a Thousand Years Ago', by the donor, 1952.

Mr. W. A. VOSS—

'Rayleigh Mount, Essex', by the donor. (National Trust.)

Mrs. B. M. ROSE—

'Coggeshall Abbey', by the donor. Typescript.

PURCHASED.

'Saffron Walden then and now', by C. Brightwen Rowntree, 1951.

'Norfolk Church Monuments', by C. L. S. Linnell and Stanley J. Wearing, 1952.

The publications of the Societies in union with the E.A.S. have also been received. They comprise nearly all the British and several Foreign Archaeological Societies.

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ESSEX ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY.

MUSEUM: COLCHESTER CASTLE.

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LESLIE DOW, Esq., F.S.A.	
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The Rev. Canon J. L. FISHER, M.A., F.S.A., New Hall, Harlow.

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te in þe honour and reuerence of oure
 lady and aſſyſard come to gyde to
 mete ſedynge þe pore men in þe almas
 howſs and oþer as þey ſen needful and
 medful þat duelle in þe ton. þe wlyde
 pore men þat day in reuerence of god
 and of oure lady feiſt ſchul be y ſeruyd
 wyth þe moſt worſchypful pſonys þ^t
 ben preſent þat day in þe place. And
 aſſyſer mete þei ſchul do reſpice and re-
 dyſe þis ordynance oppulyde aſorn
 þe breþerſyn and ſuſterſyn. non oþer
 countys ne reſpicyngs make þat
 tyme: but al þat day to ſpendyn in ſo-
 lempnete reuence and worſchipe of ou-
 re lady. And anyur day yeſe for ſeyd
 may for þe moſt pty of hem ſchul

THE STATUTES OF SAFFRON WALDEN ALMSHOUSES

By FRANCIS W. STEER, F.S.A.

In his *History of Audley End* (1836), Richard, Lord Braybrooke, writes at some length (pp. 231-9) on King Edward the Sixth's Alms-houses at Saffron Walden. He refers (p. 231) to a volume 'containing the original ordinances for the government of the almshouses, written in Latin', to 'another document called *Explanacio operis præcedentis linguâ Anglicâ*', both of which he assigns to about the year 1400. These accounts are actually in one volume which is transcribed and translated in the following pages.

Lord Braybrooke also gives (pp. 232-3) a version (partly a transcript and partly a summary) of the statutes, drawn up in 1550, under which the almshouses were still being governed in his day; a copy of this, slightly different in form although identical in essentials, is also given in the manuscript now under consideration. Some of the benefactions to the almshouses are noted by Lord Braybrooke on p. 235, and he gives a not too reliable transcript of fols. 5-12 (part of 1400 English version), and a list of benefactions in an Appendix (pp. 301-5).

The manuscript, of exceptional interest from several points of view, is now among the archives of the Saffron Walden Corporation, not because that body is responsible for the government of the almshouses, but because the affairs of the trustees and the borough have been so inter-related in the past that the business of one group was virtually that of the other, and the archives of both were kept at the Town Hall.

Bound in oak boards covered with sheepskin, the manuscript measures 22.2 cms. by 16.2 cms., and consists of 23 leaves of parchment. Fols. 1-28v. are ruled with red lined margins and the text is written just above horizontal red lines; fols. 1 and 5 each have an initial letter decorated with blue and red. The main text, which may be dated, as Lord Braybrooke says, to about 1400, is beautifully written in black Gothic letters with the Latin much contracted; the Latin has been extended, and a free translation made for me by the late Mr. L. G. H. Horton-Smith, M.A., on which I have based my own.

A comparison of the Latin and original English version shows that the latter is in much greater detail. The Latin text only refers to the fifty-two 'poorer' persons of Walden or elsewhere; uses the term leagues¹ [*leucas*] for miles; and mentions the assembling of three women

¹ A league was two and a half miles. See U. T. Holmes, *Daily Living in the Twelfth Century* (1952), p. 194.

to hear Mass—a stipulation not made in the English version.¹ The Latin text omits any reference to the dwelling-place of the priest, to his ability, companions, or remuneration; neither is there any mention of the attendance of town officials at church services.

The arrangements for the government of the almshouses by twenty-four townsmen, as described in this manuscript, is comparable to the establishment of 'Select Vestries', which in some places (particularly the north of England and Cambridge) date from at least 1504 under that name.² According to the Webbs 'the origin of the local governing body of the parish is to be sought, not in any public meeting of all the inhabitants, but in the more select gatherings of *parochiani nobiliores, parochiani seniores, et honestæ personæ parochiæ* . . . of whom we occasionally read in the oldest records'.³ While such 'Gentlemen of the Four-and-Twenty', as the Select Vestry was often called later, might seem to be the logical outcome of the establishment, under the Poor Relief Act of 1555, of the means whereby two or three of the chief inhabitants could certify the existence of more impotent poor than the parish could relieve unaided,⁴ yet here at Walden we have a reference in 1400 to '24 of the most worshipful parishioners' (fol. 9v.) whose task it is to ensure the good government of a work of charity. In other words, they were trustees of an establishment which had been founded by certain wealthy people for the dual purpose of aiding the poor and for benefiting their own souls. Unlike, the founding of guilds where the impulses were religious and economic, this charitable organization at Walden was not in any way concerned with regulating trade and industry, but it is interesting to note that, like the famous Trinity Guild at Coventry (which was governed by twelve substantial burgesses, who were instrumental in obtaining the charter of incorporation, and were probably the jurors of the Court Leet),⁵ persons other than inhabitants of the town were members. It

¹ These women to be drawn from the Guild of our Lady of Pity, so often mentioned in Walden records (see p. 177, f.n. 1), the almshouse, and the town.

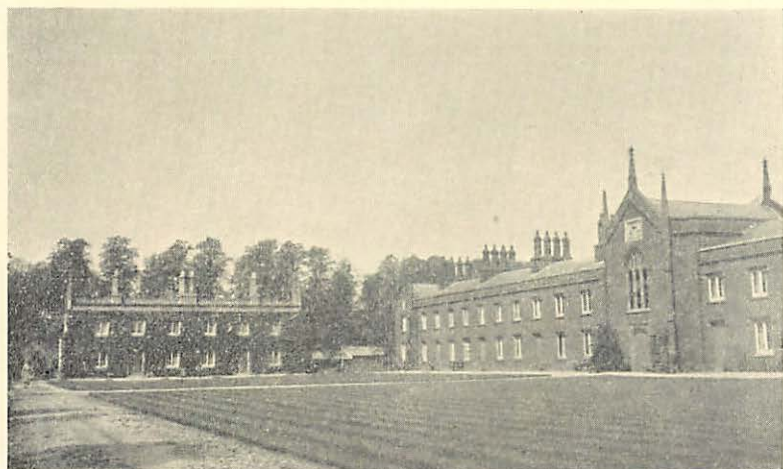
² The Vestry Minutes of the parish of Great St. Mary, Cambridge, show that a Select Vestry had operated there from at least 1504. S. and B. Webb, *The Parish and the County* (1924), p. 174.

³ Webb, *op. cit.*, p. 178.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 176, f.n. 1. In a corporate town the mayor also had the right to call two or three chief parishioners together for the same purpose. The Webbs go on to say that there is something in the suggestion that the direct derivation of the Select Vestry may be from the inquest or jury of 'sworn men' utilised in the fourteenth century for the assessment of taxes.

⁵ M. D. Harris, *The Register of the Guild of the Holy Trinity, St. Mary, St. John the Baptist and St. Katherine of Coventry* (1935), p. xvii. Miss Harris finds that a large proportion of guildsmen 'rose to be municipal officers and members of the Twenty-four', and she suggests that 'membership of the Guild was a stepping-stone to municipal office, so close was the link between it and the Corporation'.

PLATE II.



SAFFRON WALDEN ALMSHOUSES BEFORE AND AFTER BEING REBUILT IN 1834.

is unfortunate that, except for Roger de Walden¹ and other ecclesiastics, and John Colwell the glazier, the occupations of none of the benefactors to the Walden almshouses are recorded.

Vacancies in the Close or Select Vestries of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were filled by co-option, and again in the Walden record (fol. 10) we have the parallel provision that, when any of the twenty-four die or are removed by any other cause, such as non-residence, those remaining shall 'come together and choose others in their stead . . . keeping always . . . the number of xxiiij'. It will be noticed that there is no question of an election by the parishioners; there is that absence of what the Webbs term 'organic connection with the inhabitants at large';² in the sixteenth century we find the 'Four-and-Twenty' at Braintree 'renewing themselves by periodical co-option, and forming a curious body half-way between a guild and a municipal Court of Aldermen'.³ The evidence surely suggests that a similar arrangement was existing at Walden over a century earlier. The Walden ordinances also make very definite provision against any corrupt practices or opportunities to exercise partiality; again, the Webbs were unable to find any irregularities in the conduct of the Braintree 'Vestry' during the one-and-a-half centuries of its existence. There is also the appointment (fol. 11) of two or three of the twenty-four of Walden to act as treasurers; this again is closely analogous to the constitution of the later 'Close Vestry' which had the distribution of parochial charities among its duties.⁴ Thus it would appear from an examination of the Walden record and by comparison with similar records of other places, that the Close Vestry (in whatever form it appears from the late sixteenth century onwards) may have been the natural development of arrangements at least two centuries old; Walden can claim to be an early example of this type of local government—a century before its larger neighbour, Great St. Mary's, Cambridge.

A critical examination of the ordinances is unnecessary in this brief introductory note because the text has been printed *in extenso* with a modern English version and adequate footnotes.

The attention of readers is called to the statutes and prayers of the Gild of All Saints, Moreton, which appear in the Essex Archæological Society's *Transactions*, vol. xi, n.s., pp. 223-9. Dating from

¹ Roger de Walden's portrait, put up when he was Bishop of London, is (or was) in the glass in the Hall of the Trinity Guild at Coventry, although his name is not found in the 'Register' of that body. The only Essex persons mentioned in Miss Harris' transcript as members are Sir William (ob. 1414) and Lady Elizabeth Marney (née Sargeants [*recte* Sergeaux]), of Layer Marney (p. 95) and John Hebbe, rector of Pleshey (p. 43).

² S. and B. Webb, *op. cit.*, p. 173.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 179, 221. For details of archives relating to the 'Company of the Four and Twenty' at Braintree, see *Essex Parish Records*, ed. by E. J. Erith (1950), pp. 14, 61.

⁴ S. and B. Webb, *op. cit.*, p. 220.

1473, these statutes show certain similarities with those of Walden, but the rules were for the good conduct of the members as a religious body and not formulated for observance by beneficiaries under a charitable trust.

No trace remains of the original almshouse in Daniel's Lane,¹ but Lord Braybrooke gives (p. 234) Cole's description of the building when he visited it in 1770; the present buildings in Abbey Lane date from 1831. Lord Braybrooke also printed extracts from the almshouse accounts, which begin in 1524. An electrotype of the almshouse seal is in Saffron Walden Museum; it is 1½ inch in diameter and shows the Royal Arms (France and England quarterly) supported on the dexter side by a lion and on the sinister by the 'ruddy gold' dragon of Cadwallader. A monster in a similar attitude is stamped on some of the gold sovereigns issued in 1542, and continued to be used until King James substituted the unicorn of Scotland. The legend reads: SIGILLVM ELEMOSINARIJ VILLE DE WALLDI.' From the photograph of an electrotype of the seal matrix in the Saffron Walden Museum (fig. 2, p. 170) it will be seen that the woodcut on p. 305 of Lord Braybrooke's *History* gives an exaggerated idea of the sharpness of the design.

NOTES ON THE TRANSCRIPT OF THE LATIN TEXT. This transcript of the first eight pages of the book is rendered as near to the original as print will allow. Abbreviated words are extended by the addition of letters printed in italics (e.g., *noie* = *nomine*) which method has also been adopted to denote special signs of contraction (e.g., & = *et*, *annuar'* = *annuarum*, *custodib'* = *custodibus*). The modern use of *i* and *j*, *u*, and *v*, has been followed throughout (e.g., *prouidentes* = *providentes*), and capital letters inserted, where necessary, for proper names. Words such as *tocius* (*totius*), *sustencionem* (*sustentationem*), *eciam* (*etiam*) and several others where the letter 't' approximates to 'c' in pronunciation, have been printed (without comment) as the scribe wrote them. In those few cases where a word appears to have been spelt inaccurately, either a footnote or [*sic*] draws the reader's attention to it.

From certain mis-spellings we may conclude that this is a contemporary copy of the original ordinances made by a person skilled in palæography but without an expert knowledge of Latin. The scribe finding difficulty in reading some words appears to have guessed at them, and this may account for such renderings as *sorciatur* for

¹ Two carved wooden corbel window-sills from the original fifteenth-century building are preserved in the common-room: one shows a shield of France quartering England supported by two leopards, and the other a shield with a crowned rose supported by two greyhounds.—G.M.B.

WALDEN ALMSHOUSES &c. 1400-1950

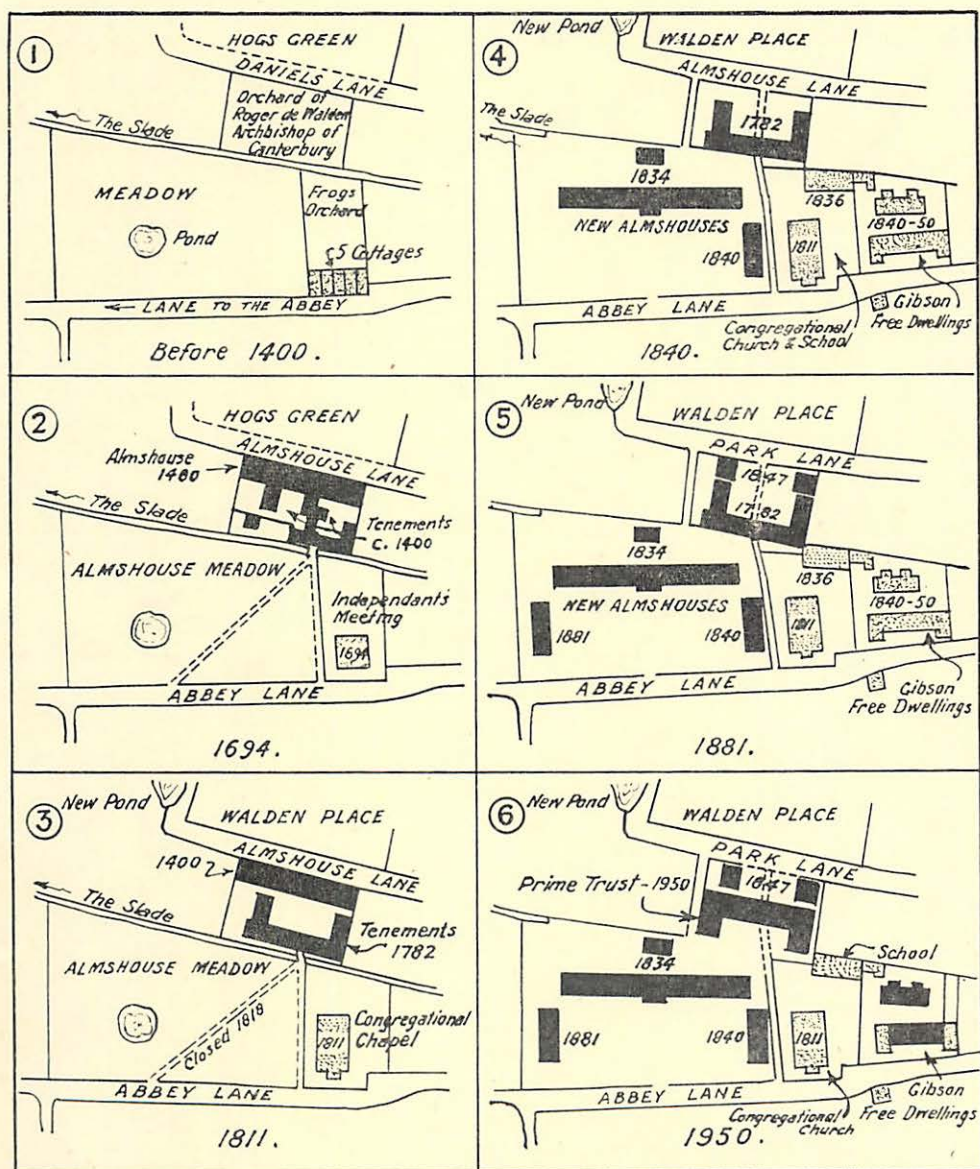


Fig. 1.—PLANS SHOWING SAFFRON WALDEN ALMSHOUSES AT VARIOUS PERIODS FROM BEFORE 1400 TO 1950.

Reproduced from C. B. Rowntree, *Saffron Walden Then and Now* (1952), where the Almshouses are described and part of the Ordinances are quoted on pp. 55-63.

sociatur, insitabunt for incitabunt (or even invitabunt), and so on. The use of 'y' for 'i' in two cases should be noticed—ymagine (fol. 3*v*.) and ydiomate (fol. 4)—and compared with the English version on fols. 5 to 11*v*.

NOTES ON THE TRANSLATION OF THE LATIN TEXT. Only the minimum amount of annotation has been done. Superfluous words (chiefly repetitive), have been omitted; a few words added in square brackets are intended to clarify a doubtful context; modern punctuation has been inserted. As the original English text on fols. 5-11*v*. is in greater detail and incorporates the information given in Latin, footnotes in this section are reduced to a minimum.

NOTES ON THE TRANSCRIPT OF THE ENGLISH TEXT. As will be seen from Pl. I, the use of the *thorn* and the *yogh* is frequent;¹ these letters have been reproduced as *th* and *g* (in preference to the more usual 'y' or 'z') respectively. The letters u and v are given according to their modern usage; ff is rendered as F; abbreviations have not been extended but indicated by an apostrophe.

The English text is a pleasant example of the vernacular of the early fifteenth century, and parallel with it is a version in modern English with such words omitted as appear superfluous or, on the contrary, added in round or square brackets where the meaning needs to be clarified.² Where a definition of a term, or an observation upon it, is desirable, a footnote is provided.

The handwriting on fols. 15-37*v*. varies considerably in style, and although some is contemporary with the main text, entries appear to have been made when fresh benefactions were received. The Christian names in the bead-roll on fols. 26*v*.-28 have been given mainly in their modern forms in the parallel version, but surnames have been printed as they appear with the addition of capital letters. The rules laid down when the Letters Patent were granted in 1548/9 (fols. 30-37) are in a contemporary hand.

¹ The flat-headed Anglo-Saxon 'g' was used from the twelfth to the fifteenth century to express a sound intermediate between *g* and *y*. C. Johnson and H. Jenkinson, *English Court Hand, A.D. 1066 to 1500* (1915), p. 56, and H. E. P. Grieve, *More Examples of English Handwriting* (1950), p. 4, note 8.

² Words or phrases in round brackets give the modern version of an archaic or difficult context, while those in square brackets are additional to the original.

- Fol. 1 In nomine domini Jhesu. Amen. Cum quod libet opus bonum perpetue memorie merito debeat commendari, et illud donec sui finis sorciatur¹ effectum oporteat sollicitari. Ad presens igitur in forma subscripta duximus memorandum. Videlicet quod Anno domini Millesimo CCCC Quinto die Mensis Augusti. Parochia in ac villia valenciores de Walden ex unanimi consensu et subsidio coram tocius comitatis ejusdem salubriter de remedio et salute animarum suarum providentes quasdam domos in honorem dei ac ejus matris gloriose in refugium et sustentacionem xiiij pauperum duraturas pie edificare duxerunt que quidem domus in venella vocata Danelys Lane consistunt
- Fol. 1v. Statuerunt itaque prefati parochiani ut isti predicti xiiij pauperes per custodes et gubernatores prefati operis caritatis habito in hac parte consilio duorum vel trium de samoribus² ville non favore nec dono aut quocumque amore carnali sed sine omni scripulo simoniace pravitatis mira caritate non ficta provide eligantur ita ut sint indigenciores persone videlicet si qui fuerint decrepiti ceci claudi vel a lij pauperiores ville de Walden aut alibi ut predictis custodibus et gubernatoribus salubrius videatur expediri. It' ad istos xiiij pauperes alendos statuerunt predicti parochiani duos custodes videlicet virum et mulierem vir autem ut semel in septimana ad domos valencium de villa pregata [sic]
- Fol. 2 elemosinam predictis pauperibus humiliter petendo mulier vero ut sit domi assidua prefatos pauperes servando lavando ac omnia eisdem necessaria ministrando duobus istis pro suo labore sumpturis ut infra patebit. It' statutum est ut prescripti pauperes singulis annis inter se habeant iiijC. Fagat, j quarta avene, iiij busselles pisarum et qualibet septimana, vj lagenas servisie precⁱⁱ³ vjd. et alia que inferius notantur. It' statutum est ut isti pauperes annuatim per predictos custodes et gubernatores debite insitentur atque stricte onerentur quod cotidie cum sani fuerint et commode poterint horis debitis ad ecclesiam convenire non desistant ibidem pro salubri statu fratrum et sororum ac omnium

¹ So written in the original, but apparently an error for *sociatur*.

² Intended for *senioribus*; the ablative of *sambucinus*, meaning elder, would be *sambucinis*; the latter word may, of course, have been miscopied from the original draft.

³ The meaning is not clear; probably *prec*, for *pretii*, meaning *worth*.

- Fol. 1 In the name of the Lord Jesus. Amen. Since any good work, deserves to be commended to perpetual memory and (since) that work, until the accomplishment of its end is therewith associated, ought to be taken care of. Now in the present therefore we have resolved that in the hereinunder written form it be recorded. Namely that in 1400 on the 5th day of the month of August. The stronger men in this parish and 'vill' of Walden with the consent and help of all and in the presence of the whole assembly of the same, advantageously providing for the remedy of their own souls decided piously to build certain houses of a durable kind to the honour of God and of his glorious mother for the refuge and upkeep of 13 poor persons, which houses indeed are situate in the lane called Danely's Lane.
- Fol. 1v. Accordingly the aforesaid parishioners have resolved that those said 13 poor persons shall by the means of the custodians and governors of the aforesaid work of charity, after taking counsel in this matter with 2 or 3 of the senior men of the vill, be, with impartiality and without any bribe or carnal affection but without all scruple of Simoniac depravity, prudently chosen with wondrous and unfeigned charity so that they be the more indigent persons namely if they be such as are decrepit, blind, lame, whether they be of the 52 poorer persons of the 'vill' of Walden or elsewhere, as may seem most expedient to the aforesaid custodians and governors. Item. For the nourishing of those 13 poor persons the aforesaid parishioners have established two custodians, namely a man and a woman, but that the man (shall occupy himself) by humbly seeking once a week at the
- Fol. 2 houses of the healthy of the said 'vill', alms for the aforesaid poor persons, but that the woman be busy at the house in taking care of, [and] washing, the poor persons, and administering all things necessary to the same, those two to receive for their labour as will appear below. Item. It has been resolved that the above-written poor persons each year shall have amongst themselves 400 faggots, 1 quarter of oats, 4 bushels of peas, and in every week 6 flagons of beer worth 6d. and other things which are noted lower down. Item. It has been resolved that those poor persons annually by means of the aforesaid custodians and governors be duly urged and highly enjoined that daily, when they are well or can conveniently manage it, they shall not desist from coming together at the due hours to church, there piously to pray for the healthy condition of the brothers and sisters and of all

- Fol. 2v. dicti operis benefactorum et inter ceteros pro animabus Johannis Boteler et Alienore uxoris ejus et animabus istius operis benefactorum ac omnium fidelium defunctorum pie oraturi ac eciam ut sint bone et honeste conversacionis non rubaldi nec ebriosi non luxuriosi nec rixantes non alter cum altero objurgantes et si qui in hiis viciis quod absit rei inveniantur nisi a suis excessibus desistant trina monicione premissa funditus expellantur et alii honesti per predictos custodes eorum loco rite instituantur. It' statuitur ut omnes et singuli pauperes infra situm de Walden morientes qui non habent in propriis unde sepeliri valeant ex tunc sumptibus operis predicti ut decet debeant sepeliri. It' statuitur quod
- Fol. 3 si quas mulieres pauperulas supregnantes ac quoscumque alios pauperes infirmantes per predictam villam advenire contigerit tales vero in supra dicta domo elemosinarum reficientur donec de sua infirmitate plenius convalescant. It' statuitur quod singulis annis custodes prefati operis omnes decrepitos infra quinque leucas situm villam de Walden in suis lectis cubantes consuete insitabunt¹ eisdem minus vel magis distribuentes secundum incrementum et augmentacionem bonorum dicti operis. Preterea prenominati parochiani anno et die supradictis quandam fraternitatem [de sancta maria interpolated] inchoare fecerunt per quam quidem fraternitatem statuta et ordinaciones dicti operis elemosine cum aliis bonis ad hoc datis debeant observari.
- Fol. 3v. Ac eciam super hoc unum sacerdotem pro singulis fratribus et sororibus et ceteris hujus operis benefactoribus inposterum oraturum pie ordinaverunt qui quidem sacerdos talen [sic] tempore suo ordinem observabit videlicet quod consuete cum ei celebrare conveniat tres collectas unam de sancta maria alteram pro fratribus et sororibus terciam generalem pro omnibus Christi² fidelibus defunctis dicere frequentabit ac eciam qualibet die salutem per annum nisi justa causa impediatur missam de sancta maria per notam dicere ut dici facere consolebit quinque cereis dum illa missa cantatur coram ymagine ejusdem virginis gloriose reverenter accensis sumptibus dicti operis elemosine insuper dictus sacerdos infra scriptos pauperes in domibus

¹ A mis-spelling for *incitabunt*, or perhaps, *invitabunt*.

² Written xp'i as abbreviation for Christi, from the Greek form.

- Fol. 2v. the benefactors of the said work and, amongst others, for the souls of John Boteler and Aleanor his wife and for the souls of the benefactors of that work and of all the faithful who are deceased; and also that they be of good and honourable intercourse, not ribald nor inebriate nor immoderate nor quarrelsome nor chiding one another; and if any continue in these vices, (then), because any such is no help to matters, unless from their excesses they desist, a triple warning having been issued, they be totally expelled and other honourable men be by the aforesaid custodians duly instituted in their place. Item. It is resolved that it is right that all and every of the poor persons dying within the site of Walden who have not means of their own for burial should be buried at the then expense of the aforesaid work. Item. It is resolved that
- Fol. 3 [such] women in pregnancy and [whatever] other poor invalids as may chance to come through the aforesaid vill, the same indeed shall in the aforesaid home be refreshed with alms until they are convalescent from their infirmity. Item. It has been resolved that every year the custodians of the aforesaid work shall according to custom entertain the decrepit within 5 leagues of the site of Walden, lying in their beds, distributing to the same less or more in accordance with the increase and augmentation of the goods of the said work. Moreover, the aforesaid parishioners on the year and day abovenamed have established a brotherhood of St. Mary, through which brotherhood indeed they must observe the rules and ordinances of the said work of charity with other goods given for this purpose.
- Fol. 3v. And further they [have arranged for] a priest for the future piously to pray for all brothers and sisters and the other benefactors of this work, which priest indeed shall, but at his own time, observe the arrangements, namely, that in the usual manner, when it is convenient for him to celebrate, he shall assemble together three women, collected the one from St. Mary, another from the brothers and sisters, and the third of a general kind, to say mass for all Christ's faithful deceased; and also on every Saturday throughout the year, unless by some cause he be prevented, to say from extracts¹ the mass of St. Mary, as it will be wont to be said, with 5 wax lights while the mass is sung before the image of the same glorious virgin² reverently at the added cost of the said work of alms. Moreover, the said priest at suitable times shall devotedly

¹ This is not clear; perhaps the intended meaning is for the priest to say the appropriate collects for St. Mary during the Mass.

² See detailed f.n. 5 on p. 177.

Fol. 4 suis infirmantes congruis temporibus devote insitabit¹ ac coram eisdem semel in septimana quo die conveniencius sine prejudicio matricis ecclesie poterit missam celebrabit et in morte cujuslibet fratris ac sororis exsequias mortuorum cum missa sequenti die pro defunctis ac eciam eandem missam omni secunda feria per annum pro fratribus et sororibus defunctis ac ceteris omnibus in christo quiescentibus dicere exercebit. It' statuitur quod ordinacio tocius operis predicti regimine xxiiij villicorum de Walden ac fratrum ejusdem operis in forma qua scribitur non alieno sensu debeat gubernari. Hec et alia salubria que plenius anglica nostro ydiomate infra prenotantur prenoun nati parochiani bono zelo ac sancto animo

Fol. 4v.² in salutem animarum suarum pie statuerunt nihil quouis titulo doli vel fraudis contra regis et regni statuta statuentes sed omnia et singula bona ad predictum opus data et concessa in manibus feoffatorum dimittentes quousque legitimo modo ac meliori effectu valeant ordinari. Unde quicumque hanc presentem ordinacionem tam sancta devocione confectam augmentaverint emendaverint vel aliquo modo in meliorem statum reducere curaverint fiant longem super terram et de rore celi sit benedictio eorum atque nomina eorum in libro vite cum justis et electis dei seribantur et in dei tremendi judicii inter filios dei finaliter competentur. Dat apud Waldene die et anno supradictis.



Fig. 2.—SEAL OF SAFFRON WALDEN ALMSHOUSES (see p. 164).

Diam. 1.6 inch.

¹ A mis-spelling for *invitabit* (see also f.n. 1, p. 168).

² See fig. 3 on p. 176.

Fol. 4 entertain the underwritten poor persons who are invalids in their houses and shall in their presence once a week, on whatever day he may find the more convenient, without prejudice to mother church, celebrate the mass, and on the death of any brother or sister he shall (carry out) the obsequies of the dead with mass on the following day for those who have died and also occupy himself in saying that same mass every Monday throughout the year for the deceased brothers and sisters and all others resting in Christ. Item. It is also resolved that this arrangement of all the aforesaid work shall be governed by the direction of 24 villagers of Walden and of the brothers of that work in the form in which it is written and in no other sense. These and other salutary things which more fully in our English idiom are pre-noted below, the previously mentioned parishioners with goodly zeal and holy mind to

Fol. 4v. the salvation of their own souls have piously resolved, resolving nothing under whatever pretence of fraud or of deceit against the statutes of the King and realm, but dispensing all and singular the goods given for the said work and placed in the hands of feoffees in whatsoever legitimate manner and with the better effect they may be able to be arranged. Wherefore whosoever shall increase emend or take in hand the reduction to a better state this present arrangement, worked out with much holy devotion, may they long be upon this earth and the dew of heaven be a blessing upon them and may their names be written in the book of life with the just and chosen of God, and in the day of the tremendous judgment they shall come finally together amongst the sons of God.

Given at Walden the day and year above forewritten.

Fol. 5^r Sequit' explanacio op'is p'cede'tis li'gua ang'.² In the name of oure lord god ih'u ame'. In as moche as ev'y good dede and werk of charyte worthylyche owgt and schulde ben had in perpetual mende, *therefore* at *thys* present tyme yt ys wrete and set in memorye *that the ger* of oure lord god a M^l.CCCC. the most worschypful men and pareschenys of Walden by concent and help of al *the com'ete* of *the forseyd to'n* in *the* reverence of god and of oure lady in help and subsidye of here sowlys and of alle here frendys Ordeynedyn and madyn an hows of charyte in a stret clepyd Danelys lane in sokowr and sustynauce of xiiij poure men
The wheche xiiij

Fol. 5^v. poure men schul ben ordeynyd and chose by hem *that* be mad wardeynys and keperys of *the forseyd* place of almesse takyng co'nsayl in *this p'ty* of iij or iiij of *the* most dyscret and wysest of *the to'n* so *that* no man be receyvvd ne chose for gyfte favour ne fleschlyche love but in goddys name and purr charyte suyche as be lame crokyd blynd and bedrad and most at nede of *the forseyd to'n* of Walden or ellys in *othir* place as yt ys seyn most nedful and medful to *the governowrys* of *this almesse dede*. Also *the forseyd* pareschenys ordeynedyn to *these xiiij* poure men afore namyd ij keperys *that* ys for to seyne a man and a womman *the* man to gou ech' woke

Fol. 6 onys gif yt nede to hem *that* ben at power wyth ynne *the to'n* askyng and takyng here charyte to *the* poure men as *they* goodlyche wele geve hem. And *the* womman ben at hom make potage wasche and governe *the* syke peple in *the* beste maner sche can for may takyng *these ij* for her travayle vj d'. a woke and mete and drynk of *the* como'n almesse Also yt ys dysposyd and ordeynyd to *the* forsayd xiiij poure men vj galownys ale a woke of *the prys* of vj d'. to p'te among hem and specyally to hem *that* ben syke and most at nede. And ev'y *ger* iiijC fagat to here ferynge a quarter of ote and iiij buschelys of pesyn to potage. And whan *that they* ben dede to be brougt on erthe wyth

¹ See fig. 3 on p. 176.

² The Ordinances of the Gild of St. Mary, Lichfield (1387), were put into English in 1538; see no. cxiv in the 'Extra Series' published by the Early English Text Society (1920).

- Fol. 5 In the name of our Lord God Jesus, Amen. Inasmuch as every good deed and work of charity worthily ought and should be had [kept] in perpetual mind, therefore at this present time it is written and set in memory that [in] the year of our Lord God 1400, the most worshipful men and parishioners of Walden (by the consent and help of all the commonalty of the aforesaid town), in [out of] reverence of God and of our Lady [and] in help and subsidy of their souls¹ and [those] of all their friends, ordained² and made a house of charity in a street called Daniels Lane in [for the] succour and sustenance of 13 poor men. The which 13
- Fol. 5v. poor men should be ordained³ and chosen by them that be made wardens and keepers of the aforesaid place of alms, taking counsel in this party [matter] of [with] 3 or 4 of the most discreet and wisest of the town so that no man be received or chosen for gift, favour, or fleshly love, but in God's name and pure charity such as be lame, crooked [crippled], blind, and bedridden, and most at [in] need of [and belonging to] the aforesaid town of Walden or else in another place as it is seen most needful and meedful⁴ to the governors of this alms deed. Also the aforesaid parishioners ordained³ to these 13 poor men 2 keepers, that is to say, a man and a woman; the man to go each week
- Fol. 6 once if it need to them that be at [in] power within the town asking and taking their charity to the poor men as they goodly [in their goodness] will give him. And the woman being at home [is to] make pottage,⁵ wash and govern⁶ the sick people in the best manner she can or may, taking these two [emoluments] for her trouble, [viz.] 6*d.* a week and meat and drink of the common alms. And it is disposed and ordained³ to the aforesaid 13 poor men, 6 gallons of ale a week of the price of 6*d.* to part [divide] among themselves and especially to them that be sick and most needy. And every year 400 faggots to [for] their firing, a quarter[n] of oats, and 4 bushels of peas to [for] pottage. And when they be dead [they are] to be brought to earth [buried] with

¹ help and subsidy are identical in meaning; the more common expression would be 'for the good of their souls'.

² ordain in the sense of arranging, regulating, preparing, or equipping.

³ ordain in the sense of appointed or assigned.

⁴ meedful—deserving of reward.

⁵ Pottage, a dish composed of vegetables alone or with meat; a thick soup.

⁶ govern in the sense of directing the actions.

- Fol. 6v. wex and cloth *they* and alle *othere* wyth ynne *the* forsayd to'n of Walden *that* have nougt in here owne godys to be brought wyth on erthe as yt fallyth to *the* stat of poure men. Mor ouyr yt ys dysposyd & ordeynyd *that these* poure men ech quart' onys schul be vysytyd by *the* keperys of *the* place *that they* have here kepyng and here dutee and *that they* hev of good rewle and clene levying Non rebawdys no' chyderys drunkelew ne latemakerys And gif ony such be founde as god forbede warne hem onys for twyes and but he sese of his defawtys voyde hym out and resseyve *anothir* in his stede. And *thus the* ordynaunse of *these* xiiij poure men ys for to have herberwe kepyng feryng drynk
- Fol. 7 and potage vysytacyoun and beryng and comoun almesse of *this* to'n takyng *these* expensys of rentys and godys gouyn of serteine p'sonys as yt ys notefyed & wrete wyth ynne. And also *that these* forseyd pore men be stretlyche chargyd i' here vysytacyoun whan *they* ben hole and goodlyche mo'u to come to cherche in dw tyme *there* to preyn and be sechen for *the* lyf and *the* helpful stat of bretheryn and susteryn and all *othere* gode doerys to *this* forseyd place for *the* soulys of alle here frendys and specyallyche among *othere* for *the* soules of Joh' Boteler and Alienore his wyf and al crystene. Also yt ys dysposyd and ordeynyd *that* gif yt falle ony stronge poure womman w^t childe
- Fol. 7v. or ony *othir* pore stronge syk man or wo'man casuellyche come by *the* forseyd to'n of Waldene *thanne they* schul be receyvyed in to *the* forseyd hows of almesse and *ther* be kept and relevyd tyl *they* ben recuryd and hol of here syknesse. Also yt ys dysposyd and ordeynyd *that the* governours custummablelyche schul ger by ger onys vysytyn *the* bedrade peple lyggyng in vyroun wyth ynne v mylyn a boutte *the* to'n of Walden gevyng hem almasse lasse or more aft' *the* augmentacyoun and cresement of godys govyn to *this* forseyd dede of charyte. Furthirmore yt ys wretyn and set in mende *that in the* forseyd tyme and gere of oure lord *the* forseyd p'eschenys and comon'te of Waldene a reysedyn a fraternyte of

- Fol. 6v. wax and cloth,¹ they and all others within the aforesaid town of Walden that have no goods of their own [are] to be brought with on [in] earth [be buried] as it falleth to the state of poor men. Moreover it is disposed and ordained that these poor men should be visited once each quarter by the keepers of the place that they have [in] their keeping and [it is] their duty and [to ensure] that they [the poor men] have of good rule and clean living [are obeying the rules and leading clean lives] [and that there] are no rebawders,² chiderers,³ drunkards, or latemakers.⁴ And if any be found (as God forbid), warn him once or twice, and if he does not cease his default void [banish] him and receive another in his stead. And thus the ordinance of [for] these 13 poor men is for [them] to have harbour [shelter], keep [board], firing, drink
- Fol. 7 pottage, visitation, burial, and common alms of this town taking [provided for] these expenses of [by] rents and goods given of certain persons as it is notified and written within. And also that these poor men be straightly charged in their visitation [when they are visited] [that] when they be whole and goodly [they] [be] moved to come to church in due time [and] there to pray and beseech for the lives and healthy state of brothers and sisters and all other good doers [benefactors] to this aforesaid place [of charity] [and] for the souls of all their friends and especially (among others) for the souls of John Boteler and Eleanor his wife and all Christian [souls]. Also, it is disposed and ordained that if it fall [happen that] any strong⁵ poor woman with child
- Fol. 7v. or any other poor strong⁵ sick man or woman casually come by [to] the aforesaid town of Walden then they shall be received into the aforesaid almshouse and be kept there and relieved until they be cured and whole of their sickness. Also, it is disposed and ordained that the governors customarily should, once each year, visit the bed-ridden people 'in vyroun'⁶ within 5 miles about [of] the town of Walden and give them alms less or more after [according] to the augmentation and increase of goods given to this aforesaid deed of charity. Furthermore, it is written and set in mind that in the aforesaid time and year of our Lord, the aforesaid parishioners and commonalty of Walden a reysedyn⁷ a Fraternity of

¹ The coffin to be covered with a pall and candles to be burnt round it.

² Rebawde, a ribald or scamp.

³ Chiderer, one who is quarrelsome.

⁴ Latemaker, one who is evilly disposed.

⁵ In the sense of naturally robust. There was no provision for a stranger who was likely to become a permanent invalid.

⁶ A good example of phonetical spelling; the word is 'environ', i.e., the bed-ridden people of the neighbourhood within five miles of Saffron Walden.

⁷ A-reysen, a Middle English word meaning to raise or arouse, here in the sense of the establishment of a Fraternity of our Lady.

- Fol. 8 oure lady in Waldene in sustynounce of *this* forsayd dede of charyte Ordeynng a prest to synge and rede for bretheryn and susteryn And alle othere procatourys and helperys to *this* almasse dede *the* whече prest schal hav in custom and charge ech satyrday to seyn for do seyn a masse be note in reverence of oure lady havynge reverentlyche v candelys brennyng at *the* forseyd masse at *the* ordynounce and cost of *the* fraternyte. Also he schal hav in custom and charge ech moneday by gere whan he ys dysposyd to synge to seyn a masse of Requiem for alle *the* soules of bretheryn and susteryn that ben past and ded and for alle crystene he schal also in congru tyme vysytyn *the* syke peple in *the* forsayd hows of almesse and onys

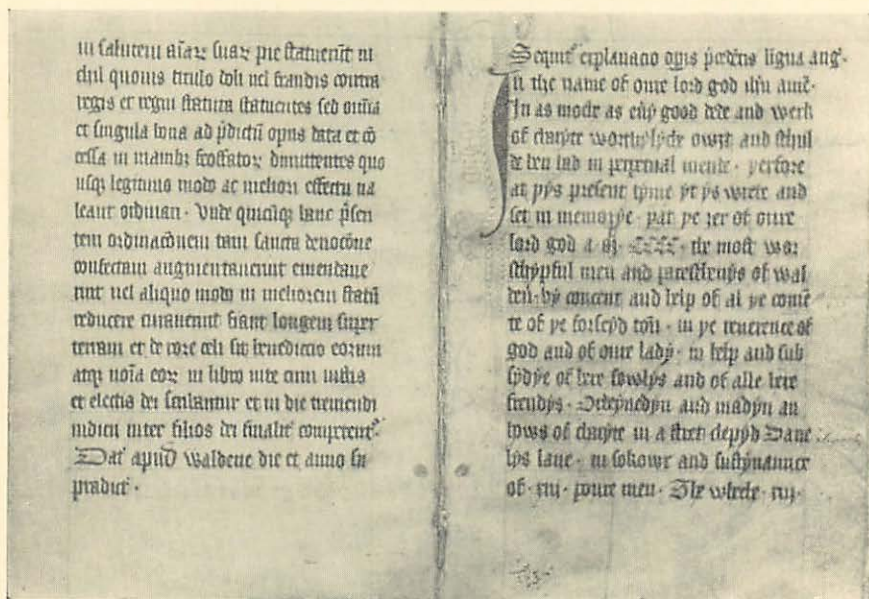


Fig. 3.—FOLS. 4v. AND 5 OF THE ALMSHOUSE ORDINANCES.

Fol. 8 our Lady in Walden in sustenance of this said deed of charity¹ [and] ordained [provided] a priest to sing and read [mass and prayers] for the brothers and sisters and all other procurators² and helpers to this alms deed. The priest shall, have in custom and charge [shall normally], each Saturday,³ say, or do say [arrange to be said] a mass by note⁴ in reverence of our Lady, having reverently 5 candles burning at the time of the mass at the ordinance and cost of the Fraternity.⁵ Also, he shall have in custom and charge [shall normally], each Monday in the year when he is disposed [be required] to sing or say a Requiem mass for all the souls of brothers and sisters that are past and dead and for all Christian [souls]. He shall also, in congruous time, visit the sick people in the said almshouse and once

¹ See *Trans. E.A.S.*, vol. xv, N.S., p. 98, for references to this Guild of our Lady of Pity.

² Obsolete use of a term for an agent (i.e., proctor) for the collection of dues.

³ Saturday was (and is) specially the day dedicated in each week to the honour of our Lady.

⁴ i.e., a sung mass: see also f.n. 9 on p. 179.

⁵ Among the goods belonging to the Almshouse Chapel were: Our Lady's coat of crimson velvet. A little coat for her Son of cloth of gold, and a brooch of our Lady, silver and gilt. Thus it is evident that the strange custom was followed of clothing images on festivals. The candelabrum with its five tapers, symbolising the Five Joys of our Lady, would be set before her image. Similar lights, indicative of her Five Joys, were burned before the image of our Lady in the chancel of the parish church.—G.M.B.

Fol. 8v. in *the* woke seyn amasse byforn hem in what day yt ys seyn most convenient w^t outyn prejudyse of *the* modyr cherche Also *the* forsayd prest schal have in custom and charge whan ony brothir for sustyr deyeth to seyn placebo Dirige and come'dacyoun wyth a masse of Requiem on *the* morwen and go to *the* almes hous certefye and stere *the* poure peple to bydde and preye for *the* soule of hym that ys past *this* prest takyng for *this* charge and travayle ix Marc' by gere and his duellyng place that ys ordeynyd and mad for hy' in *the* cherche gerd wyth certeyn ostryme'tys and bokys specyfyed by endent'ys mad by twen *the* keperys of *the* bretheryn and *the* forsayd prest. Also yt ys dysposyd that

Fol. 9 *the* forsayd prest schal be ordeyned and chose by *the* keperys of *the* gylde havynge cu'sayl in *this* party of ij or iij of *the* most dyscret men of *the* to'n In enserchyng and knowynge that he be able to rede and synge and of good name and clene levynge and that he duelle not alone but havynge wyth hym a prest or ij of honest name the wheche ij prestys gif *thei* thus wele duelle wyth hym and onys a woke on *the* satyrday contume and help to seyne a masse by note in reverence of oure lady thanne *thei* schul have here duellyng fre and ech of *the* ij ech quarter vj d'. to here reward of *the* forsayd fraternyte Also yt ys dysposyd and ordeyned that *the* deakene *the* clerk of *the*

Fol. 8v. in the week say a mass before them in [on] what day it is [may be] said most conveniently without prejudice of [to] the mother church.¹ Also the said priest shall have in custom and charge [normally; always] when any brother or sister dies to say *placebo*,² *Dirige*,³ and commendation⁴ with a Requiem mass on the morrow, and [he shall also] go to the almshouse [and] certify [tell]⁵ and stir [up] the poor people to bid⁶ and pray for the soul of him that is past. This priest taking for his charge [due] and [his] work 9 marks annually and [the use of] his dwelling place that is ordained and made for him in the churchyard with certain 'ostyrme'tys'⁷ and books specified by indentures made between the keepers of the brethren and the said priest. Also it is disposed that

Fol. 9 the said priest shall be ordained and chosen by the keepers of the guild having counsel in this party [part, or matter] or 2 or 3 of the most discreet men of the town in searching and knowing that [whether] he be able to read and sing and of good name and clean living and that he dwell not alone but having with him a priest or two of honest name, the which two priests if they thus will dwell with him and once a week—on Saturday—contune⁸ and help to say a mass by note⁹ in reverence of our Lady, then they shall have their dwelling free and each of the two [them] sixpence each quarter to [as] their reward of [from] the said fraternity. Also it is disposed and ordained that the deacon, the clerk of the

¹ The parish church of Saffron Walden.

² *Placebo*; Vespers for the Dead, the first antiphon of which is *Placebo Domino* (Psalm cxvi, 9).

³ So called from the first word of the antiphon, *Dirige, Domine Deus meus, in conspectu tuo viam meam* (Psalm v, 8) used at Matins in the Office of the Dead.

⁴ An office commending the souls of the dead to God.

⁵ Certify in the sense of giving information, in this case, of the death of a brother or sister.

⁶ To act as a beadsman or one who prays for the soul of another. Pensioners bound to pray for the souls of their benefactors were called beadsmen; the term was later also applied to an inmate of an almshouse. The verb is derived from the Anglo-Saxon *biddan*; in Flemish, the responses in the litanies take the form, *bid voor ons*.

⁷ Intended for ostylment, the furniture of a house.

⁸ Contune, a variant of continue.

⁹ Strictly, to recite. Cf. *per notam dicere* on fol. 3v, but no doubt intended as a sung mass (see *N.E.D.*). A similar reference occurs in the Will of Richard Felaw, who died 2 Jan., 1482/3, and whose house, with that adjoining, became Ipswich Grammar School of which the master 'shall kepe with the seid Children the messe of our lady be note at the North Awter within the seid friers [Black Friars] at sex of the klokke'. Quoted by I. E. Gray and W. E. Potter in *Ipswich School, 1400-1950* (1950), pp. 7-8.

Fol. 9v. cherche and *the* clerk of *the* burgage schul come customablyche by here offys to *the* forseyd masse of oure lady and in *the* more steryng of good wyl ech of hem takyn'g by *the* quarter iiij d'. to here reward Also be yt opyn and knowe *that* in *the* tyme of *this* present ordynaunce xxiiij of *the* most worschypful pareschenys of Waldene whos namys be wrete wyth ynne be on assent and be assent of alle *the* bretheryn comyn to gydere and mady a statuyt and an ordynaunce *that* *the* governayle of *this* dede of charyte be alle tymys comynge schulde stonde in xxiiij so *that* *tho* xxiiij gere be gere schul wete knowen and sen *that* *the* godys govyn of bretheryn and susteryn and *the* almas

Fol. 10 govyn of alle *othre* be set and spendyd in reverence of god in maner and forme as yt ys wrete and seyde be forn no chongyng of godys alienacyoun no purchas be mad wyth oute assent of alle *these* xxiiij And whanne *that* ony of *these* forseyd xxiiij deyen or be ony *othir* cause voydyth out of *the* to'n thanne *tho* *that* ben last levyng of *the* xxiiij schul come to gydere and chese *othere* in here stedys *that* be past kepyng alway and reserve *the* nombre of xxiiij *the* wheche xxiiij schul have in custom and charge ev'y gere in *the* feste of *the* Assumpcyoun of oure lady comyn for sendyn to *the* cherche of Waldene and *there* ordeyne for a masse be note and a sarmo'n to *the* peple and *othere* worschepe and solempne-

Fol. 9v. church, and the clerk of the burgage¹ shall come customarily by their offices [in their official capacities] to the aforesaid mass of our Lady and in the more stirring of good will [to set an example], each of them taking 4d. per quarter to [as] their reward. Also be it open and known that in the time of this present ordinance 24 of the most worshipful parishioners of Walden whose names be written within, by one assent and by assent of all the brethren, came together and made a statute and an ordinance that the government of this charity deed be [at] times coming [always] should stand in [be vested in] 24 so that the 24 year by year shall wit [understand], know, and see that the goods given of [by] brethren and sisters and the alms

Fol. 10 given of [by] all others be set and spent in [out of] reverence to God in manner and form as it is written and said before, [there is to be] no changing of goods, alienation[s], no purchase [is to] be made without [the] assent of all these 24. And when [it happens] that any of these said 24 die or be [by] any other cause voideth out [vacate] of the town, then tho[se] that be last living of the 24 shall come together and choose others in their steads [in the place of those] that be past, keeping always and reserving the number of 24, the which 24 shall have in custom and charge [normally arrange] every year in the Feast of the Assumption of our Lady [to] come or send [a substitute] to the church of Walden and there ordain for [appoint] a mass by note² and a sermon to [for] the people and other worship and solemnity

¹ Burgage is an ancient tenure whereby lands and tenements were held of the King (or other lord) at a certain yearly rent. A dwelling-house in a borough was formerly called a burgage: Jacob, *A New Law Dictionary* (1736). While it is doubtful if Walden was a borough in the accepted sense of the word at this time, the charter of Humfrey de Bohun, c. 1300, whereby when any burgess died, his heir or heirs might have and hold his burgage freely and quietly without making any relief and heriot for it, indicates that the town enjoyed certain peculiar rights and liberties. For further information on the Bohun charter and its seal, see *Trans. E.A.S.*, vol. xxi. p. 371. I am indebted to the Rev. G. Montagu Benton, M.A., F.S.A., for drawing my attention to this reference. See also A. Ballard (ed.), *British Borough Charters, 1042-1216* (1913), pp. xl-1 (and references there quoted) for details of the history of the formation of boroughs and tenurial privileges of the inhabitants.

² See f.n. 9 on p. 179.

- Fol. 10v.¹ te in *the* honour and reverence of oure lady and aftyrward come to gydere to mete fedyng *the* pore men in *the* almas hows and *othere* as *they* sen nedful and medful *that* duelle in *the* to'n *the* wheche poure men *that* day in reverence of god and of oure lady ferst schul be y'servyd wyth *the* most worschypful p'sonys *th't* ben present *that* day in *the* place And aftyr mete *thei* schul do reherce and redyn *this* ordynaunce opynlyche a forn *the* bretheryn and susteryn non *othir* countys ne rekenyngys make *that* tyme: but al *that* day to spendyn in solempnete rev'ence and worschepe of oure lady And *anothir* day *these* forseyd xxiiij for *the* most p'ty of hem schul
- Fol. 11 come to gydere make rekenyng and ordeynyn and chesyn ij for iij of *the* fore nombryd And namyd xxiiij to gaderyn customys & rentys to rewlyn and keyn in *the* ger suyng *this* ordynaunce and statutys in forme as yt ys wretyn and specyfyed nougt usyng here owne wyllys ne wyttys ne new purpos but yt be to augmentacioun & cresyng of more goodnesse to *this* dede of almasse *these* ordynauncys and helpul statutys *the* forseyd p'arscheny's of Waldene hav mad wyth outyn ony tyle of fraude or gyle and preiudys of ony p'sone nougt wyllyng ne werkyng agens *the* lawes and *the* statutys of *the* kyng and *the* reme but levyng alle
- Fol. 11r. rentys and godys groutyd to *this* dede of charyte in fre arbytracyoun in *the* hondys of certeyn feffeys abydyng tyl in laweful maner be lycence and leve of *the* kyng and *the* rem *this* forseyd werk of almesse be ordeyned and set in hys affekt. Wherefore all *tho that this* present ordynaunce mad wyth good purpos and holy devocyoun keypth helpyth encrecyth for in ony maner amendyth leve *thei* longe in *erthe* wyth helthe and prosp'yte of body and soule and at *the* dredful day at dome be *thei* receyved and set on *the* rygt hond of god in *the* nombre of hem *that* be savyd and chosyn to *the* endeles blysse of hevене. govyn at Walden' *the* ger & *the* day beforeyde.

¹ See Plate I.

Fol. 10v. in the honour and reverence of our Lady, and afterwards come together to meat, feeding the poor men in the almshouse and others (as they see needful and meedful)¹ that dwell in the town, the which poor men that day (in [out of] reverence of [to] God and of our Lady) first shall be served with [by] the most worshipful persons that be present that day in the place. And after meat they shall do, rehearse and read this ordinance openly before the brethren and sisters [and] no other accountings or reckonings [shall they] make [at] that time; but all that day to [be] spent in solemnity, reverence and worship of our Lady. And another day these foresaid 24 or the most part of them shall

Fol. 11 come together, reckon and ordain [appoint] and choose 2 or 3 of the fore numbered and named 24 to gather customs [customary payments] and rents, to rule and keep in the year ensuing this ordinance and statutes in form as it is written and specified not using their own wills or wits or new purpose [or any new idea] but [except] it be to [the] augmentation and increasing of more good[ness] to this deed of alms. These ordinances and healthful statutes the said parishioners of Walden have made without any tittle² of fraud or guile and [without] prejudice of [to] any person, not willing or working against the laws and statutes of the King and the realm but leaving all

Fol. 11v. rents and goods granted to this charity deed in free arbitration in the hands of certain feoffees³ [and] abiding [there] until, in lawful manner by license and leave of the King and the realm, this said work of alms be ordained and set in [this] effect. Wherefore all those that this present ordinance (made with good purpose and holy devotion) keepeth, helpeth, increaseth or in any manner amendeth [may] they live long in [on] earth with health and prosperity of body and soul and at the dreadful day at [of] doom be they received and sat on the right hand of God in the number of them [among those] that be saved and chosen to the endless bliss of heaven. Given at Walden the year and day before-said.

¹ See f.n. 4 on p. 173.

² The smallest or a very small part of something; cf., St. Matt. v. 18.

³ Trustees.

Fol. 12 Also We Wul and ordeyn *th[a]t* the meende day for alle *the* soules of *the* goode doers of *this* place be fore seyde be kept on seynt Mathyes day in feverer *th[a]t* is for to sey on *the* even be fore seyde W^t Placebo & Dirige for alle *the* brethern and sustern sowles W^t all *other* gode doers of *the* forseyd place and on *the* morowe a messe of Requiem for alle *the* gode doers a fore seyde in *the* chirche of oure lady in Walden W^t *the* solemnte of all *the* brethern and sustern.

Also we wul and ordeyn *th[a]t* the maysteres of the almes hows gefe heore acou'tes on the feste of oure chirche holiday to for the brethern at the almes howse ever more to endure perpetuel.

Fol. 12v. Blank

Fol. 13 Also yt ys Wretyn and set in mende and memorye how *that* in *the* ferste foundacyoun & begynnyng of this dede of charyte a Worschipful man namy'd Maystyr Roger Waldene in *that* tyme erchebyschop of Cauntyrbery gaf and grauntede a parcel of a gardyn Whiche contenyth i' lengthe vj p'chys and in brede iiij p'chis to edefyen up on howsyng to the poure peple and to *the* encresyng and forthyng of this forseyd dede of almesse

Fol. 13v. Blank

Fol. 14 Blank

Fol. 14v. Blank

Fol. 15 Also yt ys wrete and set in mende *that* *the* forsayd tyme and yere of oure lord John Hounte of Waldene gaf and grauntede hym levynges vj howsys edyfyed in a stret clepyd Gowlstret and aftyr *the* dyssers of his levynges iiij howsys and next to *these* forseyd vj w^t a croft lyggyng *ther* to as yt ys wretyn' and specyfyed in chartre and effedence mad *ther* of in help and sustynounce of *the* forseyd almes dede to be dyspendyd i' *this* forme *that* every yere *the* forseyd poure men have iiij C fagat to ferynges a quarter ote and iiij buschelys of pesyn to potage and *the* resydue to be spendyd in prest and poure men in maner as yt ys seyde be forn Also he wele and

Fol. 12 Also, we will and ordain that the mind [remembrance] day for all the souls of the good doers [benefactors] of this place beforesaid be kept on St. Mathias' day in February,¹ that is to say, on the evening beforesaid with Placebo and Dirige for the souls of all the brethren and sisters with all other benefactors, and on the morrow a requiem mass for all benefactors in the church of our Lady of Walden with the solemnity of all the brethren and sisters.

Also, we will and ordain that the masters of the almshouse give their accounts on the festival of our church's holy-day to for [enable] the brethren at the almshouse (evermore) to endure perpetually [so that the work of charity may always endure].

Fol. 12v. Blank.

Fol. 13 Also, it is written and set in mind and memory [remembered] how that in the first foundation and beginning of this deed of charity a worshipful man named Master Roger Walden, in that time Archbishop of Canterbury,² gave and granted a parcel of a garden which contains in length 6 perches and in breadth 4 perches for the edifying [building] of a house to [for] the poor people and to the increase and furtherance of this foresaid deed of alms.

Fol. 13v. Blank

Fol. 14 Blank

Fol. 14v. Blank

Fol. 15 Also it is written and set in mind that [in] the aforesaid time and year of our Lord, John Hunt of Walden gave and granted, him living [while he was alive], 6 houses built in a street called Gowl Street, and, after his death, 3 houses next to these said 6 with a croft lying thereto as it is written and specified in charters and evidence made thereof in help and sustenance of the foresaid alms deed [the income] to be spent in this form—that every year the foresaid poor men have 300 faggots for firing, a quarter of oats and 4 bushels of peas to [for] pottage, and the residue to be spent in [on the] priest and poor men in manner as it is said before. Also he willed and

¹ 24 February.

² Consecrated 1398, and deprived of the See of Canterbury on the restoration of Thomas Arundel in 1399. Walden was appointed to the see of London in 1404 and he died in 1406.

- Fol. 15v. ordeynyth *that* ev'y yere *the* mende day of hym and of his wyf to gydere be kept in *this* manere *that* *the* prest of *the* gylde sey placebo and dirige comendacyoun wyth a masse of Requiem on *the* morwe and *the* keperys of *the* brethirhad by *the* warnyng of *the* forseyd prest schul do ryng at cherche *the* bedman gon in towne as custom and maner ys.
Also Jone *the* wyf su'tyme of Wyllyam Toppysfelde in wydueot and by here lyve gaf and grauntede to *this* forseyd almes dede a place in lytylbery clepyd kyngys wyth *othir* parselys to *the* terme of xxxviij yer to be spendyd in *this* forme
- Fol. 16 *that* every yer *the* forseyd pore men havyn an C fagat and every Woke j d'. and *the* resydue be spendyd in fulfellyng of *the* ordynaunce be forn seyde.
Also sche wele and ordeynyth *that* *the* mende day of Wyllyam Toppysfelde & here to gydere be kept and holde wyth placebo and dirige comendacioun and masse wyth *the* forseyd prest and belle in cherche and towne as yt ys byfore seyde.
Also Thomas Warwyk gaf and g'untede hym levy'ge ij schoppys in *the* bochery rowe
- Fol. 16v. Also Wyllyam Skynnere of Brook Waldene gaf and grauntede hym levy'g an hows edyfyed in *the* same Brook Waldene in sustynaunce of *this* dede of charyte.
Also Anne Suttone gaf and g'untede aftyr *the* deses of here and here dowtyr an hows edyfyed in *the* cherche stret
Also Joh' heygnyng gaf and grauntede aftyr *the* deces of hym and of his wyf an hows edyfyed at *the* bregge foot
- Fol. 17 toward *the* wyndmelle. Also Wyllya' heygnyng gaf and grauntede aftyr *the* deces of hym and of his Wyf an hows edyfyed in *the* corner to ward *the* hoggys grene.
Also Thomas Persoun gaf an^d grauntede aftyr *the* deces of hym an akyr lond lyggynge a bove *the* lymkelle.

Fol. 15v. ordaineth that every year the mind day¹ of him and of his wife together be kept in this manner:—

that the priest of the gild say Placebo and Dirige [and] Commendacion with a mass of requiem on the morrow and the keepers of the brotherhood by the warning [having been warned] of the said priest shall (do) ring at church² [and] the bedesman³ go in the town as custom and manner is [as is customary].

Also Joan the wife sometime of William Toppesfield in [her] widowhood and during her life gave and granted to this alms deed a place in Littlebury called Kings with other parcels [of land] to [for] the term of 38 years [the income whereof] to be spent in this form

Fol. 16 that every year the foresaid poor men have 100 faggots and 1*d.* every week, and the residue [to] be spent in fulfilling the ordinance before said. Also she willed and ordained that the mind day of William Toppesfield and her together be kept and held with Placebo and Dirige [and] Commendation and mass with the foresaid priest and bell in [the] church and town as it is before said.

Also Thomas Warwick gave and granted in his lifetime 2 shops in the Butchery Row

Fol. 16v. Also William Skinner of Brook Walden gave and granted in his lifetime a house built in the same Brook Walden in sustenance of this deed of charity.

Also Anne Sutton gave and granted after her death⁴ and her daughter's [death] a house built in the Church Street.

Also John Higgins gave and granted after his own and his wife's deaths, a house built at the bridge foot

Fol. 17 toward the windmill. Also William Higgins gave and granted after his own and his wife's deaths, a house built in the corner towards [the] Hog's Green. Also Thomas Persoun gave and granted after his death an acre of land lying above the limekiln.

¹ The anniversary of his death.

² Toll the bell.

³ Usually *bedsman*, a pensioner bound to pray for the souls of his benefactors. The *N.E.D.* gives 1528 as the earliest use of this definition; see also f.n. 6 on p. 179.

⁴ i.e., by Will.

Fol. 17v. Also yt ys wreten and set in memorye & in mynde *that* in *the* begynnys of this dede of charyte how tho aturnyes and the executowrys of Joh' Boteler and Elienore his Wyf i' encresyng & forthyng of this almes dede for *the* soulys of the forseyd Joh' and Elyne and here frendys gavyn & spendedyn xl li' i' maner & forme as yt ys wrete wyth ynne. Ferst making an hows in the chercheyerd to the pryst *that* is ordeyned p'petual to rede syngre and preye for alle the gode doerys of *the* forseyd hows of charite levynge in the forseyd hows of charyte serteyn bokys & ostyrmentys *that* is for to seye in an oratorye

Fol. 18 wyth ynne the chambre vij bokes boundyn be chenys of the wheche vij bokes on ys clepyd Pupilla oculi of the prys of xl s'. The secounde a peyre decrees prys of xx s'. the iij is a peyre decretalys of prys of xx s'. the iiij a texte of *the* sexte & Clementyns with dyverse constitucyouns of the prys of j Marc'. the v a book of dyvynyte clepyd Jon Crysosteme of prys of ij Marc'. the vj book ys a postylle of the apocalypse with serteyne cronyclys of prys of j Marc'. the vij book is a book of sarmouns of pris of j Marc. These bokes to be comowne to alle the honeste pristys of the cherche of Walden' *that* be willyng

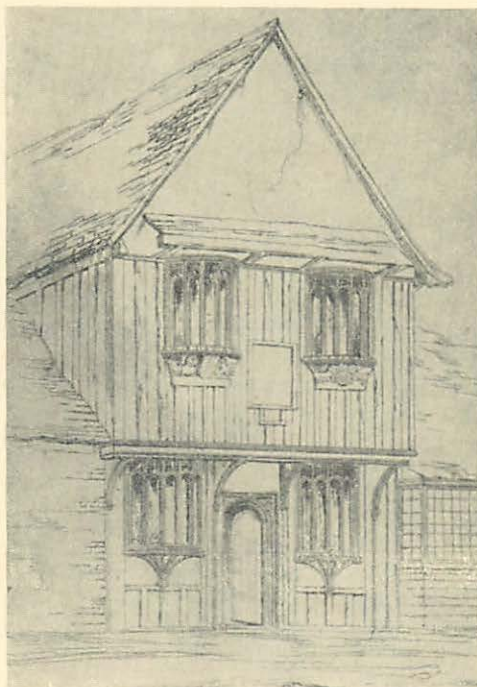


Fig. 4.—
THE ALMSHOUSE
CHAPEL BEFORE
DEMOLITION IN
1834

Fol. 17v. Also it is written and set in memory and in mind that in the beginning of this deed of charity how the attornies and the executors of John Butler and Eleanor his wife in increasing and furthering of this alms deed for the souls of the aforesaid John and Eleanor and their friends gave and spent £40 in manner and form as it is written within. First, making a house in the churchyard to [for] the priest that is ordained perpetually to read, sing and pray for all the good doers of the aforesaid house of charity leaving in it certain books and furniture that is to say in an oratory¹

Fol. 18 within the chamber 7 books bound with chains of which one is called Pupilla Oculi² [and] of the price of [valued at] 40s. The second a pair of decretals valued at 20s.; the third is a pair of decretals³ valued at 20s., the fourth a text of the Sext and Clementynys⁴ with divers constitutions valued at one mark; the fifth a book of divinity called John Crysostom⁵ valued at two marks; the sixth book is a postylle⁶ of the apocalypse with certain chronicles valued at one mark; the seventh is a book of sermons valued at 1 mark. These books to be common to all the honest priests of the church of Walden that be willing

¹ A place of prayer, or small chapel.

² " . . . if he [the curate] were in earnest about his duties to his flock, he would probably have upon the shelf 'at his beddes heed' . . . (or else in the sacristy, if his church contained one), some such book or books as 'Pupilla oculi', 'Pars oculi' . . . if not one of the collections of Penitential Canons of an earlier date . . ." Wordsworth and Littlehales, *The Old Service-books of the English Church* (1904), pp. 33-4.

³ The canon laws.

⁴ Sext and Nones were said by the priest after celebrating Mass; the text of 'Clementynys' may refer to 'Missa Clementis pape, pro mortalitate cuitanda' mentioned by Wordsworth and Littlehales (p. 189) as a form of service of an occasional nature. Or it may be *Epistola Clementis Iacobo* referred to by Dr. M. R. James in *Trans. E.A.S.*, vol. xxi, p. 42, as among the books formerly at Waltham Abbey; Dr. James queries whether this work was prefixed to the Decretals or was a copy of the Recognitions of Clement.

⁵ St. John Chrysostom, Archbishop of Constantinople in the fourth century; his voluminous works consist mainly of homilies, commentaries, epistles and liturgies. A fine mosaic representing St. John Chrysostom was uncovered in a niche below the lower tier windows in the north tympanum at St. Sophia, Istanbul; see account, with photograph, in *The Times*, 2 July, 1951.

⁶ Wordsworth and Littlehales, p. 197, note a Latin edition of the Epistles and Gospels printed separately under the title 'Postilla; sive expositio epystolarum & evangeliorum', in 1509, instead of being printed in English at the end of the Prymer.

- Fol. 18v. to stodye labour & travayle to for the mannes soule and also gif ony curat of the cuntre desyre to hav a book to p'che and teche his parescheyn's it ys ordeyned *that* he schal have it charitelyche makynge good suyrt to the keperys of the place to brynge yt a gen at the ende of iij monethys aftyr tyme of his borewyng.
- Also levyng*e* i' the halle a bacyn and a labour banker and dōser iiii trestelys and ij metetablys.
- Fol. 19 Also levyng*e* in the boterye ij bareyls for ale conteynyng*e* xxiiij galouns ij bordclothys iiii savenapys and a towayle and vj sponys of selvyr of the weyghte of x s', and a maser prys of xl s', the wheche maser Margaret Bregcheman gaf to serve in the forseyd hous p'petual for the soules of here & of Steph' Bregcheman and alle here frendys.
- Also levyng*e* in the kechene ij pottys of bras & ij pannys a spete of erne trevyd and aunderne ij morterys an ex and a dressyng knyf vj platers
- Fol. 19v. vj sawserys xij dyschys ij chargewrys alle of pewter.
- Also the forseyd executours and aturnyes hulpyn edefyen and make' howsyng for poure men in a stret clepyd Danelys lane and hulpe begchyn and purchacyn a place in Wykyn i' sustynounce of the fore seyde howsyng of poure men desyryng*e* and preyenge to alle the peple of Walden' present & tho that be to come that the soulys of the fore seyde Joh' Boteler & Elyenore his
- Fol. 20 wif ben in p'petual mende in this forseyd dede of charyte and onys a yer that is for to seyne in the monthe of August in the Feste of seynt Dovet martyr and Confessour the prest seyenge Placebo and Dirige with Comendacioun with a masse on the morwe of Requiem the clerk ryngyng*e* in the cherche the bede men goyng*e* in the towne as custom and maner ys.
- Also *the* exec' of sire Joh' skeppe p'ste gaf x li' to *this* hows of charite w^t charge to alle *the* comeris aftir *that* the ordyna'nce before seyde ben kept & seyde *th*[a]t is to wite Placebo and Dirige

Fol. 18v. to study, labour, and work [on] for the (good of) men's souls and also if any curate of the country desire to have a book to preach (from) and teach his parishioners, it is ordained that he shall have it charitably, (but) making good surety to the keepers of the place to bring it again [return it] at the end of three months after the time of his borrowing.

Also leaving in the hall a basin and a cistern, a covering for a bench and its back, 4 trestles and 2 meat tables [tables for food].

Fol. 19 Also leaving in the buttery 2 barrels for ale containing 24 gallons, 2 boardcloths, 4 (?) table-napkins, and a towel and 6 silver spoons weighing 10s. and a mazer priced of [valued at] 10s., the which mazer Margaret Bregchman gave to serve in the aforesaid house for ever for the soul of her and of Stephen Bregchman and all their friends.¹

Also leaving in the kitchen 2 brass pots and 2 pans, an iron spit, trivet and andiron, 2 mortars, an axe and a dressing knife, 6 platters

Fol. 19v. 6 saucers, 12 dishes, (and) 2 chargers, all of pewter.

Also the aforesaid executors and attorneys helping building and making houses for poor men in a street called Daniels Lane and helping beseeching and purchasing a place in Wicken in sustenance of the aforesaid housing of poor men, desiring and praying to all people of Walden present & those that be to come [future] that the souls of the aforesaid John Butler and Eleanor his

Fol. 20 wife being in perpetual mind in this foresaid deed of charity and once a year that is to say in the month of August in the Feast of St. Dovet,² martyr and Confessor, the priest saying Placebo and Dirige with Commendation with a mass on the morrow of Requiem, the clerk ringing in the church, the beadsmen going in the town as is the custom and manner.

Also the executor(s) of Sir John Skeppe,³ priest, gave £10 to this house of charity with charge to all the comers after [those people who shall come] that the ordinance before said be kept and said, that is to wit [say] Placebo and Dirige

¹ See Benton, Galpin and Pressey, *The Church Plate of Essex* (1926), pp. 263-4, *Archæologia*, vol. 1, p. 163, and *Trans. E.A.S.*, vol. xix, N.S., p. 303 and Plates I and III. This celebrated mazer was sold for £2,900 in 1929.

² Probably intended for St. Donatus, bishop and martyr, whose feast is kept on 7 August; it would seem that the scribe mis-read an 'n' for a 'u', giving Douet or Dovet for Donet.

³ John Skipp, vicar of Thaxted, 1534-9; consecrated Bishop of Hereford, 23 Nov., 1539; died 1552.

Fol. 20v. & co'mendacio'n & masse & belle in chirche & towne as it is bifore specified. Also Symon Pepir exc' of Margery Warewyk gaf to *the* almesse hows xx Marc' to *the* beyng of Heruyys to be preyd fore in forme as it is before seyde.

It is to remembre *that* in Syre Robert Margery tyme a tenement yelepud Ryngys su'tyme Toppysfeldys was solde to bye Wykene. and aftyr in Syr Jon Baryngton tyme a mees in Brook Walden govyn by Wyll' Skynnere

Fol. 21 was sold for viij Mark to bye a mees in Goulestret of Nicolas Myllere for xij Mark. and aftir in Jon Saman tyme *the* brethren solden Wykene for iiij Skore Mark and bougten Buss hous for vj Skore Mark & x. Aftir cam Will' Hyham & *the* seyd J. Saman and bougten a Mees of Will' Vyn & Jon Perkyn *the* exec' of Will' Gale for x Mark & byldedyn *theron* an hous *that* costyd xl s'. And *thus* it may be knowen to alle men how *the* goodis of the almes hous in *these* mennis tymes be fore seyde weren disposyd and spendid for ye almeshous.

Fol. 21v. Also it ys to remembre *that* John' Cu'stable gaf to *the* almes hows ij acrys of lond lying toward Suardys ende

Also John' Howlot gaf to *the* almes hows j acre of lond lying toward lytil Walden.

Also John' Ryche gaf to *the* almes hows ij acris of lond lying toward Pyriton.

Willi'm Hyhom gaf to *the* almes hows a crofte ycallid hobolott croft cont' v acres

John' Lamberd gaf to *the* almes hows a Beerne yedifiid on hoggy's Grene

Also Robert Semere gaf to *the* almes hows v marc of money & more

Also Robert Aldeberi gaf to *the* almes hows j acre of lond lying toward litil Walden

Also Robert Semer' gaf to *the* almesse hous for reparacto'n yerly xld'.

Fol. 20v. and Commendation and mass, and bell in church and town as it is before specified. Also Simon Pepir executor of Margery Warwick gave to the almshouse 20 marks to the buying of Hervyys to be prayed for in form as before said.

It is to remember that in Sir Robert Margery's time a tenement called Rings, sometime Toppesfields, was sold to buy Wicken, and after[wards], in Sir John Barrington's time, a message in Brook Walden given by William Skinner

Fol. 21 was sold for 8 marks to buy a message in Goulstreet¹ of Nicholas Miller for 7 marks, and after, in John Saman's time, the brethren sold Wicken for 8 score marks and bought Buss house for 6 score marks and ten. After[wards] came William Higham and the said J[ohn] Saman and bought a message of [from] William Vyn and John Perkin the executors of William Gale for 10 marks and built thereon a house that cost 40*s*. And thus it may be known to all men how the goods of the almshouse in these men's times before said were disposed and spent for the almshouse.

Fol. 21v. Also it is to remember that John Constable gave to the almshouse 2 acres of land lying toward Swards End.

Also John Howlot gave to the almshouse 1 acre of land lying toward Little Walden.

Also John Ryche gave to the almshouse 2 acres of land lying toward Pyriton.

William Higham gave to the almshouse a croft called Hobolott Croft containing 5 acres.

John Lamberd gave to the almshouse a barn built on Hog's Green.²

Also Robert Semere gave to the almshouse 5 marks of money and more.

Also Robert Aldberry gave to the almshouse 1 acre of land lying toward Little Walden.

Also Robert Semere gave to the almshouse for reparations yearly, 40*d*.

¹ The name of a street in Walden, now known as Gold-street. It is termed *le Goldestrete* in 1453.—G.M.B. Goule, or gole, is a Middle English word for a ditch or channel.

² Hog's Green was an open green facing the Almshouse and extending to Freshwell-street. 'Hogg' possibly refers to a family of that name.—G.M.B.

- Fol. 22 Thomas Barkere gaf to *the* almeshous j acre of lande lyinge in wyndemelle valey towarde Northende.
 Robert Chapman gaf half a acre of land to Sowtwardis ende bi *the* path towarde Wymbysch Also j berne edified in almeslane be twene Heyngne John' Shymyngge gaf to the halmeshous xl s'.
 John' Roos yaf to the Almeshous a Croft closyd conteynnyng iij Acrys lyyng in *the* Northende it is letin for vj s' viij d'.
 Will'm Avynnawnt yaf An half Acre lond lyyng in Blaklond Schot Also'n Collwelle yaf an half Acre of lond lyyng
 Also'n Roberd yaf an half acre londe lyyng in the lymkelle felde
- Fol. 22v. John Boytone hath goven an howse in the cukstole ende betwene the howse of John' Waterma' and the chyrche howse at *the* corner and ys lete be *the* yer for vij s'.
 Also John' cowell *the* glacier gaffe a crofte of iij akeris towarde Westele.
 Also John' spyman hath goven half an akyr of londe towarde seweris ende be *the* pathe ledyng to Wymbyshe.
 Also an nodyr half akyr of londe towarde the ros'. Also Water chapman gaffe half an akyr of londe lyyng be shere hell.
 Also Jone thorne hath goven the maky'g and dressyng of *the* chapell xvj li' and x s'.
 Also *the* same Jone thorne hath goven *the* beyyng of baggys att *the* ylderstrete v mark.
- Fol. 23 Also Jorge thorne hath goven to the same tenemet iij akeris of wode and mede lyyng undyr rowney dyche.
 Also nycholas purlie hath goven an aker londe lyyng toward buntys crofte
 Also Thomas semare hath goven a crofte of ij akeris be *the* waye syde towarde boteleris callyd lytylberis crotte.
 Also John' challie hath goven a pytyl of half an aker toward wydgeris lyyng be wardys grove.
 Also sore Reynolde hasulbeche vecary of lytylberi hath goven *the* mede at lytyl Walden callys coo ys mede to *the* me'dyng of *the* tabyll to beye fysshe.
 Also Thomas chapman hath goven an aker lond lyyng und' powncys wode.

- Fol. 22 Thomas Barkere gave to the almshouse 1 acre of land lying in Windmill Valley toward North End.
 Robert Chapman gave half an acre of land to[wards] Swards End by the path toward Wimbish; also 1 barn built in Almeslane between Heyngne.
 John Shiminge gave to the almshouse 40s.
 John Roos gave to the almshouse an enclosed croft containing 3 acres lying in the Northend; it is let for 6s. 8d.
 William Avynnawnt gave half an acre of land lying in Blackland Shot.
 Alison Collwelle gave half an acre of land lying [blank]
 Alison Roberd gave half an acre of land lying in the Limekiln Field.
- Fol. 22v. John Boytone hath given a house in the Cuk[ing]stool End between the house of John Waterman and the Church House at the corner and is let for 7s. a year.
 Also John Cowell the glazier gave a croft of 3 acres towards Westlye.
 Also John Spylman hath given half an acre of land towards Swards End by the path leading to Wimbish.
 Also another half acre of land toward the Roos. Also Walter Chapman gave half an acre of land lying by Sheer Hill.
 Also Joan Thorne hath given the making and dressing [furnishing] of the chapel [costing] £16 10s. 0d.
 Also the same Joan Thorne hath given [towards] the buying of baggs at the Gilderstreet, 5 marks.
- Fol. 23 Also George Thorne hath given to the same tenement 3 acres of wood and mead[ow] lying under Rowney Ditch.
 Also Nicholas Purlie hath given an acre (of) land lying towards Buntys Croft.
 Also 'Thomas Semare' hath given a croft of 2 acres by the way-side toward Butlers called Littlebury Croft.
 Also John Challie hath given a pightle of half an acre toward Wydgeris lying by Wards Grove.
 Also Sir Reynold Hasulbeche vicar of Littlebury hath given the mead at Little Walden called 'Coo ys' mead to the mending of the table to buy fish.
 Also Thomas Chapman hath given an acre of land lying under Powneys Wood.

¹ Will proved, 1500; see *Trans. E.A.S.*, vol. xxi, n.s., pp. 254-5.

- Fol. 23v. Also John Nycollys hath given A Aker of londe liiinge beyonnde *the* wyndemyll crosse *the* buttyng uppon Cambrege waye ledyng froe Walden to Cambrege inclosyde w^t quikhege
 Also John Benne the elder gaf j acre londe lyeng be yonde the wyndemell shotyng ov' the wey ledyng from the wyndmell crosse to berne brege
 Also be it in mend thatt the berne edfyed on hoggys grene that John lambard gave to the almase howse was exchangyd w^t Wyllyam barker tanner for a mede lyeing in northend calyd Dukes pytyll
 Also the exsecutores & eyres of John Collwell the glasser hath govyn to the almyse howsse a crosse of erabyll londe be estemacyon ij acrysse lyenge towarde Westle.
- Fol. 24 Also be it in mynde Thomas strachy hathe gyffyn to the almeshows A shopp in the bochery late Thomas seeles
 Also Syr Thomas Semar Knygth dyde gyve x pownde yn mony to *the* mayntenans off *the* Almne howse & *the* pore pepull 1536
 Also Wyllyam maler' & margett hys wyff hath gyvyn to *the* pore pepull off *the* almeshowse ij s. by *the* yer A^o 1536
 Also be ytt had yn mynde *th[a]t* Rycherd pollerd off becham Rodynge hath gyvyn a ten' w^t a garden iij Acres off lond & a halffe to *the* gelaffe off *the* bed'ffolkes he *th[a]t* hath ytt to Ferme doth kepe an obytt & bedero'e w^t xx d' by yer & kepyng *the* rep'acyo'ns & payyng *the* Whyte rentts & v s. to *the* pore Folkes by *gere*.
 In *the* yer off ow^r lord god A M CCCC XXXV
- Fol. 24v. Also Willyam Calton the elder gave vj s' viij d' a yere oute of a pece of lande lyenge toward smalbride w^{ch} M^r Godfrey of london payth.
 Also James Wodhall hath given an acre of land lyenge in Stonebridge felde now in the tenure of James Flemynge the yerely rent iij s' iiij d'.
 Also William Turner Sonne of Thomas Turner Linnendrapier hath given unto the Almshouse of Walden Fyve poundes a yere for ever, to be payde out of the house he dyed out of, and the land adioyning to it, to be recovered by the way of distresse for default of non payment Anno D'ni 1612.

Fol. 23v. Also John Nichols hath given an acre of land lying beyond the windmill cross abutting upon Cambridge Way leading from Walden to Cambridge enclosed with quick-hedge

Also John Benne the elder gave 1 acre of land lying beyond the windmill shooting over the way leading from the Windmill Cross to Barne Bridge
Also be it in mind that the barn built on Hog's Green that John Lambard gave to the almshouse was exchanged with William Barker, tanner, for a mead lying in North End called Dukes Pightle

Also the executors and heirs of John Collwell the glazier hath given to the almshouse a close of arable land, by estimation 2 acres, lying toward Westley.

Fol. 24 Also be it in mind [that] Thomas Strachy¹ hath given to the almshouse a shop in the Butchery late Thomas Seele's

Also Sir Thomas Semar, Knight, did give £10 in money to the maintenance of the almshouse and the poor people [in] 1536

Also William Maler² and Margaret his wife hath given to the poor people of the almshouse 2s. annually, 1536

Also be it had in mind that Richard Pollerd of Beauchamp Roothing hath given a tenement with a garden, 3½ acres of land to the gelaffe³ of bed-folks; he that hath it to farm [the leasee] doth keep an obit and beadroll with 20*d.* annual [rent] and keeping the reparations and paying the white rents³ and 5*s.* annually to the poor folks.

In the year of our Lord God Anno 1535

Fol. 24v. Also William Calton the elder gave 5*s.* 8*d.* annually out of a piece of land lying towards Smallbride (for) which Mr. Godfrey of London payeth.

Also James Woodhall hath given an acre of land lying in Stonebridge Field now in the tenure of James Fleming the yearly rent (of which is) 3*s.* 4*d.*

Also William Turner son of Thomas Turner, linendrapier, hath given unto the almshouse of Walden five pounds a year for ever, to be paid out of the house he died out of [where he died], and the land adjoining to it, to be recovered by the way of distress for default of non payment Anno Domini 1612.⁴

¹ The late Sir Charles Strachey, K.C.M.G., C.B. (d. 1942), made considerable researches into the history of his family, and this led him to visit Saffron Walden when I was living there, and where I had the good fortune of meeting him. His interests were not confined to genealogy, and I owe him a debt of gratitude for kindly undertaking local researches on my behalf. A book has recently been published by Charles R. Sanders under the title *The Strachey family, 1588-1932: their writings and literary associations* (1953).—G.M.B.

² Relief.

³ Quit-rents, called white-rents because paid in silver money.

⁴ An incised memorial slab to Wm. Turner, singleman, and an assistant of Walden, now illegible, at the west end of the north aisle of Walden church, recorded this bequest, and depicted him in a short cloak.—G.M.B.

Fol. 25 Blank

Fol. 25v. Blank

Fol. 26 Blank

Fol. 26v. Ye shal pray for *the* sowle of Mayst Roger Walden arch bysshopp of
 canterbury
 John home ar
 Jone *the* wyffe su'tyme of Willi' Toppisfeld
 Thomas Warwyk
 William Skynne' of Brokewalden
 Anne Sutton
 John heygnys
 William heygnys
 Thomas Personn'
 John Botler' & Elynor' hys wyff
 stevene bregman
 Margery bregman
 syr John Skeppe
 Margery Warwyk
 Synond pepyr
 John cunstable & Elsebeth *his* wyff
 John howlatt
 John Ryche

Fol. 25 Blank

Fol. 25v. Blank

Fol. 26 Blank

Fol. 26v. You shall pray for the soul of Master Roger Walden, archbishop of Canterbury; John Home, esq.; Joan, sometime the wife of William Toppisfield; Thomas Warwyk; William Skynner of Brook Walden; Anne Sutton; John Heygnys; William Heygnys; Thomas Personne; John Botlere and Elinor his wife; Steven Bregman; Margery Bregman; Sir John Skeppe; Margery Warwyk; Simon Pepy; John Cunstable and Elizabeth his wife; John Howlatt; John Ryche;

- Fol. 27
- Wiliam hyham
 - John saman
 - John lamberte
 - Tomas lamberte
 - Roberte Semar'
 - Jefer' Symondes
 - Roberte awebery & Jone hys wyffe
 - M' John cler' su'tyme vycay of Walden
 - Thomas Chapman
 - Robete barker
 - John Shemyng
 - John Roos
 - Will'am Roberte
 - Allsone Cov'le
 - William aviant
 - M' Thomas brydes
 - John covell & Elyne hys Wyff
 - John colwel & Clement hys Wyff
- Fol. 27v.
- John boyton the elder
 - John Spylman
 - Thomas Chapman
 - Water Chapman
 - Will'am Barker Fyssh'er'
 - Thoma' thorne & ione hys vyff
 - Thom' Semer margery & Katteryn hys Wyffes
 - John Chalke
 - John pellam elsabet hes Wyffe
 - Nycollas purke
 - John growse
 - Will'm Warman
 - syr Raynold hasylbe late vycure of lytylbery
 - John Rutland Kyrlian' hes Wyff
 - Robert claydon & Jone hes Wyff
 - John boyton *the* yonger'
 - John bryght
 - John nycole & Alys hys Wyff

Fol. 27 William Hyham; John Saman; John Lamberte; Thomas Lamberte; Robert Semare; Jeffrey Symondes; Robert Awebery and Joan his wife; Master John, clerk¹, sometime vicar of Walden; Thomas Chapman; Robert Barker; John Shemynge; John Roos; William Roberte; Alison Coville; William Aviant; Master Thomas Brydes; John Covell and Ellen his wife; John Colwel and Clemence his wife;

Fol. 27v. John Boyton the elder; John Spylman; Thomas Chapman; Walter Chapman; William Barker, fisher[man or fishmonger]; Thomas Thorne and Joan his wife; Thomas Semer [and] Margery and Katharine his wives; John Chalke; John Pellam [and] Elizabeth his wife; Nicholas Purke; John Growse; William Warman; Sir Raynold Hasyllbe, late vicar of Litlebury; John Rutland [and] Christiana his wife; Robert Claydon and Joan his wife; John Boyton the younger; John Bryght; John Nycole and Alice his wife;

¹ John Hodgkin, vicar of Walden, 1540-44; d. 1560.—G.M.B.

Fol. 28 George thorne Florans & Jone hys Wyffes
 Thomas Strachy & Jone hes Wyff
 Andrew Albery
 John ben *the* elder & Alys hys Wyff
 John turnor Jone & Anys hys Wyff
 Syr Thomas semare knyght
 Wyllyam Malene : Thomas Albery
 Rycherd Pollerd & hys Wyff off bechamp rodyn'
 John Danbery *the* eldre & Gone hys Wyff
 John Ward
 And for all other gooddoeres of the allmas how' *that*
 fyrst be gan & lengyst howld on for there soules & all
 Crysten sowles of your charite say a pat' nost' & ave maria

Fol. 28v. Also be yt opyn and knowe *that the*
 entent of *the* forseys geverys and foun-
 dours ys not do to don preiudys to *the*
 lawys and statutys of *the* kyng ne of
the reme but desyryng worschepe of
 god and help of here soulys levyng
these forseyd godys in feffey handys
 abydyng betere ordynaunce lycence &
 wil of *the* kyng and of *the* rem. And
 gif yt so be falle in tyme comyng as
 god for bede *that this* forseyd ordynaunce
 be let be statut for lawe mad in *the* rem
than wele *the* forseyd foundowrys and
 geverys *that the* forseyd good be sold by *the*
 feffey and spendyd in almasse dedys
 by sygt of *the* forseyde xxiiij men as *thei*
 sen most helpful to here soulys.

Fol. 28 George Thorne [and] Florence and Joan his wives; Thomas Strachy and Joan his wife; Andrew Albery; John Ben the elder and Alice his wife; John Turnor [and] Joan and Anys his wives; Sir Thomas Semare, knight; William Malene; Thomas Albery; Richard Pollerd and his wife of Beauchamp Roothing; John Danbery the elder and Joan his wife; John Ward; and for all other good doers¹ of [benefactors to] the almshouse that first began and longest hold on, for their souls and all Christian souls, of your charity say a paternoster and Ave Maria.

Fol. 28v. Also, be it open and known that the intent of the said givers [benefactors] and founders is not to do anything to the prejudice to [of] the laws and statutes neither of the king or the realm, but [their] desire [is to] worship God and help their souls, [and while] leaving these said goods in the hands of feoffees [they will] abide [the] better ordinance, licence and will of the king and of the realm. And if it shall happen in the future, as God forbid, that this said ordinance by let [impediment] by statute or law made in the realm then well [it may be for] the said founders and givers that the said good[s] be sold by the feoffees and spent on deeds of alms by sight [under the superintendence] of the said 24 men and [as] they see [it] most healthful to their souls.

¹ See *Trans. E.A.S.*, vol. vi, n.s., pp. 166-8, for a description of the brass, c. 1475, to the Bryd family, and vol. xxi, n.s., p. 246, for the Will of Henry Cokke (proved 1500); the Bryd [or Bird] family gave the fireplace in the old Almshouse hall, and Cokke bequeathed 20s. to the reparations and other necessities of the almshouse of our Lady at Walden.

- Fol. 29 A COPY OF THE DERYCCYO'N STATU—
 tys and ordyna'ncys made by autoryte and gra'nt of the
 kynges letter patynt grauntyd by oure sovoryn
 Lorde kyngedwarde the vjth the thyrde yeare of
 hys rayne. Anno D'no M.CCCCC.L.
 For a fowndacyon of the almose house in Walden
 By w^{ch} autorytie M^r Treasurer and chamberlons
 of thys towne of walden at that tyme beinge
 withe the assente of hys companye and comanalty
 made ordeyned and stablyshed these statutys and
 ordynauncys fowloyng For the good and godlye
 mayntenaunce of the saide almose house alwaye
 to endure.
- Fol. 29v. Blank
- Fol. 30 IN THE NAME OF GOD. BE yt ever for a perpetuall memorye that in the
 yeare of oure Lorde god M.CCCC the moste worshipfull men and
 paryshoners of thys towne of walden by the helpe of the Coman's of the
 said towne. In the honour of god ordeyned and made an house of
 Charytie in a streat called Danielles Lane in Sustentatyon of xiiij poore
 men Which house thus godlie began'e by the good and vertuose men at
 that tyme before wrytten hath bene so godlie contynued unto the yeare
 of our LORDE GOD a.M.CCCCCth XLVI and the fyrste yeare of the
 reigne of oure sovorin' Lorde Kinge Edwarde the syxte and the parlia-
 ments houlden the same yeare at westmost' wher a monges manye other
 Lawes ther made all Colleges, free Chappelles, Chanteries, gyldes, fraterni-
 ties, obyties lamps, and Lyghtes, and all the Londes that to them
 appertayned, were hollie geven to the kynged and to hys heires by reason
 of the whiche Statute the Towne of walden beinge Incorporated by ye

Fol. 29 A copy of the direction, statutes and ordinances made by [the] authority and grant of the King's letter patent granted by our sovereign Lord King Edward the sixth the third year of his reign, Anno Domini, 1550.¹ For a foundation of the alms-house in Walden by which authority Mr. Treasurer and [the] chamberlains of this town of Walden at that time being, with the assent of his company and commonalty, made, ordained, and established these following statutes and ordinances for the good and godly maintenance of the said almshouse for ever.

Fol. 29v. Blank

Fol. 30 In the name of God, be it always remembered that, in the year of our Lord God 1400, the most worshipful men and parishioners of this town of Walden (by the help of the commonalty of the said town), in honour of God, ordained and made a house of charity in Daniel's Lane for thirteen poor men. This house, thus begun in so godly a manner by good and virtuous men, has continued until the year of our Lord God 1546 (the first year of the reign of our sovereign lord King Edward the Sixth), and among many other laws made at the Parliament held at Westminster in the same year, was one which gave to the King and his heirs all colleges, free chapels, chantries, gilds, fraternities, obits, lamps, and lights, and all the lands belonging to them. By virtue of this statute, the town of Walden being incorporated by the

¹ *Calendar of Patent Rolls*, 3 Edward VI., m.3. 18 Feb., 1549, recites the patent 24 March, 5 Hen. VIII, at the instance of Katharine Seinar when a licence was granted to Thomas Strachye and others to found a guild of the Holy Trinity at Walden, and, *inter alia*, mentions the Treasurer and Chamberlains, with twenty-four of the best men as assistants, to hold meetings and make ordinances for the town. This patent also gives licence to the said Treasurer, Chamberlains and Commonalty to found an almshouse at Walden and to acquire lands to the clear yearly value of £40 for its maintenance. In 1892, the annual income from property and investments under the control of the Trustees of the Almshouses amounted to nearly £850.

The licence, a richly illuminated document, is in the custody of the Corporation of Saffron Walden; its decoration is briefly described in *Heraldry in Essex* (Essex Record Office, 1953), p. 38. See also Braybrooke, *History of Audley End* (1836), pp. 251-2, Rowntree, *Saffron Walden Then and Now* (1951), pp. 11-15, and Auerbach, 'Ornament and Decoration in Essex Records', in *The Burlington Magazine*, Nov., 1950.

Fol. 30v. Name of treasurer and Chamberlaines of the gylde of the fratornitie of the hollye Trinitie fownded in Walden by the same was fullye disolvide and also by reasone of other statutes made agaynst the mortmayne of Londes and tenementes the allmoshouse before rehersed havinge no corporacion nor license of the kinge to possesse Londes and tenementes was reddye to be disolvyd to the greate hurte and undoinge of the poore of thys towne yet Neverthelesse at that same daye ther was verie manye good vertouse & charitable men in the said towne which greatlye Lamented the chaunce that hade fallen for the maintaininge of the sayde pore house whereuppon they consulted to gythere and agreed to make theire humble sute to the kynges highnes in all their names And amonges then [*sic*] did chose and Instantlye desyre John Smythe the yonger sonne of John Smythe the elder sometyme treasurer of the Towne afore sayde who made their humble sute to the kynges highnes and to hys Cownsaill And moste speciallye to Edwarde Duke of Somersett the protectour of all the kinges Realmes and dominions and governour of his person At which tyme god hade callid for them In place a good solyciter one S^r Thomas Smythe knight

Fol. 31 Brother to the sayde John Smythe, & one of the kinges princypall Secretories At whose Longe sute and humble peticion to the furtheraunce and helpe of the sayd towne And for the better sustentacion and relyef of the pore therof the saide KYNGE EDWARDE the syxt did graunt and gyve lycense by hys letter patentes bearinge date the xviiijth of Februarii in the thirde yeare of hys Reigne to the said John Smythe the younger beinge the treasurer of walden until William Strachie the younger, and Thomas Williamsonne then Chamberlaines unto the Cominalte of the said towne, THAT the said treasurer and Chamberlenies and cominalte of the said towne, or their successours, or any of them maye & might thereafter, sett upp, founde, make, erect, creat, and stablys for ever to endure AN ALLMESHUSE in the said towne of walden aforesaid with one keaper and one hys brother accordinge to the ordeynance of the said treasurer, & chamberleynes, & cominalte of the

Fol. 30v. name of Treasurer and Chamberlains of the Gild of the Fraternity of the Holy Trinity founded in Walden, was dissolved, and by virtue of other statutes made against the mortmain of lands and tenements, the almshouse (having neither charter of incorporation nor licence from the King to possess lands and tenements) was ready to be dissolved to the great harm of the poor people of this town. Nevertheless, on that same day, very many good, virtuous, and charitable men in the town who greatly lamented the mischance that had befallen the maintenance of the almshouse, conferred together and agreed to petition the King through John Smith, son of John Smith, senior, formerly Treasurer of the town. He presented the petition to the King and his Council and particularly to Edward, Duke of Somerset, protector of the realm and the King. At the same time God had called a good solicitor and one of the King's principal secretaries, Sir Thomas Smith, knight,¹

Fol. 31 brother to the said John; at whose long suit and humble petition for the continuance and help of the town and the relief of the poor there, the said King Edward the Sixth issued letters patent dated 18 February, 1548/9,² to the said John Smith, junior (then Treasurer of Walden), William Strachie, junior, and Thomas Williamson (Chamberlains) and the Commonalty of the said town, whereby they or their successors might establish an almshouse in Walden with a keeper and his brother [partner] according to such instructions as they should issue, to

¹ Sir Thomas Smith (1513-77), statesman, scholar, and author of an important work on the Tudor constitution, *De Republica Anglorum*, who was born at Saffron Walden. See *D.N.B.* and J. Strype, *The Life of the Learned Sir Thomas Smith, Kt., D.C.L.*

² See footnote 1, page 205. See also *English Gilds. The Original Ordinances of more than one hundred Early English Gilds*, edited, with notes, by Toulmin and Lucy Smith, with an essay on the history and development of gilds, by Lujjo Brentano (Early English Text Society, 1870, reprinted 1914) for comparisons with Saffron Walden. Many late municipal corporations had their origins in medieval gilds.

Fol. 31z. sayde towne and ther successouers, or anye of them to celibrat and praye, for the good estate of his highnes, And for the good estates of his honorable systemis, The Ladye Marye and Ladye elyzabeth, & for the good estate of hys uncle the Duke of Somersett, and the resedewe of the kinges honorable Counsaill, and for the tranquilyte, and continuall peace of the realme of Englande. And also his highnes, pleasure was, that after the said almeshouse were so made, fonded, erected, Created, & stablyshed, y^t It be callid KYNGE EDWARDE the sixt almeshouse of Walden in the Countye of Essex, with other gra'ntour & privyldges, for the good Commoditye & governaunce of the same, as by the said letter patentes more playnlye do appeare ACCORDINGE to the which graunt and lycense the said treasurer and chamberlaynes and the Cominalte of the said towne, for the holsome fortheraunce of the said almeshouse, hathe created, elected, and Chosen William bollinge keaper, and Jhon hubbert his part or cobrother

Fol. 32 Of the saide allmeshouse untell the mondaie next after the byrthe of our Lorde next comynge and to their successouers. And hath promulgated and establyshed for the better conservacion, ordrye, and governaunce of the said almeshouse, and the poore people theirin, founded, and kept this ordeynaunce & statutyte and no other wyse, but as folowethe.

OF THELECTYON OF THE KEAPER, AND HYS PARTE BROTHER COMENLYE
CALLYD THE MAYSTERS OF THE ALLMESHUSE

Fyrste the said treasurer and chamberlaynes & their successouers for ever Wythe the xxiiij of the beste and moste descret of the said towne shall yearlye accordinge to the teno'r purpose & effect of their graunt one the mondaye after the feste of the byrthe of our Lorde god elect and chose two of the honeste men of the inhabittanc' of the said town of Walden one of thei' to be kept of the said almeshouse and the other to be hys partebrother or cobrother for one

- Fol. 31v. enable them to pray for the good estate of the King, his sisters the Ladies Mary and Elizabeth, his uncle the Duke of Somerset and the other members of the Council, and for the tranquility and peace of England. It was also the King's pleasure that after the founding of the almshouse, it should be called the King Edward the Sixth Almshouse in Walden in the county of Essex. As it appears more plainly by the letters patent, the Treasurer, Chamberlains and Commonalty of the town have, acting under that authority, chosen William Bollinge and John Hubbert as Keepers of the
- Fol. 32 almshouse until the Monday following next Christmas, and they have promulgated and established the following ordinances for the government of the almshouse:

THE ELECTION OF THE MASTERS OF THE ALMSHOUSE

The Treasurer and Chamberlains and their successors, with twenty-four¹ of the best and most discreet men of the town shall, on the Monday after Christmas in each year, choose two of the most honest male inhabitants of Walden, one to be Keeper of the almshouse and the other his partner for

¹ See C. B. Rowntree, *Saffron Walden Then and Now* (1952), pp. 17, 20. With the exception of those on Plate I and p. 170, all the illustrations in this paper are taken from the late Mr. Rowntree's book; permission to use these blocks has been generously given by his son, Mr. H. B. Rowntree.

Fol. 32v. Hole yeare. And yf yt shall chaunce on of the said persones eyther the keper or his partebrother to die or by any chaunce to depart out of the said office or out of the said towne of Walden to dwell that in the said treasurer and Chamberlains with thassistaunce of the said fowre and twentie of the wyse and descrettest of the towne shall elect and chose other in his or their stead or steades so decesed or departed which keper & his partbrother commonlye callyd the masters shall in all thinges behave and use themselves according to the artycelles under wrytten for the governance of the said house & sustentation of the same.

THE OFFICE & AUTORYTIE OF THE KEAPER & HIS
PARTBROTHER COMMONLYE CALLYD MASTERS
OF THE ALLMESHUSE

They have & shall have an autoritie with the Consent of the treasurer and chamberlaynes to lett, sett, dimyse to ferme all Lond and tenementes apertayninge to the sayde allmeshouse when so ever the same shalbe

Fol. 33 Voyde or terme of demyses shall expire or surcease for the space of xx yeares and not above & for ye olde rent or more provided that they neyther graunt lease in revercon by anye colo'r or frawde nor for Longer the' xx yeares nor under the olde rent nor without ye constoe' [*sic*] of the treasurer and chamberlayns for the tyme begon. And yf they do the sayde leases & grantes to be void & of none effecte in the Lawe. And thei shall receyve & gay' all ye rentes, profyttes & Dewties belonginge & apertayninge to the said almeshouse bestowe yt in reparacon of the house & tenementes of ye said allmoshouse & uppon ye pore accordinge to ye ordinannce hereafter ensuringe. And yerelie on the mondaie next after chrystemas shall geve a true & faythfull accomptes of the receipt & bestowinge of the same at the said almeshouse before the treasurer & chamberlaines & ye said xxiiij assistantes & of ye Comynalte so manye as wyll come to the hearinge of their accompte.

THE NOMBRE OF YE PORE & THEIR SUSTENTACYON. the number is
Increased

Fol. 32v. one year. If one of them dies during his term of office, another shall be elected in his stead. The masters shall in all things behave themselves according to the underwritten articles for the government and sustentation of the house.

THE AUTHORITY OF THE MASTERS OF THE ALMSHOUSE

With the consent of the Treasurer and Chamberlains, they shall have power to let, set, demise to farm all land and tenements relating to the almshouse (whenever the same shall be empty or

Fol. 33 the leases expired) for a term not exceeding twenty years at or more than the old rent provided that they neither grant nor lease in reversion with any intent to fraud. A lower rent than the old may not be accepted without the consent of the Treasurer and Chamberlains otherwise the leases are to be void. They shall gather all the rents, profits and duties belonging to the almshouse and use them in the repair of the house and tenements and upon the poor according to the ordinances following. And annually on the Monday next after Christmas the Masters shall give a true and faithful account of their income and expenditure, presenting the same at the almshouse before the Treasurer and Chamberlains, the twenty-four assistants and as many of the Commonalty as will attend.

THE NUMBER OF THE POOR AND THEIR SUSTENTATION

- Fol. 33v. Ther shalbe allwayes (god so contynuyng y^e charitie and good will of the people as ther ys at thys present) fyfene poore persones men & women who shall have for ther sustentacon & Livinge Fyrste everye weke one bussell of wheat for to make breade & to busselles of malte for to make drinke, & in reddye money For cakys ijs, ijd. & in lent to by fyshe vjs. viijd. & for winter vjs [for] candils And everye fortnight one pecke of otmele, & everye monthe one pecke of salte & in the lent tyme vj busselles of pease & in somer six galons of butter & yearlye vij C. fagottes of woode at the provision of ye sayd keper & partbrother comonlye callyd the Master of ye almshouse & of the said xv pore people on shalbe a discreat & sober woman who shall dresse ther meat for ye said pore make their bread brew their drinke & kepe these yt are sycke & washe & governe them as she shalbe able & so shalbe reputend, taken, & named dame of the hous. And she shall have over & above all the poore
- Fol. 34 For her stipend & Labour vjs. viijd. yerelye. And when yt shall chaunce any of ye pore to decease if she be Diligent in tendinge of them while they ar sycke she shall have the beste garment of eche one that shall cha'nce to die. The resydew of all soche thinges as the said pore persons yt shall happen to die ther shall leave to be divided amonges ye poore people of the said house at the descession of the said Maisters the keper & partbrother.

THE ELECTYON OF YE POORE

whensoever yt shall fortune any of the said pore persones to decease or other wyse to be removed or put out of the said house IMMEDIATLYE after the said keper & his partbrother shall in writinge nominat to ye treasurer & Chamberlaynes & the assistance without respecte of favo'r or kyndred or any other sinystre or ungodlye occation. The most nedye & poore persones havinge impediment eyther by extreme

Fol. 33v. There shall be always (if God continues the charity and good will of the people as at present) fifteen poor persons—men and women—who shall have for their weekly sustentation, a bushel of wheat to make bread and two bushels of malt to make drink, and 2*s.* 2*d.* in ready money for cakes and in Lent 6*s.* 8*d.* to buy fish, and 6*s.* in winter for candles. And every fortnight one peck of oatmeal, every month one peck of salt, in Lent six bushels of peas, in summer six gallons of butter, and 700 faggots of wood each year; all to be provided by the keeper and his assistant who are commonly called the Masters of the Almshouse. And one of the said fifteen poor people shall be a discreet and sober woman who shall prepare [and cook] the meat, make bread, brew drink, and nurse those that are sick, washing and looking after them so far as she is able, and she shall be considered as the Dame of the house,¹

Fol. 34 and have for her stipend over and above what the others receive, 6*s.* 8*d.* yearly; and if any of the poor people die, she is to have their best garment if she has been diligent in attending them. The remainder of the belongings of the poor people that die shall be divided among the other inmates at the discretion of the Masters.

THE ELECTION OF THE POOR

When any of the poor persons shall die or be otherwise removed, the keepers shall write to the Treasurer and Chamberlains and impartially nominate two, three, or more of the most needy and poor persons of Walden (or, if necessary, of adjoining towns), being hindered by age

A similar provision was made under an order of the Charity Commissioners in 1892.

Fol. 34v. or by mahene¹ or sycknes beinge impotent to Laboure, ij or iij or moe, as occasyon shall serve of towne of Walden & for Defaut of suche of the towne adioynge of ye which so nominated ye treasurer & chamb'len'ces [*sic*] for the tyme beinge shall appointe & chose which shall please them to be in the same house. And to supplye the roome of the persons departed or removed,

WHAT THE POORE PEOPLE THAT DOE & BE OCCUPYED IN

Allso the xv pore persones, before rehersed, excepte anye of theym for-tyme to be sycke or with the Dame occupied shall everye mornyng at vj or vij of the clocke gather them selves to gyther in to the orytarye or chappell & there to saye suche prayeres as to them be apoynted to praye for the prosperitie of the kinge & Queens Maiestye & for ye tranquillitie & peace of this realme of Englande & after prayers done to goe to drinkinge & frome thence to report to the Churche to heare dyvine servyse ther syttinge all together on the north syde of the chirche

Fol. 35 In the settes callid the almshouse stolles & ther to remayne tell all Servyse be done & frome thence to go home to dyn'er & after dyn'er & grace & prayers sede & everye man & woman Soe abought suche bysines as thei can best doe untell the tyme of com'yn prayer at afternone. At what tyme they shall resorte to the churche agayne, & that done resorte home to ther usuall prayers yt shalbe apoynted for them. And after supper all of them into their orytorie & say grace & gyve thanks to god. And yf the Dame lacke helpe of anye thinge, yt onye of yem can doe as conserninge the busynes of the house yt non of them refuse upon payne to be expouled with two warnynges gyvinge, also yf anye honest ma' in ye towne wolde desyre anye of them at anye busye tyme yt shalbe lawfull for them to helpe him to encrease there gad willes towards the pore folke of ye house also the most Lustye of the men in the sayde house shall iij dayes in the weke by course as they have bene accostomed resorte to the godlie & charitable persones in the said towne suche as maye beste spare yt and aske the charitable almosse what it pleaseth God & them without anye moe wordes, & take thankfully whasoever

¹ Maihem, from the French *mehaigne*, a maim, wound, or hurt, by which a man loseth the use of any member; see Giles Jacob, *A New Law-Dictionary* (10th ed., 1782).

Fol. 34v. or wounds or sickness from working, to fill the vacancies, and the Treasurer and Chamberlain shall appoint whom they wish.

HOW THE POOR PEOPLE SHALL BE EMPLOYED

Unless any of the fifteen poor persons be sick or helping the Dame, they shall congregate in the oratory or chapel¹ at six or seven o'clock every morning and pray as required, and for the prosperity of the King and Queen and the peace of the realm. Afterwards, they are to have a drink and then report at church to hear divine service; they are to sit together in the seats called

Fol. 35 the 'Almshouse Stools'² and remain until the service is over when they are to go home to dinner (after which grace and prayers are to be said) and then occupy themselves until afternoon prayers at the church and later at the almshouse. After supper, all are to repair to their oratory to say grace and give thanks to God. If the Dame should need help, the inmates are to give it upon pain of expulsion after two warnings; likewise, any honest townsman in need of assistance at a busy time is to have it from one of the poor people so as to increase good will towards them. Three days each week, the strongest men in the almshouse shall go to the godly and charitable persons in the

¹ In the modern rules, dated 1924, is a clause that each inmate is expected to attend chapel when service is performed.

² These stools continued in use until well into the nineteenth century. I learned from aged parishioners of the last generation, that in their youthful days old folk from the Almshouses, and others more or less deaf who held no regular sittings, were in the habit of taking stools from the west end of the church and seating themselves in the nave alley; an entry in the church accounts for 1856 shows a payment of 5s. for 'repairing stools'.—G.M.B.

Fol. 35v. ys gyven them to theyr relyef

FOR WHAT CAUSE YE PORE FOLKE SHALL BE EXPOULSED
& PUT OWTE

yf any of them doe move sylle or purloine any thinge gyven to the pore house eyther money, breade, meat, chese, otmell, salt, or what so ever yt be to theyre owne use or to anye of their Children, kenesföke or frends thei for the fautes to be expoulsed & put owt as a caterpylor or a destroyer of ye Comynwelthe of the said house. Also yf anye of the sayde xv pore men chosen into this Charitable House be a comman haunter of ale hosen & will not with ij warninges leve yt fault the thirde tym the maister to expulse. Also be yt then ordeyned for ever that no man havinge a wyfe nor noe woman havinge a husband be chosen into the sayde house except their chaunce to be ij romes voyde at one tyme. Yf yt be thoughe [*sic*] by ye Masters

Fol. 36 And governors, the treasurer & chamberlains & the moste part of ye assistaunce that they two persons beinge coppled to gyther have more nede then anye other then they to be assnyed or els not. Also yf any of the said xv pore persons be dysobedyent when the Master & governors do Instruct them for their fauts or stoburnelye use them selves towards the Dame of the house or rayle uncomlye of anye persone or persons & inespéciall of the treasurer or chamberlains or of the xxiiij upon the Firste in maner to have warnyng & the second tyme to be expoulsed.

FOR THE ORDRE OF THE vj TENEMENTES

Allso the vj smale tenements adjoyninge belonginge to the said house as often as thei fortune to be voyde the Master & governours shall all ways put into the tenements void suche of the honest pore persons as thei can find in the said

Fol. 35v. town and ask for alms which they are to take thankfully without dispute.

CAUSES WHEREBY THE POOR MAY BE EXPELLED

If any of them remove, sell or steal anything given to the poor-house whether money, bread, meat, cheese, oatmeal, salt, or anything else, and keep it for their own use or that of their children, kinsmen or friends, they shall be expelled and put out as a caterpillar or a destroyer of the commonwealth of the said house. Also, if any of them be a frequenter of ale-houses and will not amend their ways after two warnings, the Master shall expel them on the third occasion.¹ No married people shall be received into the house unless there are two vacant rooms at one time; but, at the discretion of the Masters

Fol. 36 and governors, the treasurer, chamberlains and the majority of the assistants if the two married persons have greater need than any others, they are to be assigned the two rooms, but not otherwise. Also, if any of the said fifteen poor persons are disobedient when the Master and governors correct them for their faults, or for stubbornness towards the Dame of the house, or if they rail in an unseemly manner at anyone (and especially at the treasurer, chamberlains or any of the twenty-four assistants), they are to be warned on the first occasion, and expelled on the second.

THE LETTING OF THE SIX TENEMENTS

As often as any of the six small tenements adjoining and belonging to the house shall be vacant, the Master and governors shall always fill them with such honest poor persons as they can find in the said

¹ The modern rules provide for control of quarrelsome or disorderly inmates. A copy of the regulations made on a parchment about the middle or end of the sixteenth century varies slightly with those given here, but the intention is the same until we reach this section; an inmate could be expelled on the second occasion of his being disobedient or stubborn, especially to the Masters, Dame, Treasurer, Chamberlains, or any of the 'twenty-four'. There is also a clause referring to 'the Syxe small Tenements' adjoining and belonging to the Almshouse; these were to be occupied rent free by such honest and poor persons as the Master or Governors could find in the town, and to have pottage on certain days. From the context of the last line of fol. 36, it appears that the scribe has telescoped the conditions for married couples and the occupation of the six cottages.

- Fol. 36r. Towne and they to have their dwellinge Rent free so longe as they be of honeste conversation & behavoure & to be refreshed at certayne dayes with potage out of the said house as thei have bene accustomed.

FOR MAKINGE OF SALES OF WOODE OR OF LONDE

Allso be yt ordeyned ther be no woode sailes made of anye grounde, belonginge to the said howse, nor no longe [*sic*] exchangede nor soulede without consent of the treasurer & chamberlaines for time beinge.

Provided also yt the said keper and felowe commonlye callid the Masters of the almshouse for the time beinge shall not bye anye thinge belonginge to the said house to them selves but yf yt be soulede unto them by ye treasurer & chamberlaynes for the tyme beinge.

THE INVENTORYE

- Fol. 37 Allso the keper & his partbrother shall all wayes at their Acomptes make & bringe in an Invertorye of all suche implementes & stofe as belonginge to the said house with their comyn seale and all bookes, writinges, chartores & evidences, or what so ever belongethe to the said house & to delyver yt in the presentes of the treasurer & chamberlains to ye newe elect keper & to hys partbrother yt ys ther newe chosen.

This order ys Inacted by Mr tresorer & chamberlains with the hole consent of ye xxiiij assystantes & commaynaltie of ye said towne & ys engrosed in parchment with the townes seale alwaie to be kept in the treserhouche these statutes alwaye to be kept & not brokyn for ye good order & mayntaynaunce of thes[e] godlye poore people of this house for ever

Fol. 36v. Town, and such persons may have their dwelling rent free so long as they are of honest conversation and behaviour, and they may receive food from the almshouse on certain days.

SALES OF WOOD OR LAND

No wood or land belonging to the almshouse shall be sold or exchanged without the consent of the Treasurer and Chamberlains for the time being. Neither may the Masters buy anything for themselves which belongs to the almshouse unless the Treasurer and Chamberlains sell it to them.

THE INVENTORY

Fol. 37 When the Masters present their accounts they shall also produce an inventory of all implements and goods belonging to the almshouse together with their common seal and all books, writings, charters and evidences, and anything else relating thereto, and deliver it to the new Masters in the presence of the Treasurer and Chamberlains.

This order is enacted by Mr. Treasurer and the Chamberlains with the whole consent of the 24 assistants and the commonalty of the said town and is engrossed on parchment, and [sealed] with the town seal, kept in the treasure-house. For the everlasting good order and maintainance of the godly poor people of this almshouse, these statutes are to be kept and not broken.

Fol. 37v. the 26th daye of December 1577

an order taken for Landes & hereditamentes belongyng to this howse as followyth

Memorandum then yt is fullyr concluded agreed and condiscended at the accompt of the M^{rs} of this howse then taken by M^r Nycolles, M^r Threasurer, M^r Chamberleynes of this towne and other the greater number of the assistantes that no Landes Tenementes or hereditamentes shall at eny tyme hereafter be graunted or demysed to eny Straunger not Inhabyting wthin this towne. But fyrst one of the xxiiij assistantes of this towne or the Threasorer & Chamberleynes for the tyme beyng to have the preferment of everye such demyse or graunt of the same & next after eny other Inhabitant in this towne beyng Inhabytinge here by the space of ten yeres next before such graunt or demyse paying so much therefore bona fide sine fraude as eny other wyll gyve for the same apon surveye thereof made by the said Threasorer Chamberlaynes & Assistantes or the more part of them

Henry Leder

C Nycolls Recorder

Wyllyam Malyn

Willim Barreye

Thomas Barrydaunce

John Harne

Hililm Adam

John Strachye

Recherd Geppes

John Jaxson

James Iderych

C Byrd

Janys Moc'ull

Thomas Clarke

John Swallawe

Thomas Martyn

Thomas . . . fect

Wm. Strachey senior

Wyllm Turner

Fol. 38-45 Blank

Fol. 45v. Signature of N. Ereswell, and one deleted.

Fol. 46 Cover, pasted down, has Sarum calendar for July.

Fol. 37v. 26 December, 1577.

An order taken for lands and tenements belonging to this house as followeth:

Memorandum. It is fully concluded, agreed, and condescended at the time of the Masters of this house presenting their accounts to Mr. Nicolls, Mr. Treasurer, Mr. Chamberlain and the greater number of the assistants, that no lands, tenements, or hereditaments shall at any time hereafter be granted or demised to anyone not living in this town. One of the twenty-four assistants or the Treasurer and Chamberlains for the time being to have the preferment of every such demise and grant, and after them any inhabitant of the town of ten years' standing, paying therefore, in good faith and without fraud as much as any other will give upon a survey made by the said Treasurer, Chamberlains and Assistants, or the majority of them.

Henry Leder; C. Nycolls, recorder; William Malyn; C. Byrd; William Barreye; Janys Moc'ull; Thomas Barrydaunce; Thomas Clarke; John Harne; John Swallawe; Hililm¹ Adam; Thomas Martyn; John Strachye; Thomas . . . fect²; Richard Geppes; William Strachey, senior; John Jackson; William Turner; James Iderych.

Fol. 38-45 Blank

Fol. 45v. Signature of N[icholas] Ereswell, and one deleted.

Fol. 46 Cover, pasted down, has Sarum calendar for July.

[The book on the Strachey family—an American publication, issued by the Duke University Press—was not available when the footnote on page 197 was added, but the Colchester Public Library is to be congratulated on recently obtaining a copy. An account of the Stracheys of Saffron Walden (1513-1587) occurs on page 11. Of Sir Charles Strachey it is stated (p. 210) that 'he was particularly interested in the early Stracheys of Essex . . . and he pursued his investigations of them partly through the help of a membership in the Essex Archaeological Society'.—G.M.B.]

I wish to express my thanks to the Town Clerk of Saffron Walden, Mr. H. C. Stacey, for so readily making the original manuscript available to me from time to time. I am especially grateful to our Hon. Editor, the Rev. G. Montagu Benton, M.A., F.S.A., for giving me the benefit of his scholarship on many points, and for exercising much patience in seeing this article through the press.—F.W.S.

¹ Sic.

² The first two or three letters of this surname cannot be deciphered.

BOOKS CONNECTED WITH THE VERE FAMILY AND BARKING ABBEY.

By A. I. DOYLE, M.A., Ph.D.

THE late H. W. Lewer, F.S.A., printing the last will of Elizabeth Countess of Oxford, 1537, in these pages some years ago,¹ justly remarked that 'her personality, as revealed by her will, reflects the deep devotional feeling and active charity of her age'; and added 'Happily, at least one relic associated with Lady Oxford has come down to us in the shape of a piece of ecclesiastical embroidery which is described in this part of the *Transactions*'.² I want to describe, in what follows, two books which belonged to the same noblewoman, and which reflect in other ways the characteristics observed by Mr. Lewer. The more interesting of the two illustrates, besides, a wide if fragmentary hinterland of social and intellectual relations, of great importance for the history of native literature and religion at the end of the middle ages in England. Some of the facts involved have been to some extent traced by other students, though incompletely, while some which cannot be conveniently treated here will, I hope, be discussed at length in other places by the present writer. It will be necessary, however, to repeat or anticipate the ascertainable and hypothetical stories of the manuscripts most closely allied to that which is the chief subject of this investigation. This in order to suggest, if not to establish, the likely provenance and purpose of the volume, in conjunction with the evidence from its original contents, material execution, subsequent additions, and explicit inscriptions. The focus of interest will in fact be certain literary associations of the leading family and nunnery of Essex, but reaching beyond the county.

I

The first half of Harley MS. 1706 in the British Museum is substantially a duplicate of the whole (when perfect) of Douce MS. 322 in the Bodleian Library, Oxford; although the former has had a good deal added to its contents, while the latter has lost some of its leaves, subsequently to their first making. Not only are the lists of pieces in each volume parallel, but their respective texts have been constantly judged, by scholars editing or collating them, to correspond so nearly in readings that one of the two must have been copied from

¹ *Trans. E.A.S.*, vol. xx (N.S.), pp. 7-16.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 97-9, by the Rev. G. Montagu Benton.

the other, or both must have had a common source, now vanished.¹ Harley also reproduces most features of the appearance and arrangement of Douce, but careful comparison shows that the latter is in detail and almost always verbally superior, so that it was probably prior in preparation to Harley, and possibly the sole exemplar for it. The reverse is very difficult to conceive, after such a comparison, and if we still concede that there may once have been another like volume, a source or sister of both, it must have resembled Douce much more precisely in every point than it can have done Harley. We are therefore justified in taking Douce as practically being or effectually representing, for our purposes, the original compilation, and have no need to suppose another. I hope to show elsewhere how its collection of items, of verse and prose of several types, may have been built up from groups of pieces in other extant or presumable manuscript volumes, which may themselves be connected with places and people akin to those we can show to have been concerned with Douce and Harley.

Both are of what would be called in printed books small folio format (the actual dimensions of Douce 27.5 x 18 cm., of Harley 26 x 18 cm.), and are of parchment throughout; for the most part written in two columns, and in a couple of sizes and styles of script customary in the middle and second half of the fifteenth century, though individually distinctive in certain points. Leaving aside, for the time being, consideration of the second half of Harley, which never had any parallel, so far as we can tell, in Douce, all the work is sufficiently uniform, or regularly varying, to have been done by a single hand in each case (that is, for the text and rubrics, not the flourishing and illumination, nor the few pictures).²

In Douce there are a number of separable sections, produced in co-ordination, but perhaps not consecutively as they are bound to-day. One sign of Harley's probable dependence is that all the other features and sequence of Douce are reproduced, but the marks of the latter volume's particular purpose and manner of compilation are obliterated by the rapid abandonment of page-for-page transcription, and the omission of specially significant decoration.³

Harley is also characterised by obvious hastiness and carelessness in contrast with Douce, both superficially and minutely, as already said, so that we might be inclined to suppose the scribe of Harley a less

¹ See the particulars in the footnotes to the description below.

² The Bodleian *Summary Catalogue* assigns the first section in Douce to a different hand; in my view it is merely a difference of manner perfectly compatible with the rest of the volume.

³ Which should appear from the details of foliation given below, without specification of the columns.

well-schooled or amateurish one, deriving from his model whatever standards and style he observes. But it was not necessarily so, since in the later middle ages there were many kinds of both paid, professional, pens, and also non-commercial yet trained ones, as well as merely self-taught imitators, especially for vernacular literature. By whatever sort of copyist, and in whatever circumstances the bulk of the labour was done, the conventional colouring of main initials, occasional capitals, paragraph-marks, running titles, marginal notes and so on, in blue and red, was probably here, in Douce and Harley, as normally, the task of a specialist (the 'flourisher'). Harley, however, has none of the illuminated 'champs' and 'vinets' (foliage-like extensions of initials into and round the margins of the page), armorial escutcheons, and historiated text-illustrations, which occur in Douce and give valuable indications of its origins. Except for one plain pen-drawing, matching one in Douce, reduced expense, competence, or relevance must have brought about their absence from Harley, it being intended rather as a utilitarian replica, not a rival of Douce's special character.

Each book contains a list of contents, nearly identical,¹ preceding the texts in Douce (f. lv), but following in Harley (f. 95r.—Pl. I). Neither these nor the fuller ones given in the printed catalogue descriptions² are complete or exact enough to provide a proper notion of the scope and affiliations of this unusually inclusive gathering of Middle English devotional literature. It is therefore as well to rehearse and annotate the details here, before summarizing what can be discovered about the background of Douce, and after that discussing the origins, additions, and associations of Harley at length.

First, in single columns, by the larger book-hands of both volumes (Douce, ff. 2r-7v; Harley, ff. 3r-8v), is 'a kalendare in englysshe made in balady3 by dan John lydegat monke of Bury whych ys a fayre prayer': a poetical paraphrase, in stanzas, of the standard Sarum liturgical kalendar, ascribed only here (at the end, in the lower margin of Douce, as if an after-thought) to the most prolific of Middle English authors, who died in 1449.³ Then follow, in two

¹ The ABC of Aristotle, at the end, is not listed in Douce, and is not now in fact present, though it may have been originally.

² *Catalogue of printed books & manuscripts bequeathed by F. Douce* (1840), p. 55; *Summary Catalogue of Western MSS.*, vol. iv (1897), pp. 593-5; *Catalogue of Harleian MSS.* (Record Commission, 1808), vol. ii, pp. 178-9; Carleton Brown, *A register of Middle English religious & didactic verse* (Bibliographical Society, 1916), pt. I, pp. 118, 312-3.

³ C. Brown & R. H. Robbins, *Index of M.E. Verse* (1943), no. 1721; to which may be added an imperfect copy in St. John's College, Oxford, Arch.A.50, bound with early printed matter. Edited by H. N. MacCracken, *Minor poems of J. Lydgate*, vol. i (E.E.T.S. 1911), pp. 363-76.

No

These ben Contained in this booke

ffirste A balade in english made in balade by Dame John Lydgate monk
of Burgh

Item A lytell treatise d'arctico Amozie
Item the x lessons of dirige in balade
Item A lytell treatise of Parave in d'ne
Item the seven deadly synnes
Item A treatise called Dialogum sapientie in maner of A dialoge And
twentyth how we shuld leve to dye
Item A treatise of the gaste of dynat
Item A treatise of gostly Parave of the Armeie premyng thes to
Item A treatise of A laddes of my shougar by the archybis laddes men
moven with chynbe to heavyn
Item A good sermyn of Seynt Albere the bysshep wher ye refrene wher
ye refrene the Sacrament of the Antoz
Item A treatise how ther were by wyscheyffynnt wyttow Assembled to
pedre And wher they were accorded to speke off tybulacion And what gylty
p'p'rs cometh thes off
Item by Chappours made by Rychard Hampole heremyte how a man
shulde lyve in contemplancon in medytacion And in other p'nces by
Item A devoute medytacion of Seynt Anthon mynne
Item how a man or woman of simple kunning shal make hys p'ces to
god almyghty
Item A confession wher ye shal a p'ces made by Seynt Francoys
Item the charter off henry the thyrde
Item how Mytche A. B. C.

Alfred of

columns but a similar size and style of script, *Canticus Amoris* (to Our Lord),¹ 'Prayeres' (on the seven sheddings of His Blood),² and an appeal in His Name on the refrain *Quia amore languco*,³ all in English verse (D 8r-9v; H 9r-10v). Likewise, but in a smaller and more current manner of writing, except for rubrics and Latin quotations still in the bolder style, come next (D 10r-15r; H 11r-15v) 'the nyne lessons of the Dirige which Job made in hys tribulacion lying in the donghyll', ascribed here erroneously to Richard [Rolle, hermit of] Hampole (d. 1349), no doubt because of his well-known Latin exposition of the same theme from the Office of the Dead;⁴ and 'a tretyse of Parce Michi Domine', a moralising *chanson d'aventure* on that cognate refrain (D 15r-16v; H 16r-17v).⁵ There is then a prose confession of the seven deadly sins in the first person singular (D 17r-v; H 17v-18r), of which there is another example later; 'Hec sex observanda sunt omni cristiano in extremis', Latin maxims followed by an expansion in English verse,⁶ both in a larger script again (D 18r-19r; H 18v-19r); and two brief notes or extracts, 'A descripcioun of feythe, hope, and charyte', and 'Thorough two thynges principally may a man knowe whether he be meke or no', in prose (D 19r-v; H 19r-v). Next, two sets of stanzas on mortality, with an intervening statement that they were 'taken owte off the boke of John lucas' (being in fact derived from Lydgate's *Fall of Princes*),⁷ preceded in both manuscripts by

¹ *Index* 1781, to which certain corrections should be made. Ed. C. Brown, *Fourteenth-century religious lyrics* (1924), pp. 61-5; cf. notes, pp. 262-3, according to which D. and H. agree repeatedly.

² *Index* 2352; ed. Brown, *Fifteenth-century religious lyrics* (1939), pp. 135-6. Occurs again in the second half of Harley appended to a meditation on the same subject; otherwise only in the duplicate manuscripts Longleat House 30 and Huntington HM 142, the latter made by T. Werken in 1467 (cf. H. C. Schulz, *Hunt. Lib. Quarterly*, vol. iii, pp. 443-65; R. A. B. Mynors, *Trans. Camb. Bibl. Soc.*, vol. i, pp. 97-104).

³ *Index* 1460; Brown, *14th-cent.*, pp. 234-7, 286: D. and H. the fullest copies, 'sister manuscripts . . . only the most trifling scribal variations'.

⁴ *Index* 1854; ed. C. Horstman, *Early English Writers* (1896), vol. ii, pp. 381-9. Cf. H. E. Allen, *Writings attributed to R. Rolle* (1927), pp. 368-9. The same rubric and ascription in Trinity College, Cambridge, MS.R.3.21, whose close connection with D. and H. I hope to treat elsewhere. It is probably from the same scriptorium as Douce, c. 1470-80.

⁵ *Index* 561; ed. Brown, *15th-cent.*, pp. 208-15. D. and H. again nearest.

⁶ *Index* 741; only these texts, unprinted. Cf. Latin in Jesus College, Cambridge, MS.Q.D.4 (M. R. James' *Catalogue*, no. 46), 15th-century.

⁷ *Index* 3143; ed. MacCracken. *op. cit.*, vol. ii, pp. 655-7. Rightly but not precisely assigned by the latter, after other conjectures; followed by H. Bergen, *Fall of Princes* (E.E.T.S. 1924-7), vol. iv, p. 105, and contradicted by W. J. Wager, *Philol. Quarterly*, vol. xv, pp. 377-83. The stanzas are actually (except for nos. 1, 2 and 4) all from Book I; lines 764-70, 806-12, 918-24, 925-31, 960-6, with some minor alterations. I shall deal elsewhere with the evidence for the inferiority (*pace* Mr. Wager) of D. and H., in which they agree, to the original work and another copy of the stanzas, perhaps also derived from the book of John Lucas. If not simply a mistake for Bocas (Boccaccio, Lydgate's source), as Dr. MacCracken suggested, the person named may have been one of those listed by Wager, such as the prebendary of St. Stephen's, Westminster, 1447-56, or the incumbent of several Essex churches, who died in 1477.

a picture of death as a skeleton with bell and spear (D 19v; H 19v); then, in prose, the writing of the text becoming smaller and more current again (and remaining so for the rest of both books so far as they are parallel), 'the fyfte chapytle of a trefyce called Orilogium Sapiencie in maner of a dialog and treteth howe we shull lerne to dye', from the English version (known as the Seven Points of True Love and Everlasting Wisdom)¹ of Heinrich Suso's allegorical-mystical work (D 20r-25v; H 20r-24v); another extract on the same subject from an English version of the *Somme le Roi* of Frere Lorens,² called here 'Toure of all Toures' (D 25v-26v; H 24v-25v); 'the Book of crafte of dying' (D 26v-39r; H 25v-36v) in which much of the matter of chapter 5 of the *Horologium* is again to be found;³ 'a trefyse of gostly batayle' (D 39r-52v; H 36v-47v), a moralisation of the equipment of a knight;⁴ an English version of the *Scala Claustralium* by Guigo II, prior of the Grande Chartreuse, of which there is only one other copy known⁵ (D 52v-61v; H 47v-54r); a short saying on the Blessed Sacrament attributed to 'St Albert the Bishop',⁶ also in English prose, and a Latin note ascribed to 'Magister Adamus Cartusienensis Doctor'⁷ (D 62r-v; H 54r-v); 'a lytell short tretys' giving the opinions of six masters on the spiritual benefits of tribulation, a Latin passage *Nota de paciencia infirmitatis*, and an English version of the common treatise on the twelve profits of tribulation by Peter of Blois⁸ (D 62v-77v; H 54v-66v); 'the xij chapitres whyche Richard Hampole the Ermyte made howe that a man shulde lyve in contemplancon', one of several extant English versions of Rolle's epistle *De emendatione*

¹ Ed. C. Horstman, *Anglia*, vol. x, pp. 323-89. Adapted for a lady by her chaplain before 1419, and much copied in whole or part during the subsequent century, including an edition by Caxton in 1491. D. and H. grouped together by W. Wichgraf, *Anglia*, vol. liii, pp. 129-30, and not very distant from Caxton's text (complete).

² Cf. W. N. Francis, *Book of Vices & Virtues* (E.E.T.S. 1942), p. xxxvi. D. and H. 'from a common original below the archetype'.

³ Ed. Horstman, *Early Eng. Writers*, vol. ii, pp. 406-20. D. and H. textually affiliated, against the other copies collated.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 420-36; partly paralleled in the *Poor Caitiff*—see below.

⁵ Cf. E. M. Thompson, *Carthusian Order in England* (1930), pp. 338-9. Ed. P. Hodgson, *Deonise hid diuinite* (E.E.T.S. 1955), pp. 100-117. D. and H. are judged to be inferior, and agree against Cambridge University Library Ff.vi.33, which was written about 1500 by a Carthusian monk of Sheen, probably for the neighbouring Brigittine nuns of Syon abbey.

⁶ To be edited by the present writer in another place. D. and H. again agree peculiarly (along with Trinity R.3.21).

⁷ 'Hec sunt que Maria Magdalena immo circumspeccionis emit aromata cognicio, videlicet propria compuncio. Interna, [sic] confessio pura. et satisfaccio condigna.' For Adam cf. E. M. Thompson, *op. cit.*, pp. 336-8, etc. There are no grounds for giving to him more than this one piece from these two manuscripts.

⁸ Each item of this group (ed. Horstman, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, pp. 389-406) found also separately. There are several other English renderings of the third item (Latin ed. J. P. Migne, *P.L.* tom. 207, col. 989 et seq.).

vita,¹ with his name and date of death and tables of chapters in English and Latin prefixed (D 78r-94r; H 67r-80v); *Meditacio Sancti Augustini* in English prose,² a spurious attribution to that Father (D 94r-97r; H 81r-83v); 'howe a man or woman of sympyl connyng shall make hys prayer to god almyghty' (D 97r-?; H 83r-84r),³ the last chapter of the Contemplations of the Dread and Love of God, a treatise found as a whole in the second half of Harley and a number of other manuscripts and early printings, as well as this part alone; 'a confession whyche ys also a prayer made by Seynt Brandon' (H 84r-88r), resembling a form already noted but more extensive, running through the commandments, works of mercy, and so on, besides the deadly sins;⁴ 'the Charter of hevynly herytage' (H 88r-90r), a section from the popular theological compendium entitled, after its author's self-appellation, the Poor Caitiff, often found fragmentarily;⁵ 'Consyderacion off man hym sylfe', the *Monita* or *Consilia Isidori* and a passage *Augustinus de contemptu mundi*, both in English prose and both spurious ascriptions, followed by English and Latin verses on the same ideas (H 90r-93r)—a group⁶ which occurs again in the second half of Harley; 'Arystotles ABC made be Mayster Benett' (H 94r), an alliterative gnomic poem possibly by Benedict Burgh, rector of Sandon (1440) and Sible Hedingham (1450), prebendary of St. Paul's and archdeacon of Colchester (1465), etc., who completed one of Lydgate's works and was a didactic author in the same tradition (d. 1483);⁷ and finally (H 94v), in prose, an account of seven degrees of humility, according to St. Anselm 'in a booke of contemplacion',⁸ and seven degrees of pride. This, with the table of contents (f. 95r), concludes the first part of Harley and what was, it is

¹ Cf. Allen, *op. cit.*, pp. 240-2, for this and other translations.

² Ed. Horstman, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, pp. 377-80; 'MS. H. is, in this as in other pieces, a copy of D.'

³ The end of this and parts of the following items have been misbound or lost in Douce—see note below.

⁴ Cf. R. H. Bowers, *Archiv. f.d. Studium d. neueren Sprachen*, bd. 175, pp. 40-9.

⁵ More than 30 manuscripts of the whole and 20 of selections survive. The Charter, often found independently, is printed by M. C. Spalding, *Middle English Charities of Christ* (1914), pp. 98-102; the whole work is to be edited by Sister M. T. Brady.

⁶ Ed. Horstman, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, pp. 367-74. The first item occurs separately in Latin and English elsewhere; the second, with other pieces, in Camb. Univ. Lib. MS. Ll. v. 18, and, according to W. O. Ross, *M.E. Sermons* (E.E.T.S. 1936), pp. lxx, 98-9, in a sermon quotation, but rather a rendering of the same source, by him identified as the *Meditationes* ascribed doubtfully to St. Bernard, chapter 3; the third is *Index* 4160, ed. Brown, *14th-cent. lyrics*, pp. 237-9.

⁷ *Index* 3793; R. Newcourt, *Repertorium* (1708), vol. i, pp. 90, 146; vol. ii, 323, 517; cf. S. Moore, *Publ. Mod. Lang. Assoc.*, vol. 28, pp. 89-91.

⁸ Cf. *Eadmeri liber de S. Anselmi similitudinibus*, P.L. tom. 159, col. 663-6; and the 15th-century English *Disce Mori*, composed for a nun or an anchoress and circulating in the Eastern Counties: see Jesus College, Oxford, MS. 39, pp. 480-2.

safe to suppose, the whole of Douce 322 before the last few items became somewhat misbound and deficient,¹ though there is no proof of their presence, beyond the Charter mentioned in its contents-table.

II

At the front of Douce 322 there is an engrossed contemporary inscription stating that the volume was intended as a gift from William Baron, Esq., to the Dominican priory of Dartford (Kent), for the personal use of Petronilla Wrattisley, a nun there and 'nece' of the donor.² There is every reason for taking this at its face value but, like many medieval *ex-libris*, it is somewhat ambiguous in implication, and only to be interpreted with circumspection, in the light of all the relevant facts and possibilities. After due consideration, however, we may be confirmed in the presumption that this very manuscript was the original collection, compiled from various other volumes for such a purpose as that declared in the front, by a professional scriptorium working with the assistance of non-commercial literary resources; and at the direction and expense of someone of substance and influence in metropolitan *milieux*, both secular and religious, towards the end of the third quarter of the fifteenth century, or a little later, approximately.

The people named in the inscription have been provisionally identified,³ and some of their associations may be traced further (as I hope to do elsewhere), but there is no need to do more than refer to the outlines here, in order to illuminate the pre-history of Harley 1706 so far as it is dependent on Douce.

William Baron, a gentleman of a Berkshire family, was, from about 1430 to 1470, active both at Westminster and in London, as an officer of the Royal Exchequer and a participant in city affairs. He married a daughter of the important bourgeois family of Knollys (with Hertfordshire estates), lived for at least some years in the neighbourhood (St. Bartholomew's Close) where I believe Douce may have been executed, and was buried nearby in the London Charterhouse, from which certain of its contents may have been drawn. His grand-daughter, as she was most probably (unless we attribute the gift to a speculative

¹ The problems of Douce will be described, I hope, in an article in another place: the collation of the first half of Harley, simpler than Douce or its own second half, is as follows: 2 preliminary conjoint leaves, signatures *a* to *l* in gatherings of eight, *m* originally of six but m5, probably a blank, now gone—making in all 95 leaves foliated in pencil. I have disregarded another inconsistent foliation in ink.

² *Douce Catalogue*, p. 55; *Summary Catalogue*, no. 21896.

³ *Ibid.*, by G. Wrottesley, *History of Wrottesleys* (1903), pp. 238-40; W. J. Wager, *loc. cit.*; H. E. Allen, *op. cit.*, p. 240; *etc.*

son and namesake of the above William), can hardly have been fully professed as a nun (and so styled 'sister') at Dartford before about 1480, in view of the date of her parents' marriage and her supposed place amongst their children; but, like many girls of prosperous families, she may have entered the convent for her education and with the idea of that vocation much earlier, and so the manuscript could have been prepared and completed for her. Or it may have been designed initially for another person in a similar situation, known or related to the same donor or his wife, for both had other kinsfolk in nunneries, including Dartford itself, at this time. The production of the volume, from starting the collection to the last finishing of the book, may indeed have taken several years; the comparable, though very much larger, Vernon and Simeon manuscripts may have been as long as 10-15 years in making, probably for devout noblewomen under clerical direction in the West Midlands almost a century previously.¹ We cannot definitely decide what intervals supervened between Baron's (or some other person's) inception of the work, its completion, the intention of the gift as expressed, and the inscription; nor is there any positive evidence that the manuscript ever reached Dartford, though there is no good reason for doubting that it did.

When we come to Harley 1706, we must recognize that its first portion may have been transcribed from Douce (or the possible replica) at any time between the virtual completion of the collection as we see it and the beginning of the next century (i.e., c.1475-1500). Though narrowly modelled on Douce in most particulars, Harley is unlikely, in my judgment, to be from the same shop, or, if so, it is probably a good deal later, since it is so inferior. The second portion of Harley, even more clearly, speaks a lapse of competence or time, and a change of conditions. Yet one editor formed the impression that the scribe of this latter part employed, in repeating a few texts already represented in the first part, the identical exemplars used for Douce.² This, if true (and more collation would be advisable to be sure), is by no means incompatible with my hypothesis, for they may well have been still accessible, even at Dartford, so close was the circle of communities and individuals interested in the exchange of suitable religious reading-matter in this region about this time. The duplication and enlargement on similar lines in Harley 1706 implies some resemblance of motive to that behind Douce; and the incidental evidence also suggests that it may have been done for a devout woman reader, or

¹ Staffordshire, c. 1390-1400? Cf. M. S. Serjeantson, *Mod. Lang. Rev.*, vol. xxxii, pp. 227, 321, etc.; H. E. Allen, *Times Lit. Suppl.*, 8 Feb., 1936, and her promised study of the tradition of vernacular literature for devout women.

² Horstman's judgment, which has not been tested by the present writer.

readers and listeners, in a convent or piously-inclined lay household, somehow in touch, perhaps by intermediaries, with the context of Douce. To support this contention it is best now to treat Harley 1706 in detail.

III

First in the latter part of Harley 1706, after the contents-table of the preceding portion, comes a section in single columns, started by one hand and finished by another (changing on f. 104v, without break of text), both of late fifteenth-century aspect, though the one more elaborate than the other¹ (96r-105v). They are jointly responsible for a 'Complaint of the dying creature' which is otherwise found only, to the best of my knowledge, in four editions by Wynkyn de Worde, from his Fleet Street address, in 1506, 1507, 1514, and again [1531-4?] without date.² The manuscript and printed texts correspond closely but not absolutely, and the introductory rubrics differ considerably, so that they may be immediately independent, yet hardly far removed from a common original, perhaps a translation from French.³

There follows a new series of signed yet apparently irregular gatherings (difficult to collate thoroughly), in two columns, with rubrics, by one hand of a type not unlike the chief script of the first half of the volume, but a good deal larger, unwieldy, and rather more that of an amateur's efforts. But I have already given reasons for hesitation about this. The contents of this last portion of the manuscript comprise the pious prose tracts or meditations called the *Mirror of Sinners* and the *Three Arrows*⁴ (ff. 106r-114v); an extract on four profitable things (from Rolle's *Form of Perfect Living*), pre-facing a treatise on remedies against spiritual temptations (derived from a Latin one by William Flete) which, besides occurring in several other manuscripts, was twice printed by Wynkyn de Worde, in 1508 and 1519⁵ (114v-139v); the 'gadered counseylls of seynte Isodre'

¹ Added at the end is a cryptic contemporary colophon, in different ink, 'quod snypp' (?), perhaps actually in cipher.

² A. W. Pollard and G. R. Redgrave, *A short-title catalogue of English books 1475-1640* (Bibl. Soc. 1926), nos. 6034-5a; H. S. Bennett, *English books and readers, 1475-1557* (1952), p. 247. To these should be prefixed an unrecorded earlier edition of 1506—see *The Durham Philobiblon*, vol. i, pp. 68-9.

³ There was a contemporary *Complainte de l'ame dannee*, often reprinted (*Gesamtkatalog d. Wiegendrucke*, no. 7264 *et seq.*), but S.T.C. 5609 is apparently the English version of that.

⁴ Ed. Horstman, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, pp. 436-40, 446-9; very commonly found together, as well as singly.

⁵ S.T.C. 21262-3; ed. Horstman, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, pp. 106-23; cf. Allen, *op. cit.*, pp. 359-61. The Latin and a couple of more literal renderings into English to be edited by Fr. B. Hackett, O.S.A. For Flete see E. G. Gardner, *St. Catherine of Siena* (1907), and A. Gwynn, *The English Austin friars in the time of Wyclif* (1940). *passim*.

with the same pieces appended as earlier in the volume, only with the addition of nine points of perfection and another moral sentence in prose¹ (140r-154v); the Contemplations of the dread and love of God, also printed twice by de Worde, 1506 and without date [1525?],² surviving in many other manuscripts (154v-204v); and finally (205r-214v), in single columns, a number of short didactic and devotional poems—on the decalogue, deadly sins, virtues, works of mercy, wits, beatitudes, and so on;³ a lesson for a child,⁴ a meditation on the sheddings of Our Lord's Blood,⁵ a related prayer⁶ found already near the beginning of both Douce and Harley, and a moralisation on the ages of man;⁷ with a couple of prose notes interjected, one on the wounds of Our Lord,⁸ the other on spiritual reading (ff. 210r and 212v, respectively). The latter may be quoted appropriately at this juncture:

We schulde rede and use bokes in to this ende and entente. for formys of preysynge and preyngge to god, to oure lady seynte marye and to alle the seyntes. that we myghte have by the forseyd use of redynge understondynge of god of hys benyfetyng of hys lawe. of hys serveyce or sume other goodly and gostely trowthis. or ellys that we myghte have good affeccyon toward god and hys seyntes and hys serveyce to be gendryd and geten.

Here is expressed a notion of literature that is peculiarly religious, in the mediaeval sense of the last word, meaning a regular habit of mind and living, shared by solitaries and widows in vows, however, besides monks, nuns, and friars, and accepted as something to be emulated, so far as possible, by earnest seculars, clerks and layfolk. Douce 322 and Harley 1706 are excellent if exceptional examples of the results of this state of ideas and affairs. A great many other English texts and manuscripts also reflect it in varying degrees.

If it is not merely coincidence that three items in the second half of Harley were printed as separate pamphlets by Wynkyn de Worde in the early years of the sixteenth century, it may be taken, with what has been indicated of its antecedents and what has still to be told of its subsequent story, towards assigning the volume's completion and enlargement to the period between 1480 and 1500 or a little later,

¹ Also thus in Trinity College, Cambridge, MS. B.15.39, mid-15th-century.

² *S.T.C.* 21259-60; ed. Horstman, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, pp. 72-105.

³ *Index* 3685, 2770, 469, 3041, 3262, 1815, 1126, 505, 475, 1746; mostly unprinted, some unique copies, others found together in certain manuscripts, e.g., Camb. Univ. Lib. Ff. ii, 38 (with the poem *Pety Job* and also the prose *Three Arrows*), or Harley 2339 (with the *Mirror of Sinners, Three Arrows, etc.* Cf. description in *Dominican Studies*, vol. iii, pp. 351-2, by the present writer), both mid-15th-century.

⁴ *Index* 1416.

⁵ *Index* 1748.

⁶ *Index* 2352.

⁷ *Index* 880; ed. Brown, *15th-cent. lyrics*, pp. 233-6.

⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 322-3, professedly based on St. Anselm again.

with some gap between the two halves of the work; and to the vicinity of the capital, as has been intimated already. There is evidence, moreover, that Harley was not only made but also kept and used in conditions not far removed from those for which Douce 322 was destined. On f. 215r, an end-leaf, there have been added, by a roughly contemporary (late fifteenth- or early sixteenth-century) hand, Latin suffrages to Saint Ethelburga,¹ on which Humfrey Wanley in his catalogue of the Harleian manuscripts² commented characteristically as follows:—

From these short Collects a Question is started, in the Account given of this Book, in the Great Catalogue of MSS. printed at Oxford,³ Whether this Book did not belong to Ely-Abbey? To which an Answer may, with probability enough, be returned in the negative; for as much as our Ethelburga was not the Ely-Saint (but St. Etheldrith wife to Ecgfrid King of the Northumbrians) & it appears, that St Ethelburg was much about the same Time sett over the New Monastery of Nuns, which her brother Erkenwald Bishop of London had built at Barking; to which place if this book had been given, in all likelihood it would have staid there till after the Dissolution thereof. But before the Dissolution 'tis certain that it was the proper goods of a very great Lady, who was first the wife of William Viscount Beaumont (who died the 23 December 24 Hen. VII) in which capacity she wrote her Name herein (Elysabeth Beaumont) twice, as may be seen at fol. 11 & 216 in the former place writing thus 'Thys ys my Boke'. She was afterwards married to John Vere Earl of Oxford, and as such (or at least as his widow, for she survived him many years) she entered her Name four times more, to be seen at fol. 3. 93b. 95 & 214b. in which last Page, at the top thereof, are these words, 'Thys yes my Boke; quod Elysabeth Oxynde'.

The facts as stated above are largely indisputable, but closer study and broader knowledge of the manuscript's associations enable one to qualify Wanley's conclusions in some respects.

The assumption that the book, if once the property of Barking, could not have come into the Countess of Oxford's hands, as it certainly did, before the dissolution of the monastery, may be challenged on general grounds, in that such alienation can be shown to have been by no means uncommon, especially with vernacular writings which were more often than not in individual rather than communal custody; and in view of the known relations of members of the nunneries of Barking and Dartford with the Countess's immediate circle of family and friends, and the notable inter-communications between these religious houses and certain others in and about London

¹ Not recorded by C. U. J. Chevalier, *Repertorium Hymnologicum* (Analecta Bollandiana, 1892-1920), with respect to the verse parts.

² Record Commission edition (1808), vol. ii, pp. 178-9. For Wanley see D. C. Douglas, *English Scholars* (1943), pp. 120-47, esp. 138-40.

³ *Catalogus Manuscriptorum Angliæ*, ed. E. Bernard (1697), tom. ii, pt. i, no. 6853. Wanley collaborated in this work, but not here.

throughout the fifteenth century regarding native devotional literature. There is at least one Middle English prose manuscript which may have migrated from Dartford to Barking, or else illustrates the same sort of movement, and motivation, less definitely. It is Additional MS. 10596 in the British Museum, made up of two sections: the first, the Craft of Dying, found also in Douce and Harley (and perhaps directly allied in text), copied by a Dominican, it seems, and therefore possibly for nuns of the same order, of which Dartford was the only house in England; the second, extracts of Scripture, meditations and prayers in English, apparently written by or for one nun of Barking and owned afterwards by another one or more, having on its end-leaves, too, suffrages to St. Ethelburga like Harley 1706, of about the same time—the early sixteenth century, when the two halves must have been united, if not before.¹

It may be significant that there are two annotations in the margins of Harley 1706 which seem to imply more than ordinary lay learning and interests, particularly that on f. 18r:²

Item pius nota. Nota. Nichil prodest homini ieiunare et orare et alia religionis opera agere nisi mens ab iniquitate revocetur

—presumably a quotation from an earlier theologian, like that on f. 116v, corresponding to what in the English text there (the treatise on spiritual temptations) is attributed to St. Augustine.³ These may have been made by a clerk acting as chaplain or confessor, either to a convent of nuns (perhaps like the Dominican who wrote Add. 10596), or to a noblewoman like the Countess of Oxford, who would seem to have had a special regard for the idea and practice of contemplative religious life. These possibilities are not mutually exclusive, and the more one examines the circumstances, the more one is inclined to try to reconcile them.

IV

Elizabeth, by marriage firstly Beaumont and then Vere, the Countess of Oxford already mentioned more than once, was born one of the daughters of Richard, younger son of Henry, 4th baron Scrope of

¹ See Appendix on Barking books.

² Below part of the confession in terms of the deadly sins.

³ 'Item est ideo [peccatum?] voluntarium quia [id quod?] non sit volun[tarium] non est peccatum'—badly trimmed; cf. Horstman, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 107. A quotation from St. Augustine's *De vera religione*, derived, Fr. Hackett points out, from Flete's treatise. On f. 94v there is also the distich 'Seculi leticia: est impunita nequicia' by a contemporary clerkly hand.

Bolton.¹ Many of her forebears and their wives, and her kinsfolk in the collateral line of the Scropes of Upshall and Masham, were owners of Latin, French, and English books, chiefly of pious character; and they were constantly connected by blood, friendship, and other sympathies with inhabitants of the principal English religious houses of the stricter orders, where such literature was pre-eminently cultivated, both in the North of England (whence the family drew its origin and sustenance) and in the South equally (where its members were involved in political and social activities).²

We may instance Ann, wife of John, 5th lord Scrope of Bolton (uncle of Elizabeth), as probably the original owner of Harley 4012, a volume of English writings comparable with Harley 1706 in its constitution and, together with her will, reflecting her ties with the nunneries of Eastern England as well as other personal and local connections.³ We may likewise note certain relationships of Elizabeth Scrope which may help to explain the crucial links between Douce 322, Harley 1706, Dartford priory, Barking abbey and herself.

The prioress of Dartford from about 1442 till at least 1458 had been Margaret, aunt of William Beaumont, Elizabeth's first husband; about 1471-2 it was Joan, an aunt or cousin of her own.⁴ At Barking her sister Ann was a nun, apparently in 1485, certainly in 1515, and held the office of cellaress in 1527;⁵ Margaret Scrope, a nun in 1513, chantress in 1527, was described as a cousin in the Countess's will in 1537, was pensioned at the dissolution of the convent in 1539, and later gave away an English devotional book which had been in the house for well over a century (see Appendix). One could probably

¹ G. E. Cokayne and V. Gibbs, *Complete Peerage* (1920-), vol. ii, pp. 63-4; vol. x, p. 243.

² A special essay could be written on the literary interests of the Scropes during the fifteenth century, extending the work of Sir N. H. Nicolas on the history of the family and of Miss Allen on their patronage of Roile, etc. (*op. cit.*, pp. 504-8).

³ Harley 4012 contains *The Clensyng of Mannes Sowle* (another of the three known copies belonged to Barking—see Appendix), the Pardon of Syon abbey (where Ann Scrope was an honorary sister), and other pious prose and verse items, some in origin East Anglian (her native region), yet transcribed with distinct Northernisms. It bears her name as before her marriage with Scrope, i.e., between 1462 and 1490, from appearance probably nearer the latter date. It is not mentioned in her will, 1498, though several French and devotional books are. About 1480 she had borrowed Sir John Paston's manuscript of Chaucer's *Troilus & Criseyde*. Her last husband had been bequeathed all but one of the French books of his brother Richard, father of Elizabeth Scrope-Beaumont-Vere, in 1485 (*Testamenta Eboracensia*, vol. iii (1864), pp. 297-9). Lord Scrope mentions the Earl of Oxford in his will of 1498, and Ann in hers of the same year remembers the then Countess: *T.E.*, vol. iv (1869), pp. 94-7, 149-54. Cf. *Complete Peerage*, vol. xi, pp. 545-6; *Norfolk Arch.*, vol. x, pp. 294-9, 332, 363-73; *Paston Letters*, ed. J. Gairdner (1904), vol. iv, pp. 82-3; vol. vi, p. 121; etc.

⁴ J. Weever, *Funeral Monuments* (1767), p. 128; C. F. R. Palmer, *Arch. Journ.*, vol. xxxvi, pp. 258-60; *Peerage*, vol. ii, p. 62.

⁵ *T.E.*, vol. iii, p. 299; *North Country Wills* (1908), p. 85; *V.C.H.*, vol. ii, p. 120.

trace more links of this sort,¹ but a sample should suffice, if we add those established by the second marriage of our present subject or focus.

Mr. Lewer gave in these pages an interesting sketch,² which there is no need to repeat at length, of the long friendship of William Beaumont and John Vere, 13th Earl of Oxford, as Lancastrians who fought on and suffered imprisonment and forfeiture of property under Edward IV and Richard III; of how, when they were restored under Henry VII, Vere was appointed custodian of Beaumont's lands, just a year after his marriage with Elizabeth Scrope,³ and subsequently of his person, too, on account of mental sickness; how they spent most of the rest of Beaumont's life in close proximity, the Beaumonts residing at one or other of Vere's Essex seats; and how, after the death of Vere's wife and Beaumont within a year, Elizabeth Beaumont became the Countess of Oxford little more than a year later.⁴ Her second husband, the 13th Earl, was the son of another John, the 12th Earl, and another Elizabeth, of a branch of the family of Howard.⁵ For the latter, as Countess, Osbern Bokenham, Austin friar of Clare (Suffolk), had composed between 1445 and 1447 an English verse life of St. Elizabeth of Hungary,⁶ and not long before her death, about 1476/7, she gave Barking a fine fourteenth-century manuscript, Magdalen College, Oxford, MS. 41, containing various devotional treatises in French prose.⁷ It is worth remarking that she died in the Benedictine nunnery of Stratford (at Bow), another not-far-distant community of gentle birth and breeding, and was buried, along with

¹ According to S. Shaw, *History of Staffs.*, vol. ii (1801), pp. 204-5, Petronilla Wrottesley's elder sister, Alice, married Thomas (6th?) lord Scrope of Upsall, but I can find no support or indeed room for this alliance (cf. *Peerage*, vol. xi, pp. 569-70), which in any case would be a comparatively distant connection with Elizabeth Scrope. Petronilla herself was still alive at Dartford in 1512: see Wrottesley, *History*, pp. 257-8.

² *Loc. cit.*, pp. 7-8; cf. R. D. D[uffield], *Illustrations of Monumental Brasses* (Camb. Camden Soc. 1840-6), pp. 165-88.

³ 24 April, 1486—7 March, 1487; *Materials for reign of Henry VII*, ed. J. Gairdner (Rolls Series), vol. ii, p. 271.

⁴ Margaret Lady Oxford d. after 20 Nov., 1506, not 1489 as Mr. Lewer has it; Beaumont d. 19 Dec., 1507; the survivors married between 28 Nov., 1508, and 10 Apr., 1509. Cf. *Peerage*, vol. x, p. 243.

⁵ *Ibid.*, vol. x, pp. 238-9, 243.

⁶ *Legendys of Hooly Wummen*, ed. M. S. Serjeantson (E.E.T.S. 1938), pp. xxi, 257-88; S. Moore, *P.M.L.A.*, vol. xxviii, pp. 86-7. As Fr. B. Hackett and I have independently discovered, Bokenham's death has hitherto been assumed to be much earlier than in fact (after 1463). Cf. *Bury Wills*, ed. S. Tymms (Camden Soc., 1850), p. 35.

⁷ 'Memorandum that Elizabeth Veer sumtyme Countes of Oxforde the xxvj day of Feverer the yere of our Lorde M.CCCC.lxxiii(?) yave this Boke to the monastery of Barkyng, on whos sowle oure Lorde have mercy.' This might mean that she bequeathed it; the last few figures of the date are badly rubbed: Mr. N. R. Ker reads them as 1477; I myself as above (1474/5); Coxe (*Catalogus*, 1852, pp. 26-7) as 1482 (impossible). Cf. *Paston Letters*, vol. v, p. 251n; *Peerage*, *loc. cit.*

her husband, in the church of the London Austin friars' convent.¹ There is reason to think that the friars were in the habit of acting as confessors and counsellors in spiritual (and therefore literary) matters to both nunneries and noblewomen, and possibly served to foster the communications one may discern between them.² We may compare with the volume of French theological writings given to Barking by this Countess another which had belonged to Philippa, widow of Robert, the 9th Earl (and Duke of Ireland, d. 1392), and which was bought from her executors after her death in 1411 by Sibilla de Felton, the then abbess of Barking (1394-1419), who had made or owned several other surviving books.³

When the 13th Earl died in 1513 he left 'a chest full of frenshe and englishe bokes' (valued at £3 6s. 8d.), as well as many liturgical ones.⁴ It is possible that among them was the Ellesmere (now Huntington) manuscript of Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*,⁵ or a printed copy; Caxton had translated for him a life of Robert, the 9th Earl, now lost, and *The four sons of Aymon*, both c.1488/9, while he is also mentioned, as if a part-patron along with Henry VII, in the epilogue to *The fayttes of armes* of the same year.⁶ Although the Veres were recognized as principal patrons of Barking the Earl did not give it special mention in his will, but when his widow came to make hers, a quarter of a century later, 30 May, 1537, very shortly before her death (26 June),⁷ the abbey headed the list of her bequests after Wivenhoe church and its neighbourhood, where she and her first husband had lived and were buried; followed by Syon, the Sheen and London Charterhouses, the Franciscan nuns of Aldgate and Denny (near Cambridge),⁸ and certain houses of friars (including the Austins of Clare), before her remembrance of individuals. It may be further significant that in the preamble of this extremely pious document the Countess speaks of herself as being then in her 'pure widowhede', a phrase which might be interpreted to mean that she had actually taken, as was quite frequent with ladies of her condition in the Middle

¹ Another gentlewoman-acquaintance of Bokenham's, who had died in 1427, was buried in Elstow nunnery (Beds.). He seems to have had a wide feminine clientèle in the Eastern counties and convents.

² The manuscripts of the *Ancrer Riwle* especially afford evidence of this.

³ See Appendix.

⁴ Will and inventory, ed. W. H. St. J. Hope, *Archæologia*, vol. lxxvi, pp. 300, 342.

⁵ J. M. Manly and E. Rickert, *Text of the Canterbury Tales* (1940), vol. i, pp. 155-8. It has added a unique poem (*Index* 1087) on the house of Vere, signed Rotheley.

⁶ *Prologues & epilogues*, ed. W. S. B. Crotch (E.E.T.S. 1928), pp. 106-7, 103.

⁷ *Trans. E.A.S.*, *loc. cit.*; only abstracts previously printed.

⁸ Another centre of vernacular devotion; for which the sole extant copy of Bokenham's *Legends* was possibly made, and other English writings in the early sixteenth century.

Ages, special vows to remain in such a state, pursuing a quasi-religious manner of life.¹ In any case it was customary to live in a similar fashion, and the Countess was clearly of a very devout disposition. For her, indeed, so far as content goes, Harley 1706 could have been made *in toto*, or the second half added, before her marriage to Vere; or, made for some other person or institution, might well have been procured therefrom for her use, either directly by reason of her friendship, or through someone else.

There can be little doubt that the whole volume was in her hands from at least 1507 until the time of her death in 1537, for each form of her married names appears on both halves of the manuscript;² and among the other marginalia in sixteenth-century hands³ are the names of 'Edmond Jernyngham' (f. 3r) and 'Elysabeth Rokewod' (f. 37r), specified in her will as a 'nephew' and 'one of my maidens' respectively,⁴ presumably written in her household in her lifetime, though perhaps after her death. The only books mentioned in her will were two 'of gold'—from the descriptions and destinations (one to her sister Dame Mary Kingstone) probably manuscripts of hours and prayers.⁵ In the Bodleian Library there is a small illuminated volume of this type, containing the Psalms, Canticles, and other usual appendages, Rawl. lit. f. 37, apparently made in French Flanders during the fifteenth century,⁶ on f. 105v of which is a formal inscription in these words:

Memorandum that I Willyam viscount Beaumont the vth daye of Marche
the yere of our Lorde god M^lCCCClxxxvij geve unto Elisabeth my wief
this psalter boke / She tocupie the same during her lief / And if it happen

¹ A facet of ecclesiastical history, like the question of confessors already mentioned, little discussed or illustrated in modern works, despite ample material. E.g. *T.E.*, vol. iii, p. 312; *Privy purse Expenses of Elizabeth of York*, ed. N. H. Nicolas (1830), p. xxvii.

² As quoted by Wanley, and also 'Elisebet Ver' (f. 4v).

³ E.g., John Wylkyns (f. lv), Welyam Corwell (? f. 2r), Mari Nevil (? f. 18r), Tomys Yeacens (? f. 216r); besides flyleaf medical recipes, and 'I praye you of your marce In your prayers thanke [of me?]' (f. 213v).

⁴ *Loc. cit.*, pp. 13, 15.

⁵ E.g., 'a booke of gold having divers leffys of golde with the Salutacion of our Lady at the begynnyng'—to lady Surrey.

⁶ S.C. no. 15814. Script, decoration and litanies distinctive—cf. V. Leroquais, *Livres d'heures mss. de la Bibl. Nat.* (1927), vol. i, pp. 62-3, 124, 127-9, 177-8, 219, 267, 358-9; vol. ii, pp. 11, 44, 51-2, 82-3, 213-4, 268, 285; pl. 33; M. R. James, *Fitzwilliam Museum MSS.* (1895), no. 14, p. 25; *McClellan MSS.* (1912), nos. 42, 75, pp. 85, 153. Binding stamps perhaps Netherlandish, but cf. S. Gibson, *Early Oxford Bindings* (Bibl. Soc. 1903), no. 38. The manuscript was missing from the Rawlinson collection (received 1756) for many years; it was probably lot 172 in E. Mussell's sale of 1766 (see n. 7 next page), 'A most curious psalter boke of the Lord Beaumont, see a further Account in the Book, fine'. It was restored on 20 June, 1812, by Dr. Lawrence who had purchased it at auction in London—Mr. B. J. Enright suggests lot 76 in the Roxburghe sale of 18 May that year, though that is described as 4to.

me the said viscount to over live my said wief than this boke to remayne unto me to dispose it after my myende and wille / And if it fortune me the said viscount to deccas be fore my said wief than she after . . .

—the remainder being unfortunately lost with the whole of the next leaf, cut out sometime later (see Pl. II). It is likely that this book was treated according to the viscount's directions after his widow's death, without further instructions from her, and so too with Harley 1706, in response to her known wishes, or obvious claims, not needing to be put in an explicit bequest. Many medieval wills, in my experience, thus fail to record books almost certainly in the testators' possession at the time of their deaths, even when others are precisely listed and no general phrase covers the remainder.

It is hardly to be thought that Harley 1706 can have gone or been returned to Barking at this time, since the abbey was dissolved in 1539, and monastic stability had been unsettled for quite a while previously; and the suffrages and annotations that might best have been added to the manuscript there are of the earlier period in appearance and character. It may rather have passed through the hands of members of the Countess's entourage, kin and friends, in the neighbourhood of the metropolis.

Not very long afterwards, in the middle of the sixteenth century, John Bale, the apostate Carmelite friar, Bishop of Ossory, and industrious but inaccurate bibliographer, must have had access to Douce, Harley, or the (very doubtful) vanished duplicate of their common contents, for he noted several sequences of items which occur in that order and with those details only in these volumes.¹ It may have been Harley, for we cannot be quite certain that Douce ever had one or two items he noted, and we do not know where or in what condition it was at the time; whereas Bale, gathering most of his materials in the years 1550-7,² gives as his sources for these (as in other cases) the London stationers Michael Lobley (of St. Paul's churchyard, c. 1531-67), Reyner Wolf (of the same, c. 1537-73), and Richard Grafton (of the Greyfriars, c. 1541-73);³ and the inscription 'Mystrerys margeret otwell' on f. 191v of Harley probably locates it in the same quarter at that period or a little later, for the name is also to be found, with that of Thomas Otwell and that, quite distinct, of 'Thomas

¹ To judge by his mis-ascription under Adam the Carthusian, Benedictus Anglus, Brendanus Monachus, and Richard Rolle; as observed in the last case by Miss H. E. Allen, *op. cit.*, pp. 367-70, 423-4.

² Cf. C. E. Wright, *Trans. Camb. Bibl. Soc.*, vol. i, p. 214.

³ *Index Britannicæ Scriptorum*, ed. R. L. Poole and M. Bateson (1902), pp. 3, 49-50, 348-52, etc.; cf. E. G. Duff, *A century of the English book-trade* (Bibl. Soc. 1905), pp. 59, 93-4, 171-2. Lobley, not Hobley, as it is sometimes transcribed.

Powell of London stationer' (of Fleet Street, 1556-62?)¹ on Cotton MS. Vespasian B.IX, the book of St. Bartholomew's Hospital, from the same book-selling neighbourhood and circles.²

There is nothing to show what happened to Harley 1706 from this time until the second half of the seventeenth century, when it belonged to Henry Worsley, of Lincoln's Inn, being listed as his (and the mistaken Ely conjecture made) in Bernard's Catalogue of 1697,³ and later acquired with the rest of his collection by Robert Harley for his own great library,⁴ superintended by Wanley, and thus ultimately incorporated in the British Museum. The fortunes of Douce 322, between its presentation to Dartford and its acquisition by Francis Douce 'from Ebenezer Mussel's library' (1766),⁵ cannot be traced even as sketchily as Harley's. Fortunately the facts concerning the one are more or less complementary to what can be learned of the other, in making up a chronicle which, though highly hypothetical and wearisomely minute, has, I believe, considerable symptomatic as well as local interest.

APPENDIX: BARKING ABBEY BOOKS

THE leading position held by Barking among English nunneries, especially in literacy, matched by Shaftesbury in the thirteenth century, approached by a few other houses in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, but only surpassed by Syon in the last period, has been remarked more than once.⁶ In the earlier centuries of the Middle Ages (12th-13th) it produced authors as well as audiences for Anglo-Norman verse,⁷ and in the later (14th-15th), readers and owners of both French and English prose, in addition to the requisite liturgical and other Latin books. Some extant specimens have already been described here.⁸ There are several others, related to them, which may be added.

Mr. N. R. Ker⁹ noted the Ordinale, University College, Oxford, MS. 169, made for Sibilla de Felton, abbess from 1394 till her death

¹ Duff, *op. cit.*, pp. 124-5.

² It was annotated about the same period by John Stow, the antiquary and collector of manuscripts of London origin and interest, including a group which can be traced to this locality.

³ Already discussed earlier in this account.

⁴ Harley MSS. 1585 and 1747 are catalogues of Worsley's MSS.

⁵ Auction-sale catalogue, 30 May, 1766, p. 14, lot 276.

⁶ E.g., E. Power, *Medieval English Nunneries* (1922), pp. 2, 242.

⁷ A. T. Baker, *Roy. Soc. Lit. Essays* (1924), p. 145; M. D. Legge, *Anglo-Norman in the Cloister* (1951), pp. 49 *et seq.*

⁸ M. R. James, *Trans. E.A.S.*, vol. xxi (n.s.), pp. 34-46; N. R. Ker, *ibid.*, vol. xxiii, pp. 298-310. Cf. M. Deanesly, *The Lollard Bible* (1920), pp. 337-9; *Medieval Libraries of Great Britain*, ed. N. R. Ker (Roy. Hist. Soc. 1941), p. 4.

⁹ *Loc. cit.*, p. 301.

in 1419, and for the guidance of her successors, dated 1404.¹ It includes directions for an annual distribution of books among the nuns by a librarian, customary in monasteries and colleges, but hardly so, or even possible, in most nunneries. It is noteworthy that the *Ordo instituendi priorissam*, added by a later fifteenth-century hand, is in English (the earlier matter being in Latin and French and probably ante-dating Sibilla de Felton's time in origin). Cotton MS. Julius D.VIII in the British Museum contains (ff. 40r-7v) a comparable document of the administration and education of the community, 'The Charthe longyng to the office of the Celeresse', of the same period, possibly translated from a previous (14th-century?) version in another language.²

Dr. James and others³ have also noticed Bodley MS. 923, one of three extant copies of *The Clensyng of Mannes Sowle*, an English prose work on sin and penance composed early in the fifteenth century for a nunnery in the East Midlands by a clerical friend and confessor, and possibly for Barking itself.⁴ This copy was also Sibilla de Felton's and may have remained in the abbey after her death, in pursuance of the rule, still generally though not invariably observed, that individual religious had the use of particular property only for the duration of their lives at the most. Mr. N. R. Ker⁵ has recorded another English prose manuscript with Sibilla's inscription of ownership, a copy of *The Mirror of the Life of Christ* adapted from the pseudo-Bonaventuran *Meditationes* by Nicholas Love, prior of Mount-grace Charterhouse (N.R. Yorks.), and approved at London about 1410 by Archbishop Arundel of Canterbury for general circulation, in competition with the Lollard scriptural versions.⁶ The author of the *Clensyng* also mentions Lollard dangers, and the remarkably early dates of her copies of both works suggest that Sibilla and her community were in the fore-front of the public for such English theology, and readily supplied. The *Mirror* manuscript certainly stayed at Barking for in the fourth decade of the sixteenth century it was given

¹ Ed. J. B. L. Tolhurst (H. Bradshaw Soc. 1927-8); esp. pp. v-vi, 67-70.

² *Monasticon Anglicanum* (1817), vol. i, pp. 442-5; cf. Power, *op. cit.*, pp. 562-8. The endowments named are mainly 13th-century.

³ M. Deanesly, *Mod. Lang. Rev.*, vol. xv, pp. 357-8; H. E. Allen, *ibid.*, vol. xviii, p. 1; S.C. 27701. The date 1401 on the manuscript is of doubtful import.

⁴ Cf. M. H. Liddell, *Miscellany presented to F. J. Furnivall* (1901), pp. 271-8; C. Kirchberger, *The Life of the Spirit*, vol. iv, pp. 290-5.

⁵ *Loc. cit.*, p. 310. Messrs. Maggs' in November, 1944; sold at Sotheby's, 19 July, 1949, lot 276, to Messrs. Foyle (*Essex Review*, vol. lix, p. 52); now Mr. W. Foyle's, at Beeleigh Abbey, Maldon. Her name is also on Bodley MS. 155.

⁶ Ed. L. F. Powell (Roxburghe Club, 1908); modernised by a monk of Parkminster (Orchard Books, 1927). Being re-edited by Mrs. E. C. Zeeman.

to a Mistress Agnes Gowldeuwell by Margaret Scrope, a former nun and a cousin of Elizabeth, Countess of Oxford.¹

Besides these, Sibilla de Felton also had for a few years Bibliothèque Nationale MS. fr. 1038, *Vies des saints Pères*, etc., of the late thirteenth or early fourteenth century, which she bought from the executors of Philippa de Coucy (d. 1411), widow of Robert de Vere, 9th Earl of Oxford and Duke of Ireland (d. 1392). Later, perhaps after Sibilla's death in 1419, it came into the hands of Charles d'Orléans who, like his brother Jean d'Angoulême, was a notable book-collector (besides being a poet) in English as well as French and Latin, both spending a quarter of a century in England (1415-50) as prisoners in gentle and noble families and households where their literary interests were well provided for. After Charles' return to his own country and death in 1465 the manuscript was listed among his widow Marie de Clèves' books in 1487 and from her descended, like most of his and his brother's, to the French royal and national collections.²

Another volume of French contents, Magdalen College MS. 41, presented to Barking by the Countess of Oxford in 1474, probably, has already been recorded and is discussed above. A further English book, not in previous surveys of Barking's remains, has also been adduced earlier in this article: the British Museum Additional MS. 10596, a small volume of two parts by different fifteenth-century hands, with some matter missing from between them by excision and erasure (ff. 24v/25r). The first part (ff. 1-24) is a copy of the *Craft of Dying*, as found in Douce, Harley, and other manuscripts, with an initial picture of a death-bed scene now rather badly rubbed and indistinct. At the end, after the *Explicit tractatus de arte moriendi*, more than four more lines of rubric (commencing *Et sequitur . . . ?*) have been obliterated, except for the words 'Cristis victorieuce passion. be ever youre proteccion', 'quod' (i.e., quoth) before the scribe's signature, again illegible, and the description 'ordinis predicatorum' after it. From this it seems that the *Craft* was the handiwork of a Dominican, the cleric in the miniature³ possibly being meant as one in the habit of the same order, black and white, but for whom the

¹ See the will of Elizabeth lady Scrope of Upshall, 1513, proved 1521 (*T.E.V.*, p. 51); chantress in 1527, and high on the pension list in 1539 (*V.C.H.*, vol. ii, pp. 120, 122), but not in the list of Mary's reign (*Monasticon*, vol. i, p. 438), so by then presumably dead. She was a daughter of Robert, brother of Sir Richard Scrope, the Countess of Oxford's father (N. H. Nicolas, *Scrope & Grosvenor Controversy*, vol. ii, p. 60), and mentioned as cousin in the Countess' will of 1537.

² L. Delisle, *Cabinet des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Impériale* (1868-81), vol. i, p. 110; P. Champion, *La librairie de Charles d'Orléans* (1910), p. 109; cf. M. M. Crow, *Speculum*, vol. xvii, pp. 86 *et seq.*

³ That in Douce, the only other copy of the *Craft* to have one, is different in these and other points.

section was written is uncertain. One may guess that it was for someone to whom the copyist may have acted as spiritual director and minister, and therefore perhaps for the nunnery of Dartford, from its foundation particularly tied to the friary of King's Langley (Herts.)¹ and the London one, too, of course. But the friars had plenty of other protégées, no doubt, and it may even have been intended for Barking, where the second half of the manuscript, and probably the whole, was owned and perhaps made. This latter portion (ff. 25-82) is in a more commonplace bookhand, possibly earlier in date than the first script of the volume, but not necessarily. The three lines at the top of f. 25r have been erased, with the end of a text the bulk of which was presumably on leaves now gone. There now follow 'Tobie', the Magnificat and Benedictus, all from the revised Lollard translation of the Bible; then a devout meditation² (ff. 49v-54r) and prayers to the several persons of the Trinity and various classes of the saints (54r-77r); and finally (77r-82r) 'a pistle of holy Sussanne', also from the revised Lollard Bible. Immediately below the conclusion of the text is written, by what looks like the same hand, or at least a contemporary one imitating it, 'Iste liber constat Matilde Hayle de Berkinge', and at the foot of the page (f. 82r), by a somewhat later (15th or early 16th-century) one, 'Iste liber constat D. Marie Hastyngis de berkynge'.³ On the following leaves (82v-83r), in other hands of the same type and period are two commemorations (Latin hymns and collects) for St. Ethelburga,⁴ as we have already observed there are on Harley MS. 1706, whose connection with the abbey and its nuns is however less clear. The two parts of Add. 10596 were certainly together by the middle of the sixteenth century, the date of the present binding,⁵ and it is reasonable to suppose from the compatibility of the contents that they were put together at Barking, if they were not both always there from the time of their writing.

Trinity College, Cambridge, MS. O.3.54, is a 15th-century manuscript of hymns, etc., specially commemorating Barking saints;⁶ MS.

¹ C. F. R. Palmer, *Arch. Journ.*, vols. xxxvi, xxxix, *passim*, etc.

² Found also in Camb. Univ. Lib. MS. Hh.iii.13, ff. 111v-2r mid-15th-cent.

³ Cf. inadequate descriptions in: *Catalogue of Add. MSS.* (1836-40), p. 41; *Wycliffite Bible*, ed. J. Forshall and F. M. Madden (1850), vol. i, p. xlv; F. A. Gasquet, *Old English Bible* (1897), pp. 141-2; Deanesly, *op. cit.*, pp. 338-9. Not recorded by Ker, *Medieval Libraries*, etc.

⁴ Not in Chevalier's *Repertorium Hymnologicum*.

⁵ The centre gilt stamp used in Oxford at that period, as I am informed by Mr. Ker, who also confirms my reading of the inscription on the first page of text: 'Iste liber pertinet mihi Johanni preston anno domini 1577'.

⁶ M. R. James, *Catologue of Western MSS.*, vol. iii, pp. 239-40; J. B. L. Tolhurst, *Ordinale*, p.x. Rejected in *Medieval Libraries* but subsequently readmitted to the Barking list by Mr. Ker.

O.2.29 of the same library is a 13th-century collection of Latin and French theological writings with an invocation of St. Ethelburga at the end by a late 15th-century hand, and so like Harley MS. 1706 only somewhat uncertainly from the abbey.¹ Lansdowne MS. 381(2) in the British Museum, hitherto unnoticed in this connection, is a fine early 15th-century manuscript of hours and devotions, among which occur two prayers to St. Ethelburga (ff. 56v-7r), one for her feast-day, another for St. Botolph abbot (f. 14r), of Benedictine and East Anglian significance, and a marginal addition (f. 24v) using the phrase 'miserere anime famule tue', in the Office of the Dead, implying repeated reference to women, probably nuns; there are also a rule of prayer as found in Douce 322 and Harley 1706 (the last chapter of the Contemplations of the Dread and Love of God found also complete in the second half of the latter volume), a short meditation of the Passion, and a prayer to Our Lord, in English prose (ff. 57r-63v), followed by pious French poems (ff. 63v-7v) on the five joys of Our Lady, to women saints, etc., some by another hand.² Barking seems the most likely home. Dr. W. H. Frere attributed to the abbey, in view of added commemorations of SS. Ethelburga and Erkenwald, a 14th-15th century Latin astronomical collection, Bodleian Digby MS. 38.³ Mr. Neil Ker remarks that this is 'the sort of manuscript very unlikely to have belonged to a nunnery'; one may however compare B. M. Cotton Otho A. V., a late 14th-century volume badly burnt in 1731 but from which sufficient survives of the calendar to ascribe it to Barking, and record of its other chronological contents.⁴ A simple solution is to suppose that these were used by the clerics attached as chaplains to the community.⁵

Similar summaries might be drawn up for other nunneries, such as Dartford⁶ or the London Minoresses (not to speak of Syon, which would demand much greater space and comment), in which vernacular literature was appreciated for its accessible and intimate spiritual value, and from which lay-women, often assisted by the same regular and secular clerks who served the nuns, derived many of their ideals and interests.⁷

¹ James, *op. cit.*, vol. iii, pp. 124-6. Rejected in *Med. Lib.*

² Cf. *Catalogue of Lansdowne MSS.* (1811), vol. ii, p. 111.

³ *Bibliotheca Musico-liturgica* (Plainsong & Medieval Music Soc.), vol. i (1901), p. 45, no. 125; James, *loc. cit.*, p. 35, with query.

⁴ Tolhurst, *op. cit.*, pp. ix-x; cf. T. Smith, *Catalogus Bibliothecae Cottonianae* (1696), p. 66.

⁵ For whom see E. A. Loftus & H. F. Chettle, *A History of Barking Abbey* (1954), esp. p. 56. I regret I learnt of this work too late to quote it more.

⁶ Cf. *Medieval Libraries*, p. 35; *Dartford Priory* (1946), pp. 23-4.

⁷ I must here acknowledge with thanks the assistance of the Durham Colleges' Research Fund in completing the present study.

THE REBUILDING OF COGGESHALL CHURCH AFTER DAMAGE BY BOMBING.

By THE REV. F. NORMAN BROWN, M.A.,
Vicar of Coggeshall.

THE church of St. Peter ad Vincula, Coggeshall, has been termed 'a good example of a large parish church of the 15th century'. Before attempting to tell the story of the rebuilding of the church, a brief introduction is called for.

In the Middle Ages, Coggeshall was a well-known centre of the wool trade. Evidence of the prosperity it enjoyed is to be found in the many old houses of that period, in particular Paycockes House, a fine example of a wool-merchant's dwelling. Possibly for reasons of pride, but also doubtless because of the needs of a large population, it was decided that the former church was inadequate for the needs of the parish. Although they were turbulent times, they were also times of much building activity, and many a fine church was built in those days, and Coggeshall was no exception.

The present church was entirely rebuilt in the first half of the fifteenth century, and no trace of its predecessor has survived above ground, with the exception perhaps of the west tower. The fact that the tower was low and out of proportion with the rest of the building suggests this.

Excluding the tower, the interior length of the church is 120 feet 7 inches; the width, 62 feet 9 inches. In plan it is a rectangle, having continuous aisles (17 feet 3 inches wide) on either side for the whole length.

The nave is about 36 feet in height at the sides, rising somewhat higher in the centre. The aisle roofs are about 26 feet in height, sloping gently down towards the outer walls. The tower is 66 feet in height, and nearly 14 feet square. The church is divided into a chancel (51 feet 11 inches long) and a nave (68 feet 8 inches long). The arches of the arcading spring from columns of slender proportions and with well-moulded capitals and bases. The clerestory above runs the whole length of the building. The chancel arch is noteworthy for its height

and width, which, while providing a clear demarcation line between nave and chancel, yet integrates the two parts in one whole. The east window, of seven lights with vertical tracery, is an impressive feature.

The main entrance is by the south porch which has a groined ceiling with a boss in the centre depicting a pelican feeding her young. Over the porch is the muniment or record room, approached by a spiral stairway.

Outside the Priest's door are the remains of a Holy-water Stoup. Under the east window, on the outside, is to be seen a somewhat unusual canopied recess, in which there was a carved representation of Christ crucified, with the attendant figures of Our Lady and St. John. The destruction of these figures has only left traces which support this assumption.

Externally the body of the church is seen to be built of flint-rubble with limestone dressings; while the chancel is faced with ashlar, and has slightly more elaborate buttresses, together with frequent representations of St. Peter's keys cut on shields in the plinth.

The tower had an abutment at its south-east corner containing a spiral stairway terminating in a turret. On its east face were to be seen the marks of the end of a former high-pitched roof. Below, giving access to the nave, was a tall pointed arch. On the west face was a doorway, above was a window, both belonging to the Victorian restoration, as did the rather elaborate crenellation with pinnacles which surmounted the whole. The louvred windows were square and divided into three by a couple of mullions.

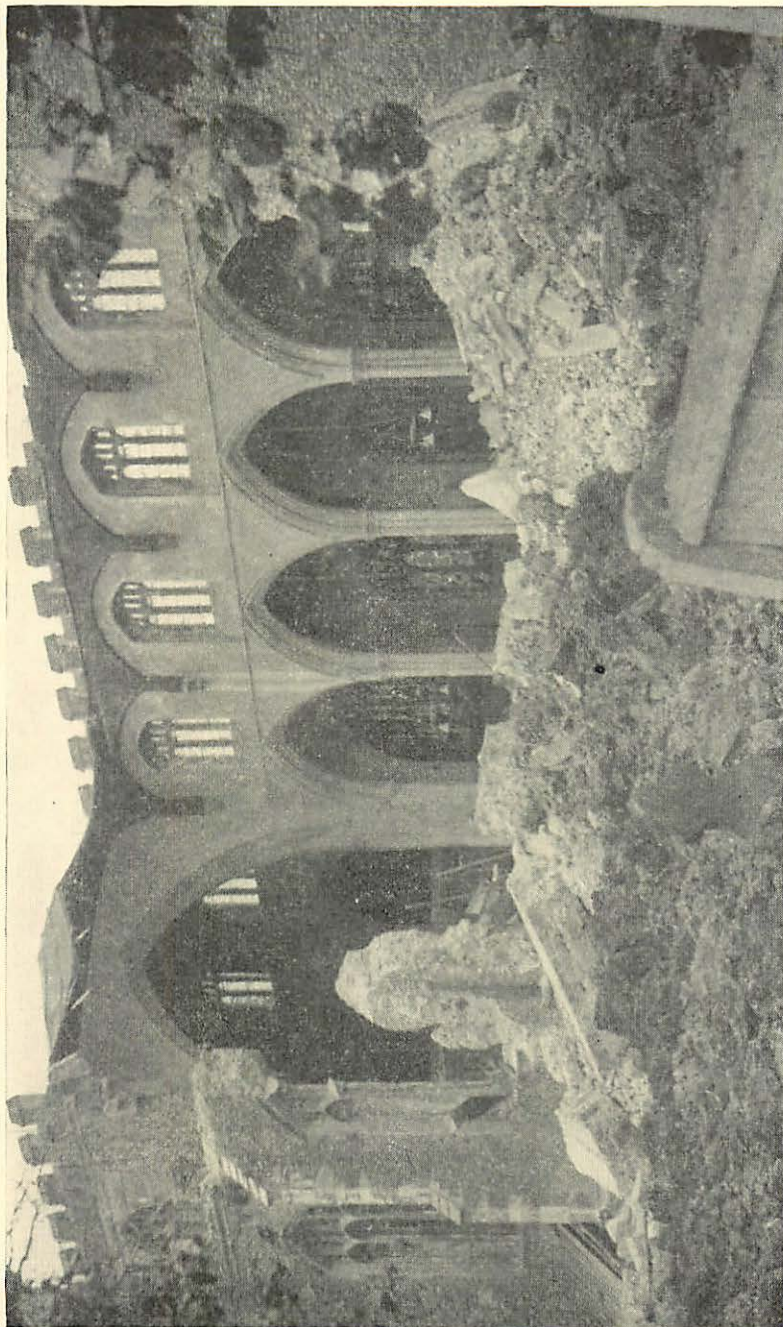
The Battle of Britain was at its height; the onslaught of the German Luftwaffe was being brilliantly met by the Royal Air Force. London was the chief target at the time and its defence was the first consideration. This allowed lone raiders to cross our shores with comparative impunity, and it was such a lone raider that was heard circling the parish for some time overhead. It was the night of Monday, the 16th of September, 1940, shortly before a quarter past nine o'clock, when a couple of bombs were heard to fall. One fell in a field close to a row of houses; it exploded the following afternoon, fortunately doing no damage. The other fell in the churchyard, close to the north-west corner of the church, penetrating at an angle, so that it must have been directly beneath the tower before detonating. Later, rods were put down the hole made by the falling bomb, but the bottom was not reached at 25 feet; how much deeper it went we do not know. The depth at which it exploded probably accounted for the noise, arching, as it were, over the near vicinity, so that it was heard more clearly at a distance than close at hand.

The shaking of the ground which resulted from the explosion would be accentuated at the top of the walls, which must have sprung outwards so that the roof would no longer be supported. Consequently the roof of the nave collapsed, dragging down the north arcading and so the roof of the north aisle. Fortunately, further east, although the walls of the chancel were strained outwards, the roof maintained sufficient support to hold.

It is impossible to describe the scene of desolation which was to be seen in the clear light of a full moon. From the road little unusual was at first to be noticed, except a curious, unwonted lightness was seen through the windows, indicating an openness beyond. But how different was the view from the north of the church. The tower still stood, though rent by long, ominous cracks; only the south arcading and south wall of the nave remained, spanned by the roof of the south aisle (Pl. I). There before one lay a sea of twisted sheets of lead, from which protruded here and there the wreckage of timbers, broken stone, and rubble. Looking eastwards, the chancel appeared to be intact. Many at the time remarked on the significance of the Cross, still standing on the rood screen, eloquent in its challenge to the chaos wrought by the folly of mankind.

Closer inspection of the chancel showed that damage was mainly confined to the windows, but there were some long cracks in the walls, especially at the east end of the north wall of the sanctuary, and also above the apex of the arches. The blast from the bomb had some curious effects; for instance, the lowest compartment of all seven lights in the east window were blown out completely. Other windows suffered badly and were beyond repair. Throughout the church only three windows escaped damage—the two in the south aisle, east of the south porch, and the one in the south chancel aisle, east of the arch. These three windows were the only ones which depicted incidents in the life of our Patron Saint. All the other windows suffered to a greater or lesser extent.

On the day following the bombing, the turret stairway of the tower collapsed, and the masonry fell onto and smashed the roof of the western bay of the south aisle (Pl. II). During the following week the south-west corner of the tower also collapsed, exposing the frame in which hung the bells, leaving the lead covered roof dangling at an angle with its corner resting on the bell-frame (Pl. III). During the following winter the rest of the top of the tower was demolished owing to its unsafe condition. By putting up strong scaffolding inside the tower it was possible to lower the bells, which fortunately had not been damaged.



COGGESHALL CHURCH: RUINS OF NORTH ARCADE OF NAVE.

The first task to be tackled was the provision of alternative accommodation that the work of the Church might continue. Fortunately we were able to use the Chapel of St. Nicholas—the Gatehouse Chapel of the old Cistercian Abbey. There, in spite of the distance, its smallness and the cold, we were able to carry on during the next nine months.

Meanwhile, steps were taken to make the chancel useable. It took some time to clear away the wreckage and to sort out what could be salvaged. The organ was dismantled and stored away; this was necessary because the window immediately behind it was blown out, and with the rain coming in unhindered, and later much snow, the instrument would have suffered badly.

The chancel arch and two side arches were later bricked up, thus enclosing the chancel. By carrying a large pipe from the furnace up and through the wall, provision was made for the heating of the chancel, which proved adequate until the furnace became flooded and the shortage of coke rendered it incapable of providing warmth. When it went out of action, gas heaters were installed, but that was after the War was over.

The windows were reglazed with clear glass, with fragments of the old stained glass inserted to give relief. It was a great improvement to have windows which let in light.

As so much of the wall of St. Catherine's Chapel had to be replastered, the opportunity was taken to whiten the walls; at the same time the upper doorway, which was bricked up, and which originally led to the rood-loft, was left uncovered.

The choir-stalls were removed, the floor levelled, and salvaged pews were joined together to provide seating accommodation. The wooden top of the pulpit was placed by the eastern pillar on the north side; the lectern was placed on the other side.

Such is a brief account of the work undertaken, which it was realized could only be of a temporary nature, though we had no idea how long the temporary period would last. More work would have been done, especially for the preservation of salvaged material, but by that time restrictions were multiplying and we could not get the necessary licence. As it was, the cost of these efforts amounted to some £1,300, which was met within about two years.

The Bishop of Chelmsford (Dr. Henry Wilson) came for a Service of Reconciliation of the Church after Desecration on the 27 July, 1941.

Thus ended the first phase, and during the next fifteen years the chancel was used as our Parish Church. Even in this smaller form,

we had a church which was a thing of beauty. Mention has already been made of the change in the heating system. At about the same time it was decided to re-erect the organ. It had already had its place of storage changed, and as it was impossible to protect it adequately from the weather, it was thought best to reassemble it in the church, where we could have the use of it. Unfortunately, its experiences had not improved it, and it was to suffer yet more from rain percolating through a crack from the clerestory wall above, which harmed the sound boards.

During most of the War there was a ban on the ringing of bells, but this was lifted in 1943 and at once the desire for having at least one bell in use led to a consideration of what could be done. The only timber available seemed to be the old frame, and so it was decided to reassemble this, repairing it as far as possible. The idea was taken up enthusiastically by the local police constable, who gathered his special constables together, and they set to work with a will. First the bells, which had been stored under the cover of the south aisle, were man-handled out on to the grass near the south porch. Having been arranged in the right order, the frame was built around them. In due course, a travelling crane was borrowed from the American Army Air Force and the bells were lifted up and suspended in the frame. Using such material as was available, a pantile roof was erected over them; hammers and pulleys were fitted and connected with the Ellacombe apparatus. The result was not dissimilar to what is seen at East Bergholt, where the bells are also on the ground. The work was voluntarily done on Saturday afternoons, when weather permitted, and was finished in twenty months. Two days after being blessed they were rung to announce VE Day.

With the conclusion of the War hopes for the immediate rebuilding of the church were faint, for it was obvious that the necessary labour and materials should first be available for the repair and rebuilding of houses and factories, all urgently needed after the widespread devastation caused by air-raids. But as a long-term policy we were determined to do our part in seeing that the church was restored as soon as conditions allowed. This was regarded as a sacred trust. Not unnaturally various objections were voiced. It would take too long to give a full account of them, and what might be the right response to them. Not for the first time in her long history has the Church been faced with problems arising out of wars. Many times before have churches suffered damage in war and been rebuilt. Far too many based their objections on present day conditions in a world with its materialistic outlook. Notwithstanding, efforts were made, both during and after the War, to raise the funds needed for

PLATE II.



COGGESHALL CHURCH: ROOFLESS WESTERN BAY OF SOUTH AISLE.

the work of rebuilding. It is a large church, but it should be borne in mind that what remained dictated what should be rebuilt. It was out of the question, as some suggested, to rebuild it smaller than it had been.

Immediately after the bombing, we were fortunate in securing the services of Mr. Stephen E. Dykes Bower, F.R.I.B.A., F.S.A. His eminence as an architect has been recognized by his appointment as Surveyor of the fabric of Westminster Abbey, and by his work on many of our Cathedrals. Not long after the War he caused a thorough survey to be carried out by a team of architectural students, thereby gaining all the necessary data and information required for the time when rebuilding became a practicable proposition.

In due course negotiations were entered into with the War Damage Commission, tenders were invited, and eventually a contract was drawn up with Messrs. James Longley & Co. Ltd., of Crawley, Sussex.

Although the contribution from the War Damage Commission was considerable, yet a gap remained which had to be filled by the parish. It seemed a big gap, and at the time our available funds were small. It needed a great act of faith to embark on the work. As time went on, the gap, for various reasons, grew larger and larger, and is not yet bridged; nevertheless the results have proved that we were right to make that initial act of faith. As the story of the rebuilding is unfolded it will be seen how and why the gap grew larger.

Actual work on the site began in the autumn of 1953, with the erection of an office, workshops and mess-room. Then followed the clearing away of much debris and the inspection of the foundations.

Having effected repairs to the wall containing the stairway leading to the muniment room, and replacing the little turret with a stone capping, attention was next given to the foundations of the north wall, for even that part which stood was found so defective that it had to be demolished. New footings were made of concrete some three feet wide and three feet deep. Here, as elsewhere in the building of the walls, keyed bricks were used for the inner surface for the eventual putting on of the plaster. Apart from this the rest of the wall was made of flint and mortar, following the olden practice and also using the same material, for the flints were scraped and washed, so that the walls, except for the mortar, are substantially the same as before. As there is no local stone, stone had to be imported from Somerset, where it was cut and fashioned in readiness for being incorporated in the fabric.

When a start was made on the foundations of the north-west corner of the church, it soon became clear that the usual footings

would not do. It was close to this corner that the bomb fell, penetrating to a considerable depth before being detonated. With the explosion came a great disturbance of earth near the surface, a good deal of earth falling back into the crater, thereby making the disturbed area look smaller, but even so, it extended to the corner of the church. So it was, that when the earth was dug out in readiness for the footings, the soil was in such a loose condition that no firmness was found on which a wall could be built. The difficulty was overcome by the construction of reinforced concrete piles of more than eighteen inches in diameter. Motivated by compressed air, a large steel pipe in sections was driven down as earth was extracted by a plunger. Samples of clay, sand, and gravel, in their different strata indicated when a firm level had been reached—some 30 feet or more below ground. Into the pipe was then inserted the reinforcing steel rods wired together. After the water which had accumulated, had been blown out by compressed air, concrete was poured in, as the pipe itself, section by section, was withdrawn. After setting, there remained a strong, reinforced concrete pile reaching down to a firm depth and independent of the loose earth near the surface.

This process was repeated seven times, so making three piles at the corner and two each below where the buttresses now come to the east and south of the corner. By using shuttering and reinforcing steel rods, concrete beams of some three feet in width, and three feet in depth, were made joining the heads of the piles; thus providing adequate footings for the walls.

Attention may be called to a feature which is as apparent in Coggeshall church as in many another medieval church. It is obvious that in the Middle Ages men could build with precision. To look at the chancel arch, or the arcading, or the tracery of the great east window, confirms this opinion that the men of long ago knew how to draw plans accurately and how to execute them accurately. This being so, one wonders why more care and accuracy were not displayed in the setting out of the site as a whole, and the setting out of parts as well.¹ To mention one or two instances: the east window is not centrally placed in the wall; nor is the chancel arch central between the piers supporting it. The lack of a centre line is clearly seen in the arrangement of the geometrical tiling on the floor just inside and outside

¹ The absence of mechanical accuracy frequently displayed by the medieval craftsman often gave vitality to his work. As the late Prof. Hamilton Thompson pointed out (see *Historical Growth of the English Parish Church*, p. 16), the builder 'did much of his work by eye alone. He must have made some rough measurements for the setting out of his buildings; but he was not always provided with a plan or elevations.' Sometimes 'accurate spacing was entirely neglected, and the connection between the different parts of the design was evidently a matter of guess-work, which led to curious irregularities in the elevation.'—G.M.B.

PLATE III.



COGGESHALL CHURCH: PARTLY DEMOLISHED WEST TOWER

the sanctuary. The lack of a centre line did not help in the work of rebuilding.

Probably related to the same cause was a curious feature which was revealed when the time came to erect the stone columns from which would spring the north arcading. The intention was to use the firmly settled foundations of solid lime and flint, and enclose and cap them with concrete. But when they were uncovered they were seen to be irregularly placed, and when careful measurements were taken it was found that in only one instance would the centre of the new column rise directly over the centre of the old foundation. With the other three a considerable discrepancy was found; in one, the centre of the new column would be within an inch or two of the edge of the old foundation. One wonders how this curious condition was passed by the builders of old. So in the circumstances the old foundations had to be scrapped and new ones were made of concrete going some six feet below the floor level. It was possible to use blocks from the old columns for the rebuilding of the eastern one, but for the other three, new stones had to be cut, following, of course, the old design.

Attention was next turned to the tower. This was so badly cracked, for the bomb had exploded immediately beneath it, that it had to be taken down completely to its foundations. Its reconstruction was carried out in the same manner as the walls, namely, with an inner lining of one brick thickness, the rest being of flint and mortar. The walls at the base are some 4 feet 6 inches thick, becoming less thick as height is gained.

Although the new tower was to be of the same dimensions as the old, yet here was an opportunity for the architect to improve on the old, an opportunity which he seized and most successfully carried out, so that now we have a tower of dignity and in keeping with the rest of the church.

Inside, the tower was to be put to new uses. On the ground floor a choir vestry has been made. The old stone spiral stairway has not been rebuilt, instead, from the south-west corner of the vestry rises an iron spiral stairway, incorporated in the thickness of the angle of the walls. This leads to the organ-chamber where will be placed the organ which will be played from a remote console to be placed in the south chancel aisle. The floor of this chamber projects for about two feet into the nave, and eventually the space above will be filled by the organ-case. This space occupies the interior width of the tower and rises to the height of the clerestory windows, terminating in a flat rounded arch. Behind the organ-chamber is the Ellacombe apparatus for the chiming of the bells, while above is the ringing chamber lit by fluorescent lighting. Through a trap-door one can enter

into the belfry itself, where the eight bells, having been retuned, now hang in an iron frame made by John Taylor and Co., of Loughborough.

Above the bell-frame is a platform, made by the crossing of two beams of reinforced concrete, from which rises an octagonal turret, housing wooden louvres, and supporting the heavy timbered framework, now covered with a coppered pentroof, but which is an integral part of a spire which the architect hopes in time will add the finishing touch to the tower. The louvres are hidden by the crenellation surrounding the top of the tower. Above the pentroof rises a weather-vane in the form of a cock, resplendent in gold. The interior arrangement gives the reason for the change in the exterior appearance of the tower.

In the south-east corner is a door leading into the choir vestry. The ends of the iron-work of the hinges are worth noting. The top one depicts a cock crowing, representing dawn; the lower one shows a crescent moon and star, representing evening; while the door handle shows a blazing sun for noon.

On the west side there is a long, low window of domestic type for lighting the choir vestry. Then comes a two-light window providing light to the rear of the organ chamber. This may be regarded as transitional, as it leads the eye upwards to where two lancet windows give light to the ringing chamber. These lancet windows are found also on the north and south sides. Above, on all four sides, are two large openings or windows carried out in the Perpendicular style. The lower halves are filled with ashlar, the upper with slate louvres. The bells are hung inside the tower below the level of the ashlar, with the result that the sound of the bells first rises before escaping through the louvres. This arrangement has a most pleasing effect, for it means that the sound is more evenly spread and those living near the church are not deafened by the dominating clang of the bell nearest to them.

Inside the church various new features may be noted. During the Victorian restoration the building was over-filled with pews. Although comfortable and inoffensive in themselves, yet they inescapably provided a false datum-line from which the church was seen. They completely obscured the bases and shortened the pillars, so that one of the chief beauties of the church was lost. Now that chairs have taken the place of the pews, the eye sees through the chairs and travels up from floor level and, coupled with open spaces, the result is a revelation to many. The floor itself is of stone flags, the colour of which adds to the feeling of satisfaction.

In the chancel the choir-stalls have been lowered by one step,

with the result that the sanctuary and the high altar, no longer have that suppressed look which they had before. Also the opening up of the chancel arch integrates the chancel with the nave.

In the nave the walls have been lime-washed and the clerestory windows filled with colourful grisaille glass. The stained glass which previously filled the two windows east of the porch, has been placed in the west windows of the aisles. All the other windows have been glazed with antique glass.

In the chancel the old Victorian mural paintings have disappeared. So much plaster had to be removed for the repair of the walls that it was out of the question to attempt the repainting to match the old, even had it been desirable. Instead the walls and pillars have been whitened, and the resulting lightness is a joy to behold.¹

When scaffolding was put up on the south side of the chancel it was found that the walls had not only been shaken by the bomb, but also that the ordinary wear and tear necessitated a considerable amount of repair. Wall-plates and guttering had suffered badly, and parts of the wall had to be rebuilt. The south clerestory windows were in a decayed state and had to be renewed. All these things, and many more, were extra to the work contemplated in the first instance, as it was impossible to foresee what was needed until a close inspection had been made.

When the walls were ready for the roof, the main trusses were hoisted up by means of a steel lattice jib. Having been repaired, all the old trusses were used, together with the old purlins and some of the rafters. Quite a lot of work had to be done by splicing to make these timbers good, for some were badly split, and, as elsewhere, many were deeply infected by the death-watch beetle. All the timbers were treated with a chemical solution to preserve them from further infestation. New boarding was laid over the rafters, and covered with felting. Instead of lead, copper has been used for the roofing, and for the gutters.

A considerable number of new brackets had to be made. Like the old ones, they are deeply carved, each of a different design. Similarly several new bosses were carved and placed in the centre of the trusses. The spandrels are also new, following the pattern of the old. The figures of twelve Apostles from the nave roof were salvaged, and after repair, were once again attached to the wall-posts. They date only from the nineteenth century, and each is represented with his respective emblem. St. Paul is included, while St. Peter is missing, but

¹ In this connection it is interesting to recall a note by Joseph Bufton, the Coggeshall diarist: 'In the months of July and August, 1684, Coxall Church was whited and painted.'

since the church is under the patronage of St. Peter, a statue of him doubtless had a place of honour in pre-Reformation days.¹

It was fortunate that most, if not all, of the corbels were recovered from the debris. Some are rather grotesque and display a sense of humour on the part of the carver. Although somewhat damaged, it was possible to use them again, though doubtless in different positions. A few of them are comparatively modern.

Early in January, 1956, the use of the chancel had to be abandoned and we had to migrate once more, this time to the Church Hall in Queen Street. During this interval the temporary walls in the chancel arch and two aisle arches were taken down and work began on the repair of the chancel. Panels of piping were laid under the floor where the choir-stalls would stand for the provision of warmth, a continuation of the system by which the floor of the nave is heated. Large portions of the wall were cut out where there were cracks and rebuilt. The timbers of the roof were treated with insecticide to deter the attack of the death-watch beetle; where necessary the walls of the chancel were replastered. In the chancel aisles the whole of the interior walls were stripped and replastered.

When the old plaster was stripped from the walls of St. Catherine's Chapel there was revealed a bricked-up pointed arch, also made of brick. This was found immediately below the aumbry. So far no adequate explanation for its existence has been forthcoming. The question naturally arises as to whether it has any connection with the underground sacristy which was discovered in 1933. Here we might quote from some observations made at the time by the Rev. G. Montagu Benton, F.S.A., the then Secretary of the Essex Archaeological Society.² 'During the work of under-pinning an interesting discovery, which was only left exposed for two or three days, was made . . . At the east end of the north chapel, beneath the floor, traces of a chamber had been brought to light. Built into the extreme end of the north wall was a brick fireplace, 2 feet 6 inches wide and 18 inches deep, with a flat stone arch having chamfered edges. Rising from the recess was a flue contrived in the thickness of the wall of the chapel and carried up to its full height. To the west of the fireplace there was a deep splay, evidently part of a window-opening. The abutment of a later brick vault remained on the east wall, just in front of, and partly covering, the fireplace. As the fireplace formed part of the north-east corner, which was then in course

¹ There is evidence that there was an image of St. Peter in the chancel in 1500, for in that year Thomas Halle bequeathed ten marks 'towards making of a tabernacle (a canopied niche) for the image of St. Peter, the apostle, in the choir of Coggeshall church' (*Trans. E.A.S.*, vol. i (N.S.), p. 177). It probably stood near the north end of the altar, the usual place for the figure of the patron saint.—G.M.B.

² *Trans. E.A.S.*, vol. xxi (N.S.), p. 136.

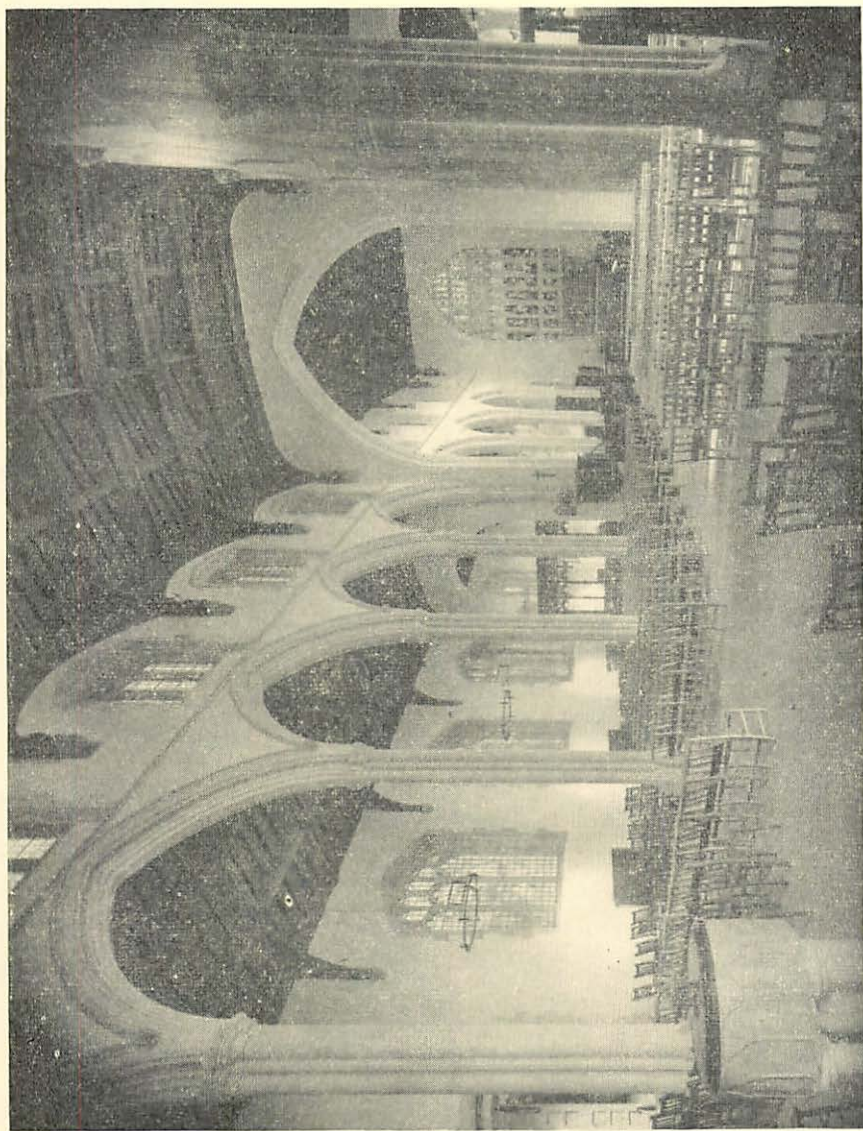


Photo. by Oscar Wray, Colchester.

COGGESHALL CHURCH: INTERIOR AFTER RESTORATION.

of being under-pinned, it was considered inadvisable to make any further excavations, and the whole has been filled with concrete.

The chamber, presumably, was built as a sacristy and was obviously of the same period as the church. Sacristies, when they occur, are usually on the north side, but underground examples are rare.'

The arch which has recently been revealed may have some connection with this underground chamber, though it is difficult to see the relationship; possibly it may have formed part of the stairway which led down to the sacristy and would presumably have been on the opposite side from the window and fireplace.

Only three things were discovered during demolition work. One was a clay pipe which must have been laid down, forgotten and then covered with mortar in making the sill of one of the windows at the east end of the north nave aisle. Under the floor at the west end of the south nave aisle was unearthed a tombstone or possibly a mural tablet, the inscription of which has not yet been deciphered. Near it was what is most probably the bowl of the font used before the present early thirteenth-century font—originally in Pattiswick church—was introduced into the church in 1852. This ancient font has been provided with a new support and has been restored to the position at the west end of the nave which it has occupied since 1871. That nothing else was found below the floor is undoubtedly due to the extensive excavations which were made to provide ducts for the circulation of hot air from the furnace. At the same time the floor was relaid.

During its long history of five centuries the church has seen many changes of which no record exists. We have photographic records of what the church was like before the present changes were made. But it is a great pity that no accurate records exist to tell us even what the church was like before the work of restoration began in the middle of the last century. It would be most interesting to see a picture of the church as it was, for instance, in the eighteenth century, full of high box-pews, a three-decker pulpit, and gallery. That enthusiasm outran discretion in the last century is undoubtedly true, for evidence of it is to be found in almost every old church throughout the land, and Coggeshall is no exception.

The great and widespread resurgence of the last century led to the loss of much that was irreplaceable; it also led to the introduction of much that was unworthy. While we lament the passing of the former, we need not lament the passing of the latter. Nevertheless, the question remains, what will future generations say of our ideas

and the manner of their expression? Our hope is that they will be able to say we have done well, for our aim and object has been that 'the glory of this latter house shall be greater than of the former' (Pl. IV).

In the presence of a great congregation from near and far, the church was rehallowed by the Bishop of Chelmsford (Dr. Falkner Allison) on the Feast of St. Michael and All Angels, the 29 September, 1956. The actual work of rebuilding had taken just three years to accomplish. It was with joy and gladness that we entered with praise and thanksgiving into the House of God, conscious that we had not failed in preserving the goodly heritage, which had come to us as a trust to secure it for the future.¹

¹ Before us still lies the task of repairing the east end of the church. This will be undertaken when the recent work has been paid for, and when funds have been raised.

The total cost of repairs amounts to over £80,000, and includes over £22,000 raised through the parish.

THE ROOKERY: A RINGWORK AT BERDEN, ESSEX.

By GROUP-CAPTAIN G. M. KNOCKER.

THE parish of Berden lies about 7 miles due north of Bishop's Stortford. There is a fine Elizabethan Manor House and within a mile of this were two ringworks (Fig. 1).

One of these, known as 'The Crump', consists of a circular enclosure, surrounded by a moat containing water, with an overall diameter of about 180 feet. The owner has done a little digging in the middle and found mortared flints, some 12th century cooking-pots, an iron spear head without a socket, the handle going up the inside of the blade, some wavy-edged horse-shoes and 'fiddle-key' nails, and two or three fragments of bronze strips stamped into figures-of-eight¹. These finds are as yet unpublished.

The second ringwork, known locally as 'The Rookery' on account of the copse which once covered it, lay in a field just south of Berden Hall, on the farm of Mr. A. Watson. The map shows a pond immediately north of the ring but this has since been drained. The present writer was instructed by the Chief Inspector of Ancient Monuments, Ministry of Works, to carry out a rescue excavation to endeavour to discover the nature and date of the earthwork before it was ploughed out. This was carried out between 10th and 25th May, 1954.

The earthwork consisted of a banked ditch surrounding a flat central area (Fig. 2). The overall diameter to the outer edge of the ditch was an average of 180 feet, the central area having a diameter of about 72 feet. Spoil from the ditch had been piled up to form a bank along its inner edge. This bank stood 8 feet above the then ditch bottom but the ditch was originally about 2 feet 6 inches deeper. There was no sign of an entry in the bank nor a causeway over the ditch. The central area was some 18 inches higher than the land outside, indicating that some of the ditch spoil was spread over the interior space.

¹ A similar strip was found in the outer bailey at Framlingham Castle, Suffolk. G. M. Knocker, 'Excavations at Framlingham Castle' 1954, *Proc. Suffolk Inst. of Arch.*, vol. xxvii, Part 2 (1956), p. 80 and fig. 11.3. In this paper Berden is referred to in error as being in Hertfordshire.

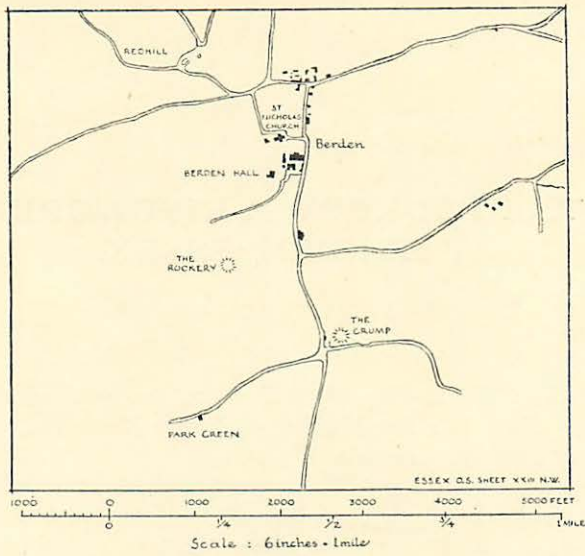


FIG. 1.

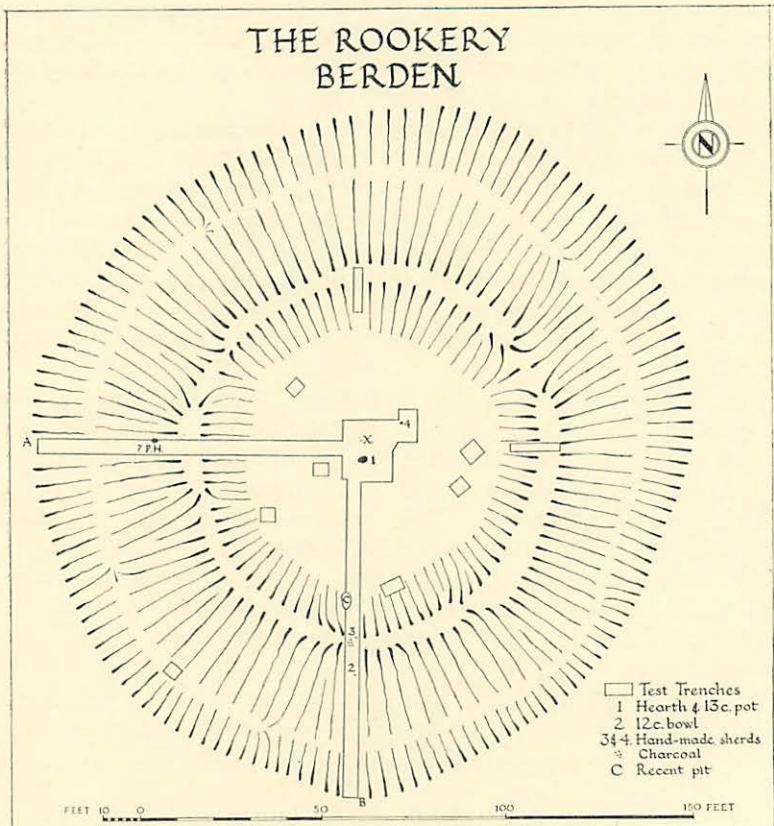


FIG. 2.

Test trenches 4 feet wide were dug along the southern and western radii. The central area was opened up and a series of test holes were dug inside the bank. The latter was examined on the north and east sides by short trenches cut across its crest. The results were not revealing.

Natural subsoil consisted of blue clay with chalk, above which was a foot to eighteen inches of light brown clay, capped with a foot of topsoil. As is usual in such cases, it was difficult to say precisely when undisturbed soil had been reached or where the original turf line lay below the bank. Faint indications in the southern trench seemed to show that this lay about a foot to eighteen inches below present ground level in the centre.

Central Area (Figs. 2-3).

Five feet south of the estimated centre was a small hearth of blackish-grey, clayey loam with burnt clay, measuring 2 feet 6 inches by 18 inches, at a depth of 18 inches, just below topsoil and scooped out of the blue and brown subsoil (Fig. 3.b). On it lay the inverted remains of a cooking-pot, made of harsh, buff-brown, gritty ware with a sagging base. The heavily moulded rim with slight internal beading is characteristic of the 13th century¹ (Fig. 4.1). Associated with the pot were the base sherds of another vessel of thicker ware, less harsh than the cooking-pot and redder in colour, also of this date. Thirteen feet north-east of the hearth a fragment of coarse, buff-brown pottery, apparently hand-made, was found just below topsoil.

The remainder of the central area revealed nothing of interest. There were no stonework, post-holes or other signs of occupation.

The Bank (Fig. 3a. and b.).

The bank was sectioned in two places down to natural blue clay with chalk. Its composition in general showed the confused stratification to be expected when the spoil from a ditch is thrown up haphazard. In the southern trench (Fig. 3b.) the old turf line appeared to show as a line of blue clay below the inner half of the bank, about 18 inches above natural. South of the crest, the rim sherd of a 12th century bowl in reddish-brown gritty ware, was found in brown clay, 6 inches above natural (Fig. 4.2). (2 on Figs. 2 and 3b.) A single sherd of reddish ware, flecked with flint, $\frac{3}{8}$ inch thick, bearing horizontal girth lines and apparently hand-made, was found just north of the crest, 6 inches above natural and 9 inches below the presumed old turf line. (3 on Figs. 2 and 3b.) It was probably part of a

¹ Compare a somewhat similar cooking-pot from Bungay Castle, Suffolk. *Proc. Suffolk Inst. of Arch.*, vol. xxii, p. 334.

THE ROOKERY Sections along A-X and X-B

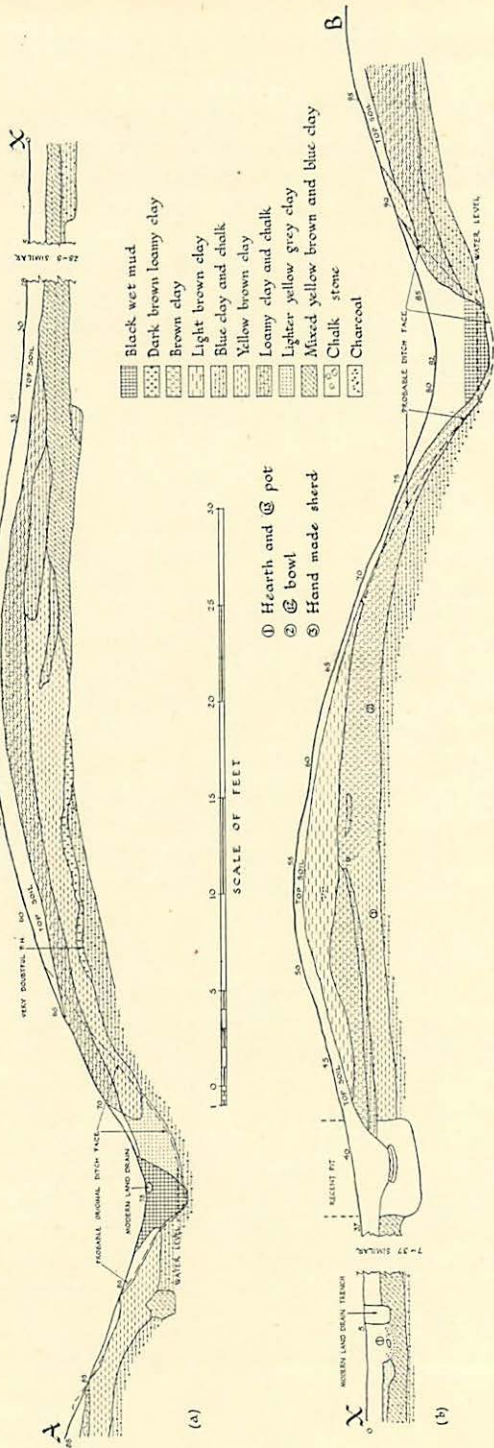


FIG. 3.

roofing tile. A few flecks of charcoal were found below the crest at a depth of about 1 foot 9 inches.

Charcoal flecks were also found west of the crest and just above natural in the western trench which otherwise revealed nothing of interest (Fig. 3a).

A careful search was made for post-holes both on the crest of the bank and on the outer scarp, but with the very doubtful possibility at

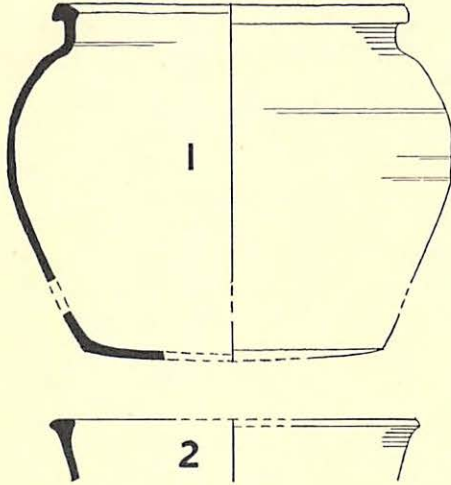


FIG. 4.

62 feet west in the western trench, where natural blue clay showed a shallow depression, no indications were found.

The Ditch (Fig. 3a and b).

The ditch proved to have been originally 2 feet 6 inches deeper, giving an original depth of between 5 and 6 feet below the presumed original ground level. Its centre was filled with some 2 feet of wet, black, loamy silt. Water level was reached 6 inches above the original ditch bottom. Nothing of interest was recovered.

The nature of the earthwork.

The finds, already described, from the adjacent Crump suggest that the latter was a Norman ring motte and it seemed reasonable to suppose that the Rookery, which looked very similar, was another example. Nothing however was found to strengthen this supposition. The apparent absence of any traces of stonework, post-holes, occupation

level, other than the small central hearth, or means of entry through the bank, made it hard to believe that the place was ever either a regular dwelling site or a cattle enclosure. On the other hand the almost certainly hand-made sherd found near the centre gave some evidence of ancient occupation.

The central hearth with associated cooking-pot indicated light occupation in the 13th century, and the rim sherd of a medieval bowl found near the base of the southern bank suggests a 12th century date for the construction of the earthwork.

From later times, the only known record is contained in a conveying map of 1602 in which the earthwork is shown, somewhat sketchily, as a rectangle¹.

The earthwork has now been destroyed.

¹ Information kindly supplied by Lt.-Col. S. P. Plowden, of Berden Hall.

ARCHÆOLOGICAL NOTES.

Ministry of Works: Chief Correspondent for Essex.—

The Ministry of Works has appointed Major J. G. S. Brinson, F.S.A., as their Chief Correspondent for Essex, in place of the Rev. G. Montagu Benton, F.S.A., who has resigned after serving in that capacity for over 32 years (1923-1956).

Seal found at Netteswell.—The tenant of one of the council-houses at Oldhouse Croft, Netteswell, has dug up in his garden a brass seal. It is rather a crude piece of work, probably of early fifteenth-century date, and shows St. Catherine of Alexandria standing in a niche and holding her wheel. The legend appears to read S. WILLI DE GVIKRVIE. The oval face measures $1\frac{1}{16}$ inch in height, and it has a conical handle surmounted by a trefoil loop for suspension.

The Oldhouse Croft estate has been built on a portion of the old village common field, and the spot where the seal was found is fairly near the road which used to run through the centre of the village.

J. L. FISHER.

The Brasses at St. James's Church, Colchester.—Morant records (*Hist. of Colchester*, 1748) that in his day the brasses in St. James's Church to John Maynarde 'Clothyar', late Alderman of Colchester, 1569, and Ales his wife, 1584, were 'affixed to two stones upon the floor of the south aisle' (or chapel). Subsequently they were detached from their slabs (when the brass of the lady was found to be palimpsest), and for many years had been loosely fastened to the south wall of the chapel. The two original slabs belonging to the brasses were discovered, in an excellent state of preservation, at the bottom of a cavity beneath the false floor of the chapel, when it was removed some years ago.

The rector (Canon M. M. Martin), who in the care of his church has shown a policy of sensitive preservation, has had the brasses re-fixed to their slabs, which have been inserted on the north and south sides of the spacious chancel floor, so as to escape attrition. Their present position is due to there being no suitable spot available on

the chapel floor. The work was admirably carried out in 1951 by Messrs. H. and K. Mabbitt.

The slab of the alderman's brass shows 3 inches below the centre of the foot-inscription an indent, 6 inches square, set diamond-wise. The missing plate doubtless bore the clothier's merchant's mark.

Both brasses are illustrated and described in *Trans. E.A.S.*, vol. xiii (N.S.), pp. 41-44.

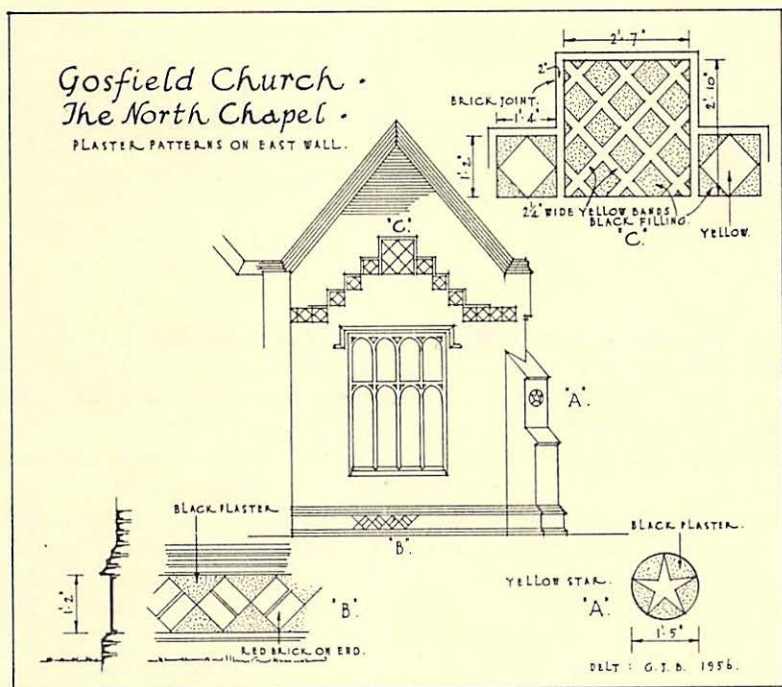
G. MONTAGU BENTON.

Discoveries at Gosfield Church.—The repair works, which were completed in 1956, at Gosfield Church, included the stripping of the external rendering from the walls as this had become very dilapidated and unsightly by the falling away of patches, and, moreover, the defective areas of lime stucco over the flint rubble and brick facings had been renewed in modern times with a hard un-sympathetic cement.

The north chapel, or what is known as the Wentworth Chapel, was rebuilt in 1560 by Sir John Wentworth, the great-great-grandson of Thomas Rolf (died in 1440) who, with his wife Anne, was the founder of the present church erected c. 1435, and whose tomb now lies against the south wall of the chancel. Careful stripping of the walls of the chapel has revealed interesting red brickwork of the period, and the north doorway, with its moulded four-centred arch in a square head with moulded label, is particularly pleasing. On the face of the N.E. buttress are traces of a molet or star, the badge of the de Vere family, and its presence is probably a compliment to the 16th Earl who, as owner of the rectorial tithes, is said to have provided a new roof to the chancel at the time the chapel was rebuilt. Incidentally, this device is recorded in the Royal Commission's *Essex Historical Monuments*, vol. i, as a large painted molet. It is in fact executed in a thin coat of yellow plaster, within a black plaster circle, but very little of it is now discernible.

Stripping of the lime and cement renderings from the east wall of the chapel revealed in one or two places (only on this wall) an under-coat of thin yellow plaster, much mutilated by hacking of the surface to form a key for the subsequent coats. It was in too poor a condition to retain, and the brickwork was therefore fully revealed, except for the large central latticed device over the window and the abutting stepped lozenges within squares indicated on the accompanying drawing. This patterning is executed in a $\frac{1}{4}$ inch thick coat of black and yellow plaster applied directly to the brickwork. It is somewhat difficult to follow the design on the centrepiece but a close view shows

the scoremarks made on the bricks to aid the craftsman. A 2 inch brick course follows the upper line of the steppings to form a border. Two of the lower line of four squares on the south side, that is between the gables of the chapel and the chancel, are hidden by a



GOSFIELD CHURCH: EXTERIOR WALL OF NORTH CHAPEL.

modern brick buttress. The general grouping of the patterns would appear to suggest that the roof of the chapel was raised later than 1560, and indeed it is found that the bricks in the gable-head average 10 inches to $10\frac{1}{2}$ inches by $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches in size, as against $9\frac{1}{2}$ inches by $2\frac{3}{8}$ inches in the lower part of the wall, ten courses in height of the former brickwork equalling twelve of the lower. The $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches sized brick became more common during the third quarter of the 17th century. It would seem also, by the size of the bricks now revealed, that the chancel was widened southward at the same time as the re-roofing of the chapel, though the general design of the south wall and windows is similar to that of the north chapel.

Some interesting diapering of the face of the plinth, on both the east and north sides of the chapel, was discovered, consisting of red

bricks applied in diamond fashion to the face of the wall, and filled between with $\frac{1}{4}$ inch thick black plaster flush with the brickwork. This ornamentation was not bonded to the wall. An attempt to expose it fully was therefore abandoned except for a section at the base of the east wall.

The western end of the chapel was lengthened in 1735 or 1736 for the building of a brick barrelled vault to accommodate the body of John Knight, M.P. (died 1733), who rebuilt a great part of Gosfield Hall, erected by Sir John Wentworth at the time of the rebuilding of the chapel. The oak flooring over the vault was found to be badly eaten by the death-watch beetle and has been replaced by concrete.

GEORGE J. BRAGG.

Eastwood Church: Discovery of Acoustic Jar.—An interesting discovery at Eastwood church in March, 1957, was brought to my notice by enquiries made by Mr. G. J. Bragg, L.R.I.B.A., the architect in charge, who was puzzled as to its significance.

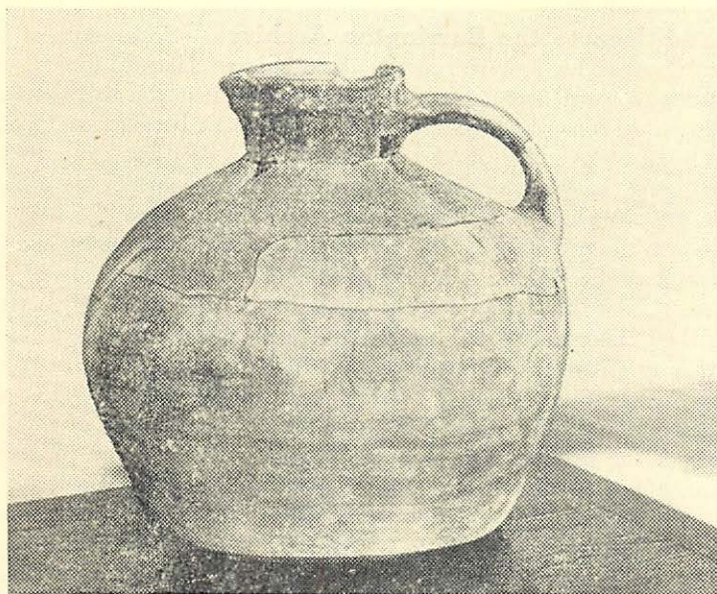
The chancel probably dates from early in the thirteenth century, but there is no doubt that the roof-timbers are later than the chancel walls—possibly late fourteenth century—and on the top of the south wall was an earthenware jug, which must have been placed in the position in which it was found (midway on the wall, and on its side, with the bottom facing inwards) when the roof was renewed. The stripping of the ceiling plaster from under the puncheons and collar-beams revealed that the top of the wall had been filled in up to the rafter-slope with chalk and rubble loosely knit together, the jug being carefully embedded in a sort of clay pug.

The height of the vessel, the form of which suggests a fourteenth-century date, is 13 inches, and the maximum breadth about 14 inches. It has a bulbous body and a short neck, expanding towards the rim, to which is attached a strap handle. The body from base to maximum girth shows signs of coil working; above this point it is wheel-turned, with straw content prominently visible. The exterior varies in colour from light-buff to grey. A round hole chipped at the base is a notable feature. The jug came to pieces on removal, but it has been successfully repaired by the staff of the Prittlewell Priory Museum, where it is to remain on permanent loan.

Vitruvius and other classical authorities—Greek and Roman—apparently believed in the effective use of earthen pots or brazen vessels for improving the resonance of buildings. The chance discovery in our churches of jars of various shapes, seemingly placed at

random on the top of the wall or in the floor of nave or chancel. indicate that the practice was observed to some extent in the Middle Ages.¹

The discovery of a number of earthenware jars under the choir-stalls at St. Peter Mancroft and St. Peter Parmentergate, Norwich, in 1850 and 1860 (the latter of jug form), was placed on record by the Rev.



EASTWOOD CHURCH: ACOUSTIC JAR.

G. W. W. Minns,² who, after examining the available evidence, concluded that 'such jars were inserted for acoustic purposes', and this view has met with general acceptance.

The number of these jars varies considerably. At Leeds church, near Maidstone, Kent, altogether about 50 earthenware pots were found, in 1878, embedded in the top of the nave walls. Four jars were discovered in the same position as the Eastwood example at East Harling church, Norfolk, and in several cases jars have been found similarly placed.

¹ See article on 'Acoustic Jars', by Geo. C. Yates, in *Antiquities and Curiosities of the Church*, ed. by William Andrews (1897), pp. 34-43. The subject is also discussed by Walter Johnson, in his *Byways in British Archaeology* (1912), pp. 447-50.

² *Norfolk Archaeology*, vol. vii (1872), pp. 93-101.

Thanks are due in the first place to Mr. Bragg, for details of the discovery; and I am also indebted to Mr. L. Helliwell, F.L.A., Borough Librarian and Curator, Southend-on-Sea, for a description of the vessel, and to the proprietors of *The Southend Pictorial* for the loan of the block used for the illustration.

G. MONTAGU BENTON.

Additions to the Barrington Archives.—Some more of the Barrington archives were recently discovered in Hatfield Broad Oak church, and have been added to the main deposit in the Essex Record Office. The new accession is chiefly of interest because of the re-discovery of over half a dozen of the early deeds relating to the Barrington family, which were used by G. A. Lowndes in his articles in these *Transactions*.¹ Among them is a grant from Geoffrey de Mandeville (1st Earl of Essex, d. 1144) to Eustace de Barenton and his son Humphrey. There is no doubt that the grant was made by the first earl, since it is witnessed by his wife, Rohais, and fairly certain that the grant can be dated before the creation of the earldom, in 1140, as that title is not used in the document. This grant is probably the second earliest document of Essex interest in the Record Office; the earliest is the confirmation by Ralph d'Escures, archbishop of Canterbury, of the endowments of Colne Priory, c. 1115.² The collection contains a letter of fraternity, 1519, from the prior of Worcester to John Greye and Anne his wife, whose Essex connection is not proven.

In addition to a group of wills of the Barrington family and others in Hatfield Broad Oak, 1398-1673, there are some 17th-century household and personal accounts, including those kept during the minority of Sir John Barrington, who succeeded to the baronetcy after the death of his grandfather in March, 1683. Among the expenses recorded are those for bringing Sir John and his brother Charles from Felsted School on a scare of smallpox in Sir John's lodgings, and for pocket-money 'to Sir John when he went to see Audley End house'.

The manorial records include three early 14th-century surveys and extents of Hatfield and Broomshawbury. These tie up with the later 14th-century court roll deposited earlier by Messrs. Gepp. A court roll of the eponymous manor of Barringtons in Hatfield Broad Oak, 1393-1488, was included among a deposit of Barrington documents received through Colchester Borough Library. Further

¹ *Trans. E.A.S.*, N.S., vol. i, pp. 251-273, vol. ii, pp. 3-54.

² *Ibid.*, vol. xxiii, p. 264.

topographical details about Hatfield Broad Oak could be obtained from a handsome rental of the manor of Hatfield Priory, *c.* 1548, arranged by streets in the town and 'ends' in the outlying parts of this extensive parish; this document was included in a collection of documents recently deposited in the office by the Essex Archæological Society, and probably once formed part of the Barrington archives. A draft assessment for the subsidy for Harlow Hundred, 1624, also received from the Society, may possibly also be from this source. At least twenty-five of the deeds relating to Hatfield Broad Oak in the Society's collection, calendared by Canon J. L. Fisher, must have come from Barrington Hall. This group includes documents connected with the marriage settlements of Francis Barrington, 1579, and his son Thomas, 1611.

NANCY BRIGGS.

Easton Lodge Library Catalogue.—In 1943, Messrs. Myers & Co. Ltd., antiquarian booksellers, of New Bond Street, London, offered the manuscript catalogue of the library of Lord Maynard for thirty shillings. Although I was living in Norfolk at that time, my interests in Essex matters were (as they still are) very strong, but I was not lucky enough to acquire the manuscript; in May, 1957, however, I succeeded in tracing its whereabouts. Dom Raymond Webster had purchased the catalogue for the library at Downside Abbey, Stratton-on-the-Fosse, and through the kindness of the present librarian, Dom Placid Kelley, O.S.B., I have been privileged to inspect it.

The volume, bound in parchment, consists of a thumb-index on 24 leaves followed by 252 leaves each $14\frac{1}{2}$ inches by $9\frac{1}{2}$ inches. The index is to authors, but the catalogue proper is begun at the reverse end of the book. It is neatly written and entitled, 'A Catalogue of the Right Hon^{ble} Lord Maynard's Library at Easton Lodge. taken, September 18 to 22^d 1750, by Jn^o Whiston'. The index to authors was written on 24 September. Whiston, who died in 1780, was a Fleet Street, London, bookseller. His shop was a meeting-place for men of letters and he was one of the earliest issuers of regular priced catalogues; an account of his career may be read in the *Dictionary of National Biography*.

The catalogue, on 44 consecutive and on four other leaves, is of 1,896 titles representing, if allowance is made for sets, of between 2,000 and 2,500 volumes. The size of each book, folio, quarto or octavo, is usually given, and a few special bindings are noted. The pages are ruled in red to provide columns for margin, title, place of publication and date. There are a large number of theological works,

and an extensive list of French, Italian and Spanish books; nearly all the Italian and Spanish works were published in the sixteenth century.

Law, classics, dictionaries, ecclesiastical and other history, antiquities, travel, philosophy, natural history, biography and memoirs, topography (including Ireland), atlases, medicine and surgery, drama, poetry, architecture, numismatics, husbandry, parliamentary debates, mathematics, letters, horticulture, and books of engravings were among the subjects represented in fifteen principal bookcases. There is a fair sprinkling of sixteenth century works in these sections. The earliest works are *Virgilii Opera omnia*, Folio, 1473, *Claudianii Poeta opera*, Quarto, 1500, and *Horatius Aldus*, Octavo, 1501, all printed in Venice. The latest work is Mervyn Archdall's *Peerage of Ireland*, 7 vols., London, 1789.

The only manuscripts appear to be: (1) *Kalendar to the Journals of the House of Lords from the Beginning of Henry 8th to 1752*, 3 vols., folio; (2) *Fundatio, Privilegia, Donationes, et Confirmationes Abbatie de Tileteia*; (3) *Arms of all the Nobility from William the Conqueror to Q. Elizabeth*, finely illuminated; (4) *The Foundation of the Universitie of Cambridge wth a Catalogue of the Principal Founders & Benefactors of the Colledges Publick Schooles & Library: & the Names of the Masters & Fellowes, with the Number of Magistrates Governours & Officers & Students therein residing in 1621*, collected by J. Scott, 4to; (5) *Remembrances for Order & Decency to be kept in the upper House of Parliament by the Lords*, 8vo.

A good many (if not all) of the books listed were destroyed in the Easton Lodge fires either in 1847 or 1918. With them perished, in the 1918 fire, the cartulary of Tilty Abbey (probably the item noted in the preceding paragraph), but fortunately it had been transcribed by the late William Chapman Waller, whose manuscript is now in the Essex Record Office (catalogue mark T/B3; see also *Trans. E.A.S.* (N.S.), vols. viii, pp. 353-62, and ix, pp. 118-121, *Essex Review*, vol. lix, pp. 39-43, and *Guide to the Essex Record Office*, Part II, pp. 52, 110).

The Lord Maynard for whom the catalogue was made was Charles, 6th Baron Maynard in the Peerage of England and Ireland, who was created Viscount Maynard of Easton Lodge in 1766. He was the eighth and youngest son of the 3rd baron and succeeded his brother in 1745. He died, unmarried, in 1775, aged 85, and was buried at Little Easton; he had been sometime Fellow of Christ's College, Cambridge. From the fact that some volumes in the library catalogue are subsequent to the date of the first viscount's death, we may assume that his successor made some attempt to continue the record.

An entry on p. 18 of the catalogue is in respect of 'Sir John Maynard's Case stated by J. Howldin', 1648; he was uncle to William, 2nd baron, one of the seven Lords impeached by the Commons of high treason, 8 September, 1647, but the prosecution was dropped 6 June, 1648. Sir John protested against the deposition of Charles I in 1648 and his portrait, showing him in the robes of a serjeant-at-law, is now in the possession of Mr. C. H. Bullivant, of Minehead.

FRANCIS W. STEER.

Excavation of a Supposed Roman Barrow at South Ockendon, Essex.—In March and April, 1954, rescue excavations were carried out by the Ministry of Works in the grounds of the former South Ockendon Hall on the site of a mound (N.G. 51/604829). A few hundred yards to the north is the Mount, a mound 17 feet high and about 150 feet in diameter. The volume of the Royal Commission on Historical Monuments (Essex, IV, 143) mentions the tradition of a third mound in the area.

The north side of the mound had been almost wholly destroyed. Cruciform trenches revealed that the ditch was 23-25 feet wide and enclosed a circular area of 108 feet in diameter. The high level of the water-table prevented a section through the ditch. The mound itself had been made by heaping up a bank inside the ditch and then filling up the interior to form the mound in a similar fashion to that described by the late Mr. Hazzledine Warren in the Roman barrow at Mersea Island¹. The centre and northern part of the mound had been completely dug away so that there was no trace of a burial, if there ever had been one here. Two pennies of Queen Victoria (1876 and 1892) were found near the centre, although the damage is already shown on the O.S. 6 inch sheet of 1865-6. Under the south-east part of the mound several irregular-shaped pits were found containing bones and pottery.

Finds comprised animal bones, a bronze buckle, iron nail, fragments of rotary querns, including one of lava (perhaps Niedermendig lava). A good deal of pottery was found, a few hand-made pre-historic sherds, including an Iron Age A rim decorated with cable pattern, but the greater part of the pottery was Roman. This included grey and fumed ware, part of a mortarium, the top of a globular amphora, and a fragment of a rouletted Caister-ware lid. The pottery was in the make-up of the mound and below it. The latest pottery could hardly be earlier than the 3rd century A.D.

¹ *Trans. E.A.S.* (1915), vol. xiii (N.S.), pp. 116-140.

It is difficult to see what the mound could be except the remains of a Roman barrow, but the late date of some of the pottery raises difficulties. An alternative suggestion that it is the remains of salt-working like the Essex 'red hills' is unlikely because of the exactly circular shape of the ditch and the fact that no 'briquetage' of any kind was found on the site. Mr. K. Barton has already found Roman pottery in the ditch of the Mount to the north, and if subsequent excavation shows this to be a Roman barrow then there will be little doubt this mound was also one.

A plan, sections, and pottery, together with a fuller account, have been placed in the safe custody of the Curator of the Colchester and Essex Museum. Drawings and a full description of the work have also been kept on the Ministry of Works file dealing with this site.

The Ministry of Works wishes to record its thanks to Mr. G. V. Szasz, the owner, for permission to excavate.

M. W. THOMPSON.

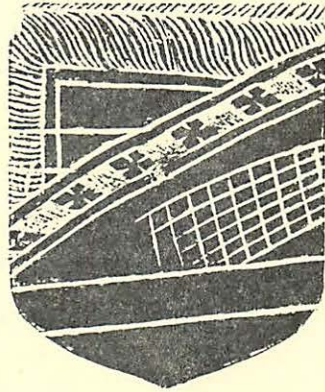
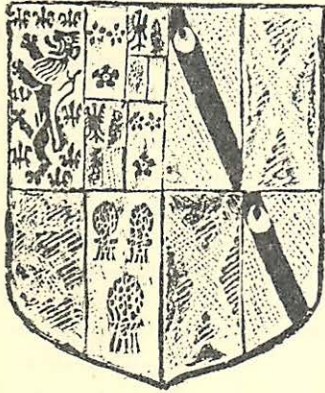
Palimpsest Brass at Wivenhoe, II.—About forty years ago one of the shields of the Countess of Oxford's brass (1537), at Wivenhoe, became loose and proved to be palimpsest. Both the obverse and reverse were illustrated and described by me in these *Transactions*, vol. xv, n.s., p. 242. The end of an embroidered stole indicated that the reverse had been cut out of a large fifteenth-century figure of an ecclesiastic, and I suggested that two parallel lines at the base of the shield might possibly be part of the shaft of a pastoral staff.

It has now to be recorded that the sinister shield by the head of the effigy has become detached and proves to be palimpsest, and to have formed part of the same brass as the reverse of the previous shield. It bears on the obverse: *Quarterly (1) [azure] semée of fleurs-de-lis a lion rampant [or], for Beaumont. (2) Quarterly, 1 and 4 [azure] three cinquefoils [or] two and one, for Bardolf; 2 and 3 quarterly [gules and argent] in the dexter quarter an eagle displayed [or], for Philip. (3) [Vert] an inescutcheon within an orle of martlets [argent], for Erpingham. (4) [Gules] three garbs [or] two and one, for Comyn, impaling Quarterly, 1 and 4 [azure] a bend [or] charged with a crescent for difference, for Scrope; 2 and 3 [argent] a saltire engrailed [gules], for Tiptoft.*¹

The reverse of the shield shows the lower part of a chasuble

¹ I am indebted to Mr. Francis Steer, F.S.A., for kindly checking the heraldic descriptions.

with an ornamental border or orphrey, and below it the end of a fringed tunic. To parallel lines at the base are obviously a continuation of those on the former shield, and leave no doubt that they belong to the shaft of a pastoral staff, and that both shields originally formed part of the figure of either an abbot or bishop. This figure was probably discarded in the workshop and never completed owing to errors in detail.



An interesting comparison may be made between the reverses of the above shields and palimpsest reverses at Tolleshunt Darcy and Upminster, both of which show lower portions of similar ecclesiastical figures.¹

G. MONTAGU BENTON.

¹ See illustrations, *Trans. Mon. Br. Soc.*, vol. iv, pp. 109, 113.

MIEVEAL FEAST HELD IN THE
MOOT HALL, COLCHESTER,
ON FRIDAY, 1 MAY, 1953, TO CELEBRATE
THE CENTENARY OF THE ESSEX
ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY, 1852-1952.

At an excursion held as long ago as 1936,¹ the then Hon. Secretary announced that for some time past he had been contemplating the possibility of organizing a Medieval Feast in connection with the Society. Many of the members present welcomed the suggestion and promised their support.

It was obvious, however, that an undertaking of this nature would not be easy to arrange, and the idea remained latent until the Centenary Celebrations were under consideration. The actual date, 14 December, 1952, happened to fall on a Sunday, and it was decided to hold a Commemoration Service on that day,² and to postpone the Celebrations until the Spring. A Centenary Sub-Committee was appointed, consisting of the President, and the Rev. T. D. S. Bayley, Messrs. Duncan W. Clark, Marc Fitch and K. R. Mabbitt. Lengthy meetings were held—one lasted from 10.30 a.m. to 5.30 p.m.—and it was eventually agreed that the chief item in the programme should be a Medieval Feast, to be held in the Moot Hall, Colchester, on 1 May, 1953. Mr. Bayley acted as chairman, and the success of the festival was largely due to his foresight and assiduity.

All attending were expected to wear some sort of medieval dress. 'No wonder [therefore, to quote a local newspaper] the little knot of people outside Colchester Town Hall on Friday evening rubbed their eyes with astonishment. For the Town Hall, with its long list of glittering social events, had never known a night like this. For an hour a stream of brightly-costumed medieval characters strolled up the long flight of stairs leading to the Moot Hall. There were knights and noblemen in chain-mail and tabards. There were ladies in dainty

¹ *Trans. E.A.S.*, vol. xxii (N.S.), p. 196.

² See p. 1 of the present volume.



THE MEDIEVAL FEAST: THE HIGH TABLE.



THE MEDIEVAL FEAST: THE MAYOR, PRESIDENT AND MAYORESS.



ENTRY OF BOAR'S HEAD.

robes, kirtles, wimples, horned and steepled head-dresses—every kind of gorgeous medieval finery in all its bold colours.’

Members of the party were received by the Mayor of Colchester (Councillor William C. Lee) and the President, with their ladies at 6.30 p.m., and were in their places by 7 p.m. when a fanfare heralded the entry of the Lord of the Feast (the Rev. G. Montagu Benton, President of the Society), who personated Cardinal Wolsey. Resplendent in a long rose-coloured robe, with two attendant pages, and preceded by the Master of the Music (Dr. W. H. Swinburne) and the Oriana Singers, the Lord led the procession of guests to the High Table. They included His Worship the Mayor, and the Lady Mayoress, the Bishop of Chelmsford, the Bishop of Colchester, Sir Mortimer Wheeler and Lady Wheeler, Dr. M. E. S. Cutts, great-grandson of the Rev. E. L. Cutts (the virtual founder of the Society) and Dr. G. H. S. Bushnell, the Rev. J. F. Williams, and Mr. L. Dow, representing respectively, the Cambridge, Norfolk, and Suffolk antiquarian societies. Lt.-Col. R. J. Appleby acted as General Marshal.

Grace (*Non nobis Domine*, Byrd c. 1600) having been sung, and the company seated, a pottage was served, which was drunk directly from the bowl. A fanfare was then followed by the ceremonial entry of the Peacock and the Boar’s Head, the musical accompaniment being *The Boar’s Head Carol*, c. 1520. The rest of the menu comprised Game Pie, Ham, Salads, Manchets, Cream of Almonds, Custard Coffins, Cherry Coffins, Spiced Bread, Subtleties, Divers Fruits, Ale, Mead, and Malmsey Wine—the latter having been specially imported from Greece, by a member of the Committee.

The diners were asked to bring with them a folding- or jack-knife, and be prepared to eat with the aid of it and their fingers. They also used their bread for cleaning the wooden platters before the sweetmeat was served; and pages were in attendance with rose-water and napkins for rinsing the fingers.

The platters and table-ware were made specially for the occasion: the former, of sycamore wood, inscribed ‘E.A.S. 1852-1952’, were supplied by Messrs. H. & K. Mabbitt, and the pottery bowls and beakers, similarly inscribed, were produced by the Wattisfield Potters. As interesting souvenirs, these afterwards met with a ready sale.

An elaborate tapestry panel on the wall above the President’s chair, loaned through the kind offices of Mr. Marc Fitch, lent additional colour to the scene.

Following the loyal toast to ‘Her Majesty the Queen’, Sir Mortimer Wheeler (Director of the Society of Antiquaries) proposed ‘The Essex Archæological Society’, the President duly responding. The Rev.

T. D. S. Bayley, a past president of the Society, gave the health of 'The Guests', the Mayor, the Bishop of Chelmsford (the Right Rev. S. Faulkner Allison) and Dr. G. H. S. Bushnell (Curator of the Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology at the University of Cambridge) being among those responding.

Fanfares and old English music brought an outstanding event in the annals of the Society to a close. It certainly promoted the Society's interest,¹ and also social intercourse among its members.

¹ It may be noted that a lengthy account of the Feast, headed 'Knights in Chain Mail clank again at British Town's Mediæval Feast', appeared in an Australian newspaper—*The Manly* [suburb of Sydney] *Daily*, 5 Dec., 1953.

ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING OF THE
ESSEX ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY,
AT THE TOWN HALL, COLCHESTER,
ON SATURDAY, 2 MAY 1953.

THE minutes of the previous meeting were read and confirmed.

An address of welcome was given by the Mayor (Councillor W. C. Lee), who referred to the Medieval Feast held the previous evening, and thanked the Society for inviting the Mayoress and himself to that function. The Mayor also mentioned that this was the second occasion during his term of office that he had had the pleasure of welcoming the Society whose work he commended. Reference was also made to the activities of the Museum Committee. The Mayor closed his remarks by congratulating the Society on attaining its Centenary. The President accorded thanks to the Mayor for his address.

The Rev. G. Montagu Benton, M.A., F.S.A., was unanimously re-elected President for the ensuing year. On resuming the Chair, Mr. Benton returned thanks to the meeting.

The Vice-Presidents and Council were re-elected with the exception of Mrs. R. C. Fowler, resigned, but with the addition of Messrs. M. F. B. Fitch, F.S.A., and P. H. Reaney, Litt.D., Ph.D., on the motion of the President, seconded by Mr. F. G. Emmison.

The President referred to his decision to resign the office of Honorary Secretary and to the Council's appointment (under rule 7) of Mr. F. W. Steer, F.S.A., as his successor. Mr. Duncan W. Clark spoke of Mr. Benton's work during the past thirty years as Hon. Secretary and, for part of the time, as Honorary Editor, and on the motion of Mr. Clark, seconded by Mr. L. E. Dansie, it was unanimously agreed that: (a) At this, the one hundredth Annual General Meeting, the members receive with deep regret the resignation, after thirty years' service, of the Rev. G. Montagu Benton as Honorary Secretary. (b) It is agreed that the grateful thanks of the Society be accorded to Mr. Benton for his devotion and untiring work, and that this resolution be recorded in the minutes. Mr. L. E. Dansie also spoke of Mr. Benton's reputation as a scholar, and of his regular attendance as a

member of the Museum Committee of Colchester Corporation. The Rev. J. F. Williams referred to his long association with the President.

The President (as retiring Hon. Secretary) presented the Annual Report, and on his motion, seconded by Mr. L. E. Dansie, it was taken as read and adopted.

The Hon. Treasurer presented the Annual Statement of Accounts, and on the motion of Mr. W. Addison, seconded by Lady Benham, it was approved and adopted.

The President reported on the Council's proposal to increase the annual subscription to £1 as from 1 January, 1954. After some discussion in which Col. R. J. Appleby, Mr. L. Dow, Mr. L. E. Dansie, the Rev. J. F. Williams and Mr. D. A. J. Buxton referred to the benefits which may be derived from a covenant scheme, the Hon. Treasurer agreed to report further on this matter at the next Council Meeting. Mr. F. G. Emmison spoke of similar financial difficulties which other local Societies were experiencing. After outlining some of the problems involved in collecting subscriptions, the Hon. Treasurer proposed, Mr. F. G. Emmison seconded, and it was unanimously agreed that the Annual Subscription be increased to £1 as from 1 January, 1954, without prejudice to the rights of existing Life Members. It was also agreed that members be notified of this change in subscription by means of a duplicated notice incorporating an amended form of Banker's Order.

It was proposed by the President, and agreed, that the Hon. Secretary shall arrange, whenever practicable, that future Annual General Meetings be held in the latter half of May or early in June each year, and that as long notice as possible be given to members.

On the proposal of Mrs. Gilmour, it was agreed to write to the Town Clerk and to the Ministry of Works, to express the anxiety of the Society in respect of the Colchester Town Wall.

The President, Mr. Duncan Clark, Canon J. L. Fisher and the Rev. W. R. Saunders were re-elected as the Society's four representatives on the Museum and Muniment Committee of the Colchester Corporation, on the motion of Mr. L. E. Dansie, seconded by Mr. B. Mason.

Nine new members were elected.

On the motion of the President, a hearty vote of thanks was accorded to the Mayor and Corporation of Colchester, for the use of the Grand Jury Room.

The Rev. T. D. S. Bayley gave details of wireless and television programmes in which reference would probably be made to the Medieval Feast; and Mr. Dansie reported that the Society had been complimented on the clean and tidy condition of the Moot Hall after the previous evening's festivities.

It was proposed by Mr. W. Addison, seconded by Mr. F. G. Emmison, and unanimously resolved that a hearty vote of thanks be accorded to the Rev. T. D. S. Bayley, Mr. Duncan Clark and Mr. K. R. Mabbitt for their untiring efforts in making such admirable arrangements for the Feast and for other Centenary Celebrations.

The President then addressed the meeting on 'The History of the Society'. Thanks were accorded to him, and it was agreed that this important record should be printed.

The meeting then adjourned for luncheon. In the afternoon, members and their friends were welcomed by the Mayor of Colchester and the President in the Mayor's Parlour, and at 3 p.m. the company assembled in the Moot Hall and was addressed by the President; Sir Thomas Kendrick, K.C.B., D.Litt., F.B.A., Director of the British Museum; Sir Mortimer Wheeler, C.I.E., M.C., D.Litt., F.B.A., Director of the Society of Antiquaries of London; F. C. Eeles, Esq., O.B.E., Litt.D., Secretary of the Central Council for the Care of Churches; Professor Grahame Clark, Ph.D., F.B.A., Disney Professor of Archaeology in the University of Cambridge. An exhibition of items connected with the century of the Society's existence was staged in the Moot Hall.

After tea, a recital of music of a hundred years ago was given by Mary and Geraldine Peppin to an appreciative audience.

REPORT FOR 1952.

THE Council has pleasure in presenting its Hundredth Annual Report.

During the year the Society has lost 38 members by death, resignation, and deletion; 59 new members have been added to its roll.

The total membership, which on 31 December, 1951, was 542, on 31 December, 1952, was as follows:—

Annual members	-	-	-	464
Life members	-	-	-	96
Honorary members	-	-	-	3
				<hr/>
				563
				<hr/>

No publications have been issued during the year on account of financial stringency, but the long delayed *Essex Sessions of the Peace, 1351 and 1377-79*, is on the eve of publication. Unfortunately, it will not be possible to send copies of this important work, priced at 35s., gratis to members, but they will be allowed one copy at the reduced rate of 25s.

It is desirable that the first part of the Centenary volume of *Transactions* should be published as soon possible, and the Council again appeals for contributions towards the cost. The result of the last appeal, for the Centenary Fund, which amounted to £118 2s. 5d., is in some ways disappointing, although it includes a remarkably generous single donation of £50.

Excursions were held as follows:—

- 10 May : Hatfield (Herts.).
- 29 May : Southwark.
- 28 June : Shalford, Finchingfield and Great Bardfield.
- 22 July : Great and Little Chesterfield, Strethall and Chrishall.
- 26 Sept.: Mount Bures, Pebmarsh, Alphamstone and Middleton.

The Annual General Meeting was held at Colchester on 5 June, and was followed in the afternoon by a lecture on 'English Fashions in Christian Names', given by Dr. C. Willett Cunnington. On 27 November, Mr. Marcus Fitch, F.S.A., gave a lecture at Colchester on 'Wanderings in Greece', illustrated by Kodachrome transparencies.

The Society having been founded on 14 December, 1852, a Special Service of Commemoration was held at All Saints' Church, Colchester,

on Sunday, 14 December, by kind permission of the rector (Canon R. H. Jack, R.D.). There was an excellent attendance. A detailed account of this Service will appear in the Society's *Transactions*.

The Hon. Librarian reports that while there are signs that members who use the Library are showing greater care in the treatment of the books and the tidiness of the shelves there is still room for improvement. The copy of Gibson, *The Flora of Essex*, borrowed but never returned, has been replaced by a donor living in Kent.

Lack of space has made it necessary to omit the Accounts and Balance Sheet for 1952. The receipts and payments for that year, however, are shown in the Accounts for 1953 (pp. 286ff).

ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING OF THE
ESSEX ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY,
AT THE TOWN HALL, COLCHESTER,
ON THURSDAY, 3 JUNE, 1954

THE minutes of the previous meeting were read and confirmed.

An address of welcome was given by the Mayor (Councillor T. H. Morris), who commented upon the suitability of Colchester as a meeting place for the Society and wished it every success.

The re-election of the President (the Rev. G. Montagu Benton) for the ensuing year was proposed by the Rev. T. D. S. Bayley and seconded by Mr. Duncan Clark. The motion was carried unanimously and Mr. Bayley then invested the President with the Centenary badge. He spoke of the many offices filled by the President during his long association with the Society and mentioned the possible replacement of the ribbon by links recording the names of the presidents. The President referred to the increased interest in Essex and elsewhere in archaeology and the past, and alluded to the Society as the mother of all such societies in Essex.

Mr. F. W. Steer, having been appointed County Archivist of East and West Sussex, was obliged to relinquish the office of Honorary Secretary, which he had held for the brief space of nine months. His departure was considered a severe loss to the Society. The appointment of Lt.-Col. R. J. Appleby as his successor was unanimously approved.

The President, seconded by the Honorary Secretary, proposed the election of Sir Mortimer Wheeler, C.I.E., M.C., D.Litt., F.B.A., as a Vice-President. The President referred to the part played by Sir Mortimer, which has caused it to be said that British Archaeology leads the world, and the motion was carried unanimously.

On the proposal of the President, seconded by the Rev. O. E. R. Alexander, the Vice-Presidents were re-elected for the ensuing year, also the Council with the omission of Mr. D. C. George and the addition of Mrs. K. M. Bindon Blood and Lt.-Col. R. J. Appleby.

On the proposal of the President, seconded by Mr. Rickword, three representatives of the Society on the Museum and Muniment Committee of the Colchester Corporation were re-elected with Lt.-Col. R. J. Appleby in the place of Canon J. L. Fisher, retired.

On the proposal of the Rev. T. D. S. Bayley, seconded by Mr. Duncan Clark, the annual report was taken as read and unanimously adopted.

The President mentioned that the Centenary volume was in progress. £100 had been received from the sale of *Essex Sessions*. Two life members had made donations of £5 5s. 0d. and £2 2s. 0d., and £2 7s. 0d. had been given by members at a lecture in February.

Mr. Dansie proposed and Mr. K. R. Mabbitt seconded that the accounts be passed, and the motion was carried unanimously.

The appointments of Mr. John Woods as Hon. Excursion Secretary and Mr. J. S. Appleby as assistant Hon. Archivist were unanimously approved. A vote of thanks to the Rev. T. D. S. Bayley for his long and valuable services was carried with loud applause and the gratitude of the Society was to be recorded in the minutes.

Three new members were elected.

On the proposal of Mr. Rickword, seconded by Mr. K. R. Mabbitt, Library Rule No. 7 was amended by adding: 'No book or periodical shall be retained for a longer period than three months'.

Mr. Dansie voiced an appreciation of the re-organisation of the Library but mentioned the need for a workable index. The President and others spoke of the difficulties, and the need for assistance in binding, repairs, etc.

At 3 p.m. at the Garrison Officers' Club, St. John's Green, Colchester, the President welcomed Sir Mortimer Wheeler, who addressed members and their friends on 'Recent Archæology Overseas and Under the Sea'. The lecture was illustrated by lantern slides.

REPORT FOR 1953.

THE Council has pleasure in presenting its 101st Annual Report.

During the year the Society has lost 67 members by death, resignation and deletion; 50 new members were added to its roll.

The total membership, which on 31 December, 1952, was 563, on 31 December, 1953, was as follows:—

Annual members	-	-	-	447
Life members	-	-	-	96
Honorary members	-	-	-	3
				<hr/>
				546
				<hr/>

Eight members died; 52 resigned; and 7 were deleted owing to non-payment of subscriptions.

Quoting to the nearest pound (exact figure will be found in the accounts), subscriptions were up by £33, i.e. current subscriptions by £10 and those paid in advance by £23.

The sale of publications, apart from *Essex Sessions of the Peace*, amounted to £31, £21 down on last year, but a further £25 was received from *Essex Sessions of the Peace*.

Excursion receipts were only about half those received in the previous year, but this was more than made up for by the Centenary Celebrations which showed an overall profit of £55 13s. 6d. The actual surplus on the Medieval Feast was £67 11s. 9d.

The largest item of expenditure was for the production of the *Essex Sessions of the Peace*, amounting to £535. Against this, by the end of the year, £50 was received from Essex C.C., £20 in donations and £25 by sales, a total of £95, leaving £440 to be borne by the General Account during 1953.

Secretarial and similar expenses were up by nearly £20, but this was almost entirely due to costs arising from the decision to raise subscriptions and the need for new receipt books (which should be spread over a number of years).

Of the £145 balance, rather more than half is earmarked for specific purposes. It is worth noting that the Bridges bequest (£500) has now increased by £50 (in 4 years).

The Library Fund has a balance of £65, and the Surplus of Assets in favour of the Society is now £845, about £60 less than last year, which is mainly due to fluctuations in the value of securities.

Those investments held by Trustees on behalf of the Society have now been transferred to the new Trustees, Mr. Clark and Mr. Bayley, who join the President, the only surviving Trustee, and take the place of Canon Curling and Mr. Lewer, both deceased.

The Council recommends the re-election of the Rev. Montagu Benton, M.A., F.S.A., as President for the ensuing year, also the re-election of the Vice-Presidents, with the exception of Sir Ronald Storrs who has resigned his membership, and the re-election of the Council with the exception of Mr. F. W. Steer who has left the County and Mr. D. C. George who is no longer able to attend meetings, but with the addition of Lt.-Col. R. J. Appleby, M.B.E., F.S.A., and Mrs. K. M. Bindon Blood.

The Council regrets the resignation of the Rev. T. D. S. Bayley as Excursion Secretary after 19 years of invaluable work, and would welcome assistance in organising these important activities.

Essex Sessions of the Peace was published during the year, and copies can be obtained from the Hon. Sec. at the special rate for Members of 25s. (postage 6d.).

It is intended to publish the first part of the Centenary Volume of the *Transactions* this year. Donations for this purpose would help.

Excursions were held as follows:—

25 June : Bradwell (Coggeshall), Stisted and Halstead.

25 July : Henham, Quendon, Stanstead and Great Hallingbury.

26 Sept.: Liverpool Street.

The 100th Annual Meeting was held in the Town Hall, Colchester, on 2 May, when the President gave an address on the History of the Society. In the afternoon there were special addresses by a number of distinguished archæologists. There was also a recital of music of 100 years ago, and an exhibition of interesting items from the collections of the Society. On the previous evening, a Medieval Feast was held in the Moot Hall, Colchester, as part of the Centenary celebrations. Out of the profits of this, a sum was set aside for the purchase of a Presidential badge, designed by Mr. K. R. Mabbitt, F.S.A., and made by Mr. F. Newland Smith, A.R.C.A.

Among the donations to the Society during the year, a special mention should be made of the extensive collection of rubbings of Essex Brasses from Mr. W. W. Porteous.

BALANCE SHEET AS

1952.						BALANCE SHEET AS			
£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
			To Life Compositions—						
441	0	0	84 Members at £5 5s. 0d.	441	0	0			
126	0	0	12 Members at £10 10s. 0d.	126	0	0			
							567	0	0
4	10	0	„ Subscriptions paid in Advance				27	10	0
			„ Special Funds—						
52	6	7	Excavation Funds	52	6	7			
15	3	6	Essex Archaeological Trust Fund	15	3	6			
562	2	0	Library Endowment Fund	600	5	3			
							667	15	4
			„ Accumulation Fund—						
906	6	10	Surplus of Assets in favour of the Society				845	4	5

 £2,107 8 11

 £2,107 9 9

We have examined the foregoing Accounts with the Books and Records
the Investments.

O. E. R. ALEXANDER,
Hon. Treasurer.

AT 31 DECEMBER, 1953.

1952.			<i>Assets.</i>					
			<i>Cost.</i>		<i>Market Value</i>			
			<i>31 Dec., 1953.</i>					
£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
			By Investments—					
184	0	0	£199	11s.	2d.	3%	Savings	
							Bonds, 1955/65	199 11 2
41	10	0	£50	0s.	0d.	3%	Savings	194 0 0
							Bonds, 1965/75	50 0 0
164	7	9	£186	15s.	9d.		London County Consolidated 3% Stock, 1962/67	44 10 0
							.....	176 17 6
82	11	7	£107	4s.	10d.	3½%	War Stock	172 15 4
99	1	2	£126	18s.	6d.	3½%	Conversion Stock, 1961	100 1 9
							.....	90 17 9
77	0	0	£100	0s.	0d.	3½%	War Stock, 1952 (Library Fund)	100 0 0
							.....	109 3 0
92	0	0	£100	0s.	0d.	3%	Savings Bonds, 1955/65 (Library Fund)	99 12 3
							.....	84 15 0
85	10	0	£100	0s.	0d.	3%	Savings Bonds, 1960/70 (Library Fund)	100 0 0
							.....	97 0 0
100	0	0	£100	0s.	0d.	2½%	Defence Bonds (Library Fund)	100 0 0
							.....	91 10 0
58	2	0	£70	0s.	0d.	3%	Savings Bonds, 1965/75 (Library Fund)	100 0 0
							.....	100 0 0
100	0	0	£100	0s.	0d.	2½%	Defence Bonds (Allan D. Laurie Memorial Fund)	70 0 0
							.....	62 6 0
100	0	0	£100	0s.	0d.	2½%	Defence Bonds (Library Fund)	100 0 0
							.....	100 0 0
1,184	2	6						1,296 2 8
								1,246 17 1
			,, Cash at Bank and in Colchester Building Society and East Anglian Trustee Savings Bank—					
873	16	5					General Fund	795 18 5
49	10	0					Library Endowment Fund	64 14 3
								860 12 8
			,, Library Collection of Antiquities at Museum and Stock of Publications (not valued)					
£2,107	8	11						£2,107 9 9

of the Society and find them in accordance therewith. We have verified
 33 King Street, Sudbury, Suffolk. NORMAN GREEN & CO.,
 19 March, 1954. Chartered Accountants.

ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING OF THE
ESSEX ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY,
AT THE TOWN HALL, COLCHESTER,
ON THURSDAY, 9 JUNE, 1955

THE President welcomed the Mayor (Alderman Alexander Craig).

The Mayor said that the Society had been outstanding in putting historic Colchester on the map. Fifty per cent. of the exhibits in the Castle were due to the efforts of the Society. In particular the Rev. G. Montagu Benton must be praised for his activities. Mr. Benton thanked the Mayor and a vote of thanks was passed with acclamation.

The minutes of the previous meeting were read and confirmed.

The retiring President, the Rev. G. Montagu Benton, spoke of his five years in office as remarkable, including, as they did, the Centenary, the Badge, and a Morant Dinner. He spoke of the loyalty and support of the officers of the Society.

It was proposed by Mr. Benton, seconded by Mr. Dansie, that Mr. D. A. J. Buxton, M.A., F.S.A., should be President, and he was unanimously elected. Mr. Buxton proposed a vote of thanks to the retiring president, seconded by Mr. Duncan Clark, which was carried.

The new President proposed, seconded by Mr. Rickword, the re-election of the Vice-Presidents with the addition of the Rev. G. Montagu Benton and Mr. Duncan Clark, and the re-election of the Council with the addition of Mr. J. S. Appleby, Assistant Hon. Archivist, which was carried.

The President, seconded by Mr. W. Addison, proposed the re-election of representatives on the Museum Committee, which was carried.

Two new members were elected.

The Mayor, before retiring, mentioned the good work of Alderman Dansie on the Council.

On the proposal of the Honorary Secretary, seconded by Mr. Benton, the Annual Report was taken as read, and passed.



THE REV. GERALD MONTAGU BENTON, M.A., F.S.A.,
President of the Essex Archæological Society, 1950-1955,
with Sir Mortimer Wheeler, Pres. Soc. Antiq., inspecting the recently
acquired President's Badge.

The Hon. Treasurer, seconded by Mr. Addison, proposed that the accounts be passed, and this was carried.

The President proposed, seconded by Mr. K. R. Mabbitt, that the objects and rules in the report be adopted, and this was carried.

Mr. Dansie suggested the re-issue of forms of Covenant.

The proposal of the President, seconded by Mr. Beaumont, that the merger with the Roman Essex Society be accepted, was carried unanimously.

REPORT FOR 1954.

DURING the year the Society lost 66 members by death, resignation and deletion, one fewer than in the previous year; 49 new members were added to the roll, also one fewer than last year. The total membership, which on 31 December, 1953, was 546, on 31 December, 1954, was as follows:—

Annual Members	-	-	-	430
Life Members	-	-	-	95
Honorary Members	-	-	-	4
				529
				—

Seven members died, 44 resigned, and 15 were deleted for non-payment of subscriptions. The losses by death include Dr. Francis C. Eeles, O.B.E., D.Litt, a contributor to the Society's *Transactions*, and whose special achievement was the creation of diocesan advisory committees for the care of churches. It was anticipated that there might be some falling off in membership owing to the increased subscription which came into force on 1 January, 1953. Actually the decline (17) was exactly the same as that in the previous year. It can be said, therefore, that the larger subscription has made no difference, but the continuing drop in numbers is regrettable.

Subscriptions were up by £53. The sale of publications was £12 down on the previous year, but this does not include the sales of *Essex Sessions of the Peace*, which amounted to £111. Including last year's receipts, £206 14s. 4d. has now been received against the total outlay of £534 12s. 3d. Excursion receipts were less than those of the previous year, and did not cover the expenses incurred. The loss, amounting to £30, unfortunately did much to offset the advantage of the higher subscription.

Special items of expenditure were the printing and distribution of the Index to Vol. 23 of the *Transactions*, £124; and the purchase of the President's Badge, £27 10s. 0d. The available balance of £1,031 shows an increase of £230 10s. 0d. over the previous year, and the Library Fund has a balance of £80 12s. 9d.

The Council recommends the election of Mr. D. A. J. Buxton, M.A., F.S.A., as President for the ensuing year, the Rev. G. Montagu Benton, M.A., F.S.A., having completed 5 years in that office. It

recommends the re-election of the Vice-Presidents with the addition of the Rev. G. Montagu Benton and Mr. Duncan W. Clark, F.R.I.B.A., F.S.A., and the re-election of the Council with the addition of Mr. J. S. Appleby, Assistant Honorary Archivist.

The Council recommends publication of the Objects of the Society and an addition to the Rules as under:—

ESSEX ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY.

FOUNDED 1852.

TO FURNISH FACILITIES FOR ANTIQUARIES AND AFFORD OPPORTUNITIES OF MEETING. The Society founded a Museum which, in 1926, was merged in that of the Town Council and is now known as the Colchester and Essex Museum. Under the arrangement the Society is represented by four members on the Museum and Muniment Committee of the Colchester Corporation. The Society continues to support the Museum by gifts and by annual monetary contributions. It has also assembled a valuable Library, which is available for public inquiry and private study at Holly Trees, Colchester. It organises lectures and arranges excursions to places of interest in or near the County.

TO COLLECT AND PUBLISH INFORMATION CONCERNING THE HISTORY AND ARCHÆOLOGY OF THE COUNTY. The Society issues *Transactions*, free to Members, and has published or helped to publish other historical and archæological material.

TO PROMOTE GENERALLY THE STUDY OF HISTORY AND ARCHÆOLOGY. The Society encourages excavation and is concerned in the preservation of ancient monuments and antiquities. It desires to interest the general public in these matters.

Additional Rule :

In the event of the dissolution of the Society, the assets shall be given to institutions and authorities best calculated to further the aims and objects of the Society.

The Index to Vol. 23 has recently appeared, and a part of the Centenary volume is about to be published. Copies of the *Essex Sessions of the Peace* are still available to Members at the special price of 25/-.

Excursions were held as follows:—

- 28 Aug. : Thetford.
- 25 Sept.: Berechurch and Mersea.
- 16 Oct. : Epping Forest and Walthamstow.

The Annual General Meeting was held on 3 June in the Town Hall, Colchester. In the afternoon there was a lecture at the Garrison Officers' Club, St. John's Green, by Sir Mortimer Wheeler, C.I.E.,

M.C., D.Litt., F.B.A., on "Recent Archæology Overseas and under the Seas".

Other lectures were given as follows:—

- 25 Mar.: "Medieval Figure-Sculpture in England", by Arthur Gardner, M.A., F.S.A.
6 Apr.: "Maps and Their Makers", by Major A. D. Mansfield, R.A., F.R.G.S.

The Covenant Scheme was started, and some 40-50 members have signed a Form of Covenant. As this adds considerably to the income of the Society at no expense or risk to the Member, it is very strongly to be recommended to all those in a position to sign such a document.

The Council relies upon members to promote the interest of the Society, as far as they are able, by obtaining new members, by reporting archæological finds and kindred matters to the Hon. Sec., and by assisting the Hon. Editor in securing suitable contributions for the Society's *Transactions*. Assistance is also required with the Library, with Archives and with Excursions. Some members may wish to take part in excavations, and there may be opportunities at the Norman Castle site at Ongar, and at the Roman site at the new bus-park at Colchester. Those interested are asked to communicate with the Hon. Secretary.

Lack of space has made it necessary to omit the Accounts and Balance Sheet for 1954. The receipts and payments for that year, however, will be seen in the Accounts for 1955.

NEW MEMBERS

1953.

- 30 Jan. ALDWINCKLE, Miss MARGARET J., Woodland Cottage, Great Hallingbury, Bishop's Stortford.
BOOTH, A. J., 10 St. Botolph's Street, Colchester.
- 6 Mar. BYRON, Lady ANNA, Langford Hall, Maldon.
GREEN, Miss A. M., Little Mortimers, Ashdon.
JONES, R. D. BERESFORD, Wolfden, Sible Hedingham.
POWELL, W. R., M.A., B.Litt., 173 Church Road, Harold Wood.
REID, Mrs. R., Crepping Hall, Wakes Colne.
WALKER, Mrs. A. M., Ballards, Wickham Bishops.
- 2 May BRIDGE, Miss A. B., St. Andrew's, Avenue Road, Chelmsford.
CHURCH, W. EDWARD, M.A., M.B., B.Ch., M.R.C.S., M.R.C.P., Holly Cottage, Sellindge, Kent.
LEES, Dr. MARTIN, F.R.S., The White House, Ongar.
LEES, Mrs. MARTIN, The White House, Ongar
LISTER, Miss RUTH, Peacocks, Mount Bures, Suffolk.
LOYD, Mrs. AVRIL, Holly Lodge, Great Horkesley.
MABBITT, Mrs. HAROLD, Manwood Chase, Abberton, Colchester.
PRIEST, Major-General ROBERT, C.B., M.D., F.R.C.P., Goojerat House, Abbey Fields, Colchester.
TUFNELL, J. J., J.P., Langleys, Great Waltham.
- 25 June COUSINS, Miss EILEEN M., The Hall, Great Clacton.
CROSS, Mrs. H. P., Bridgewick Hall, Chapel, Colchester.
CRAWLEY, L. C., 38 Lukin Crescent, Chingford, E.4.
DOUBLEDAY, G. V., Old Rectory, Langford, Maldon.
DUCKWORTH, R. A., 36 Galsworthy Avenue, Chadwell Heath, Romford.
ELAM, J. F., M.A., Royal Grammar School, Colchester.
FINCH, Mr., Langford Meads, Maldon.
GOULD, Mrs. BARBARA H., Danes Cottage, Wickham Bishops.
GUNN, VICTOR, West View, Aythorpe Roothing, Dunmow.
STEER, Mrs. M. A., Patmers, Duton Hill, Great Dunmow.
TOMKIN, Mrs. ANNE, Baconend Green, Great Dunmow.
WATTS, THOMAS, 5 Queen Street, Colchester.
- 25 July BACON, Miss E. B., The Thatched Cottage, Duton Hill, Great Dunmow.
COLE, Mrs. M., Fen, Elmstead, Colchester.
DEAN, Mrs. M., B.A., Alma Street, Wivenhoe.
DONCASTER, Mrs. M. M. I., The Dames House, Berechurch Hall Road, Colchester.
GREGORY, Miss URSULA J., Gibbs, Little Baddow.
HATLEY, Mrs. A. R., B.Sc., F.R.G.S., Vignes, 28 Folkstone Road, Walthamstow, E.17.
LAWS, F. H., Fermain, Wycke Hill, Maldon.
- 26 Sept. CAMPEN, M. J., Lightfoots, Tye Green, Cressing.
GADD, Mrs. K. M., M.A., Smith's End, Nunnery Street, Castle Hedingham.

- GORDON, The Very Rev. G. E., M.A., Provost's House, London Road, Chelmsford.
 PARKINSON, Comdr. REAY, D.S.C., R.N., Coringales, Hatfield Heath.
 SILVERSTON, Mrs. L., O.B.E., B.A., Fairlawn, Hatfield Broad Oak.
 STAINES, Mrs. N. R., 13 Bancroft Close, Loughton.
 WOODS, JOHN, Ivy Cottage, Stanway, Colchester.
- 8 Oct. CRAZE, MICHAEL, M.A., Barnfield, Felsted.
- 24 Nov. BLOOD, Mrs. K. BINDON, Lord Nelson House, Fingringhoe, Colchester.
 TEAGUE, M., Endsleigh School, Colchester.
- 1954.
- 7 Jan. PLAYFORD, Mrs. R., Friar Street, Sudbury, Suffolk.
 SAUNDERS, H. A., Bedfords College, Regent's Park, N.W.1.
 SCALE, Mrs. E. M., The Ryes, Sudbury, Suffolk.
 STURGEON, Mrs. M. E. B., Pound Field Bungalow, Alresford.
- 25 Mar. CARTER, Mrs. H. MALCOLM, D'Arcy Gate Farm, Tolleshunt D'Arcy.
 CHICK, Air-Commodore J. S., M.C., A.F.C., 14 Lincoln Terrace, Felixstowe.
 COKER, Rev. H. J., The Rectory, Salcott-Virley.
 COLBORNE, Miss KATHLEEN, Clifton, Fourth Avenue, Frinton-on-Sea.
 HARLEY, LAURENCE S., Street House, Stoke-by-Nayland.
 HEARSUM, Mrs. M. L., St. Andrew's, Fingringhoe.
 UNIVERSITY LIBRARY, Edmund Street, Birmingham, 3.
 WILLIAMS, E. F., F.R.E.S., F.Z.S., Warley Lea, Great Warley.
- 6 Apr. BURGESS, Mrs. CHRISTOPHER, Great Gibracks Cottage, Sandon.
 GREER, Mrs. de B., Brickwall Farm, Layer-de-la-Haye.
 OAKLEY, HARRY M., 75 Connaught Avenue, Frinton-on-Sea.
 OAKLEY, Mrs. RUBY V., 75 Connaught Avenue, Frinton-on-Sea.
 SIMKIN, R. I., 2 Fitzwalter Road, Colchester.
 SIMKIN, Mrs. R. I., 2 Fitzwalter Road, Colchester.
- 6 May BARCLAY, D. W., West View, Great Cornard, Sudbury, Suffolk.
 BARCLAY, Mrs. D. W., West View, Great Cornard.
 LINDSAY-SMITH, Capt. LINDSAY, M.B.E., East Donyland Hall.
- 3 June FRENCH, J. R., 12 Irvine Street, Colchester.
 GIRLING, Mrs. M. S., Lawford, Manningtree.
 WRIGHT, Mrs. L. A. GILRUTH, M.A., Brothock House, Great Bentley.
- 28 Aug. BLOOD, Major L. BINDON, Lord Nelson House, Fingringhoe.
 CARDY, C. L., 3 Middle Road, Colchester.
 FANE, Mrs., Feering Place, Kelvedon.
 HARVEY, W. H., Blake House, Rayne.
 MERSON, A. D., M.B.E., M.A., 124 North Station Road, Colchester.
 ORPEN-PALMER, Mrs. L. L., Bridge House, Spring Lane, Lexden, Colchester.
 OXTON, D. T., Nightingale Corner, Layer-de-la-Haye.
 TURNER, JACK, Catchbells, Stanway, Colchester.
 TYLER, R. M. T., A.R.I.B.A., Western House, Stansted Mountfitchet.
 WESTWOOD, A. B., 52 Station Road, Clacton-on-Sea.

- 14 Sept. BENSUSAN-BUTT, J., The Minories, High Street, Colchester.
- 25 Sept. LINDSAY, J., F.R.S.L., Castle Hedingham, Halstead.
LOFTS, REX O., 8 Lake Rise, Romford.
- 6 Oct. ASHBY, H. B., 91 Holland Main Road, Holland-on-Sea.
OATES, R. E., 38 Wavell Avenue, Colchester.
- 16 Oct. GRAHAM, JOHN, 20 Beaconsfield Avenue, Colchester.
- 7 Dec. DUBOIS, Mrs. JEAN, Lane End Barn, Meadway, Burnham-on-Crouch.
JEFF, ROBIN, 92 Kingston Road, Oxford.
KNOWLES, Mrs. SYLVIA, Oliver's Orchard, Oliver's Lane, Colchester.
SOWTER, W. A., National Assistance Board, Polish Hostel, Kelvedon.
UNIVERSITY LIBRARY, Liverpool, 3.
- 1955.
- 11 Jan. ATTHILL, Mrs. F., Palfreymans, Great Bentley, Colchester.
COOPER, L. P. H., Hill Farm, Gestingthorpe, Halstead.
GAYFORD, JOHN M., The Gables, Oak Road, Tiptree, Colchester.
GAYFORD, Mrs. A. E., The Gables, Oak Road, Tiptree.
ELLIS, DENNIS W., B.Sc., A.R.I.C.S., 22 Brackendale Gardens, Upminster.
HEARN, G. W., Tollesbury, Maldon.
HEARN, Mrs. G., Tollesbury.
LOVETT, DAVID C., 49 Albert Street, Colchester.
VAN RAMPAEY, Miss M. Y., 20a North Hill, Colchester.
SKOUMAL, Mrs. M. J., c/o Star and Fleece Hotel, Kelvedon.
WILLIAMSON, Sqdn.-Leader J. C., Oaklands Park, Tolleshunt Knights.
- 1 Mar. BARTON, C. A., Oak Lodge, Terling, Chelmsford.
KENNELL, DENIS J., Seagulls, 133 King's Parade, Holland-on-Sea.
LOWENSTEIN, E., 1 Park Avenue, N.W.11.
MUMMERY, CYRIL A., 90 Debden Road, Saffron Walden.
OTTER-BARRY, F., M.A., 27 Lexden Road, Colchester.
SCRIVENER, Mrs. MURIEL E. M., Mandeville House, Saffron Walden.
WALKER, Mrs. J., Birketts Wood, Dedham.
- 6 Apr. EASTON, Mr., West House, 26 Lexden Road, Colchester.
FARTHING, V. A., The Lane, West Mersea.
KEMP, P. M., 24 Birch Close, Buckhurst Hill.
KIRKBY, Mr., 47 Wellesley Road, Colchester.
MARTIN, G. W., 55 Oxford Crescent, Clacton-on-Sea.
STROVER, Rev. E. J., M.A., Lawford Rectory, Manningtree.
- 1 June MAHONEY, RONALD J., H.Q. Section, 20 Ftr. Bm. Wing, R.A.F. Station, Wethersfield.
METCALF, P., 26 West Street, Colchester.
SHIPPEY, A. J. T., 9 Albany Gardens, Clacton-on-Sea.
- 9 June BROOKS, HARRY, Priory Cottage, Earls Colne, Colchester.
MARTIN, Miss LORNA, B.A., 27 Victoria Road, Colchester.
- 23 June HOLMES, J. H., M.A., Braeside, Well Lane, Stock, Ingatestone.
OVERALL, W. G., 1792 Inglewood Avenue, West Vancouver, B. Columbia, Canada.

- 14 July LAMBERTH, A. J., 42 De Vere Road, Lexden, Colchester.
- 26 July WILSON, Professor WILLIAM, D.Phil., D.Sc., F.R.S., Bridge House, Earls Colne.
- 25 Aug. FERRAR, Lt.-Col., M. L., 7 Newton Hall, Dunmow.
MILTON, F., The Hoppit, Sheering, Bishop's Stortford, Herts.
MILTON, Mrs. F., The Hoppit, Sheering, Bishop's Stortford.
- 1 Oct. CHRISTIE, A. H., M.A., Red Cote, Thorpe-le-Soken, Clacton-on-Sea.
DAVIS, C. M. S., 14 Eastern Road, Burnham-on-Crouch.
EVERETT, J. K., Broomhanger, Crown Lane, Ardleigh, Colchester.
STEWART, I. S. D., 5 Portland Road, Colchester.
- 27 Oct. BARTON, K. J., 47 Fulbrook Lane, South Ockendon, Romford.
BEWERS, Miss D. R., Flat 2, 99 Maldon Road, Colchester.
CALVER, H. C., 37 Constantine Road, Colchester.
LAWRIE, ROBERT, Old Rectory, South Weald, Brentwood.
SIMON, HERBERT, White House, Ongar.
SIMON, Mrs. H., White House, Ongar.
WELDON, W. W., Red Lion Hotel, Colchester.
- 13 Dec. SPENCER, R. L., 80 Kenilworth Gardens, Hornchurch.

DONATIONS TO THE SOCIETY.

1 January, 1953 to 31 December, 1955.

Mr. CYRIL HART, M.B.—

'The Early Charters of Barking Abbey', by the donor, 1953.

Sir CLAUD HOLLIS, G.C.M.G., C.B.E.—

'Account of a Dorset or Somerset Family of Longman, with notes on related families', compiled by the donor. Typescript, 1940.

The AUTHORS—

'A Short History of Little Waltham', by T. N. Benson and A. T. Chapman, 1953.

Mr. DUNCAN CLARK, F.S.A.—

'Church Furniture and Decoration', by E. L. Cutts, 1854.

Mr. C. A. BARTON—

'Historical Notes and Records of the Parish of Terling, Essex', by the donor, 1954.

The HEADMASTER, Brentwood School—

'The Chronicle of the Society of Old Brentwoods', vol. xi, no. 4, 1955.

The Rev. Canon M. M. MARTIN—

'The Church of St. James the Great, Colchester', by the donor, 1954.

THE RECORDS COMMITTEE OF THE E.C.C.—

'Introduction to Ingatestone Hall', 1953.

'Ingatestone Hall in 1600: an Inventory', 1954.

'Examples of English Handwriting, 1150-1750', by Hilda E. P. Grieve, 1954.

'County Maps of Essex, 1576-1852: a Handlist', edited by F. G. Emmison, 1955.

'Highways & Byways of Essex: a Brief illustrated History', 1955.

Messrs. BENHAM & CO., LTD.—

'Barking Vestry Minutes and other Parish Documents', by J. E. Oxley, 1955.

The PARKER GALLERY—

'An Introduction to the Parker Gallery.'

'A Catalogue of Old Regimental Paintings, Prints, & Curios.'

'Ships & Sailors: A Catalogue of Paintings, Models, etc.'

'A Chat on Old Ship Models.'

Mr. J. G. O'LEARY, F.L.A.—

'Tudor Essex Exhibition at Valence House, Dagenham, May 7-21, 1955.'

Mr. AUBREY GOODES—

MS. Collection relating to the Manor of Aveley.

STEPHEN WARNER BEQUEST—

Printed copy of 'Letters Patent for the rebuilding of St. Paul's Cathedral, 1682'.

WOODFORD HISTORICAL SOCIETY—

'Monkhams', by A. R. J. Ramsey.

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'Building in England down to 1540', by L. F. Salzman, 1952.

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ESSEX ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY.

MUSEUM: COLCHESTER CASTLE.

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Honorary Archbishops:

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Curator:

M. R. HULL, Esq., M.A., F.S.A., The Museum, Colchester.

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Becontree—J. G. O'LEARY, Esq.	Coggeshall dist.: J. L. BEAUMONT, Esq., LL.B.
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Hinckford—The Rev. T. D. S. BAYLEY, M.A., F.S.A.	

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TRANSACTIONS
OF THE
Essex Archæological Society.

VOL. XXV., PART III
NEW SERIES
CENTENARY VOLUME



COLCHESTER :

PUBLISHED BY THE SOCIETY AT THE MUSEUM IN THE CASTLE.

1960.

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DENIS A. J. BUXTON, M.A., F.S.A.,
President of the Society, 1955-1960.

TRANSACTIONS

OF THE

ESSEX ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY.

THE ST. NICHOLAS CHURCH SITE, COLCHESTER

By M. R. HULL, M.A., F.S.A.

1. *The Site.*

St. Nicholas' Church stood on the south side of High Street, opposite the ends of Maidenburgh Street and Museum Street in such a way that the tower, which was on the north side of the church, about half way along, projected inconveniently into the street. The first mention of the church in the surviving Court Rolls is on 11 December 1340, but the parish is mentioned on 21 June 1311. There may, therefore, have been a church on the site from the earliest times.

The Report of the Royal Commission says: ¹ 'The church was entirely rebuilt early in the 14th century, when it consisted of *Chancel*, *N. Vestry*, *Crossing*, probably *N. and S. Transepts*, and *Nave*, with *North* and *S. Aisles*. There was also a *S. Chapel* of uncertain date. According to Morant a tower fell late in the 17th century, and as this ruined the chancel it probably stood over the crossing. The building was restored in the 18th century and the *North Tower* built or rebuilt in its present (1923) position *N. of the crossing*. In 1875 the church was generally restored, the chancel largely rebuilt, the *S. aisle* and *Transept Chapel* destroyed and a new church of much larger size added to the *S. of the old building*; the north tower was refaced and partly rebuilt and a spire added'.

A plan is then given which is that of the recent church; on it the tower, the vestry west of it and the north aisle are shown in black as belonging to the earlier building.

But the recent excavations have shown that the foundations of the whole of this plan are of identical work and, in fact, the church which

has just been demolished was entirely the work of Gilbert Scott in 1875.

Scott's church was taken down in 1955, and by the late autumn the site and part of the churchyard was cleared. Owing to the archæological possibilities of the site the Ministry of Works decided to make a 'rescue' exploration of the site, and the writer was placed in charge.

The site lies near the centre of the Roman town and, going by our conjecturally restored street plan, should cover the north-east corner of Insula 29 and the north-west corner of Insula 30 (Plan, Fig. 1). The latter insula lies directly opposite the front of the main insula of the town, No. 22, which accommodates the Temple of Claudius and its appurtenances and has an elaborate architectural screen along its south side, facing the street. Insula 30, opposite this, could very well be the Forum; a public building is to be expected in this position and a number of stout walls, some of clay and some of stone, have been noted from time to time crossing Culver Street from north to south. These are numbered 160, 183 and 49 on the plan, others noted by Philip Laver cannot be planned; No. 50 was a floor of tiles on concrete. The absence of conduits makes it unlikely that the Public Baths were here, though a series of hypocausts was found further south in Wyre Street. Laver also noted a stone wall under High Street in this insula, and we have one of stone and tile at 113. Insula 29 lies opposite Insula 21, of which we know little (Plan, Fig. 1). But it now appears almost certain that the insula north of 21, No. 13, contained the Theatre, 30 and 125. Along the north side of the High Street we have a series of records of red tessellated pavements, 157 and 175, but no mosaics. This is another likely site for a public building, and the same may now be said of the Red Lion Hotel site in Insula 28, where it has recently been observed that the mosaic pavements lying there, 67, 68 and 69, are covered by several feet of masonry rubble, including dressed freestone blocks, which, in Colchester, are most probably remains of a Roman public building. The eastern limits of Insula 30 are fixed by the south-east corner of Insula 6, the north-east corner of Insula 22, and the street-section at 129 between Insulae 38 and 39. All three are in a straight line. The division between Insulae 29 and 30 has never gone so happily. If we prolong the line obtained by the south-west corner of Insula 6 and the north-west of Insula 22 we find ourselves, in Long Wyre Street, running over a series of hypocausts and pavements.

The southern limit of Insula 30 has not been found; the only street available is that found in building the Arcade in 1929, and this was found to be late, having a coin of Carausius under it. Moreover, it is an anomaly in the street-plan.

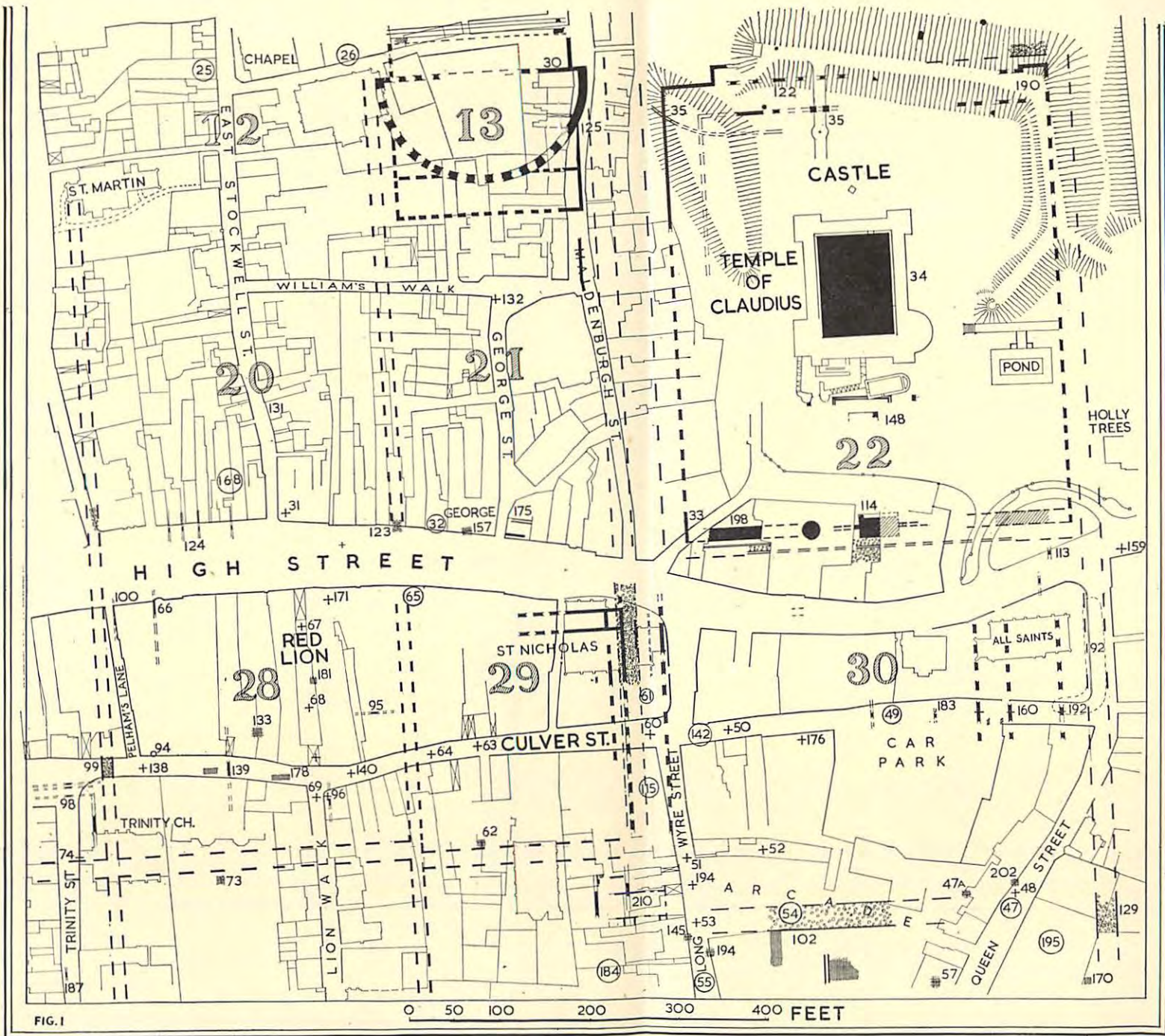


FIG. 1

The evidence relating to Insula 29 is mostly from sewer trenches in Culver Street. Here Wire reported a stout wall crossing the street opposite the chancel of the church (No. 60)—this must be our main eastern wall. In 1842 he had already recorded such a wall in the churchyard, encountered when making the grave for a Mr. Gentry, but we do not know where this grave lay. Moreover, on the same occasion he learnt that the Sexton in digging a grave had come upon what seemed to him a 'brick clamp for burning bricks'. He had also found wood-ash. In 1848 Wire reported another strong foundation crossing Culver Street, and in 1922 Philip Laver reported a similar one 'opposite (house) No. 37'—this would again be our easternmost wall. Further west he noted No. 63, a wall 18 inches wide and 2 feet high, and No. 64, another, 4 feet wide and 7 feet from the surface.

Also he notes that, in erecting the buildings for the Co-operative Society in 1925, a foundation about 3 feet wide was found running the whole length of the site from North to South and apparently lining up with the easternmost of the preceding walls noted.

Both Wire and Laver comment on the fact that whenever the street has been trenched near the south-west corner of St. Nicholas' churchyard and as far west as the Red Lion small fragments of coloured marble inlay and veneer have been found in quantity. They still are, and I have collected them myself. There is, therefore, considerable evidence for a public building on the site of St. Nicholas church. How far it extended west or south is uncertain. The western street on the plan is solely dependent on a small exposure of road metalling, high up, at 123, which makes the insula rather narrow east to west, even before the discovery that the street between Insulae 29 and 30 lay originally somewhat west of our conjectural line.

The line of the main Roman east to west street, which bounds both these insulae on the north, is not accurately known. It is known, however, between Insulae 23 and 31 at 112, and opposite the Town Hall its course is pretty closely narrowed down because it must lie between our Nos. 196 on the north and 82, 100, 66 and 171 on the south. The position of No. 114 shows that some unusual arrangement was laid out in front of the temple: (Note: Some of the numbers quoted here are well off the plan given in fig. 1; they will be found on the general plan in '*Roman Colchester*'.)

There is thus some 30 feet left, lying under the modern High Street, between the conjectured line of the Roman main street and the north side of St. Nicholas' church, and into this space, which was in every way likely to have held the principal part of our building, we were not able to enquire.

The Work Done.

Work began on 12 December 1955 and continued to 16 January 1956, with four men, whose attendance and work was far from satisfactory; the weather also left much to be desired. The contractors had cleared the site, but from our point of view it was still encumbered, for it was difficult to find a spot where one could dig clear of church-foundations or brick tombs. Throughout the work the owners, the Colchester Co-operative Society, and their Architects, were most cordially helpful, and later also, when the building contractors took over, they always gave every facility to enter and take measurements, etc. Nevertheless, the mechanical excavator which was used to pull out the earth, together with foundations, tombs, and coffins, just as they came, made a complete upheaval in which it was almost impossible to recognise even what one knew to be there, let alone discover something new.

As the work progressed it was possible from time to time to see exposed in the working face the broken end of one or other of the middle two north to south walls, and sometimes the gravel metalling of the Roman street. It was not, however, possible to measure and plan these exposures.

Our method of approach was to cut three exploratory trenches or shafts spaced out along the north side—the nearest we could come to the main face of any Roman building. Two testing-shafts had already been sunk by the contractors, and these had struck no floors or masonry, but both showed a deep deposit of broken burnt clay blocks. Of these only the eastern one is shown on the plan, north-west of trench 10.

THE BUILDING ON INSULA 29.

Trench 1. Near the north-west corner of the site, this trench turned out to run across the space between our two east to west walls. These two heavy walls were pre-Gilbert Scott, for a pier of his building stood upon the northern wall, which had been widened with pilasters to obtain enough breadth of foundation.

The section revealed was simple. Under a thin layer of debris from the demolition of Scott's church and of the one preceding it there was an unstratified yellowish loamy soil which was full of brick vaults, sometimes superimposed or overlapping, containing coffins of the eighteenth to nineteenth centuries.

From this layer, between the vaults, came a damaged silver penny, a sterling of Namur dated closely to about A.D. 1300 (p. 320).

Nothing intervened between the above and the thick red layer of burnt clay blocks, which we knew from the trial shafts to represent

the first Roman building on the site. It was separated from a layer of grey clayey loam by a very black and rather peaty layer about one inch thick. Beneath this was the natural sand.

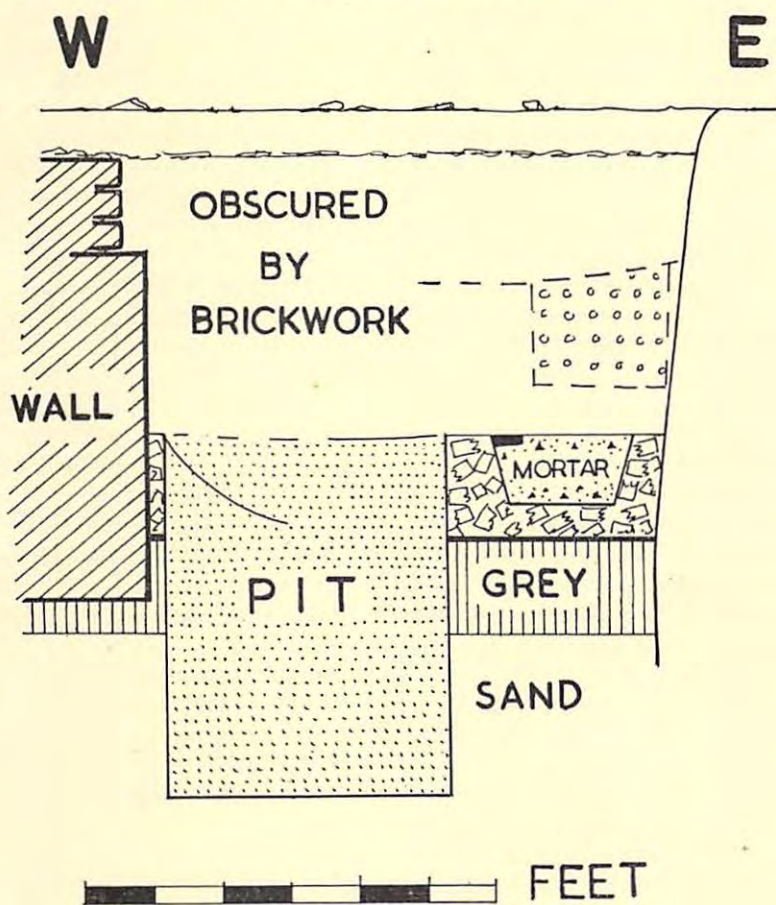


FIG. 3.

From the burnt clay layer came Claudius-Nero pottery and pieces of bronze, much burnt.

Trench 2. It was difficult to find a space here between the many foundations and tombs. In the end we found we were digging along the face of a north to south wall just like the two east to west walls already seen. This, too, was pre-Scott, for the massive piers of two

of his columns stood upon this wall, one to the north and one to the south, and here the walls had been widened by brick piers to make them broad enough.

This trench also proved to be fortunately placed so far as providing information was concerned, but it was terribly encumbered by brick tombs. One in particular, on its north side, made a section of the upper levels impossible; another on the south was even more obstructive. The trench at first followed the east face of one of our north to south walls, but the south end of this was totally obscured by a large pier of the church, and beyond this there was nothing but black soil, (K), from which came one piece of mediæval window-glass (green) and a few Roman sherds of first and fourth century date.

We accordingly opened out to 'box' form between the two tombs.

On the west stood a stout wall, 3 feet 10 inches thick (F-K). Figs. 2 and 3. Its top was about 6 inches below the surface, and at 2 feet there was an offset in the east face 5 inches wide. Above this there was a good face of three courses of squared septaria each about 5 inches high. Below this the separate stones were not visible except where the irregular mortar had come away.

Down to about 4 feet depth, i.e., to the top of the red clay layer, any soil not actually in a grave was yellowish or brownish and not stratified. In removing this a large block of red tessellated pavement, very battered and worn, was found upside down. Over all was spread a thin litter of rubble containing fragments of the pre-1875 church capped by the rubble of the demolitions of 1955.

The base of the red layer was marked by a uniform horizontal line of black at a depth of 6 feet 2 inches from the surface. Beneath this the grey clay was 17 inches thick. It was examined very carefully and nothing could be found in it except small grains of charcoal. It therefore must be regarded as artificial. It lies on two inches of yellow sand below which is the dirty natural sand.

The wall-foundation trench had been cut into these layers to a depth of 7 feet 2 inches from the modern surface, and had then been filled with a concrete of large septaria blocks and mortar which were only roughly coursed.

It was found that a rectangular pit about 3 feet 10 inches square had been sunk so close to the wall that only about two inches or less of the Roman layers were left clinging to the wall-face. From this we conclude that the pit was later than the wall. It was full of black wood-ash, with a few paler patches, and in this filling, apart from a few Roman sherds of no consequence, lay a few fair-sized and well-preserved sherds of a very hard, dark grey ware which are approximately tenth century (see p. 327). The upper part of this pit and its

associations had been cut away by the northern brick tomb. The depth to the bottom was ten feet.

This shaft must have been timbered without nails, for none could be found.

In the north side of the cutting a trench or slot running north to south could be seen in the red clay layer. It was about two feet wide and 13 inches deep and was full of comminuted mortar. It looked like a foundation trench, though unusual because there was no earth mixed with the mortar. In the top of it, wedged against the red clay, was a partly calcined piece of Purbeck marble from a carved frieze or cornice (Fig. 10). With this were two fragments of Roman black ware, one fragment of flue tile and a double tessera, a red rim, a burnt flint and burnt pieces of bronze.

Later the contractors cut this face much further back to the north. The resulting section, so far as it could be drawn, is shown in Fig. 4. It was clear of tombs, but one part of the face had slipped. It confirms what we have said, except that the appearance of a foundation trench running north to south, described above, appears again, but with a difference. The former was full of mortar, this was full of sized gravel, the former narrowed downwards, this was square, and finally the one was 5 feet 9 inches from the surface, the other 3 feet 9 inches. The lower one did not run further south than the middle of trench 2, the upper one did not appear south of the brick tomb. Both seem to have been soak-aways of very different periods, and it is remarkable they should be exactly the same distance from the wall in each case.

In this work the soil above the burnt clay produced one fragment of modern vase and part of a nineteenth century clay pipe, also some Roman potsherds, the latter could all be first century. A late Roman colour-coated base came from near the surface. There was one fragment of white marble sheathing.

In the top of the burnt clay lay two fragments of Samian f.37, Trajan-Hadrian; one rim f.Drag.45 stamped (GE)MIN.M, one fragment Drag.29, Claudius-Nero, one fragment Ritterling 1, and one fragment of Drag.15/17 or 18. Coarse ware comprised 21 grey fragments including *Cam.* forms 120, 218 (2), 266 and a possible 272, also a fragment of an antefix of the same design as those found in the Temple enclosure. (*Roman Colchester*, Pl. XXX, B, top right.)

For *Trench 3* see below.

Trench 4 was cut at a spot between *Trench 2* and *3* where there seemed to be a few feet clear of foundations. It proved to be alongside the main east wall of our building (G-H). This wall was exactly like the first in thickness and construction, but had no offset, and the foundation went 15 inches deeper.

On its east side, at about 4 feet deep, there was a layer of broken mortar, plaster, and rubble trodden so hard and smooth that it looked like the top of a solid masonry platform. The soil above it was all disturbed, except a few inches of mud lying upon it, in which were two Roman black sherds. In following this southwards we found that the wall had continued beyond its own apparent corner, but only as low, ruinous remains. Just south of the corner there had been an opening (L) 2 feet wide, the north jamb of which remained, turned in Roman tiles laid in pink mortar.

Later part of the ground west of this wall was excavated in search of evidence as to the nature of the interior of this building. Nothing was found. The soil was yellowish and not stratified, it lay upon the burnt layer, in which were fragments of burnt bronze and first century pottery. The most remarkable find was a modern Bible in good condition at a depth of 2 feet. At 2 feet 10 inches lay a piece of second century Samian of f.Drag. 31 or similar.

Trench 9 was cut eastwards from the doorway, following the supposed floor, upon which was a layer of fine grey mud. In it were nine chips of Roman pottery and six of painted plaster. One sherd should be first century. After about 10 feet the floor broke off, it had been disturbed and its material, broken plaster and rubble mixed with earth, was found to lie upon a bed of gravel. This was confirmation of the gravel bed found in *Trench 6* (see the description of the street, below).

Trench 11 was cut in an attempt to follow the east wall southwards; it at once ran into graves, and for 13 feet these had left the footings of the wall in position, but beyond that point even those had gone, and there was nothing but black soil.

At one point the remains of the footings pass the normal westward limit of the line of the wall; it is not impossible that here there may have been some sort of mortar bedding for a floor, of which this alone remains. (The white square shown on the plan of the footings is a stanchion of the modern building.)

At this juncture we had to leave this intriguing building, for both its western corners were outside our area, and both the north-eastern ones. The joint of the middle wall with the south wall was under a pier of St. Nicholas; we could do no more than hope to see more in the progress of the excavations by the contractor.

In this we were disappointed; it was impossible to go in and take measurements except at week-ends. It was never possible to see the joints under the piers (E, J, F, K). The builders cut much further back around the sides of the area than we had been allowed to do, and in so doing exposed the back of the tile facing of the north face of our northern wall (F) (Fig. 4); at the west end also they exposed

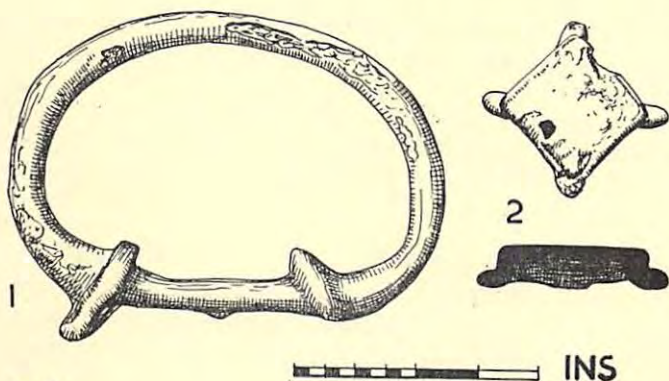


FIG. 9.

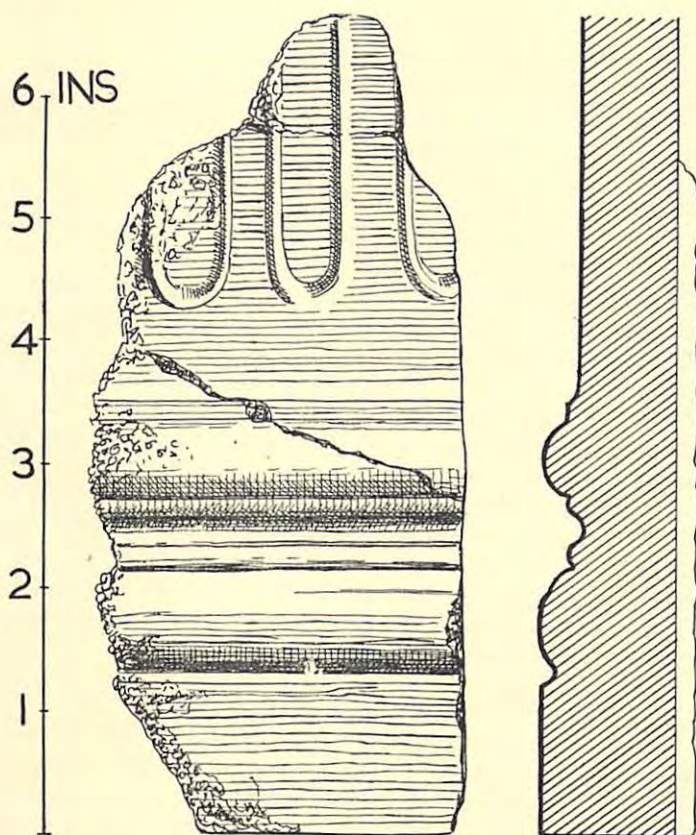


FIG. 10.

part of the face of the west wall (E-J). This was quite different from anything else, being made rather shabbily of much smaller stones. (Plates V and VI.)

It had also been hoped that we might enlist the aid of the Borough Engineer and explore immediately north of our site when the new pavement was laid in High Street, especially at G, but in this also we were disappointed.

SUMMARY ON THE FIRST BUILDING IN INSULA 29.

The evidence of these trenches agrees to show that the first building on this site was built of clay blocks. Its site was prepared with a thick floor of grey clay or loam the upper limit of which is marked, almost everywhere by a clean-cut, horizontal line of black matter about one inch thick, straight and even, except at one point in the south section where it is seen at two levels differing by a few inches (Fig. 8). Here it is associated with clay walls, but otherwise there was no sign of interior subdivision, nor, indeed, of the base of the main walls.

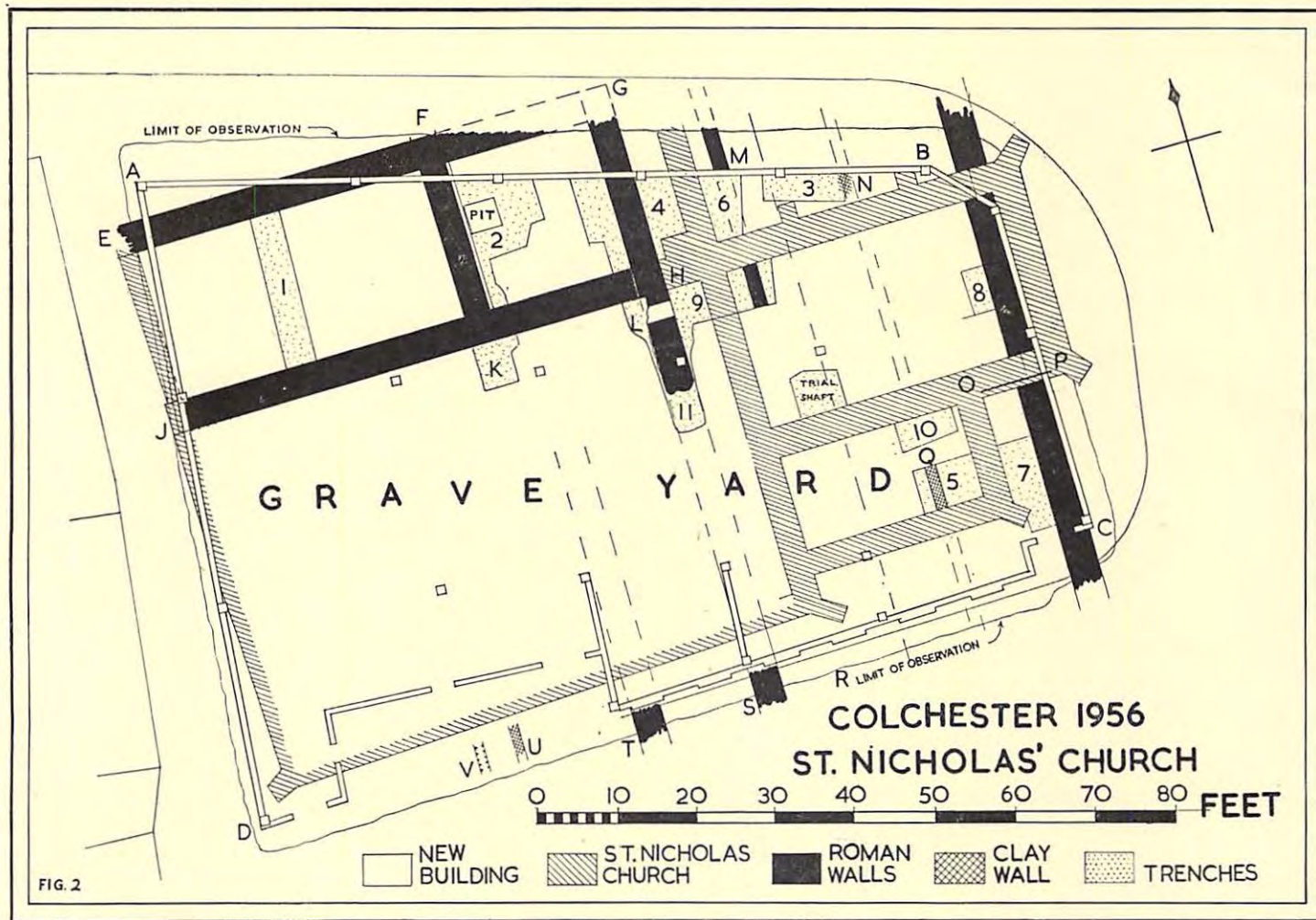
The evidence for the latter is the thick deposit of burnt clay blocks which everywhere lies upon the floor, and which has buried under it remains of Claudius-Nero pottery and burnt bronzework. The latter could have come from fittings such as doors, and furniture, which had been decorated with bronze. There was also a British bronze terret (Fig. 9, 1). It is not certain that any of the stucco-moulded columns (mentioned below) belonged to this building.

The absence of domestic refuse and especially refuse pits, and of anything in the nature of a domestic plan, together with the apparent large scale and uniformity of the building-construction favour a public rather than a private building. The absence of drains, floors and hypocausts precludes the Public Baths. More we are unable to say, except that the thin black layer at floor level should represent the remains of a wooden floor, or at any rate one of combustible material.

That this building was begun about A.D. 50 and burnt by Boudicca in A.D. 61 seems almost without doubt, but what followed thereafter is very obscure. After a considerable time had elapsed the massive stone buildings we are about to describe were built, but what happened in the interim cannot be recovered (on this site at least) because the relevant strata have been destroyed.

SUMMARY OF THE SECOND BUILDING ON INSULA 29.

The second building found was very substantial, but its remains were only so under the smaller, western part of the mediæval church site. It is clear that they had been protected by the walls of that building, or perhaps more probably, by a smaller and earlier building.



After the erection of the protecting building (or during it) the ruins had been robbed or dug away by graves on all sides. The way the corner has been cut away at H suggests that either an actual, standing, part of a Roman building was adopted as a church, or a church was erected upon the Roman foundations. The latter alternative is supported by the fact that the end-wall E-J is a later addition to the Roman work,² with large corner stones of an unusual blue-grey stone.

The rectangle of walls, E, G, H, J (Plan, Fig. 2), which was protected in this way is part of a very extensive building which may have covered the most part of the insula, for two of its walls run on south, far beyond the bounds of the largest church, to T, S, and there is evidence that they continued south well beyond Culver Street, and it is clear that they continue westwards from E and J. The massive construction, great extent, and the Roman construction of the opening at L prove its Roman date. That they should stand right up to the surface is no objection for the same was observed in the centre of the south front of the Temple Court (114) and at the North Gate.

The level of its floor is not, however, so happy. It would appear to have been approximately equal to the offset of the wall F-K, which is at most, only 2 feet below the modern surface. If this was the floor level that of the opening at L is below it, and should represent a drain or an opening into a hypocaust. A lower floor-level seems precluded by the nature of the main walls.

The general construction was best observed in the eastern wall G-H. The upper two feet of its east face was moderately well faced with four courses of septaria, each 5 inches high, the fifth and lowest 6 inches high. The work is not very regular, and the stones and joints were debilitated by exposure at some former time. There was no crushed shell in the pale, yellowish brown mortar.

Below 2 feet 2 inches the foundation was of mortar poured into the trench with irregular layers of stones, and with undressed blocks of septaria thrown into the upper part. In places, especially at the opening (L) this foundation was made too narrow at the bottom, so that it runs well back from the face-line.

The south wall had larger septaria blocks 5 inches high, the mortar resembles that of the other, which it meets with a straight joint. The inside face of both walls seems never to have been exposed, and is covered with mortar, but not plastered.

The mortar of these walls, as exposed in the excavations, always appeared brownish, but when the contractors cut through the heart of the masonry it was found to be almost white. Their work also showed the back of the north face of the wall at F, and here, opposite the interior wall, there was a portion of masonry excellently built of whole

Roman tiles. It can hardly represent anything else than a pilaster on the outer face, and its base stood on a very clear horizontal line marked by a change in colour of the mortar, at a depth of 2 feet 3 inches. This again is a pointer to the original floor-level. It lies at about 86.7 feet above sea level, which is almost exactly the modern surface level in the centre of the south front of the Temple Court, where the latest Roman level is at 80.9 feet and the lowest at 76.8 feet. But this does not look so absurd when we note that the lowest Roman floor at St. Nicholas lies at 81.4 feet, so that there was a difference of 4.6 feet between the two sites in the beginning. It may be observed here in

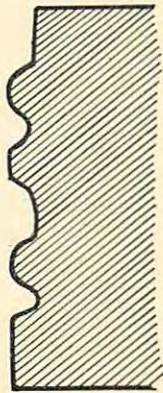


FIG.12.

passing that no one has ever been able to advance any suggestion as to why the Temple should have been sited so much off the centre of the town-plan, and so far off the highest part of the hill, which lies between the Balkerne Gate and the west end of High Street.

I have considered very seriously the question of whether this building could have been Norman, but the undoubtedly Roman construction at L, the size and extent of the building, the fact that no re-used material appeared in it, and a general parallelism to the foundation-trench of what must have been a very similar wall in the adjacent Insula 30 have all agreed to force the conclusion that the whole original building was Roman, whatever may have happened to it later.

The debris of the church demolished in 1875 was thin and ran over the site, it was connected with the tops of the walls in at least some cases, and we need not doubt that like Scott's church the earlier one was also founded, at least in part, on the old Roman foundations, and it is to this fact that we owe their preservation.

We removed one single pier of Scott's church and found that,

though it looked square enough, it had been built mostly of stones from the previous church, and these almost entirely of a form not suitable to be used again in a visible position. They were in fact the stones of the tracery and mullions of the windows and were very recent and dull in appearance. Among them, however, was one very large stone of a different quality, with remains of a battered and rather crude multiple moulding along one side and across one end (Fig. 12). It looks Roman, and one cannot but wonder what may have been lost in the destruction and dispersal of the other piers.

In the last stages of the work the extreme north-west corner of the site was trimmed by the contractor and there appeared here, between A and E, a cement pavement 7 inches thick, and 18 inches from the surface, and under it was 1 foot 9 inches of yellowish loamy soil divided by bands of mortar rubble. This lay directly upon the burnt clay layer. The cement may be a Roman floor, but there is so far no proof of this. It should be noted that just south of E the lowest Roman floor is only 5 feet 3 inches from the modern surface.

If we must, as it seems, regard this stone building as Roman, it must be late in date, indeed, the last Roman building on the site. Between it and the first Roman building, which is certainly Claudian, we have only 18 inches to equate with the most part of the Roman occupation, and here, the one spot where it appears to be undisturbed, the material confirms the impression obtained from much less certain places, namely that this intervening period saw only the deposit of a yellowish loam. This, we have learnt in Colchester, is to be attributed to the demolition of timber-framed buildings with wattle and daub panelling. The layers of mortar rubble seen at A-E could well be attributed to fallen wall-plaster. The buildings would seem at least to have had a red tessellated floor, for a crude lump of this was found in yellowish loam in Trench 2. One cannot, however, avoid the impression that these buildings cannot have been of great importance, or perhaps one should say of great architectural significance, but they may yet have been public. The site, when cleared, showed no trace of rubbish pits or wells.

The work done on the eastern part of the site was as follows:—
Trench 3 was our most north-easterly point; the ground was black topsoil down to 4 feet 8 inches, when a mass of finely broken plaster was encountered (N); seven inches lower this contained very large lumps of moulded plaster, exactly similar to a large piece found re-used in the smaller drain on the Kent, Blaxill site³ in 1954, which is only 50 yards away, but on the opposite side of the Roman street, to the north-east. The new finds were large enough to show that they

were fragments of large fluted columns finished in thick stucco. They were found tumbled and confused with broken and burnt clay blocks, from which it is possible to say that the blocks had measured not less than 4 inches by 7 inches by 11 inches. There was also a good deal of raw, unburnt clay in the mass, with pieces of painted wall-plaster (none with a second coating), and fragments of roof tiles, but no small objects. The mass went down to 7 feet at the east end of the trench, and possibly even lower; at the west end the mass was thinner and lay spread over the gravel of the Roman street at 7 feet 1 inch from the surface.

The pottery dated this deposit to Claudius-Nero.

Trench 5 was cut to sample the south-east part of the site (which was largely useless because in addition to the graves there was a very extensive boiler-room), and there was good reason to believe that we should find traces of the heavy Roman wall or walls mentioned by Wire and Laver (p. 303).

Down to 4 feet 6 inches the soil was all black and disturbed, but at that level there appeared to be a rather uneven cement floor with some remains of footings. It had been pierced by graves. On examination, however, it proved once more to be the trampled rubble of the building with plaster columns, lying on a heavy layer of burnt clay blocks, which was 3 feet thick. Under this we found the lowest few inches of a clay wall (Q) running north to south, 20 inches wide at the south end and 16 inches at the north end. These measurements include an inch of burnt wood which covered each face. The wood had been plastered and then painted. In the red layer was a crushed ox-skull.

Trench 10 was cut in an attempt to pick up the clay wall again, but there was nothing here but black soil and skeletons down to the sub-soil at ten feet.

Trench 7 was then cut in the conviction that there was a wall to find. There was black soil down to the burnt clay layer, which was 3 feet 11 inches from the surface of 1875, and 5 feet 5 inches from the modern surface. Into the red layer a trench for a wall-foundation had been cut, but we had only the western half of it. It had been so completely robbed that very little mortar rubble was left in it.

In the black soil over it an ornamental bone disc was found at 3 feet and a few fragments of Roman and recent pottery. The Roman pieces were of fourth century date.

To establish the line of this wall *Trench 8* was cut further north, and in it the same conditions were repeated, except that there was nothing in the black soil. We still could not get the width of the foundation trench, and an attempt to find the depth of it was a failure.

But all this was cleared up when the contractors excavated this end

of the basement. The whole foundation trench was then exposed from end to end. It was 4 feet wide and went down to 8 feet 4 inches from the surface, being thus deeper than our preceding walls. On its east side the face of the excavation (Fig. 6) was outside the area of the former graveyard and here (O-P) the mass of clay blocks was much better preserved. In places they were in position, undisturbed, and at one point a carbonised beam could be seen lying horizontally, east to west, under the mass.

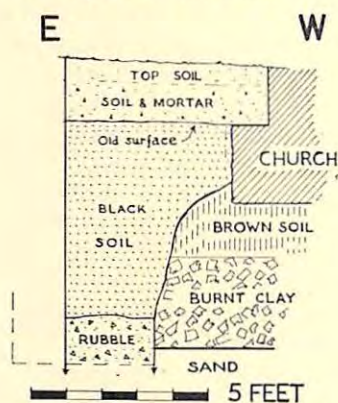


FIG. 5.

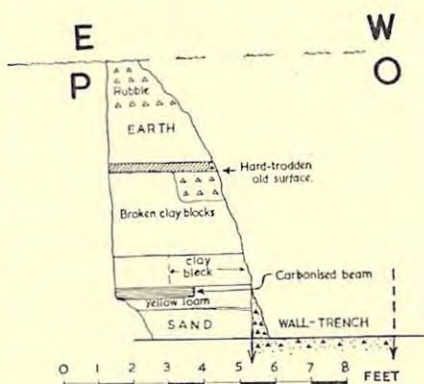


FIG. 6.

When the contractors exposed the section of the Roman street (Fig. 4) another wall-trench was revealed, cut into the street, 2 feet 3 inches wide and 8 feet deep. We have assumed this to belong to the eastern building, in Insula 30, but this is no more than an assumption. No trench gave any clue as to what happened between the destruction of the first building and the cutting of these wall-trenches, which presumably belong to a late Roman building matching the second building on Insula 29, if not actually part of it.

THE STREET.

Trench 6 was cut outside the east end of the north aisle of the recent church. Here, to our surprise, the red layer was absent, and instead we had yellow gravel. The level of this showed it could not be natural, and one had to begin to think of a street (as it later proved to be). Accordingly the supposed floor in *Trench 4* became suspect and it was carefully dissected; it turned out to be trodden rubble, lying on the same mass of yellow gravel. This in turn led to the discovery of the same circumstances in *Trench 9*.

The rubble floor lay on a layer of soil or mud, covering the road-surface. All was carefully examined for pottery, but none was found (in Trench 4). Among the rubble, which was in places very hard and level, were fragments of channelled columns in white plaster. Other pieces of mortar were pink and may have come from a floor. The fragments of tegulae and imbrices were of the yellowish-white variety and cracked by heat. There was also a piece of a very fine white stone (gypsum?), well-dressed with one face polished. The form is somewhat wedge shaped.

The street was finally fully revealed when the contractors finished the north face of the excavation (Fig. 4), in which it showed perfectly clearly as a heavily cambered bank of gravel 25 feet wide and nearly 2 feet thick in the middle; upon this another 6 inches of gravel had been added later. No drains, water-pipes or kerbs showed in the section. The street is not laid upon the yellow sand, but upon a layer of loam and gravel which looks dirty and may represent ground much cut about, perhaps by building contractors before the street was laid down. In this layer were found pieces of roof-tile with uneven and cracked surface, also fragments of spindle-amphorae and of bases of jugs and honey-pots (no footring); these were mid-first century.

As the contractors worked across the site one could, from time to time, see the gravel of this street thrown up, but in the end, when the south face of the excavation was cut, only a small, irregular patch of the metalling showed in the section. The *exact* line of the street could not, therefore, be obtained.

THE BUILDINGS ON INSULA 30.

The summary of our intelligence from Trenches 3, 5, 7, 8, 10 and a little from 9 and 6, is as follows:—

The first building on the site was built of clay blocks, some of which remained in position, still green, shown in Fig. 6, a section which was cut by the contractors. The clay construction was reinforced by the use of horizontal timbers. There was no thick grey clay layer under this eastern structure. In Trench 5 the thin clay wall running north to south is on a line which strikes the east end of Trench 3 (N), exactly where we found green clay and broken plaster. At this same point, among the broken and burnt clay blocks, we found quantities of broken plaster from channelled and fluted columns, with charcoal and burnt roof-tiles. This layer of debris, identified as the same by the pieces of columns, was found on top of the red layer in Trench 5 and on the street surface in Trenches 6 and 9. This seems to identify the columns with this building and not with that in Insula 29. An identical piece of channelled column was found built (as re-used material)

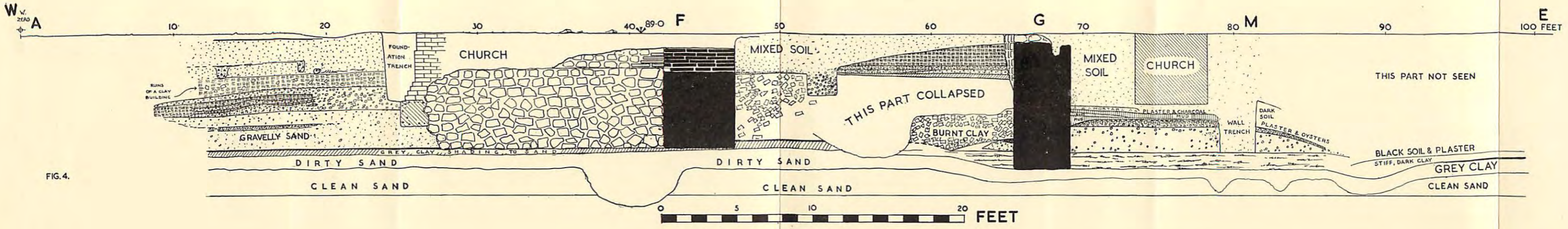


FIG. 4.

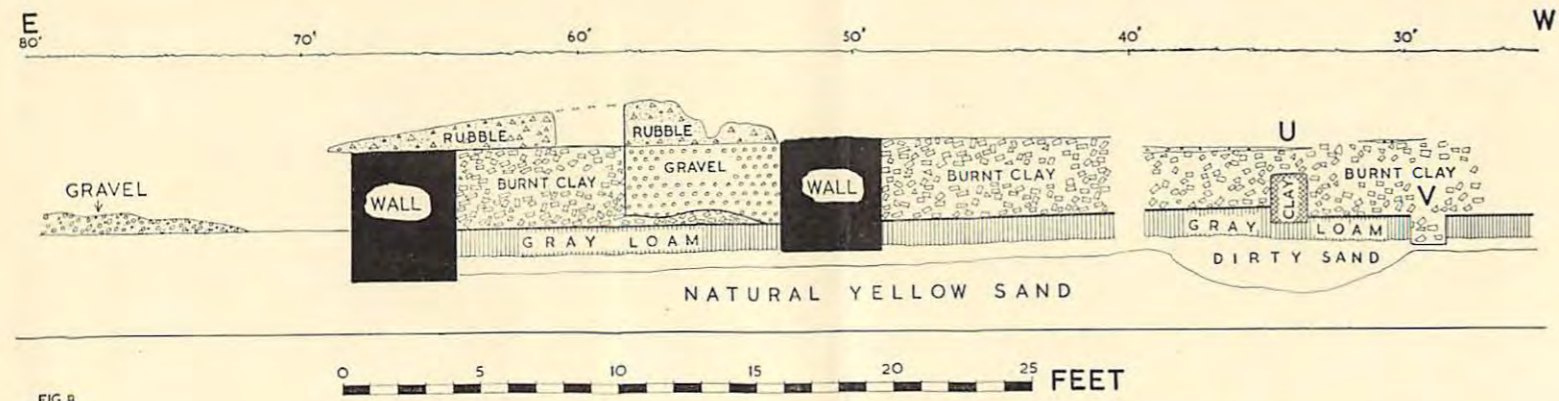


FIG. 8.

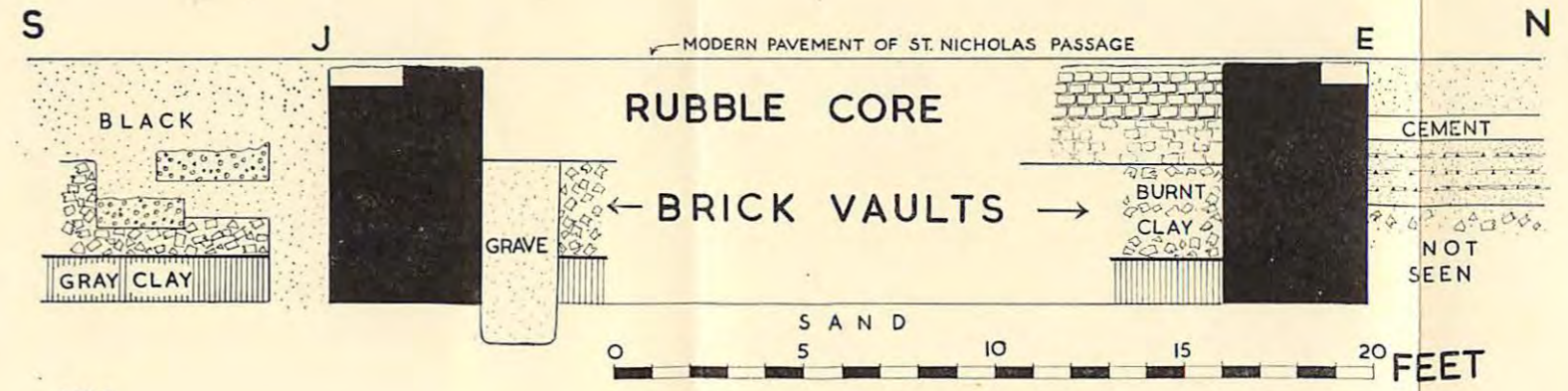


FIG. 7.

into the secondary drain on the south front of Insula 22, which lay exactly opposite.

Pottery found in Trench 3 gives a Claudian date for this building.

The subsequent history of Insula 30 is even more obscure than that of Insula 29, for we were not able to see more than a very small part of it. Here we have an impressive wall-trench running north to south and cutting down, it would appear, through everything. It is 4 feet thick, like that of the late building west of it, and even deeper founded. But of the structure of the building nothing remains. If we assume that this wall was late Roman we have in this insula an almost exact parallel to the conditions in Insula 29. The only information we have on the later stratification is the section made by the contractors at O-P, and this suggests that nothing important intervened between the lives of the two buildings mentioned.

But we have one other piece of information: in February, 1948, a pit was sunk in Messrs. Adams' garage immediately on the south side of Culver Street (176), and a section through the Roman layers was obtained. Natural loam (or what I then took to be natural loam) was reached at 6 feet 6 inches. Upon it lay a thin dark layer containing oyster shells, and above this was a foot or more of stiff yellow loam. It was capped by a half-inch thick line of soot, with oyster shells.

The next layer above was another half-inch layer of soot, followed by 2 to 4 inches of small and dirty gravel, upon which lay a continuous layer of broken wall-plaster.

Two more layers of yellow loam followed, each nearly a foot thick (average) and capped by a thin layer of broken plaster. Finally a few inches of yet another layer of yellow loam remained, and the section was completed by 31 inches of black soil.

There is thus here evidence for a sequence of five buildings of clay blocks or wattle and daub, and the lowest layer is dated by a fine piece of Claudius-Nero Samian.

There remains to mention that the final dressing of the excavation by the contractor revealed another wall-trench, only 2 feet 3 inches wide but going down to 8 feet from the surface. It lies 6 feet 9 inches from the larger wall-trench, to which it could have been the stylobate for a portico. It encroaches upon the early street exactly as does the western building.

DESCRIPTION OF THE NORTH SECTION (Fig. 4).

Except where the contractors cut the solid masonry this section was nowhere vertical; a few feet near the bottom were almost vertical but above this the face was irregular and nearly everywhere it sloped back at varying angles to the surface. As the height was over 10 feet it was

impossible to measure accurately except along the base of the section. The surface was an arbitrary jagged line and measurements from it cannot be accurately compared. The only line from which measurements could be made was the levelled sand prepared by the contractors for the basement floor; this was a few inches below the floor as finally laid down, but even this was not always available for use, and in many places parts of the sections had slipped, or were covered by dumped material, and the east end of the north section was concealed behind a large store-shed.

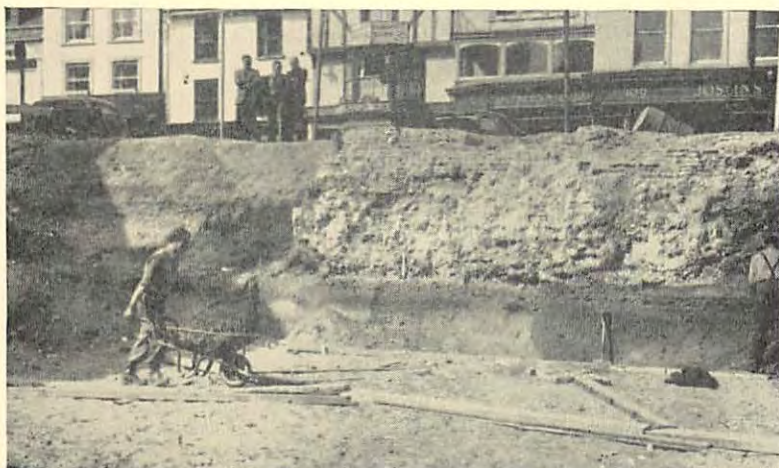
It is necessary to explain all this to account for the disjointed and incomplete state of the sections, which nevertheless do convey a certain amount of information about the site which would otherwise be lacking.

The first few feet, at the west end, were always in too rough a state to work upon. From about 10 feet to a pier of the church we have a complicated section which produced no remains. The subsoil is yellow sand, and in most places the upper part of this is stained darker, in an uneven manner, which sometimes suggested ditches or something of the sort, but these patches never had any artifacts or charcoal in them. Upon the dirty sand lay the grey clay floor, with a thin black layer upon it. Upon this, between about 10 and 25 feet, lay a thick bed of gravelly sand, with a dark band in it, and above the sand a bed of gravel mixed with burnt daub, contemporary with a series of bands of gravel and dark, mixed earth. On top of all this was a layer a foot thick of mixed earth with burnt daub from the ruins of a building. The rest was dark topsoil, with two small patches of broken mortar and a trace of an old floor-line, possibly remains of a mediæval building. The adjacent skeleton was buried so shallowly that it cannot be modern.

From 25 feet the exposed face was that left after the contractors had cut back the Roman masonry; the section shows the irregular blocks in the core and back of the rough coursing of the face (on left of the tile-work). The section through the first north to south wall is hardly distorted by the oblique section. The tile-work shown is the back view of the north face, which must have had a pilaster opposite the interior wall (F).

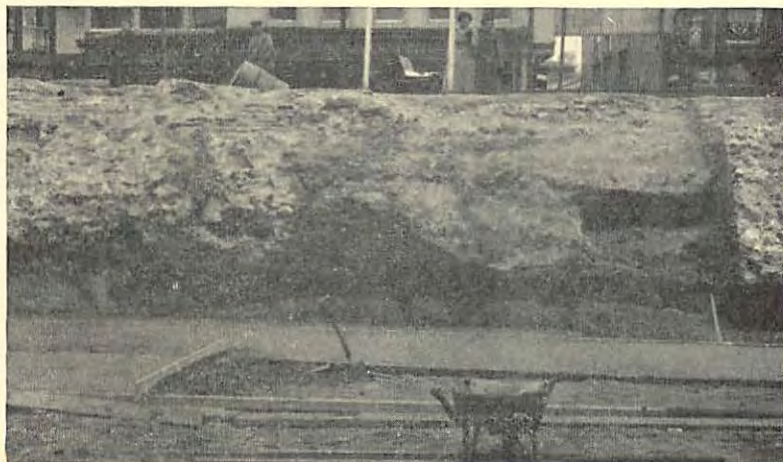
From 47 feet the east to west wall has run away north of the section, which now shows what lay between the two north to south walls. The lower part is as before except that the grey floor falters as it approaches the limit of the building to which it belonged, reaching the edge of the early street at 61 feet. I could see no trace of the outer wall of the building, but the layer of burnt clay blocks is here more considerable than anywhere else, being over 4 feet thick. Into it was cut

PLATE I



ST. NICHOLAS SITE. WEST END OF NORTH SIDE.

PLATE II



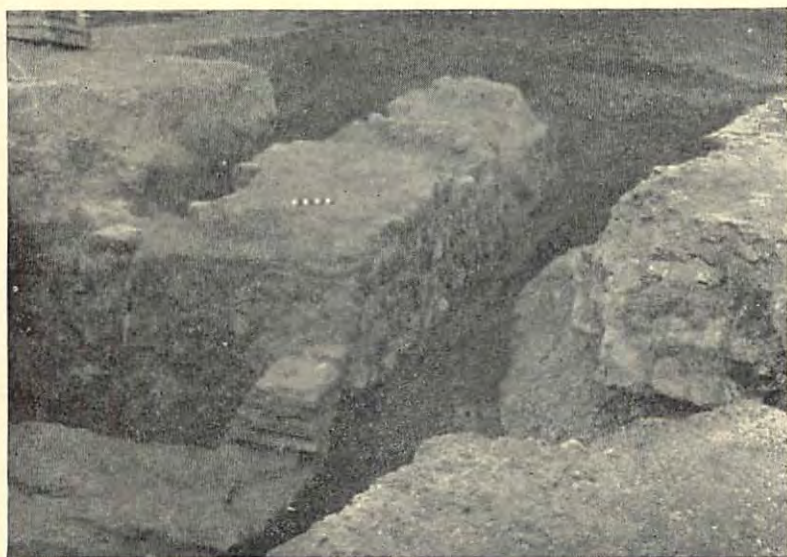
ST. NICHOLAS SITE. MIDDLE OF NORTH SIDE.

PLATE III



ST. NICHOLAS SITE. EAST WALL OF WEST BUILDING, SEEN FROM NORTH.

PLATE IV



ST. NICHOLAS SITE. EAST WALL OF WEST BUILDING. ROMAN DOOR-JAMB
IN FOREGROUND. SEEN FROM SOUTH.

PLATE V



ST. NICHOLAS SITE. NORTH-WEST CORNER AND NORTH HALF OF WEST SIDE.

PLATE VI



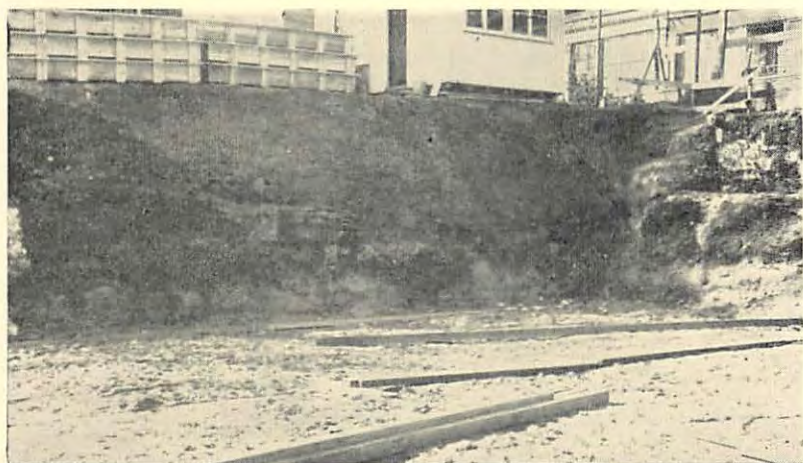
ST. NICHOLAS SITE. MIDDLE OF WEST SIDE.

PLATE VII



ST. NICHOLAS SITE. SOUTH-WEST CORNER AND SOUTH HALF OF WEST SIDE.

PLATE VIII



ST. NICHOLAS SITE. SOUTH-WEST CORNER AND WEST HALF OF SOUTH SIDE.

a modern (?) soak-away filled with gravel. Upon the eastern end of the burnt clay there lay 4 inches of mud, then a band partly of small gravel and partly of dirty sand, upon which lay another band of small gravel and dirty sand mixed. Above this was dark mixed earth.

The eastern return wall projected forward obliquely from the section as shown, and beyond it came the section of the early street, which has already been described, upon the road-surface lay two layers of mud with a partial layer of sand between them and above this the layer of mortar-rubble, plaster and charcoal.

East of the road the section could not be worked because of a large store-house erected in front of it, though the few details shown low down were obtained.

DESCRIPTION OF THE WEST SECTION (Fig. 7).

This lay along the east side of the very narrow St. Nicholas' Passage with heavy modern buildings only a few feet away. It was left to the last minute as a sloping bank with an angle of about 45 degrees, but very irregular. It was possible to see that the sand with grey layer above it, and the red burnt blocks above that, ran right along. In the ground above this there was little more than brick tombs and graves. It was not possible to use the section after it had been dressed by the contractors, for this was done at high speed, a section at a time, working all night. Even the ends of the Roman masonry (E and J) could not be studied because they were, almost to the last, covered by the piers of the 1875 church. When finally dressed to a line just west of the outer face of the new building they each showed a large squared block of a strange, bluish-grey stone, which had, presumably, been introduced as corner stones for the cross-wall of small septaria blocks which had been added to the Roman walls, presumably to form the west end of a church. The foundation of this wall only went down to 3 feet. Its thickness was not ascertained.

A little way south of the southern east to west wall two gravel-filled soak-aways could be seen at different levels in the black topsoil; these were probably associated with mediæval churches.

Nothing could be observed in the southern part of the section.

DESCRIPTION OF THE SOUTH SECTION (Fig. 8).

The west end of this was full of graves and yielded no information; the burnt clay layer, and the grey layer below it, ran through. At about 29 feet from the west end there was a slot 15 inches wide and deep in the grey layer (V), presumably for a sleeper-beam of wood. 3 feet 9 inches east of it stood part of a clay wall 15 inches thick and

21 inches high. It had divided two rooms in which the floor level, as shown by the black line, differed by 6 inches (U).

All along the middle part of this section the burnt clay layer was 3 feet thick, and the stumps of the two north to south walls showed in it (T and S). East of the western one lay a large soak-away filled with gravel. Above it, and over the remains of the eastern wall, lay a large amount of masonry rubble, perhaps from the demolition of these two walls. Beyond the east wall there could also be discerned some rough remains of the metalling of the Roman street. East of this point the section was at no time accessible for observation.

The same remark applies to the whole of the eastern face of the basement, with the exception of one point in the middle where we were able to make the section at O-P shown in Fig. 6 which has already been described.

The total evidence from the whole site is that there was great enterprise shown in the first period, followed by rather cheap construction until a late period, which cannot be dated, but which may well prove to be fourth century. The parallelism with Mrs. Cotton's findings at the north-east corner of the Temple Court is striking, for there only two distinct buildings were found, one apparently original (though not dated), and the other, the last on the site, very substantial. Evidence seems to be accumulating to show a great increase in prosperity in Roman Colchester in the fourth century, and this seems to tie in very accurately with Mr. S. Frere's latest evidence at St. Alban's.

THE FINDS.

Coins.

The only Roman coin found in the excavations was a terribly burnt second brass on which can be read VIC . . . GVSTI. It was found in the upcast of Trench 3, and would naturally have been supposed to have come from the burnt layer, were it not for the legend. Whatever the device may have been such a legend cannot be earlier than Nero, and Nero struck no bronze before A.D. 64. We have supposed our burnt layer to date from A.D. 61, and do not propose to change our view on the evidence of one unstratified (and almost illegible) coin.

A coin of Nero is said to have been found later by one of the contractor's workmen.

At a depth of 2 feet 6 inches and 8 feet from the north end of Trench 1 was found a mutilated silver penny, upon which Mr. R. H. M. Dolley has been kind enough to report as follows:—

Obv. Almost completely obliterated, but probably bore an uncrowned bust; some of the legend is legible as + M.RCHION . . .

Rev. A long cross pattee extending to the edge of the coin, with

three pellets in each quarter, and the following letters legible, ... / . LF / SEM / O . .

The obverse can be reconstructed (after Chautard, Nos. 1-6) as + MARCHIONAMVRC, and the reverse legend must be completed as ERDALFSEMOGG, that is to say the normal legend G(uido) COMES FLA(n)DR(i)E, written backwards, but in letters which are the right way round.

The coin is therefore of Gui de Dampierre, Marquis of Namur, 1263 to 1299, but he did not become Count of Flanders till 1280. There is evidence that the coin should have been struck about 1285, but also that such coins, which were cordially detested as 'lusshebourne', were pretty current over more than half a century.

The type, with reverse running retrograde, is new; the coin was deliberately defaced with a knife as 'lusshebourne', and the reverse legend (at least) was made with separate stamps for each letter.

A counting jetton of the Nuremburg type was found just outside the north-west corner of the church at a depth of about 18 to 24 inches.

Objects of Metal (Fig. 9).

1. A large bronze terret of plain oval shape, with a large disc on each side of the tongue which was held in the leather, is not exactly paralleled in any source available to me. It is not only very corroded (perhaps due to the fire), but very much worn, especially in one lower corner. This was found in the burnt clay layer.

2. The same layer yielded many pieces of burnt bronze-work, mostly apparently belonging to objects of no very substantial nature. Only one has any recognisable form; it is a small but heavily cast diamond-shaped object $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches long and $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches wide. It could very well have been the bronze head of an ornamental nail such as might be used in a door of some pretensions. The head of a corroded Hod Hill brooch was also in this layer.

Objects of Stone.

Two pieces of carved Purbeck Marble were found:—

Fig. 10. Part of a slab bearing mouldings and a pattern, obviously veneering and perhaps from the base of a small pilaster. At the base it is $1\frac{1}{4}$ inches thick and at the top $\frac{3}{4}$ inch. The saw-cut across the back ends well before reaching the edge of the fragment, and nearly $\frac{1}{4}$ inch from the end of another saw-cut which approaches at a right-angle from the rear. The right side of the piece was, therefore, a corner, and the cutting exactly matches other examples of Roman cutting in the Museum. The piece was found in a trench full of mortar cut into the red clay layer in Trench 2, lying in the top of the mortar and against the red clay. The left-hand side is burnt to lime, as was

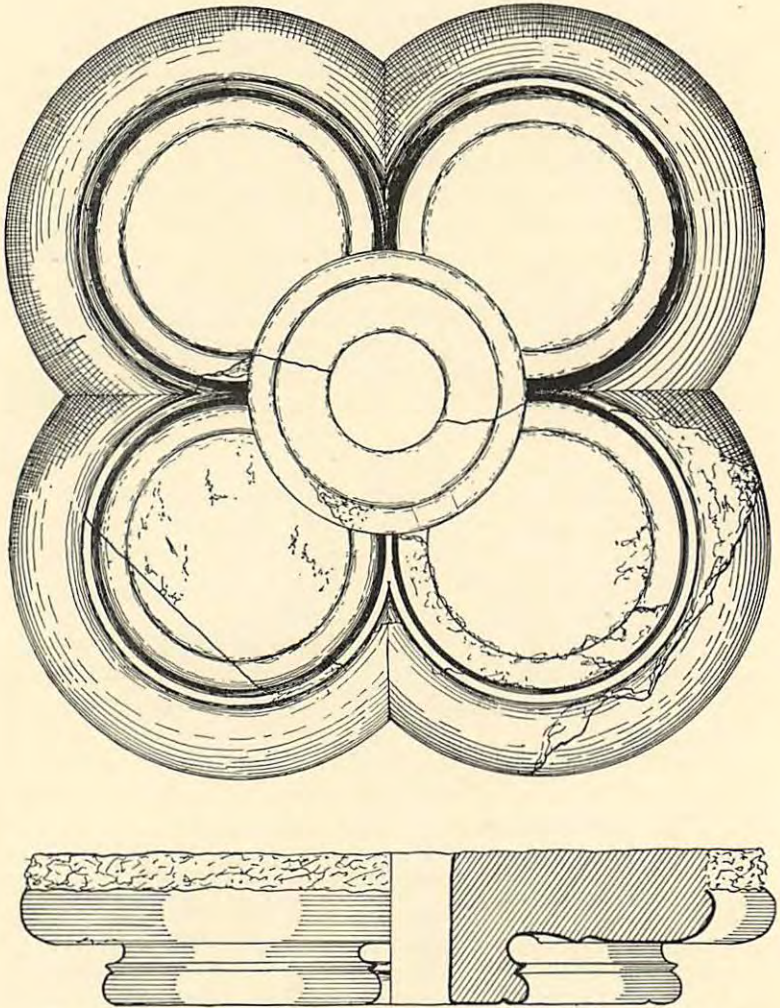


FIG. 11. QUATREFOIL IN PURBECK MARBLE (partly restored in drawing).
Scale 5/12.

some more of it which could not be picked up. It could have belonged to a Roman building later than the first on the site, but we must not disregard the next piece.

Fig. 11. Part of a capital (or base?) of Purbeck Marble terminating four small columns arranged in a quatrefoil, with a round aperture $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter in the centre. This opening is fully intentional and carefully finished. I am informed that this fragment is beyond any question of thirteenth century date. It was found in disturbed soil over the opening at (L).

Fig. 12. Large block of soft yellowish stone, possibly Bath stone, measuring $23\frac{3}{4}$ inches long by 17 inches wide at one end and 13 inches at the other; the back is rough, perhaps broken, and the height is 12 inches. A multiple moulding occupies one long side and is continued round the shorter of the two ends; the broad end is broken.

The stone is of very different appearance from the others found; the mouldings are carelessly cut, and on the whole the impression is of provincial Roman work. This stone was found built into the foundations of the only pier of Scott's church which we ourselves broke up. Most of the rest of the pier was built of pieces of the window-mouldings of the pre-Scott church, which were comparatively modern and very dull. One wonders, however, what might have been found had it been possible to take apart the other foundations of Scott's church, which, as it was, were broken up by the mechanical digger.

4. Six fragments of veneer or sheathing of coloured marble. One of these is white with grey veins, another is Africano, another Antico Rosso, the rest are grey varieties. Three come from the plaster and rubble layer in Trench 9. The white and grey piece was unstratified in Trench 2.

5. An oblong tessera of white marble, about $\frac{1}{2}$ inch wide by 1 inch long, was found with the piece of Purbeck marble cornice. Tesserae of this type have not been found in the *colonia* before, but numbers were found in the Gosbecks temple.

Other Building Materials.

Apart from the small fragments of painted wall-plaster, which were almost exclusively connected with the plaster and rubble layer, interest centres on the many fragments of the stucco facing of large columns. The main shaft may have been of clay blocks, or perhaps more probably, quadrant-shaped tiles, but the last several inches were stucco, the main body being of a normal plaster-mix, but the surface very fine and dead white, like gesso. The finish was undoubtedly intended to resemble white marble, and the columns were fluted from top to bottom; all the flutings were filled with a half-round fillet the whole of their length. Though some fragments are large it is not easy

to estimate the largest diameter, and indeed some fragments may have come from flat pilasters matching the columns. The impression is of a maximum diameter of about 3 feet, which would give a height of about 27 feet and this is the most that can be said at present, except to add that, in the excavation of the south front of the Temple Court a large piece of this stucco was found built into the smaller drain (with other re-used material) and was thought possibly to have come from the first temple. It is now seen that it may merely have been carried across the street from the ruins with which we are dealing.

No fragments of capitals or bases were found, so that it may be assumed that these were either burnt for lime or used again. It seems certain also that the fluting of the columns was of the one pattern from base to top, as was the case in the Temple of Diana at Nimes.

That these columns belonged to the first period of Roman Colchester seems beyond doubt.



—| inch.

FIG. 17. BONE ROUNDEL.

Bone.

The curious bone roundel, Fig. 17, was found in black soil in Trench 7 in ground disturbed by grave-diggers. The chevrons are each of two groups of three grooves which seem to have been cut with a wheel. The diameter is $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches and the centre hole is $\frac{1}{2}$ inch diameter. The small holes round the edge show it was sewn on to some object. Presumably comparatively recent.

Pottery.

Most of the Samian fragments came from the layer of burnt clay blocks and are typically Claudius-Nero. The few decorated fragments were as follows (Fig. 13):—

1. Four fragments of one bowl f.29, three found with the broken columns in Trench 3 and one on top of the red layer in Trench 2.

The style is Claudius-Nero; the reticulated wavy lines is an unusual motive which is found again in *Cam.* Pl. xxxvii, 10; for the lower zone compare *Cam.* xxxiv, 1, 7 and xxxvi, 7; the dog occurs on *Cam.* xxxv, 2.

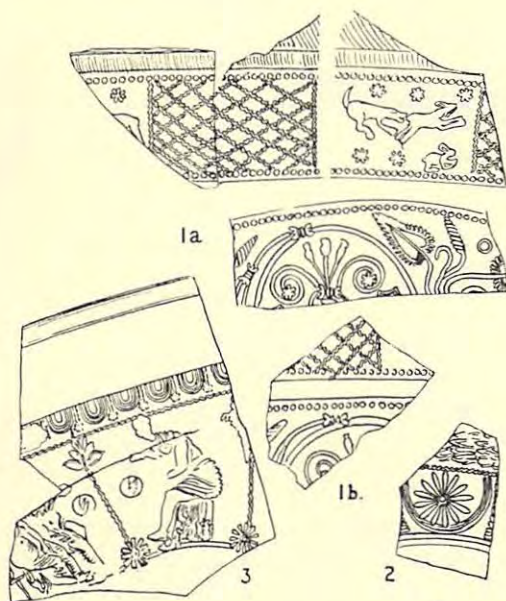


FIG. 13. DECORATED SAMIAN WARE. Scale $\frac{1}{2}$.

2. Fragment of f.29, with a lower zone of festoons with a horizontal wreath above. Found in disturbed soil within the later western building at a depth of 30 inches. Nero-Flavian. The star or flower is used (smaller ?) by the rare potter OF.GABAL.TAPIT, Knorr (1919) Taf.85, bottom; and by MEDDILLVS, K.54, 39, see also 55, K; and by BASSVS and COELVS K.13, No. 6. The latter potters were also fond of the horizontal wreath.

3. Fragments of f.37, found on top of the red layer in Trench 2, with plain forms 33 and 43 and a piece of an antefix. It is obviously second century.

The two seated figures on the left are used by LIBERTVS, BVTRIO, PATERNVS and IANVARIS II, see Stanfield and Simpson, Pl. 55 (Dech. Inv. 59), 56, 647, and both figures appear on 107, 29 (Paternus), but both figures are seen on Pl. 119, 11, with the same

leaf, rosette and ovolo as on ours, and in this case the figures appear to be of the same size and, indeed, identical with ours, whereas in those quoted earlier they are in one way or another different. There seems no doubt therefore that this is the work of IANVARIS II, who is dated by Simpson A.D. 150 to 180.

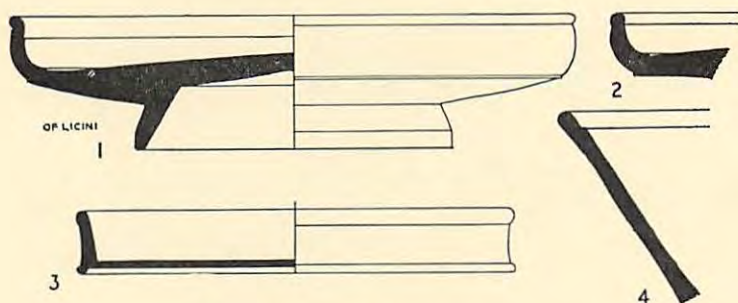


FIG. 14. PLAIN SAMIAN WARE.

The only vessel of note under the plain Samian is the almost complete platter (Fig. 14, 1) of form Ritt. 1, which was found on the street crushed under broken plaster and burnt clay. It is stamped OF LICINI.

The burnt clay contained several examples of f.18, in both large and small varieties, also Ritt. 1 (Fig. 14, 2), ff.24/25, 27, 22 (Fig. 14, 3).

Later pieces occurred here and there loose in the soil; the only ones in position were those lying in the trodden surface of the plaster and rubble. Of these a fragment of f.33 appears to be Colchester ware (Fig. 14, 4). The potter's stamps found were as follows:—

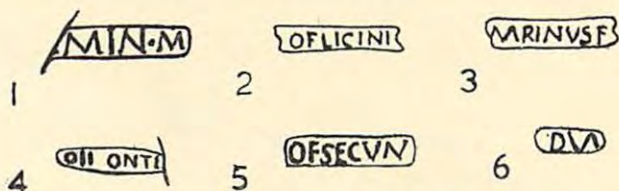


FIG. 15. SAMIAN POTTERS' STAMPS. Actual size.

- (Fig. 15) (GE)MIN.M, on the rim of a bowl f.45. From the top of the burnt layer. *Geminus ii* of Lezoux, second half of second century.
- OF LICINI on f. Ritt.1. Found under the burnt layer in Trench 4. *Licinus* of La Graufesenque, date Claudius-Nero.

3. (M)ARINVS . . . (last letter illegible), unstratified on a base f.29. No doubt, to judge by form and glaze, Marinus of La Graufesenque, who is dated by Knorr A.D. 60-70 and who seems to have carried on the work of Licinus.
4. OII ONTI on f.27, found among the broken plaster in the red layer in Trench 3. The name is Pontus of La Graufesenque; that a potter of this name worked at La Graufesenque before A.D. 70 is certain. Oswald (p. 242) has assigned all the signatures with an E in them to Claudius-Vespasian, but some without an E, and therefore classed as Vespasian-Trajan, must belong to the earlier period, e.g., PONTI O on a marbled f.24/25 in the Guildhall Museum and PONTI on f. Ritt. 8 from Mainz.
5. OF.SEQVN on form 18, found with broken plaster in Trench 3. Presumably SECVNDVS of La Graufesenque, Claudius-Vespasian.
6. Uncertain, perhaps IDVV, on a small f.24/25 with bright glaze, found in the burnt layer in Trench 1.

Roman Coarse Ware.

The total amount of this recovered was not large, and it includes nothing worthy of illustration or comment. The fragments connected with the red clay layer were all consistent with the dating of that layer to A.D. 61, the Camulodunum forms represented are as follows: 13, 16(2), 94A, 94B, 108(3), 119, 120(2), 154, 161, 232, 266(4), 272, 273; none calls for illustration. There is a complete absence of Gallo-Belgic ware.

Here and there in the disturbed soil above the stratification (when there was any) odd sherds of later date appeared, and a few of them were recognisably fourth century. Odd sherds of any period at all, of course, also appeared. These included a few unimportant mediæval pieces.

Thetford Ware.

The pit in the western building (see p. 305) produced a small quantity of pottery which seemed to be Saxon and which was accordingly submitted to Mr. Hurst, who has very kindly reported as follows (references are to Fig. 16):—

The pottery from this pit is Saxo-Norman and comprises three cooking pots, a bowl and five other sherds. All are of the typical hard grey Thetford ware which occurs in Norfolk, Suffolk and Essex during the period A.D. 850-1150.⁴ It is not yet possible to date examples precisely within this period, but this group is likely to be 10th century or later.

1. Small straight sided bowl with flat rim and sagging base. There are many examples of this type at Thetford itself.⁵ The shape

of the bowl may be compared with Group 1, types B1 and B2, but these all have simpler rims. Type B3 has the same flat rim but the bowl is of a different shape.

2. Rim and base of a small cooking-pot with simple everted rim and slight sagging base. The base has been very roughly finished

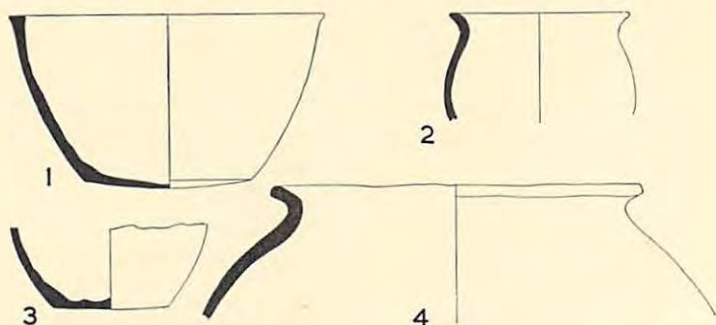


FIG. 16. THETFORD WARE. Scale $\frac{1}{4}$.

off. Again examples of this form are common at Thetford, where it may be compared with Group 1, type A55.

3. Flat base of a medium sized cooking-pot roughly trimmed. At Thetford flat bases are more common in the later levels, but some Middle Saxon bases are also flat.⁶

4. Rim of a large cooking-pot with strongly everted flattened rim. At Thetford this may be closely compared with Group 1, type A52. There are also five sherds of typical Thetford cooking-pots. One has marked corrugations very similar to pots from Carr Street, Ipswich.⁷

¹ Report of the Royal Commission on Historical Monuments, *Essex*, vol. iii.

² Which does not preclude a Roman date for this addition.

³ *T.E.A.S.* xxv, 37, 46, and Pl. vii B.

⁴ *Proc. Camb. Ant. Soc.* xlix (1956), 46-7, and 1 (1957), 42-51.

⁵ Ministry of Works Excavation, H.M.S.O. report forthcoming. Group Captain G. M. Knocker has very kindly linked the pottery described with his Thetford type series.

⁶ *Proc. Camb. Ant. Soc.* 1, (1957), 47, Fig. 2, 7-9.

⁷ *Ibid.* 33, Fig. 1, 10 and 11.

EPHING PLACE.

By J. H. HOLMES, M.A.

ON the outskirts of the town of Epping, by the road from London, and looking across it through a screen of shrubbery at a vestige of the Forest, stands a pair of houses, of which the one nearer Epping is now called Epping Place and the other Winchelsea House. Together these houses form a brick-built structure of irregular elevation (for Epping Place is a storey higher than Winchelsea House) pierced with tall white-painted sash windows. It is pleasing, but undistinguished externally and the lofty entrance hall of the larger house, panelled with cedar which has been restored to its pristine colour, and housing a noble staircase and gallery, comes as a surprise, as if a man should take off a raincoat and reveal a splendid uniform.

The history of the house is equally surprising.

In 1634 a map was drawn of the demesne lands of the Manor of Epping Bury, 'Parcell of the Possessions of the . . . Earle of Winchelsea'¹. The three principal houses are shown: Epping Bury House, Winchelsea House and Copped Hall. The first was the Manor house, the second (the future Epping Place) was the seat of the Lord of the Manor of Epping Bury, and the third, rebuilt on a different site, a century and a quarter later, was to succeed to that honour.² The houses are depicted on the map, and Winchelsea House appears as a narrow three-gabled structure standing within a walled enclosure of just over three acres, in which stand four out-buildings.³

A survey of the Manor made about 1621 refers only to Epping Bury House and makes no mention of the second mansion house.⁴ In 1630 the Countess of Winchelsea was presented at a Forest Court for having enclosed three acres of the waste of the Forest with a brick wall and erected a house.⁵ It seems reasonable to infer that this was Winchelsea House and that it was first built during the few years before 1630.

The Countess of Winchelsea, builder of the house which at first bore her name, conveyed her Manor of Epping Bury and her other property in Epping—Wintry Park, the Rectory of Epping, the weekly market and the semi-annual fair—to trustees for sale after her death to discharge certain debts.⁶ Among the trustees was William Lord Grey of Warke, husband of her grand-daughter Anne, daughter of Sir John Wentworth of Gosfield. The Earl of Winchelsea, the heir of the Countess, brought a suit in Chancery against these trustees after her

death and secured, in compliance with the Order of the Court which terminated the suit, a conveyance of the premises to him. From him William Lord Grey purchased the estate, by deed dated 1 July 1636, for a total consideration of £21,500, of which £12,000 was raised by mortgage.⁷ Thus, almost exactly a century before it was to pass out of the family, the Greys came to own Epping Place.

Lord Grey was 43 years old when he bought the property and 81 when he died. By then he had buried his wife and some of his children in Epping Church (where he was to lie himself) and it seems probable that he regarded Epping Place as his home. It was a large house and fit habitation for a baron. In the Hearth Tax assessments among the County records,⁸ made in 1662 and 1671, it is returned as having 44 hearths, a figure which sets it near the quadrangular Tudor pile of Gosfield Hall (57 hearths) and above Ingatestone Hall (30 hearths), another quadrangular house. The Exchequer return of Hearth Tax paid in 1666⁹ for Epping Place abates the figure to 36 hearths, but it is still high, even allowing for the outhouses shown in the map of 1634, when considered in relation to the present building.

But is this comparison permissible? Is the present house substantially the same as that which occupied its site when the Hearth Tax was levied? The site is certainly the same, for the map of 1634 shows many features which have survived to fix it. But the house on that map bears no resemblance to the structure of today. As we have seen, this has many signs of having been built around the turn of the seventeenth century, and two surveys, made about 1725, refer, one to 'the New Capitall House called Epping House', the other to 'Epping Place . . . a neat modern Brick House'.¹⁰ Was old Winchelsea House destroyed and the present building erected to take its place?

Two pieces of evidence suggest that, although obviously the old house underwent considerable changes, these were rather in the nature of a partial reconstruction than a complete rebuilding. The appearance of the present structure, which is irregular and assymetrical, is the first piece of evidence. It suits the division into two houses, but it cannot have arisen from it, for the houses were not divided until the middle of the nineteenth century and one important feature of the assymetry—the presence of attics in one house and their absence in the other—was obviously there in 1706, when an inventory shows no more attics than there are today. Moreover, it is clear that the division was effected with the minimum of structural alteration, as the doors which have been left in the walls between the houses testify. So it seems likely that the house has been assymetrical ever since it acquired its present appearance (the hall, for example, is not in the centre of the mass of building). Yet this appearance, with its strong flavour of the

early eighteenth century, desiderates symmetry. Surely, if the house had been rebuilt upon a new plan the elevation would have been symmetrical. A man would as soon have built it otherwise as he would have worn a beard with his full-bottomed wig. And the fact that the present house is irregular seems to indicate that his hands were tied: the job was not to build a new house upon the cellars of the old, but to refashion an old house which still stood.

And the second piece of evidence seems to point to a partial destruction of this old house, which might have necessitated its rehabilitation. It occurs in the Exchequer returns of Hearth Tax paid by William Lord Grey. In 1666 it had been 36 hearths, in 1671 the assessment had been 44 hearths, yet in 1673 the return records the payment for only 24 hearths, and bears a note against this figure, 'The Most Noble the Lord Gray for 20 ruined hearths'¹¹. Clearly between 1671 and 1673 something happened to 'ruin' nearly half the house.

Was this an intentional alteration? It seems unlikely, since Lord Grey was nearly 80 at the time and past the age when a man commonly embarks on the refashioning of a house in which he has lived for forty years. It must then have been an accident—probably a fire—and the damage it caused was made good some time between 1674 (when 24 hearths were again paid for) and 1706, when an inventory shows the house in something very like its present shape.

By deed dated 1 July 1672 old Lord Grey settled the Epping estate, among other property, on trustees, to secure the succession in tail and to raise portions of £6,000 each for two sons (Ralph and Charles) of his son Ralph, upon their reaching the age of 21.¹² As matters turned out, the contingent remainders provided for by the deed nearly all operated. After the old man's death, the property was to go to his son Ralph, for life, and then to Ralph's eldest son Ford and his male issue. In the event, Ford (who succeeded his father and grandfather as Lord Grey, and was subsequently created Earl Tankerville by William III) had only a daughter. So, upon Ford's death, the next remainder operated—to his brother Ralph, who succeeded him as Lord Grey (the earldom dying with Ford). By the time Ralph died in 1706, without issue, the third brother, Charles, was already dead, likewise childless, and under another contingency provided for by the deed, the property passed to William Lord North and Grey, eldest son of old William's daughter Catherine. Finally, upon his death without legitimate issue in 1734, the last contingency arose, and the estate came to Francis, Lord Guilford, a great-great-grandson of old William Lord Grey, through the latter's daughter Catherine.

Among this succession of men who owned Epping Place the first Ralph concerns us little, since he died but a few years after his father,

and was buried at Harting, Sussex, where his wife's father had lived.¹³ He was succeeded by his son Ford, who, whether he lived at Epping or not, found the estate very useful in a crisis of his life. This was in 1685, when he had been taken in arms against the King as a supporter of Monmouth's rebellion. 'Lord Grey', wrote Burnet,¹⁴ 'compounded for his life at a very high rate, and upon inglorious conditions; for he was a witness for the conviction of others . . .' In other words, as well as turning King's evidence, Ford had to pay a heavy fine, and it appears from a note (dated 13 July 1744) in one of the surveys of the Manor of Epping Bury, that he raised the money from his Epping tenants, in exchange for a reduction of their rents. 'He [Ford Lord Grey] was in ye Monmouth rebellion', runs this note ' . . . but received ye King's pardon upon Condition to pay Lord Rochester ten thousand Pound, to raise which he had recourse to his tenants at Epping, who upon account of a considerable abatement of their Rents and granting of long Leases paid him Fines.'¹⁵

By a pleasing stroke of irony it was an ardent Jacobite who partly paid for this anticipation of future income to meet present need. This was William Lord North and Grey, who succeeded next but one to the Epping estate, and the information came, so this note records, from his secretary, Dr. Bardon. Lord North and Grey, soon after he succeeded to the property and before he found any memorandum of the transactions of 1686, was approached by a wily tenant, 'old Waylett', with a request for the renewal of his lease, somewhat before it was due to fall in. This the landlord did, at the same low rent to which Ford Lord Grey had agreed in the hour of his pressing need, and doubtless without the higher fine which had been the consideration for the low rent.

In 1701 Ford was succeeded by his brother Ralph, of whom Burnet wrote that he was 'a sweet disposed gentleman. He joined King William at the Revolution and is a zealous asserter of the liberties of the people—a thin, brown, handsome man of middle stature.'¹⁶ Swift, with characteristic malice, annotated his copy of Burnet with the comment 'had very little in him'. He had been a soldier and later (from 1698) Governor of Barbadoes until he succeeded to the barony, and a sheaf of letters sent to him after his return¹⁷ testify to his popularity in his last office (although the letters a pro-consul received on his return to the seat of power were not always written out of mere love and affection).

Ralph Lord Grey appears very likely to have lived at Epping Place during the five years between his succession to the property and his death. Two servants to whom he made bequests have rooms named after them in the inventory of Epping Place drawn up after his death.

The same document describes another room as 'my Lord's bed-chamber'. Ralph, however, was buried not at Epping but at Bocking.

The succession to Ralph's landed property was, as we have seen, settled by the deed of 1672 upon William Lord North and Grey, son of Ralph's aunt. He had nearer kin—a niece who was the daughter of his brother Ford and was married to Lord Ossulston, and a nephew, Henry Neville, son of his sister Catherine, who had married Richard Neville of Billingbear, co. Berks. To judge from letters in the collection already referred to, Ralph seems to have been a close friend of Richard Neville, and this may explain his efforts to benefit the son in his will. By this will,¹⁸ dated 13 March 1704/5, Henry Neville was made his sole executor and sole legatee of his personal property (after some pecuniary bequests to servants). In addition his uncle devised to Henry Neville a life interest in the residue of his 'mannors, lands, tenements and hereditaments whatsoever in the City of London and the severall Countyes of Essex, Middlesex, Sussex and York, Northumberland and the County Palatine of Durham', after the sale of a portion to discharge debts. The condition (with which he complied) of Henry Neville receiving these bequests was that he should adopt the name and style of Grey. The debts which were to be discharged comprised 'the Earle of Rochester's demands', which seems likely to be an unpaid remnant due for Ford's indiscretion in 1685, and a payment to Lord Ossulston for the marriage portion of his lady, who was Ford's daughter.

This devise to his nephew could not affect the descent of the settled estates, the succession of which followed the limitation of the entail created by the deed of 1672, and passed to William Lord North and Grey. For the rest of the will, in part we know and in part must presume that it was executed. Presumably Mr. Bedingfield, who had enjoyed a chamber on the first floor of Epping Place, was paid his legacy of £300 'for his good service', and Tom Turner (who seems to have been Bedingfield's neighbour in Epping Place) received regularly his annuity of £10. The other servants of lower degree whose service was rewarded have no recorded connection with the house. These include Ralph's 'two younger blacks, Beaver and Fibber', who were given their freedom and £40 apiece, to be laid out in 'putting them out to a trade' and the rest of his 'Negroes or Blacks now in England', who likewise were freed and given £10 each. One part of the will was certainly executed: the contents of Epping Place, among the rest of his 'uncle's personal effects, passed to Henry Neville (now alias Grey), for in 1706 he sold probably the greater part of the furniture and fittings to William Lord North and Grey. Some things he may have taken with him, for the inventory¹⁹ seems singularly devoid of

receptacles for clothing and linen, and presumably he took (but whether from Epping Place we cannot say) the portrait of his uncle which Henry's descendants still possess.

William Lord North and Grey, the purchaser of this furniture and the heir to Epping Place and the Epping estate, was a grandson of William Lord Grey. Of all the owners and probable occupants of the house, he seems to have had the most varied career and (though this may only be because he has left more copious and personal records than the rest) to have had the oddest character. The career led him to command a regiment under Marlborough, to lose a hand at Blenheim, to serve Queen Anne subsequently in various high quasi-military offices at home, and to conspire against her successor in such fashion as to be sent to the Tower (from which, with characteristic ill-success, he escaped only for a short time) and to die in exile. The character has recorded one side of itself for posterity in the form of nearly 200 draft love-letters,²⁰ which vary in their address from 'Dear Madam' to 'Fair Charmer'. And it is clear that this man spent at least a small portion of his curious existence living in Epping Place.

He was born in 1678.²¹ His father, Charles, was the son of Dudley Lord North and after his marriage to Catherine, daughter of William Lord Grey, in 1673, was summoned to the House of Lords by special writ as Lord Grey of Rolleston (his father-in-law was Lord Grey of Warke). On the death of Dudley Lord North in 1677 Charles took the style of Lord North and Grey, and it was to this title that his son, our William, succeeded in 1691. In the same year he entered at Magdalene College, Cambridge, but came down three years later without having taken a degree. He next entered Foubert's Military Academy, fell into debt (a proceeding with which he was to become more familiar later) and travelled abroad until he was 21, in 1699, when he took his place in the House of Lords. In 1702, Lord North and Grey obtained a commission in the Foot Guards, and went abroad to the seat of war against the French. He became a Colonel (commanding the 10th Foot) in 1703, and a Brigadier-General in 1705. At the battle of Blenheim, in 1704, he lost his right hand. In the autumn of 1705 he married Margareta, daughter of Vryheer Cornelius van Ellemeet, Treasurer of Holland, and, in augmentation of her jointure, settled part of the newly acquired Epping estate upon her for life, by deed dated 23 and 24 October 1706.²²

The Duke of Marlborough, under whom Lord North and Grey had served for the preceding four years, was one of the trustees of this settlement and North and Grey was to repay this courtesy by speaking and voting in the Lords against the proposal to reward Marlborough for his services. After his wound and his marriage, North and Grey

remained with the army, taking an occasional part in debates in Parliament, until 1709, and thereafter lived principally in England. Here he served as Lord Lieutenant of Cambridgeshire, where he was born and where his chief country estate, Kirtling, lay. He was also commissioned in 1712 as Governor of Portsmouth.²³ After the accession of George I, in 1714, Lord North and Grey's Jacobitism, which he had been displaying with increasing lack of caution during the preceding few years, excluded him from all public office. He began to engage in Jacobite plots and finally, in 1722, was arrested for complicity in Adderbury's plot. He was put into the Tower of London, escaped, was re-arrested, released on bail, and went with his wife into an exile from which he never returned.

If he lived in Epping Place, it must have been between 1706, when he acquired the property, and early 1719, when, in one of the many mortgages which he raised upon the estate, the house is described as let for £100 a year.²⁴ During this period there are many letters among the North MSS. in the Bodleian Library addressed to North and Grey at Kirtling ('Cartledge'), at his house in Bond Street, 'near St. James Square' (where his well-loved sister, the blue-stocking Dudleya, died in 1712²⁵), and at Portsmouth. A fairly cursory examination has revealed only one addressed to him at Epping—a letter from Edward Halstead of Clements Inn dated 27 October 1713²⁶—but, taken in conjunction with another document, it seems sufficient to prove that, occasionally at least, he resided in Epping Place. The other document is a list, in his own hand, entitled 'Ways of Conveiance to & from Epping & London',²⁷ showing the various means by which letters and parcels might, on different days of the week, be despatched to and from Epping. There seems no point in a man drawing up such a list of services unless he intended to make use of them by living in the town which enjoyed them. And an occasional occupation of the house would harmonise with the general pattern of his life: it was perhaps too small to be regularly lived in, but very convenient (as lying near London on the road to his Cambridgeshire house) to stay in from time to time, and his letting of it may be connected with his withdrawal from public life, which perhaps made it less necessary for him to have a *pied-à-terre* between the capital and Kirtling.

In 1722, as we have seen, the Epping estate lost all its interest for him, save as a source of income and as a pledge for loans. His life was henceforth to be spent wandering between France, the Low Countries and Spain. At first Lord and Lady North and Grey went to Paris. In 1728 he turned Catholic and in the same year was visited in Paris by his agent, who had crossed especially from Dover.²⁸ Brussels probably saw him *en passant* since he had an illegitimate son being brought up

by a merchant of that city. He made a will in Barcelona in 1731 and it was to the Hague that his agent addressed a letter of 22 November in the same year. There were, as we shall see, some thoughts of his coming home in 1732, which came to nothing. In March of that year an acquaintance found him in Paris 'something off his bloom but not off his politeness',²⁹ On 20 October 1734, under the care of a Dr. O'Connell who submitted his bills in Spanish, looked after by a servant called Darby O'Sullivan and solaced by his mistress whom, by a codicil, he had made executrix of his will, instead of his wife, Lord North and Grey died in Madrid aged 56.

What of Epping Place while its owner drifted between France, Spain and the Netherlands? We have seen that by 1719 it had been let, and it is clear that for some years before 1731 it was occupied by an Irish peer called Lord Kingston, at an annual rent of £100, although there is no information as to when his tenancy began. Lord Kingston yielded possession to Lord North and Grey's agent at Michaelmas 1731 and apparently then returned to Ireland, since he appears as Grand Master of the English Freemasons until 1730 and of the Irish Freemasons from then.³⁰ Moreover, North and Grey's agent had to pay postage on a letter from Kingston in Ireland on 20 February 1732/3.

At Lord Kingston's outgoing the agent and his assistants had a busy time, checking inventories.³¹ And then the accounts record payment of 1s. for a letter to Lord and Lady North and Grey at the Hague, presumably to report on what had been done. Mr. Davis' 'appraisal' of the furniture occupied him from 1 to 4 November, and the inventory which he drew up³² shows that, on the whole, little had been changed in the house since Ralph, Lord Grey, died a quarter of a century earlier. The pictures, of course, are different, doubtless because Henry Neville, *alias* Gray, took away those which had formerly been in the house. A 'hatchment' and a 'carved coat of arms' had, it may be noted, been relegated to the servants' quarters: perhaps they showed the arms of North and Grey and Lord Kingston was unwilling to exhibit his landlord's heraldic emblems where his own guests might see them.

No attempt was made to let the house until 27 April 1733. There are two possible, and possibly complementary, explanations why the house was allowed thus to stand empty for eighteen months. The first may be that Lord Kingston was expected to return and his letter of February 1732/3 may have announced his decision to stay in Ireland. The second explanation may be connected with the fact that on 3 January 1731/2 the agent paid a guinea to Mr. Pigot 'on consulting on the Lord North's coming to England'. Perhaps there were hopes

that things were quiet enough for the exile to return and come himself to occupy Epping Place.

In the event, as we have seen, neither owner nor tenant returned to Epping, so on 27 April 1733, ten advertisements were issued. On the 12 May it looked as though a tenant had been found and the agent expended £1 9s. 6d. in attending Hopley the upholsterer 'to take an Inventory of ye goods at Epping Place (with a Gentleman) to let ye House'. But nothing came of it. In June some bricklayers' work was done at the house, and on 2 June 1732 payments begin to three men and a woman working in the gardens. These go on weekly until the end of the year and in October the gardens were heavily manured.

The caretaker of the empty house was one Joseph Arnot, tenant of a farm on the estate. The rent of his farm was £99 15s. 0d. a year and a surveyor later estimated its annual value at £80. As the surveyor noted, Arnot received £20 a year 'allowed him to look after the Gardens of the Place House with all the Fruit and the advantages worth as much to him as his Salary or could not have held the Farme at the present rent'.³³ In August 1733 Arnot received £138 9s. 0d. 'for money disbursed for repairs of Epping House & his care taken therein'. About the same time, a 'Great Dog' was acquired to help him in his task, for the keep of which he claimed 1s. a week. The damp of autumn in the same year made it necessary to buy 'wood for airing the house'.

The decision seems to have been reached about this time to have one last attempt to let the house and, if it failed, to sell the furniture. Hopley came down again and on 27 November 1733 drew up 'a particular of ye Goods for sale'. On 27 January 1734 ten advertisements were issued. Six weeks yet another ten advertisements told an unresponsive world that Epping Place was to let. No tenant came forward and on 21 June 1734 the furniture was sold, realising £101, of which Hopley took ten per cent. He also obliged by taking what was unsold, for £60.

The traffic—the stage-coaches, the waggons, the higliers' carts—whose accustomed comings and goings Lord North and Grey had so carefully chronicled twenty years before, must now have rumbled and clattered past a sparsely furnished house. The pictures remained (my lord still looking from the wall of the Great Parlour) and sufficient furniture and fittings remained to be mentioned in a survey of the estate made two years later. It was, nevertheless, kept clean, as the payments in November 1734 to Arnot for a mop, a hair broom and three yards of rubbing-cloth testify. But, as we know (though the news might not have reached England), the subject of the portrait was already dead.

By January, however, when the news must certainly have been known, money was still being spent on the upkeep of the house. Tiles were bought from a kiln at Ongar, for example, and the 'wall-trees' pruned and nailed up, with the aid of 100 yards of list.³⁴ But the decision to sell the house and the Epping estate generally to Edward Conyers, of Walthamstow, had probably already been taken by the early spring of 1735, subject to agreement as to the price. On 15 March 1735 the 'pattent' by which Lord North and Grey had appointed his steward of the Manor of Epping was recovered from the steward 'by order of Edward Conyers'.³⁵ Towards the end of May 1735 something seems to have been done about removing the pictures—the most personal furnishings, which Lord Guilford, North and Grey's heir, might have been expected to wish to keep in the family. On the 27th was paid 'Mr. Beanit's charge for Pictures' and on the 30th 2*s.* was paid for 'wool for pictures', doubtless as packing.³⁶ My lord's portrait at least (by Kneller) has been preserved as the result of this removal and is now at Waldershare Park, near Dover, the seat of the Earl of Guilford.

It was obviously necessary, before anything could be done about disposing of the estate, that Lord North and Grey's will should be proved. It provided some difficulties since, though apparently good according to the civil law, it was not good according to the common law of England. Mr. Pigot's opinion was taken upon the provisions of this embarrassing document.³⁷

In June 1735 there was drawn up a survey headed 'The Estate of the Right Honorable the Lord North and Guilford at Epping. Viewed for Edward Conyers Esq.'. ³⁸ This was the work of a valuer engaged by Conyers, and his cool appraisal can be compared with the vendor's particulars of sale which have also been preserved.³⁹ Conyer's valuer sets the value of the estate at £33,709 (a curiously exact figure) and the vendor's valuation was £45,000. The price for which the property finally passed was to be £36,000.

Conyer's valuer describes Epping Place as 'well situated, healthful and pleasant. In a very dry season a scarcity of water'. The vendor, understandably, is less terse. The first reference to the house (indeed, the first item in the particulars) is to 'The Mannor house called Epping Place with very good Offices, Brewhouse, Barns, Stable and other outhouses with the Gardens, yards and a long walk above two furlongs in length containing together by estimation (at present untenanted) 10 acres'. The 'long walk' is referred to in a survey of about 1725 (possibly drawn up in connection with one of Lord North and Grey's financial crises) as 'the New Walk'.

The vendor's particulars refer to the house again later, in greater

detail. 'The Manor house called Epping Place is a neat Modern Brick house, wainscotted, very good vaults and other conveniences. Below, the Ground Floor consists of 5 rooms, the second floor of 8 rooms and 4 very good Garrets, the Kitchen at a distance from the House and a Covered Way from it with offices ranged on one side, Landry and Servants' Rooms over the Kitchen with Brewhouse, Stables for 16 horses. Coach house, Barns and many other conveniences, with Gardens Yards and Walks.' The 'Household Goods & furniture on ye Premises to be valued or taken away'.

The transaction, which was to vest the Epping estate in the Conyers family for nearly 150 years, took its slow course during the summer and autumn of 1735. In December Conyers repaid the mortgage advances made by sundry people to Lord North and Grey on the security of the property. Finally, by deed dated 24 February 1735/6, there passed to Edward Conyers, Esq., of Walthamstow, farms totalling some 800 acres in Epping and neighbouring parishes, the advowson and great tithes of Epping, the right to the tolls of the weekly market and of the semi-annual fair. And with it went the house whose story concerns us: 'all that the Manor of Epping . . . the capital messuage called Epping Place . . . '.

Conyers' estate in the property was subject to certain encumbrances. The life interest of her whom Lord North and Grey had described in his will of 1731 as 'my dear wife' and who was already remarried as Lady Ellibank, had been compounded for. But Conyers had to covenant to pay to William Greyson, North and Grey's love-child, who was by now about 14 years old, the sum of £5,000 bequeathed to him by his father when he should attain the age of 25 years, and meantime to pay his guardian, the Brussels merchant, interest at 3 per cent. This legacy was charged upon the Manor of Epping, Epping Place and other property by a separate deed.⁴⁰

Edward Conyers bought Copped Hall (then the old mansion which lay in Epping parish) in 1739,⁴¹ and in 1746, when his son John was married, he was described as 'of' that mansion. The marriage settlement describes Epping Place as 'that capital messuage or mansion house commonly called or known by the name of Epping Place or Epping Bury [a palpable error, first perpetrated in the conveyance to Conyers] with the outhouses, yards, gardens, orchards, walks and grounds lying round about and used with the same containing 17 acres'. Obviously the Conyers, perhaps seeking their tenants somewhat lower in the social scale, had been more fortunate than Lord North and Grey, for the house was then, in 1746, in the occupation of Elizabeth Pepys, widow, paying £50 a year—half the rent which Lord Kingston had paid for his furnished tenancy sixteen years earlier.⁴²

A century later D. W. Collier, in his *People's History of Essex* (1861) wrote that ' . . . in 1735, John Conyers, Esq., who then resided at Epping Place, found the house [Copped Hall] in dilapidation and decay'. There are some difficulties, in view of what we know from documents not seen by Collier, in accepting this as quite accurate. Perhaps the truth is that Conyers lived in Copped Hall until about 1753, then resolved to rebuild the house, and moved temporarily into Epping Place. Collier relates, apparently accurately, that Copped Hall was rebuilt between 1753 and 1757. And the first surviving lease of Epping Place, which marked the end of the occupation of the house by the owners of the Manor of Epping, is dated in 1758. New Copped Hall would by then be complete and ready to receive the family, and Epping Place might be abandoned, and once more might be let.

The lease, dated 10 August 1758, assigns to William Stokes of Epping, innholder, for 14 years, at an annual rent of £50, 'that capital messuage . . . called . . . Epping Place', with its appurtenances, including Backfield and Timber Yard, containing 8 acres.⁴³ It marked, as we have seen, the end of one chapter in the history of the house. Epping Place was henceforth to take on a different character for a century, before it relapsed into more peaceful employment as 'a genteel residence'.⁴⁴ In its new guise it passed under the name of the Epping Place Inn, or (rarely) the New Inn, and the William Stokes who took it in 1758, was the first in a line of his family which held it throughout its life as the leading inn and postinghouse of Epping.

William Stokes was succeeded by his widow Grace. She covenanted in 1764 to contribute one guinea a year towards the maintenance of a minister in the [Anglican] Chapel at Epping, which seems to indicate that she was then mistress of the house.⁴⁵ When John Conyers' son (another John) married, in 1773, the marriage settlement describes the house as 'the Place House', with 42 acres, occupied by Grace Stokes at £130 a year.⁴⁶ Grace held the licence until 1782, and then yielded place to Richard Stokes.⁴⁷ He held it until 1796 and was succeeded by Sarah, doubtless his widow. She took a new lease of Conyers in 1804, and was succeeded as licensee by her son Richard in 1809 or 1810. He was probably the last of the dynasty, and the only one to survive for us as a personality.

Richard was not only an innkeeper; he had an extensive business as a hirer of horses. Epping Place is described in directories as a postinghouse from 1802 and it may well have been so used much earlier. But Richard Stokes was in business on a large scale. An unfriendly lawyer wrote of him in 1819, of his refusal to sign a new lease, 'the real cause of his refusal is that he has two other inns in

the same road [the London-Newmarket road, the modern A11] & wants to hold on for a year or two longer that he may gradually remove all the Business from Mr. Conyers' premises'. One of the other two inns was the White Hart at Woodford, London-wards from Epping along the same high-road, and there are some hints in a bill Stokes submitted to his landlord that the other may have been at Harlow.

A sidelight from another angle on Stokes' trade is provided by the examination as to settlement of James Francis, once employed by him.⁴⁸ Francis, at the age of 53, was engaged in 1816 by Richard Stokes 'of Epping Place, innkeeper, who also occupied the White Hart Yard, Woodford as horsekeeper to twenty post-horses which were kept in the stables in the yard and hired therefrom with postchaises'. His pay was to be 3s. a week paid him by each of the five postboys and he was to lodge in 'a room over the Tap belonging to the Inn'. He served at Woodford for three years and after he had left for a month 'his Master sent to him and asked him to take the place of a horsekeeper who was going from his service at Epping Place'. Five of the postboys at Epping Place were to give Francis 18*d.* a week each and Stokes would find him board and lodging. Subsequently, Francis went back to the White Hart and, later still, returned for the second time to Epping Place. One of the Epping Place post-chaises, yellow-painted (as they all were), with the legend 'Richard Stokes Epping', is depicted among a crowd of vehicles in the engraving taken from Pollard's painting of the carting of the stag at the Epping Easter Monday Hunt.

As an inn, Epping Place seems clearly to have held pride of place in the town. The justices of the peace met there in Petty Sessions. The Epping and Ongar Turnpike Trustees met there regularly.⁴⁹ So late as 1839, when the glory was departing from it, Pigot's *Directory* neatly puts Epping Place in its appropriate social niche by describing it as a 'family hotel and posting house', while the Cock (its nearest rival) was 'commercial and posting'.

From 1819 to 1823 Richard Stokes was in dispute with his landlord over the repair of outbuildings at Epping Place. The wearisome story, enlivened by some characteristic letters from H. J. Conyers, the irascible Master of the Essex Hunt, need not be told here.⁵⁰ But it is significant for its evidence of Stokes' strength in fighting out with a man who combined in his person landlord, local magnate and very good customer. The source of his strength was the tribute he levied from the traffic pouring along the Newmarket Road, past the doors of his inn.

This traffic was heavier at the time of the dispute than it had ever been. More coaches, swaying along behind four steaming horses,

rumbled to a brief stop before Epping Place, on their way to or from Cambridge, Bury or Norwich. More post-chaises, a red- or blue-jacketed post-boy astride the near-side horse, rattled along the gravel to have a pair of fresh horses from Epping Place backed into the shafts, and one of Stokes' post-boys to trot them off down along the road. More chariots and phaetons, barouches and cabriolets, gigs and landaus, drew up under the windows of the Great Hall, so that their occupants might descend, enter the Hall, and pass through to the Dining Parlour.

But twenty years later the railway had drained the traffic from the road, and the life-blood from Epping Place Inn. In 1844 the contents of the cellars were sold and soon afterwards it ceased to be an inn.⁵¹ The house was probably divided into two, as it is today, between 1870 and 1874.⁵²

¹ Essex Record Office (E.R.O.), D/DW P1.

² See D. W. Collier, *People's History of Essex* (1861), p. 338.

³ An enlarged reproduction appears in B. Winstone, *The Epping and Ongar Highways Trust* (1891), facing p. 92.

⁴ E.R.O., D/DW E1/2.

⁵ B. Winstone, *The Ancient Chapel of St. John the Baptist at Epping* (1885), p. 4.

⁶ E.R.O., D/DW E1/9.

⁷ E.R.O., *loc. cit.*

⁸ E.R.O., Q/RTh, 1 and 5.

⁹ Public Record Office (P.R.O.), E.179/246/19.

¹⁰ Both E.R.O., D/DW E4. The areas and valuations leave no doubt that Epping House is Epping Place.

¹¹ P.R.O., E.179/246/12: '*Prenobilis dominus Gray pro 20 focis delapsis*'.

¹² E.R.O., D/DW E1/9, where the deed is abstracted. The Settlement on the marriage of Catherine Grey, William's daughter, with Charles North, bearing date 11 June 1672 is recited in Bodleian Library, North MSS.

¹³ *Complete Peerage* (ed. G. E. C.), under Grey of Warke.

¹⁴ *History of his own times* (abridged Everyman edition), p. 23.

¹⁵ E.R.O., D/DW H37.

¹⁶ Quote (with Swift's note) in *Complete Peerage*. His portrait hangs at Audley End, having doubtless passed with his other personal property to his nephew, Henry Neville, to whose great-nephew Audley End passed in 1797 (see *Complete Peerage*, under Braybrooke). The portrait shows the subject as a youth—handsome, but neither thin nor brown. Perhaps the West Indian sun made him thus.

¹⁷ In the Braybrooke family archives (E.R.O., D/DBY O25), again preserved *via* Henry Neville. For his governorship, see Sir R. H. Schomburgk, *History of Barbadoes* (1848), pp. 308-9.

¹⁸

¹⁹ Bodl. lib., North MSS., b.13, f.344.

²⁰ Bodl. lib., North MSS., d.1.

²¹ *Dictionary of National Biography*.

²² E.R.O., D/DW E1/9. At the same time he suffered a recovery of the Epping and Gosfield estates, presumably as a partial bar to the entail.

²³ Bodl. lib., North MSS., b.2, f.2. Dated 4 September 1712.

²⁴ Abstract in D/DW E1/9.

²⁵ *Dictionary of National Biography*, under Dudleya North.

²⁶ Bodl. lib., North MSS., b.2.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, b.24, f.76.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, a.7, f.34.

²⁹ *Dictionary of National Biography*.

³⁰ *Complete Peerage*, under Kingston.

³¹ Bodl. lib., North MSS., c.73.

- ³² *Ibid.*, a.7, f.119.
- ³³ E.R.O., D/DW E4.
- ³⁴ Bodl. lib., North MSS., c.73 *passim* for all these particulars.
- ³⁵ *Ibid.*, b.14, f.39.
- ³⁶ *Ibid.*, b.14, f.296.
- ³⁷ *Ibid.*, b.23, f1.
- ³⁸ E.R.O., D/DW E4. Lord Guilford had assumed the title of North and Guilford on the death of his cousin.
- ³⁹ *loc. cit.*
- ⁴⁰ E.R.O., D/DW T2.
- ⁴¹ E.R.O., D/DW T3.
- ⁴² E.R.O., D/DW T14.
- ⁴³ E.R.O., D/DW T14.
- ⁴⁴ In 1782 Syllas Neville passed through Epping on his way from Norwich to London. 'I like the situation of Epping Place, the old seat of Mr. Conyers', he wrote in his diary, 'better than that of Coppedhall, where he at present lives' (*The Diary of Syllas Neville*, ed. B. Cozens-Hardy, 1950, p. 299). The entry eighteen months later (p. 325) likewise couples Epping Place with Copped Hall. The prestige of the house as a private mansion obviously lingered. See also Mr. Rickword's interesting paper in the *Essex Review*, liv, 164-6, "Epping Place Inn".
- ⁴⁵ B. Winstone, *The Ancient Chapel of St. John the Baptist at Epping* (1885), p. 61.
- ⁴⁶ E.R.O., D/DW E5/16-18.
- ⁴⁷ E.R.O., Q/RLv 36.
- ⁴⁸ E. J. Erith, *Woodford, Essex, 1600-1836* (1950), pp. 66-7.
- ⁴⁹ *Essex Review*, liv, p. 165, for this and the Directories cited.
- ⁵⁰ E.R.O., D/DW E13.
- ⁵¹ *Essex Review*, liv, p. 165.
- ⁵² Kelly's *Directory* (1874) shows two people with different names, both of Epping Place, while the *Directory* of 1870 shows only one name with this address. The Ordnance Survey 6 inches to 1 mile Map surveyed 1873-4 shows the house divided. The name Winchelsea House for one part of the house, harking back to its beginning, first appears in the *Directory* for 1912, and is not there in 1906.

EXCAVATION OF A BRONZE AGE BARROW AT DEDHAM, ESSEX

By BRYAN P. BLAKE.

THE barrow is situated three-quarters of a mile south-east of the village of Dedham on the lower road to Manningtree.¹ Dedham, six and a half miles north-east of Colchester, is on the River Stour, fourteen miles from where it enters the sea at Harwich. The barrow is at 24.7 feet Ordnance Datum on the south side of the valley, two hundred yards above the edge of the flood plain, which is here three-quarters of a mile wide at 15 feet O.D.

The excavation was proposed by the Colchester Archæological Group, who promised their support. The writer directed it for the Colchester and Essex Museum. The site had been first identified as a crop mark in sugar beet during August 1957. After an extremely dry spell, a brief shower imparted enough moisture to the crop overlying the circular ditch and central feature for the beet to stand upright. The undisturbed subsoil, glacial gravel, lying between a foot and fifteen inches from the surface, had drained the topsoil over the rest of the site so quickly that the beet had flagged and drooped to emphasise the differential growth of the crop. This was so evident that a horseshoe shape within a circle was clearly seen in the sugar beet from the road immediately to the south.

Little is known of the history of the site. An old map shows Crab Meadow, in which the site lies, included in a strip of arable land between the water meadows of the flood plain and the heavily wooded crest and upper slopes of the valley side.² These woods are shown as grazing ground for swine, a use now only indicated by the name Pig Lane for the track which runs through the remnant of the wood. Until 1914 no suspicions were entertained of the existence of a barrow here, but in January of that year Messrs. James Carter & Co., excavated a pit for gravel on the low rise which forms a pronounced eminence on the valley side and is a false horizon from points of the valley floor. From this pit were recovered a complete cinerary urn (Fig. 7), found inverted over cremated remains, and other urns, which were destroyed and are now all lost.³

This find lent colour to the theory that the circular crop mark was

the outer ditch of a barrow and the horseshoe mark some indication of a central feature. This site is presumably the sole survivor of a small group of barrows situated on the patch of gravel which causes the rise above the adjacent and underlying clay.

Excavation.

The only sketch plan of the site initially available showed the circle as having a diameter of fifty feet but did not indicate its position with relation to permanent features—the road and adjacent gravel pit. It was referred instead to another crop mark which was ten yards from the circle and formed a rectangle running into the field from the road. The only suitable method of excavating the circular mark was by the use of a grid—eight foot squares with two foot baulks, which covered the area in which the barrow must lie. Trenches were opened along the side of some of the squares in order to locate the ditch. Later in the excavation it was found that where features were cut into the gravel, but not the sand, a good indication could be obtained of underlying features by the use of a slender steel probe and a considerable amount of perseverance. Two of the baulks were left until the final stage of the excavation and provided a means of access to, and sections across, the excavated area. The area finally opened comprised a strip forty feet wide and eighty feet long running north-south across the site. Extensions were made to the east to clarify the relationship and shape of the ditches on that side. Investigation to the south was made only in the one square shown on the plan but beyond that the probe indicated a further depression. Trenches to the west and north are not shown on the plan although the section of the latter trench is figured in order to illustrate the unusual shape of the ditch.⁴

The diameter of the barrow was found to be half as much again as that shown on the sketch of the crop marks. This meant that the site was twice the supposed area. The estimate of labour needed to open up the proposed area was thus entirely disrupted, and had it not been for an unexpected source of labour found at this stage, the excavation would have been attended by far less success. This assistance came from the Royal Eastern Counties Hospital in the form of teams of patients from Turner Village, Colchester, to do the heavier work. They were patients used to working outdoors in 'gangs' who volunteered to work on the site with their male nurse. It was encouraging to see the interest shown by some of these men in the work and the effort they made to understand it. The fullest possible praise is given to these helpers and to the nurses for their untiring work, and grateful thanks to the Hospital Management Committee and Staff whose permission and co-operation made it possible.

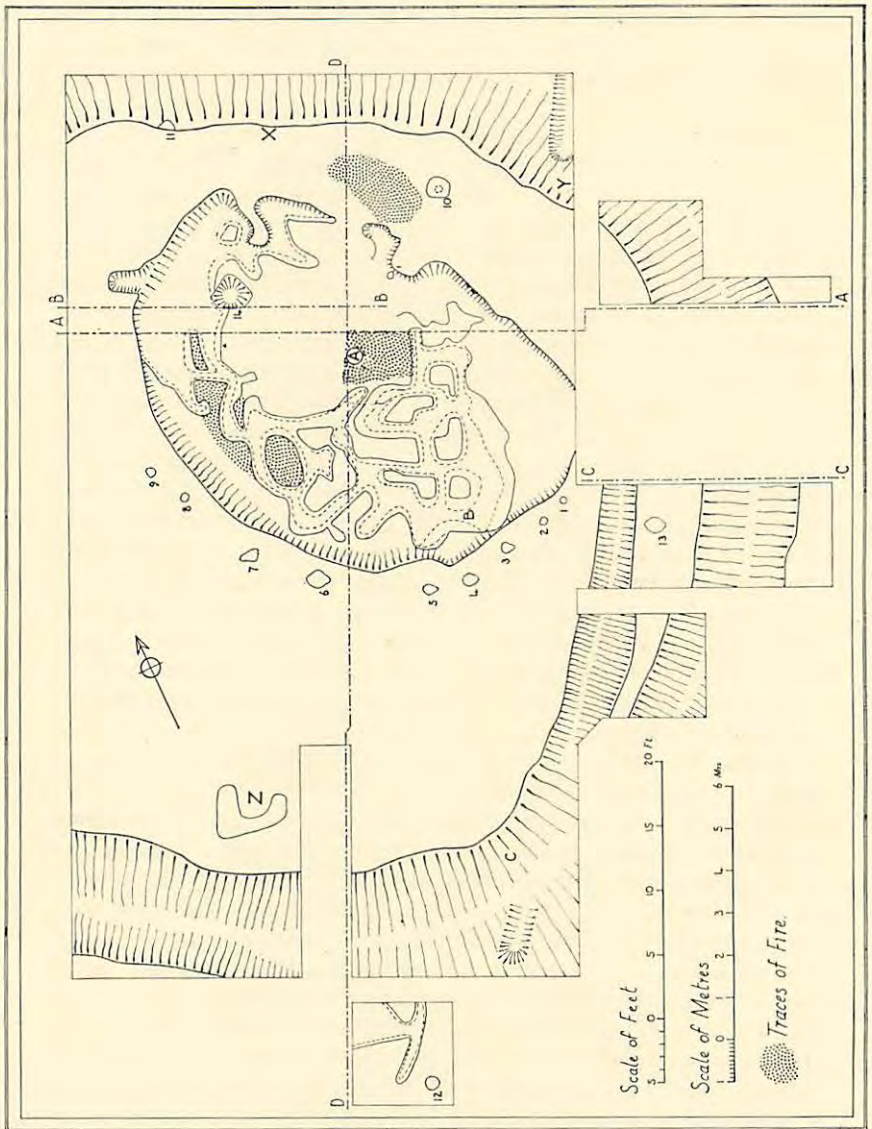


FIG. A. PLAN OF BRONZE AGE BARROW SITE, DEDHAM.

For the benefit of the Colchester Archæological Group and to make the most use of the casual labour on which the excavation had to rely, work was done on Sundays, Mondays and Tuesdays, evenings included. The operation covered the three months July to September. The weather for the last month was bad and the wind and rain had a very detrimental effect on the site, rendering the cleaning and photography extremely difficult.

*The Ditches.*⁵

The main barrow ditch was not a regular circle. The north-south diameter was approximately 68 feet, but that at right angles was elongated by an estimated 5 to 10 feet. The section on the west was found to have a slope cut into the subsoil (sand at this point) which could have been the internal side of the ditch but had no return slope on the other side. Instead the natural sand appeared to continue almost horizontally at the lower level.

The ditch at most points on the south and east was easy to identify. It was cut into the natural gravel, in one place 3 feet 6 inches deep and 11 feet wide. Although far from regular it was almost consistent in section and bore no relation to the shape of the ditch on the north and west sides as described above.

At a point in the south-east quadrant the ditch was crossed and its filling cut into by a straight ditch which had no direct connection with the barrow. It is shallow and 'V' shaped to the north with the other end deeper and wider. No pottery or finds came from it to indicate its date or purpose.

In the ditch filling on the north side was found much Iron Age 'A' pottery, probably originating from two hearths made in the partly silted-up ditch. One, at 'X', was merely a patch of ash with an associated area of hard-trampled soil and a few sherds of Iron Age 'A' ware. The other, at 'Y', was a substantial stone-edged feature. A pot had been smashed here, in cooking presumably, as sherds of it were found in the fire and scattered within a few feet (Fig. 4). Similar and other sherds of Early Iron Age 'A' ware were also found nearby. The fire had been constructed in a depression edged by banks of hard-packed soil which appeared to encircle it almost like a bench. It was broken at one point to the west, perhaps to provide a draught for the fire. Near here fragments of an Iron Age triangular loom weight were found.

Above this level, in fact within six inches of it, were found sherds of Iron Age 'C' wares and only a little higher, the odd sherd of Romano-British pottery and Medieval sherds and tile. The only sherd from the south side of the ditch was the rim (Fig. 5). The Food Vessel

(Fig. 3), found at 'C'⁶ at a depth of 2 feet 4 inches contained a little ash and a number of fire-reddened pebbles with a small flint scraper.

Outside the main ditch to the south, indications were given by the probe of a narrow depression which would be approximately the width of a ditch similar to that excavated. Extension was commenced in this direction, but due to the reason given above only one square could be opened. This contained posthole 12,⁷ near which there were shallow depressions cut into the gravel. No finds were made in this square.

Central Area.

This was a depression excavated into the sand and gravel approximately 36 feet by 26 feet with its longer axis north-west by south-east. The edge on the south and west was steep and the floor almost horizontal. Its appearance was complicated by the fact that the gravel bed into which it had been dug was not horizontal but sloped down to the north-east of the site. This gave a steep edge averaging 15 inches in height on the south-west side but only a barely discernible demarking ridge of sand on the north-eastern side. The confusion had been emphasised by the thinning out of the stratum of gravel to the north-east and its replacement by fine sand. Upon the surface of this depression there was a thin spread of gravel upon the sand, possibly left as a floor; it was absent on the northern side adjacent to the ditch.

The tracery of channels which cut the thin gravel floor and the underlying sand to a depth of 6 to 12 inches proved most puzzling.⁸ The soil within them was identical with that above the adjacent gravel floor. The channels had cut into and removed completely traces of burning in the south-west portion. Their exact section was impossible to determine but was most probably 'U'-shaped. In none of them was there any trace of the wood or darker soil which might be expected to survive if they had served as slots for a timber foundation or supports of any kind. It has not been possible to find any sort of order or pattern in them whatever. The conclusion is, therefore, that they represent the path, possibly the home, of some burrowing animal who succeeded in finding this patch of soft sand in which to dig after having been thwarted at other points by the gravel so near the surface. The mark at 'Z'⁷ is similar to those at the lower level of the central area but is in the gravel only 15 inches below the surface and may well mark an animal's unsuccessful attempt to reach softer material.

At points in this area traces of burning were found. That on the northern side between the central feature and the ditch⁹ is immediately on the natural sand and shows the limit of excavation by the barrow builders. Above this a bank has been built up, first layers 7 and 8 of

PLATE I.



GENERAL VIEW OF SITE, LOOKING EAST, SHOWING CENTRAL AREA AND
ENCLOSING DITCH.

sand with some soil, then several layers of stoney soil or gravel (layers 4, 5 and 6). South of these was layer 9—brown, sticky, humus-type soil having in it traces of a whiter soil. This was thought to be a layer originally containing turves.

The post holes 1 to 9¹⁰ which edged the central feature, varied in depth and size. Few of them were definite in depth as after a foot or so they reached the sand which was so stained by the water draining through the soil content of the post hole above, that the bottom of the hole was seldom perceptible. In all cases, though, the post holes continued at least through the thickness of the gravel. Three possible post holes were noticed at the edge of the ditch—10, 11 and 13, but were so indefinite that they remained suspect, as did 14. This was well in the central feature and the only hole within it in the least like a post hole.

Areas of Disturbance.

In the extreme north-east of the excavated area a deep hole had been dug into the subsoil. Its purpose was not evident and its date only became clear when a sherd of seventeenth century Delft ware, near the bottom, proclaimed it to be of comparatively recent date.

The straight ditch in the south-east has already been described and was of unknown date, though certainly after the construction of the main ditch.

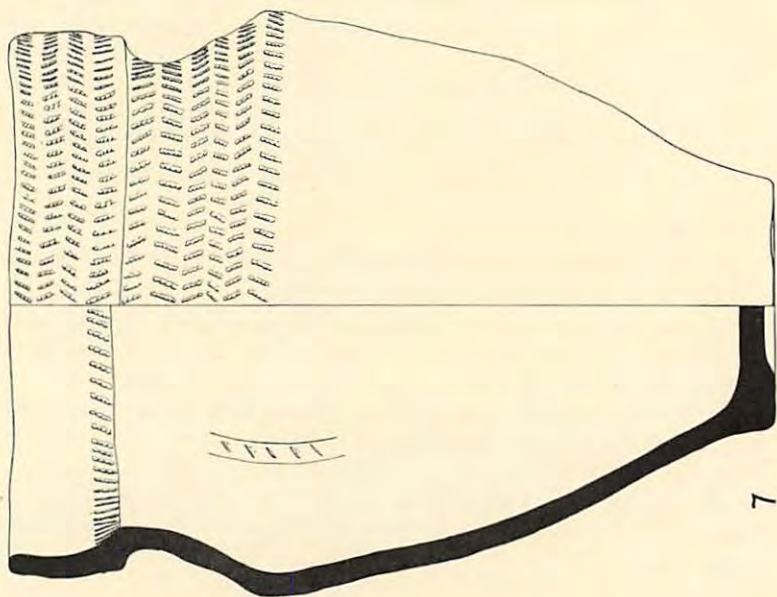
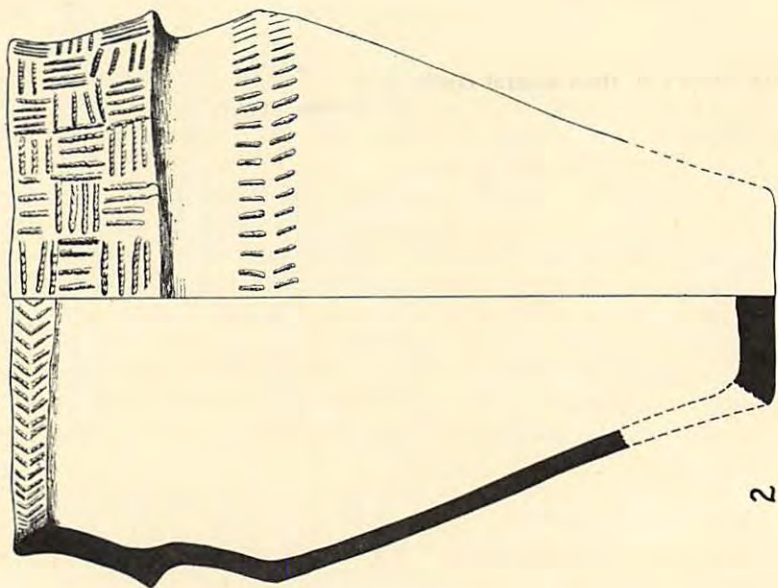
The only other evident sign of disturbance was within the central feature where a shaft had been dug down to the natural subsoil, presumably with the intention of investigating the mound. This interference, within 5 feet of the primary interment, was of unknown date.

Layer 17.

This occurred within the central area to the east of the primary interment. It had an area of about 4 feet square and appeared gradually to fade out rather than have a definite edge apart from its west side, which is shown in section A - A. It had the appearance of a surface but no trace of any structure was found in association with it. It post dates the initial period of the barrow as it is above layer 16, which seals the primary interment. The layer contained small Bronze Age sherds and one minute one that may possibly be Iron Age 'A'. Apart from these indications it is impossible to give any date to this feature. It is assumed to be of no importance with regard to the barrow itself.

Interments.

The Primary Interment had been placed at the eastern end of a



FIGS. 2 AND 7. DEDHAM BARROW EXCAVATION. SECONDARY BURIAL URN (Fig. 2) AND URN FOUND (1914) IN ADJACENT GRAVEL PIT (Fig. 7). Scale $\frac{1}{4}$.

gravel platform which occurred within the central feature. At the edge of this gravel and 4 feet beyond was a spread of burning up to 7 inches thick. When this was removed, the base of a vessel was discovered within a circle of black ash and reddened sand. The pit in which it was inverted had been filled with black ash. The cremated remains were embedded in clean sand within the urn but whether by accident or design a handful of bone and ash lay to one side of the rim of the urn and slightly below it in the black ash. These were complementary to the remains in the urn which appeared to be those of a young girl.¹¹

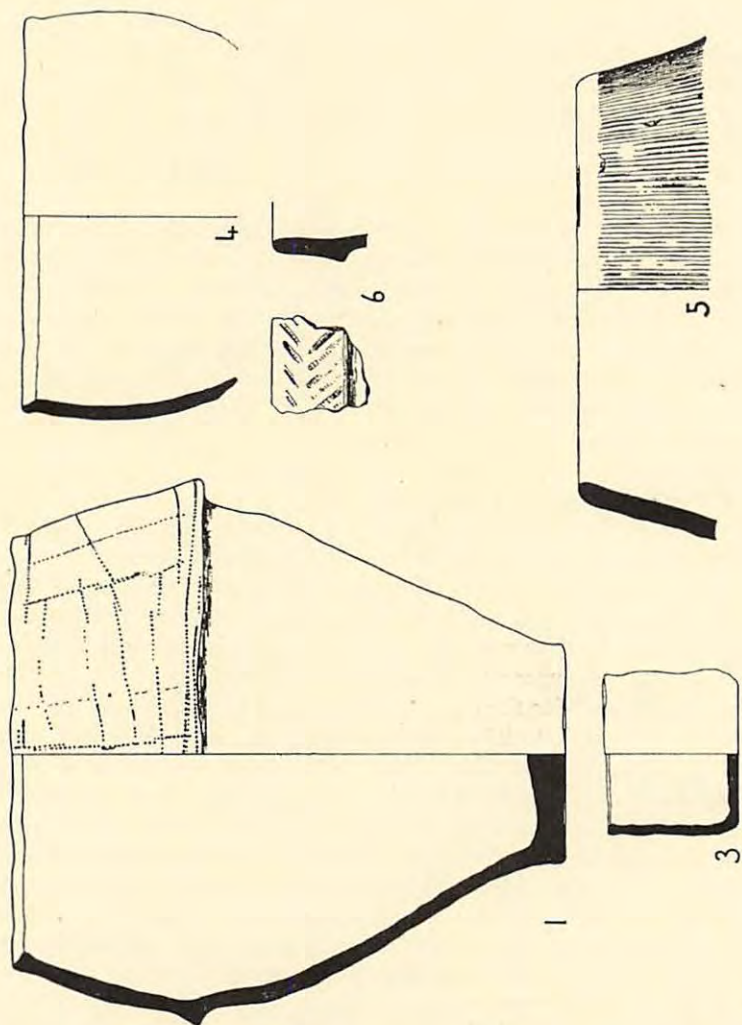
The Secondary Interment at 'B' was found within 9 inches of the floor of the central feature, the urn inverted, badly smashed and incomplete. The remains inside the vessel had been placed in a container of some fabric, probably leather or cloth. They were packed together, extending down one side of the urn, as if the bag had flattened all along the side of the vessel under pressure of the soil which had filled the remainder of the urn. These remains were of a mature male.¹²

Pottery.

Fig. 1.—The Primary Urn is an Overhanging Rim Bipartite Urn—Abercromby type 1. It is a well developed example with the shoulder barely discernable. The pattern is of alternate zones of horizontal and vertical lines, but with little precision or regularity of execution. The lines run obliquely and an occasional line disrupts the pattern for no apparent reason other than the potter's whim. The instrument used for the pattern is a comb of 14 points having a total width of $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches. The fabric is soft black ware, its colour varying in shades of brown from light to dark except for patches where it is smoke-blackened right to the rim. The surface has been smoothed.¹³

Fig. 2.—The Secondary Urn, of the same class, is tripartite and should be earlier. The rim is narrow ($2\frac{3}{4}$ inches compared with that of the other urn which is $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches deep on a much squatter vessel). The neck is a well-marked cavetto shape, the shoulder angle well defined and angular. This vessel is coarser in fabric and finish than urn 'A'. The soft fabric is dark brown with an outside colour of red-brown. The ornament, in a chequer pattern of alternate squares of horizontal and vertical lines, is cord impressed in lengths varying between 1 inch and $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches. This vessel is also much blackened by fire.¹⁴

Fig. 3.—The small Food Vessel is of Abercromby type 6. The ware is black with the outside oxidised in firing to light brown. All these vessels appear to have been inverted for firing as the



FIGS. 1, 3, 4, 5, AND 6. POTTERY FOUND IN DEDHAM BARROW, INCLUDING PRIMARY URN (Fig. 1) AND SMALL FOOD VESSEL (Fig. 3). Scale $\frac{1}{4}$.

interiors have remained black. The tempering material of the Food Vessel is coarse white fragments which appear to be of crushed stone, very hard and in some cases projecting from the body to give it a white-speckled look. The major portion of this vessel was recovered though it was in fragments.

Fig. 4.—The vessel from hearth 'Y' comprised five sherds, three of which combine to give the portion drawn. The ware is a hard grey, well levigated material tempered with white grit which is visible externally. In appearance red-brown, it is fire-blackened to the rim in patches. It is hand-made but well finished.

Two sherds from the ditch on the south side combine to give Fig. 5. It is hand-made of soft black ware, and the outside colour is buff-brown. The ornament is a coarse vertical combing. The fabric one would date at Bronze Age but the unusual rim form and decoration would seem to place it within the Early Iron Age.

Fig. 6.—Rim sherd of a Tripartite Overhanging Rim Urn, from the central feature—on layer 20, 10 inches to east of Section D - D.

Fig. 7.—This Overhanging Rim Tripartite Urn was found in 1914 in the gravel pit adjacent to the barrow (vide ref. (3)). The fabric is gritless and fired to a light red-brown colour.

Conclusion.

No definite reconstruction of the Barrow can be advanced that satisfactorily fits all the facts. The most that may be done is to suggest a possible construction, pointing out the factors that do not completely accord with the theory.

The intrusion into the central area¹⁵ is evidence that there was at some time a mound over the primary interment, and that presumably it was centred on the primary as the excavation had so nearly hit the correct spot. The theory is therefore advanced that a small mound, local to the primary interment, was situated within a depression excavated into the natural gravel and sand. Layer 9, Section B-B, Fig. B, may well be the remnant of the turf retaining wall of the mound which has collapsed into the surrounding depression and layer 13 (same section) may be the remnant of a stone layer capping the mound. The whole would be surrounded by the wide ditch which almost impinges on the central area on the northern side.

In order to provide an edge to this depression on the north side equal to that on the south it is likely that a retaining wall of turves would be built to the required height. If this were backed by layers of soil it would also produce an internal slope for this side of the ditch. These measurements would, of course, be necessary as the soft sand on this side of the barrow would not retain

the shape of structures cut into them. The presence of this sand must have been quite unknown to the builders, whose choice of site was probably determined by adjacent barrows. The individual layers of bank and retaining wall have been mentioned above (see 'The Central Area' and Section D-D, Fig. B). The collapse of layer 9 and its spread into the centre would occasion the further slipping of the abutting layers both into the centre (south end of layer 5) and into the ditch (north end of layer 4).

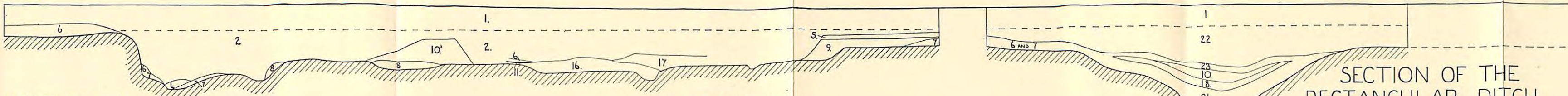
Possible support for this theory is the finding of Iron Age 'A' sherds in the material from the bank which has slipped into the central area. Below these was found Bronze Age pottery. It is probable that the former sherds arrived here in the activity on the site in Early Iron Age times, which left the hearths at 'X' and 'Y' and doubtless added much, either deliberately or accidentally, to the infilling of both ditch and central area. A point against this theory is the presence of the Secondary Urn just inside the lip of the central area almost on the level of the natural. It is difficult to know how enough soil could have silted into this part in the short time that can have elapsed between primary and secondary interments, to have covered the urn, if, on the other side of the central area, we reason that only a small amount of accumulation had taken place by a date in the Early Iron age. It is possible, though no trace was noticed in the section, that a small mound of soil was made over this urn. The only other pottery from this side of the central feature was also of Bronze Age date.

The post-holes (1-9) edge the central area and may have formed a wind-break or palisade. It would have been quite possible for these to have continued on the northern side of the central area, set into the top of the artificial bank. All trace of them would probably have disappeared in the subsequent movement of the material and its disturbance by the plough, except where it has continued down to the natural sand (Post-hole 10 may be such).

Any theory of a large mound is fruitless because of the close juxtaposition of the primary interment to the outside ditch. It may be argued that the outer ditch is not contemporary with the primary feature at all, but dug at some later date. This may be so, but the sections nowhere suggested it, even if they do not entirely disprove it. The pottery from the lowest levels of this ditch are Bronze Age, apart from one minute sherd which is possibly Early Iron Age and is probably at the low level because of animal action. Two of the areas of burning in the central area are quite superficial, mainly traces of ash with a few reddened pebbles, and may be supposed to denote fires at the time of construction of the barrow or at the cremation or interment ceremonies. The other area of burning is of a different category. The

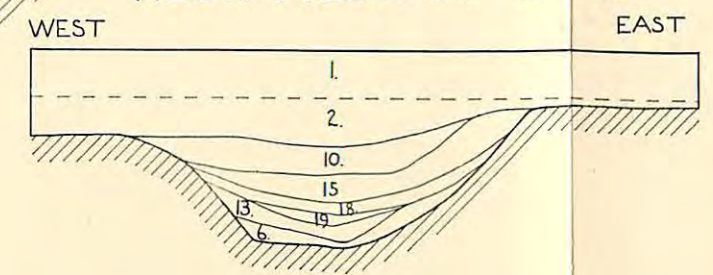
SECTION A-A

WEST



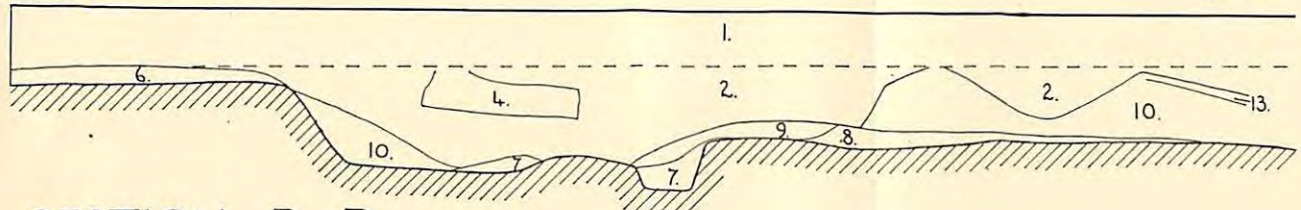
EAST

SECTION OF THE RECTANGULAR DITCH



SECTION B-B

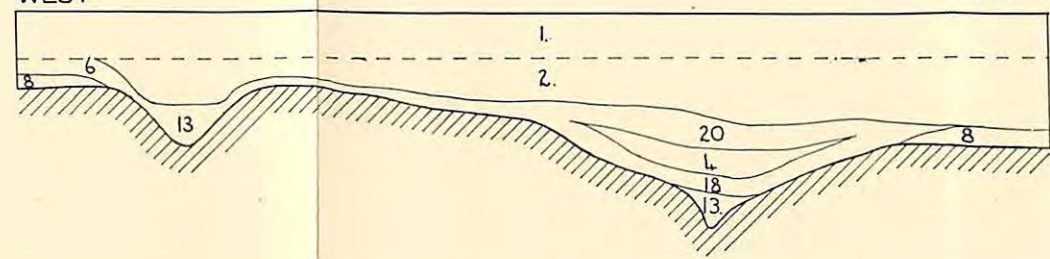
WEST



EAST

SECTION C-C

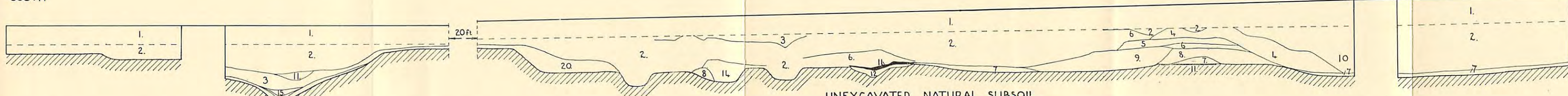
WEST



EAST

SECTION D-D

SOUTH



NORTH

UNEXCAVATED NATURAL SUBSOIL

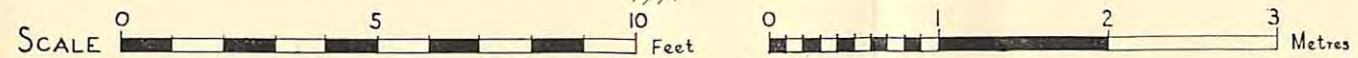


FIG. B. KEY TO LAYER NUMBERS OF SECTIONS.

- 1. Grey Plough soil.
- 2. Brown soil, few stones.
- 3. Lighter brown soil with small stones.
- 4. Sandier soil with many stones.
- 5. Large stones (up to 2 inches diameter) from gravel.

- 6. Gravel.
- 7. Sand.
- 8. Sand with some soil.
- 9. Brown soil, clayish with white patches.
- 10. Darker soil with some stone.
- 11. Blackened sand and ash.

- 12. Sand reddened by heat.
- 13. Very stoney layer.
- 14. Looser light, sandy soil with small stones.
- 15. Very dark grey soil.
- 16. Soil, sand, reddened pebbles and much ash.
- 17. Hard-packed layer surfaced with clay-like soil.

- 18. Stoneless fine soil—silt?
- 19. Similar to 13 but darker.
- 20. Nearly all stone, almost gravel.
- 21. Sandy soil with small stones.
- 22. Dark brown soil with some stone.
- 23. Dark soil with very small stones.

heat here has been much more intense (layers 11 and 12 on section D-D), the sand reddened by extreme heat to a depth of 3 inches below the black sand and ash.

An unusual feature of the site is the extreme asymmetry of it. (No feature is circular.) No centres coincide or even fit comfortably within the other.

The site had been completely levelled in antiquity and does not appear at all in record or legend. It is even possible that the occupants of the adjacent Belgic site may have completed the natural levelling process.

For the identification and photography of the cropmark I am much indebted to Mr. F. A. Girling, F.S.A., of Ardleigh. The sketch plan which Mr. Girling made proved of extreme use later in the work and it was unfortunate that it could not have been consulted in the first instance. The owner of the land, Mr. H. J. Moorhouse, Jupes Hill Farm, Dedham, reported the discovery promptly and is to be congratulated for his enlightened attitude in relation to the site. Without his permission to excavate, provision of some equipment and co-operation in every way, including the 'filling-in' of the site, investigation on the same scale would have been impossible. His foreman, Mr. J. Jennings, and secretary, Mr. F. Thorne, provided assistance to the full, the latter digging in his spare time and becoming a keen and skilful worker. Praise must be given to many members of the Colchester Archæological Group who provided the initial labour force. Grateful thanks are also given to helpers, both local and otherwise, who assisted for varying periods. Their help, often unexpected, was therefore all the more valuable.

Of these people particular mention must be made of Miss Tessa Stratton, who gave invaluable assistance both on the site with recording, drawing, etc., and in transport of personnel and equipment to and from it. I am indebted to Dr. R. Bates for his assistance and report on the cremated remains (see Appendix 'A').

My grateful thanks are given to Prof. W. F. Grimes, M.A., V.P.S.A., Miss K. M. Richardson, M.A., F.S.A., Mr. N. Thomas, M.A., F.S.A., and Mrs. D. Williams, M.A., F.S.A., for their visits to the site and the helpful criticisms and suggestions they made. I am extremely grateful to Mr. M. R. Hull, M.A., F.S.A., Curator of Colchester and Essex Museum, for his advice, criticism and assistance at all stages of the excavation and particularly in the preparation of the report.

APPENDIX 'A'.

Urn A and under Urn A.

Bones human—no obvious animal bones. The majority of bones in

this Urn are from the right side of the body, with the exception of the heads of the two first metatarsals (right and left). The epiphyses of the upper end of the tibia, and of the olecranon fossa of the humerus have separated as thin plates of bone, and the tuberosity of the ischium which is well preserved, is smooth and shows little pitting. The epiphyses at the head of the femur are fragmented, but the angle of the neck is well shown.

The complete phalanx is very well preserved, and about half normal size.

The general conclusion is that these are the bones of a female child or young adolescent under the age of 18 years. Both hands and feet are very small—hands size 5 in gloves or even less.

The bones below Urn A appear to be human, but are largely fragmented pieces of ribs and long bones and skull. The upper end of the left femur can be roughly fitted together. The coronoid process of the lower jaw can be distinguished, and also an incisor tooth. There is no reason why these bones should not be part of the same skeleton as in Urn A—in fact, the bones under Urn A are complementary to the bones in Urn A. From their size and development, they appear to be parts of the same skeleton, and this can be seen by comparing the two femurs.

Urn B—Secondary Burial.

Greatly fragmented mass of skull and long bones—petrous portion of temporal bone (base of skull)—? adult man—part of base of skull with part of foramen magnum adult man—and a large number of other parts of the skull, including part of an alveolar margin and three teeth. Also a miscellaneous collection—parts of vertebrae and small bones of hands and feet, including two very well preserved terminal phalanges of an adult (? man).

R. M. BATES, F.R.C.S.

THE RECTANGULAR ENCLOSURE AT DEDHAM, ESSEX.

Advantage was taken of the resources available on the site for the excavation of the Bronze Age Barrow adjacent (see above) to section the rectangular crop mark discovered with that of the barrow. The mark was recorded as 62 yards by 75 yards, the longer measurement extending into the field. The fourth side lies either under, or on the other side of, the road.

Pottery was found in quantity in the narrow 2 foot trench cut. It was of Iron Age 'C' date—Belgic extending into the first century A.D. With it were found animal bones and a Roman brooch of the period A.D. 50 lasting into Flavian times.

Further work is to be undertaken to section the ditch at other points. Work in the middle of the area would be fruitless as there is no indication where the buildings, if any, stood.

¹ 1 inch Ordnance Survey Map. Sheet 52 Nat. Grid. Ref. 067327. 6 inch Ordnance Survey Map (Essex) n XIX S.W. (1925 edition).

² *Dedham in History (Frontispiece Map)*, by Canon G. H. Rendall.

³ *C.M.R.* 1916, p. 9; *Essex County Standard*, 31 Jan. 1914, *Clacton Times*, 24 Jan. 1914. The original urn is with Carters Tested Seeds Ltd., Raynes Park, London, who have given permission for the publication of Fig. 7. Replica in Colchester and Essex Museum, No. 399.16.

⁴ See Section D-D, north end.

⁵ See Plan, Fig.

⁶ See Plan, Fig.

⁷ See Plan.

⁸ See Plate.

⁹ See layer 11, northernmost of two layers numbered such in section D-D, Fig.

¹⁰ See Plan.

¹¹ See Appendix A, urn A.

¹² See Appendix A, urn B.

¹³ The best parallel for this vessel in shape and pattern of decoration (though it is executed in cord impress) also in fabric and smoothed surface, was found at Mistley, Essex, in 1912 and is now in the Colchester and Essex Museum, No. 263212. *C.M.R.* 1912, 13, p. 10, pl. 1.

Many Middle Bronze Age cinerary urns have been found at Alphamstone, Essex, and most of these are very similar to the Dedham vessel. All the vessels from Alphamstone are in the Colchester and Essex Museum, Nos. 1038.41.05, 1744-7.09. *C.M.R.*s., 1905-6, p. 16, pl. 1; 1908-9, p. 9, pl. 1; 1906-7, p. 7, pl. 1.

There are at least 33 Overhanging Rim urns with point-toothed comb-impressed decoration from points as far afield as the Isle of Wight and Eire.

¹⁴ Overhanging Rim urns with multiple twisted cord chequer pattern on the collar are known from at least two other sites—Bincombe Hewish Barrow 42, Dorset, and Goodmanham Barrow LXXXVI.

¹⁵ Layer 2 cutting into layer 10, sections A-A, B-B, fig. B.

SEVENTEENTH CENTURY POTTERY SITES AT HARLOW, ESSEX.

By E. F. NEWTON, M.Sc., and Mrs. E. BIBBINGS,
with a note by Canon JOHN L. FISHER, M.A., F.S.A.

INTRODUCTION.

THE building of the New Town of Harlow has brought to light more than one link with the past, not the least interesting of which is the site, or sites, of small pottery manufactories at Potter Street, a straggling village two miles south of Harlow crossroads.

It is known that potteries existed in the district for about four centuries, but from the end of the seventeenth little is known of the industry here. The present main road (A.11) is called New Street Way on a fifteenth century map; the old road in distinction to this is the present Latton Street which leads northward from Potter Street to Harlow and on the west side of the main road. This was the main thoroughfare of the attenuated Latton parish, and saw the earlier pottery activities, the later ones being more related to the A.11. On the completion of the building of the New Town, Latton Street will be demoted to a cycle track.

Note: Recently (1960) the Potter Street by-pass has been completed and opened. As this road was not planned when the excavating was done it has no significance in the topographical sections of this paper. The lane earlier known as Latton Street has now been reduced to a cycle track.

The district is characterised by a stiff brown boulder clay, left in the wake of retreating glaciers in the ice ages, and unlike other glacial clays of this part of the country has little admixture of fragments of chalk and other rocks brought from the north in its advance. The three or four square miles of which Potter Street is the centre shows no less than thirty-two small hollows holding water (Fig. 1).

Many of these are now filled in to allow of town planning, but those still existing, mainly outside the new town area, show significantly steep sides and it is difficult to account for them otherwise than to conclude that they were pits from which clay was dug to feed the local industry.

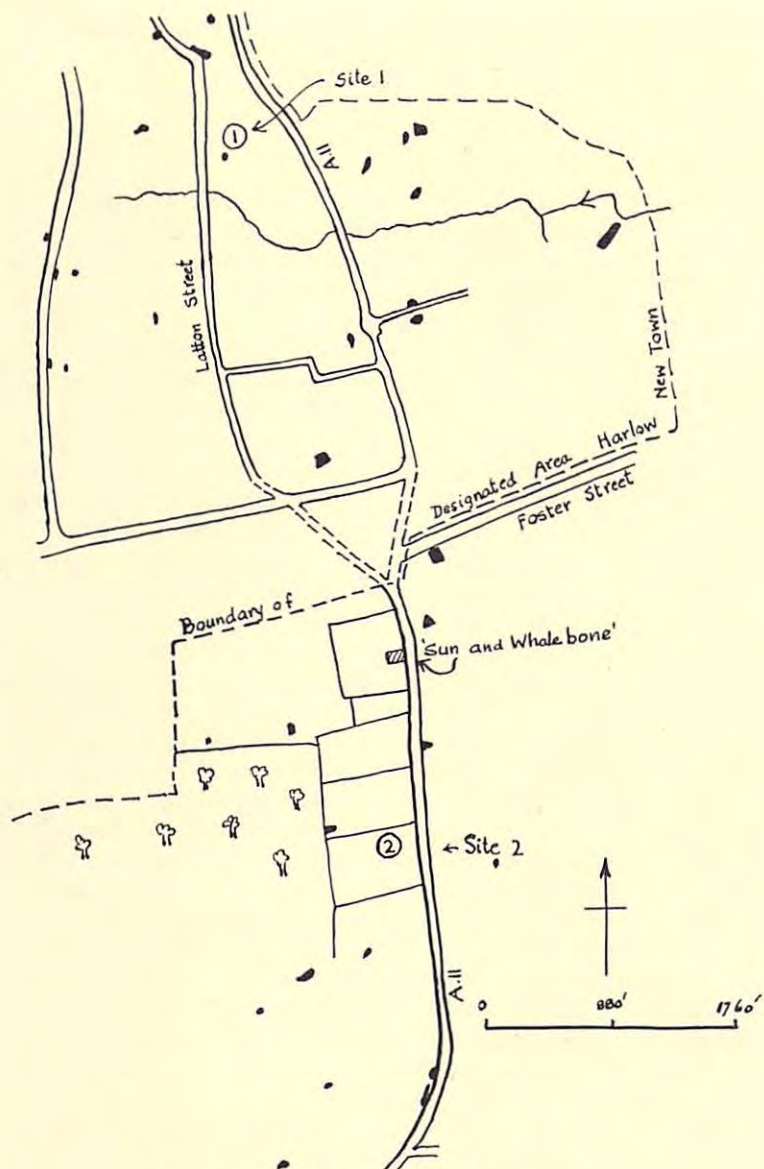


FIG. 1. SKETCH MAP OF POTTER STREET AREA.

Taken from O.S. Map 1941; scale 6 inches to one mile. Most of the area north and west of the boundary of the designated area of Harlow New Town has now been developed as a housing unit. Main field boundaries shown only south of this line. Small black areas are water patches (now filled in, in the developed area).

HARLOW POTTERS.

By CANON J. L. FISHER, M.A., F.S.A.

The southern end of Harlow, sloping up to Rye Hill, is furnished with an abundance of clay and fuel and may have been used by potters from remote times. Extensive remains of a Romano-British settlement have come to light, including quantities of pottery, mostly native wares, some probably of local production.

The earliest mention of a Harlow potter is probably the Assize Roll for 1254 where Cok le pottere de Pottereshull is named. Most of the documentary evidence for the early Harlow potters comes from the records of St. Edmund's Abbey; these include Ralph le Potter, who in 1302 held a piece of Parkland adjoining the abbey's wood above the common. A rental of 1360 mentions Richard Potter of Yeldenbragge; the Harlow court rolls make many references to potters and to Potter Street and in 1383 John Taillour of Foster Street is named as holding 'le Sharpet' (or sherd pit); his son, Thomas Taillour, held Pytfeld in 1391. It is known that the Taillours were potters. The Essex Session roll for 1572 mentions John Brett as a tile-maker in summer and tailor in winter, suggesting the seasonal occupation of clay workers. In 1399 John Clay was presented for having a dilapidated kiln; other mentions are William Bretagne, alias Potter, in 1410, William Potter, 1418, John Wright, potter, 1419, and William Clerk, potter, 1431.

The potters had their own small crofts and sometimes dug clay on their own land, but much of it came from the waste—commons and roadsides. Harlow Common was pitted with depressions and pond holes before ploughing in the second world war and old maps showed several long, narrow ponds beside the roadways. The Lords of the Manor appear to have allowed this, but insisted on infilling after use; e.g., between 1462 and 1469 John Thurgood, Simon Hoberd, John Morelle and William Manning were presented more than once for not infilling. In 1579 the court roll states 'Also they say that all the potters have dug pits in the place called le Comon and have not filled them up; therefore they are amerced (punished)'.

About this time there were frequent complaints that marl-heaps were left outside the dwellings, obstructing the highway.

The potters mentioned above all lived along Foster Street, Potter Street and Latton Street, three wards converging on the common close to the London road. Mannings seems to have been at the lower end of Potter Street, close to recent medieval pottery finds. In 1629 George Parker, potter, surrendered it by the heads of John Hunt and William Prentice, another potter.

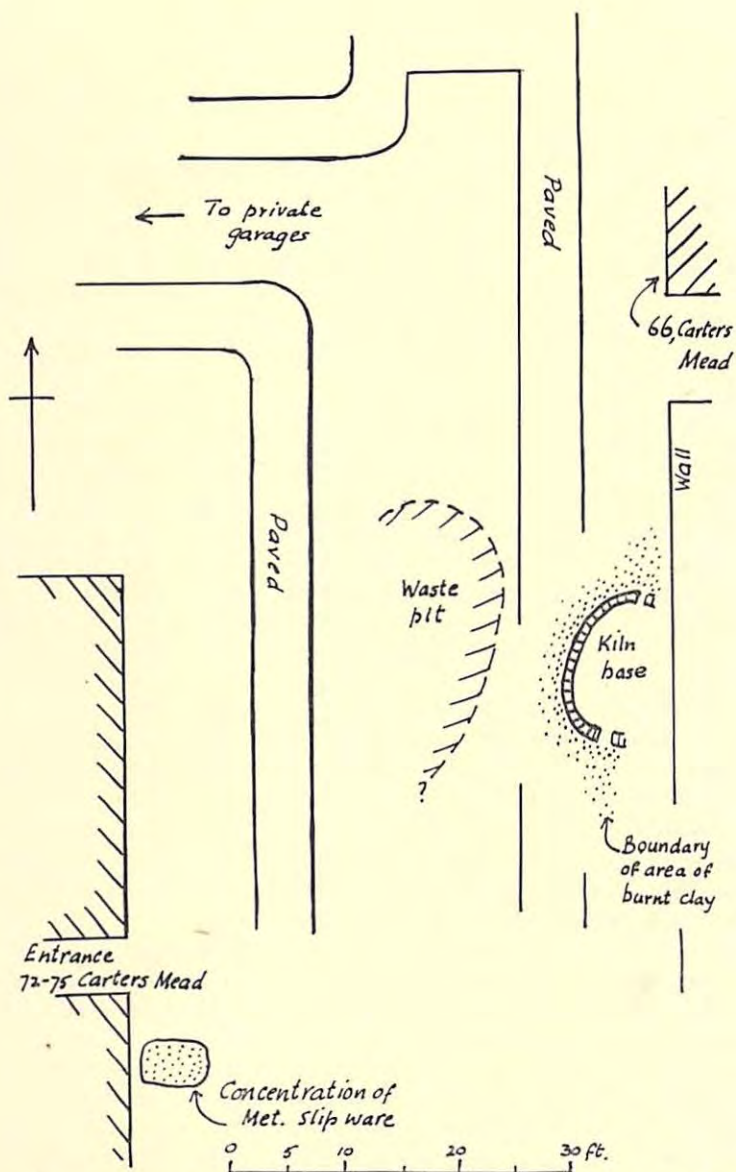


FIG. 2. PLAN OF KILN SITE AND CONCENTRATION OF METROPOLITAN SLIP WARE.

SITES AND POTTERS.

In 1562 James Altham acquired Mark Hall estate and his family lived there for 200 years. He was an ironmonger, Sheriff of London 1557, Member of Parliament, Alderman for Aldersgate, but after being fined 100 marks for contemptuous disobedience in Council in 1561, was deprived of his aldermanship and came to Mark Hall in Latton parish in 1562. Before choosing this spot he may have had in mind the suitability of the district for tile and brick making as well as pottery, though of course it is also likely that when he left London, he had no clear intention of linking his activities in a new area with his previous trading interests.

In 1616 Altham's grandson Edward made a map of the estate, showing the 'Pot House' on site 1 (Fig. 1), the tenant being William Prentice. The Prentice brothers, William and John, appear to have come to the district about 1600, the former with two children, William and Joan, and in 1602 Latton Church register has the entry 'John Prentice formed of John Prentice'. The family may be traced from the register until 1669. They probably came from St. Botolph, Bishopsgate, where also James Altham's wife had lived before marriage. Two references to the Prentices appear in the St. Botolph's register of baptisms:—

Feb. 25, 1587, Elizabeth, daughter of William Prentice.

Jan. 1, 1589, Robert, son of William Prentice.

Their father may also have been the father of William and John who came to Latton.

About 1660 outbreak of plague devastated the Prentice family, the last record of a death from this cause being in 1664, and it may be that site 1 closed down about this time. On the estate map of 1776, the site is occupied by a number of small cottages.

Site 2 (Fig. 1) is considered to be a later development as in 1629 a George Prentice married the daughter of the tenant of a smallholding in the extreme south of the estate. Again clay, brushwood and water were in plenty; in addition, this site was on the new road, rapidly becoming more important than Latton Street. It was also a freehold property and being in open country could expand in any direction for its best development. The holding was about 4 acres in extent with Mark Hall woods to west, the new road to east. Five ponds were marked on the 1616 map and on the 1776 map several more were shown as well as roadside diggings and a 'Pot House'. On the title map of 1840, all buildings had disappeared, but the clay diggings were larger, suggesting activity at the pottery for some time after 1776.



FIG. 3. KILN FOUNDATION, LOOKING NORTH.



FIG. 17. PUGGING PIT SOUTH OF LATTON STREET, SHOWING SOME PREPARED CLAY IN SITU. DIAGONAL LINE SHOWS SITE OF DRAIN.

INVESTIGATION OF SITE 1.

One sixth of a mile south of Latton village and immediately on the east side of Latton Street quantities of broken potsherds came to light when contractors scraped off topsoil preparatory to road-making. Sherds were known in this field before, but they now appeared in such abundance that it was difficult not to suppose that a kiln was nearby. This theory was supported by the fragments, for many were 'wasters', pieces of cracked, blistered or mis-shapen vessels, spoiled in the making.

Time was very limited, but during the winter and spring of 1952-3 excavations were undertaken to find the kiln site. For some time this was unsuccessful, but further evidence of a pottery was established by the discovery of a deep hollow below the topsoil which seemed to contain nothing but broken sherds. This hollow was about 20 feet by 10 feet with the longer axis lying north to south; it had probably been yet another pit from which clay had been dug, and later filled with waste material. The base was never reached as it flooded continually, but a great quantity of sherds was removed and these give a fair idea of the types of vessels thrown into it (Fig. 2).

As time was passing and it was still hoped to find the site of a kiln, spot holes were dug in likely places. In one of these about 30 feet south-south-west of the centre of the pit, a large quantity of slip-ware was found. Occasional pieces had already been collected, mainly from the surface, but here was a concentration of it and never deeper than 18 inches. Characteristic slip-wares were being made in the mid-seventeenth century at Wrotham and in Staffordshire. That found at Latton is a different type, called Metropolitan ware, in which the slip does not completely cover the body. It is known to occur round London, but its origin has not so far been ascertained. Though no undoubted wasters were found on this site, some turned up on site 2 to be described later, and there seems now no doubt that some Metropolitan ware was made in this district.

The site of the kiln itself was eventually found just east of the pottery-filled hollow and came to light when a further scraping of the surface was made by contractors. An area of red (burnt) clay was exposed, whose outline appeared to be parts of three interlocking ovals, in a north to south line, the outside ones being smaller than the central one. Below the rather thin layer of burnt clay, bricks were found and when these were followed with the trowel, an oval (or rather, half an oval) of bricks was laid bare, following the shape on the larger central area of red clay, but within its edge. The other half of the oval had by this time been destroyed by a sewer trench, but enough remained to

include two doorways, on north and south, which accounted for the small areas of burning; heat escaping from these openings had burnt the clay for some distance.

Only one course of bricks was found, the overlying ones probably having been removed for use elsewhere; it was fortunate that the bottom layer had been too deep in the soil to make it worth while to dig them out. The wall of the kiln as shown by this ground plan of bricks was 13 inches thick; the internal measurements of the reconstructed kiln were 12 feet by 9 feet; the north entrance was 18 inches and the southern 30 inches wide. The shape is not truly elliptical, but egg-shaped, the broader end being to the south. (Figs. 2 and 3.)

After clearing and brushing the bricks, the whole was photographed, after which the bricks were numbered and removed. At present the kiln base has been reconstructed but a permanent site for it has not yet been decided upon.

POTTERY FINDS AT LATTON STREET (SITE 1).

It is not easy to systematise the finds as so many varieties and types were found, but as far as possible they have been grouped as below.

Coarse domestic ware, vessels used about the home.

By far the greater part of the finds fit into this group, and they show a considerable variety of form. Pitchers with one or two handles and a lip are common and so are vessels for storing liquids with a bung hole near the base. The holes are generally $\frac{3}{4}$ inch across, the clay being thickened on the outside of the vessel, so that the greater friction will retain the bung. Both these forms are commonly 12 inches high and 10 inches across their widest parts, the shoulders. They are dark grey or near black in colour and the sides are surprisingly thin ($\frac{1}{8}$ inch) for such large pots. In the main they are unglazed, but some show a wash of lead glaze unevenly spread on the shoulder and on the interior surface of the base. Decoration is achieved either by slight groovings with a small tool in the vicinity of the greatest bulge or by broad curved brush strokes in white slip on the upper parts of the vessels.

Some of the vessels have thicker walls and here the firing seems to have been at greater temperature, the clay having vitrified into non-porous stone ware. Again, other of these domestic pots are bright orange-brown in colour, but generally speaking, the colour of exteriors seems to have been a matter of chance. The kilns were fired, no doubt, with brushwood, of which there was plenty in the district, and the whole process of firing was done with far less scientific application than today. For example, while many of the broken surfaces of sherds

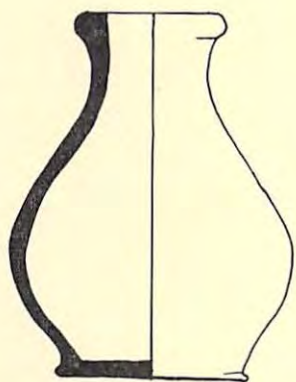


FIG. 4.

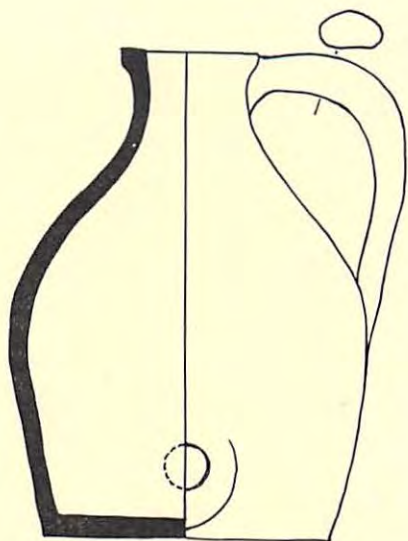


FIG. 5.

FIG. 4. UNGLAZED BISCUIT, PROBABLY INTENDED FOR SLIPPING BUT HANDLE
BROKEN OFF.

FIG. 5. KILN REJECT, NOW MIS-SHAPEN AT MOUTH AND SHOULDER.

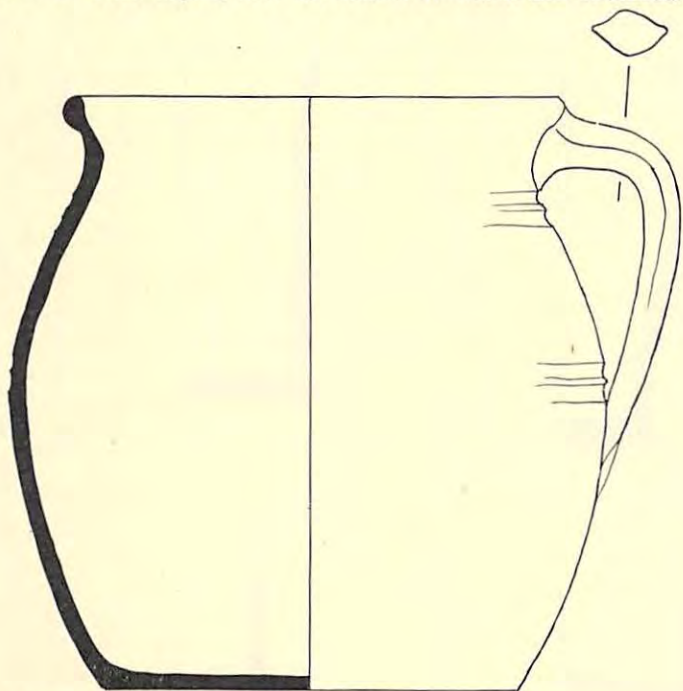


FIG. 6. GRAIN HOLDER; LIGHT TOOL MARKINGS AT TWO LEVELS;
ORIGINALLY TWO-HANDED. *Scale* $\frac{1}{4}$.

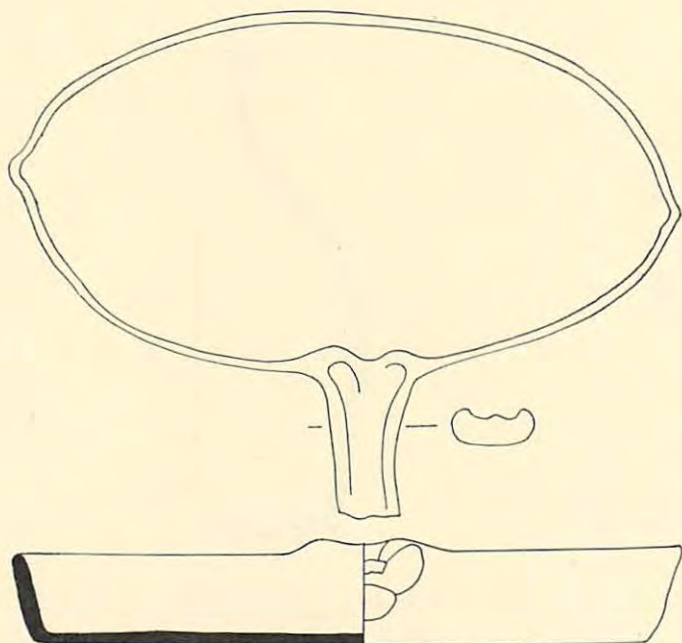


FIG. 7. OVAL DISH FOR COOKING FISH. *Scale* $\frac{1}{4}$.

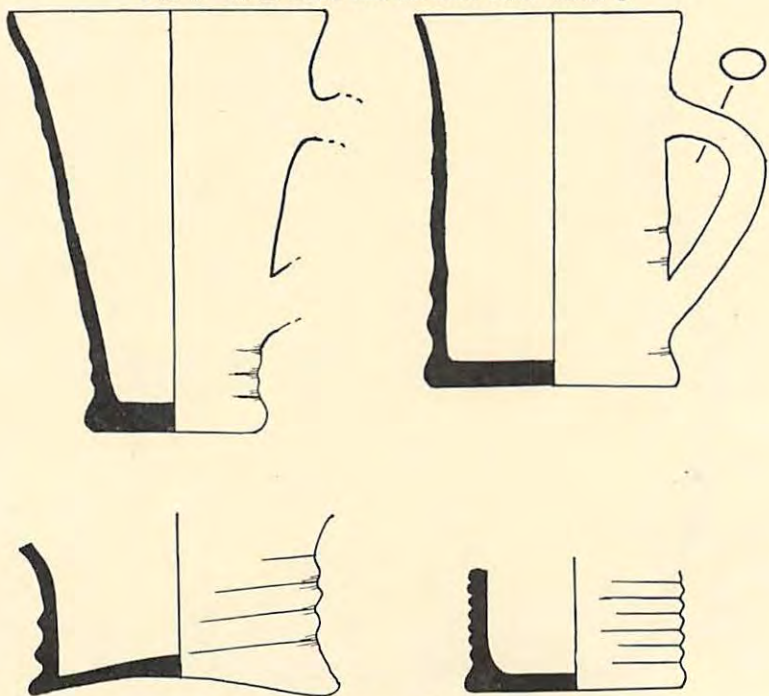


FIG. 8. BLACK GLAZED TYGS. *Scale* $\frac{1}{2}$.

show thorough firing throughout, the majority show a sandwich effect. The 'filling' of the sandwich is often red when the 'bread' is grey, but equally often, the interior is black and the exterior surfaces red. When clay is made sufficiently hot its iron content produces a red or brown colour, so long as enough oxygen is available. If air is limited during the firing, the iron remains in a reduced state and such parts fire grey. As fuel has to be added to the kiln at intervals, conditions of temperature and aeration in the firing chamber were probably not steady. Sometimes a black surface is purposely achieved by 'smoking' the chamber at the end of firing; in this case the surface colour can be

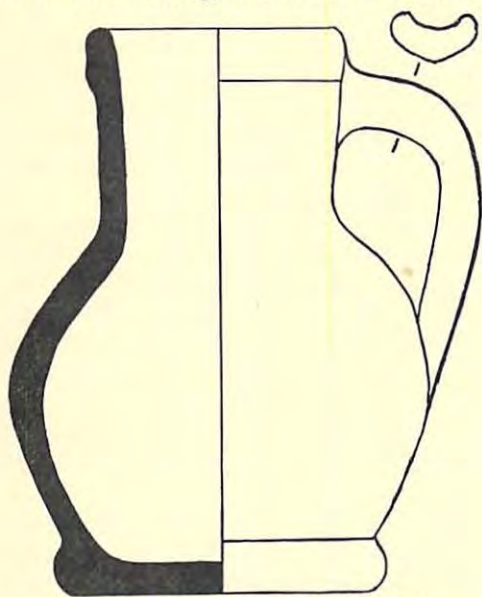


FIG. 9. BLACK GLAZED JUG. Scale $\frac{1}{2}$.

seen to be only skin deep and does not penetrate into the clay.

Less common than pitchers and water pots are large mixing or washing bowls fired red, 16 inches across and 6 inches high, with a wash of glaze in the bottom and part way up the sides of the interior. Often this glaze did not reach the required temperature, as it remained dull, yellowish-green wash. An oval dish with the same unfired glaze, 12 inches by 6 inches and 2 inches high, appears to have been a dish for cooking fish. There is a lip at one end, and a scar where a handle was attached halfway along one side; the handle was short and stumpy. Such a vessel might have been shaped by hand, but ribbing on the sides suggests that it was made on the wheel, a diamond shaped

strip of clay cut out of the base, and the rest squeezed into an oval shape. Typical coarse-ware vessels are shown in Figs. 4 - 7.

Black Glazed Ware.

Scattered over the surface and found also in the deep hollow is a small proportion of rather thin, highly glazed black sherds. The usual form indicates a beaker or 'tyg' and bases are commonest, being stouter. The sides frequently show horizontal ribbing especially near the base, which often widens so that the narrowest part of the vessels would appear to have been about one third of the total height above the base. Generally the glaze is found inside as well as out, and whilst usually a good, rich black, brown and green-black are also seen. Handles put on obliquely, varied in number, the smallest tygs having only one, larger ones with a 5 inch base probably having four. These tygs are well known from a number of potteries working in the mid-seventeenth century, and they form a useful indication of the probable date of the kiln at Latton Street. (Fig. 8.)

Though tyg fragments are commonest among the black glazed sherds, the most complete vessel made up is a jug, 6 inches high, with a rounded bowl and a vertical sided neck (Fig. 9). Its shape is very elegant, and the simple, restrained handle adds to the effect. Unfortunately this vessel appears to have fallen to the floor of the kiln while the glaze was wet and one side has a coating of small fragments of lime and clay fused on. However, if the jug had been perfect, it would not have been discarded so near its place of manufacture. Other black-glazed vessels, jugs and mugs, are shown in Fig. 10; also a candlestick base.

One of us (Mrs. E. Bibbings) has endeavoured to classify the black glazed wares and comes to the following conclusions. The potter was probably aiming at producing a drinking vessel which would compete with those of pewter in common use. Cleanliness, efficiency and good appearance were demanded. Good glazing was the answer to the first, the tapered rim, upright wall, reasonable capacity and sensible handle answered the second, and the glaze, colour and ribbing the third. There were many difficulties to overcome on the way to producing the perfect tyg; blistering, damage in the kiln, flaking and prevention of glaze running down and firing the tyg on to the support are some of these.

Kiln Furniture.

The last item above leads naturally to the consideration of kiln furniture and it seems that considerable inventiveness entered into its use. If, as appears likely, wholly glazed tygs were developed here,



FIG. 11a.

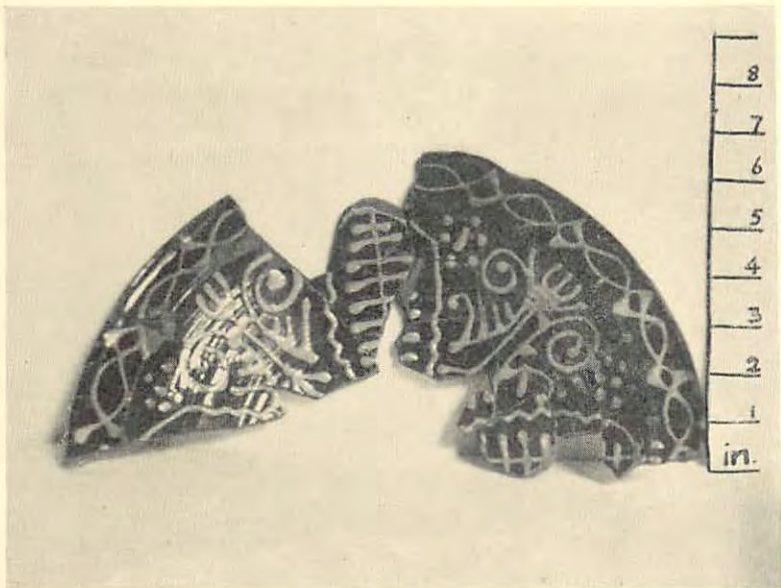


FIG. 11b.

FIGS. 11a AND 11b. METROPOLITAN SLIPWARE DISHES,

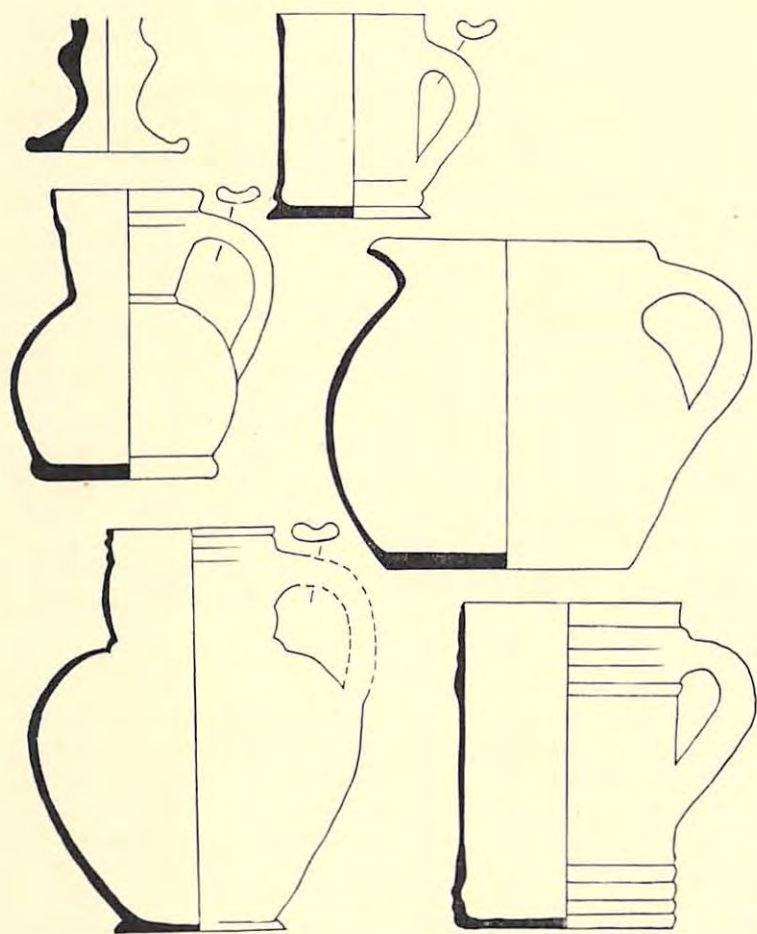


FIG. 10. BLACK GLAZED CANDLESTICK BASE, JUGS AND MUGS. *Scale* $\frac{1}{4}$.

several changes in methods of firing were needed compared with the making of coarse domestic ware. The main problems were prevention of glaze fixing the vessel permanently to its support and the development of saggars to temper the fierce heat for vessels which were thin at the rim and stout at the base. The answers were: kiln props and saggars respectively.

KILN PROPS.—Clay rings were employed to prevent sticking; so long as the ring was smaller than the base of the vessel, glaze dripped harmlessly off, but examples are found where the ring became fused to the base of the *tyg* even without the glaze. The ring was a plain one, variable in size, but commonly 2 inches across, one quarter of an inch high and one sixteenth of an inch thick. The rings were improved later by having three projecting spikes, thus reducing the points of contact. A further development was the clay trivet, triangular with an upward projecting point at each corner. These last were altogether larger and heavier and were no doubt used for heavy vessels. Some of the trivets were hollow, others a solid triangle.

SAGGARS.—Fragments of saggars are common. They consist usually of a flat base about 7 inches across, with vertical cylindrical walls; no case of the complete height was found, but the largest piece shows a height of 8 inches. The sides were perforated, near the base and/or the top, by irregular gashes, clearly made with a knife when the clay was wet. The colour is usually a dullish grey-black, and the saggars were fired thoroughly to stone ware quality. Rims are usually flat and horizontal to allow of stacking.

Metropolitan Ware.

Mention has already been made of the finding of Metropolitan slip ware on Site 1 at Latton Street. The same material is also found in quantity on the site south of Potter Street, to be described later. On the former, the fragments are commonly parts of dishes or plates, varying from 6 to 15 inches across. They probably found a use as decorations on mantels. The body is generally a bright brown colour, fired equally throughout, and in the case of the larger dishes one quarter of an inch thick. The underside is left without pattern or glaze, the upper surface having a design on the flange and an all-over pattern on the remainder; rarely does the main pattern overflow on to the flange. The pattern was trailed on in cream clay, probably out of a tube attached to a flexible bag, rather in the way in which a cake is iced. There is a great variety of design, and occasionally a near repeat is noticed; most are repeated on a dish to make a fourfold pattern. In good specimens the slip was followed by a heavy glaze. (Fig. 11, a-c.)



FIG. 15. PUZZLE JUG IN METROPOLITAN SLIPWARE.

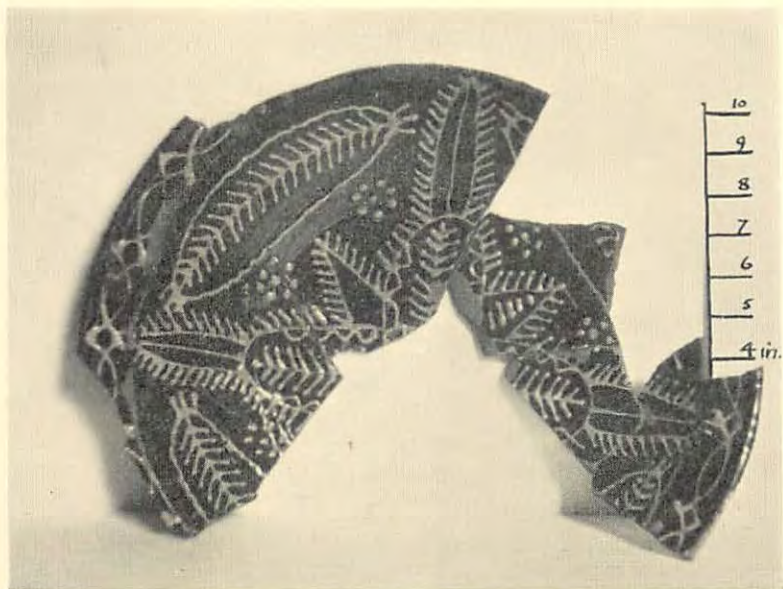


FIG. 11c. METROPOLITAN SLIPWARE DISH.

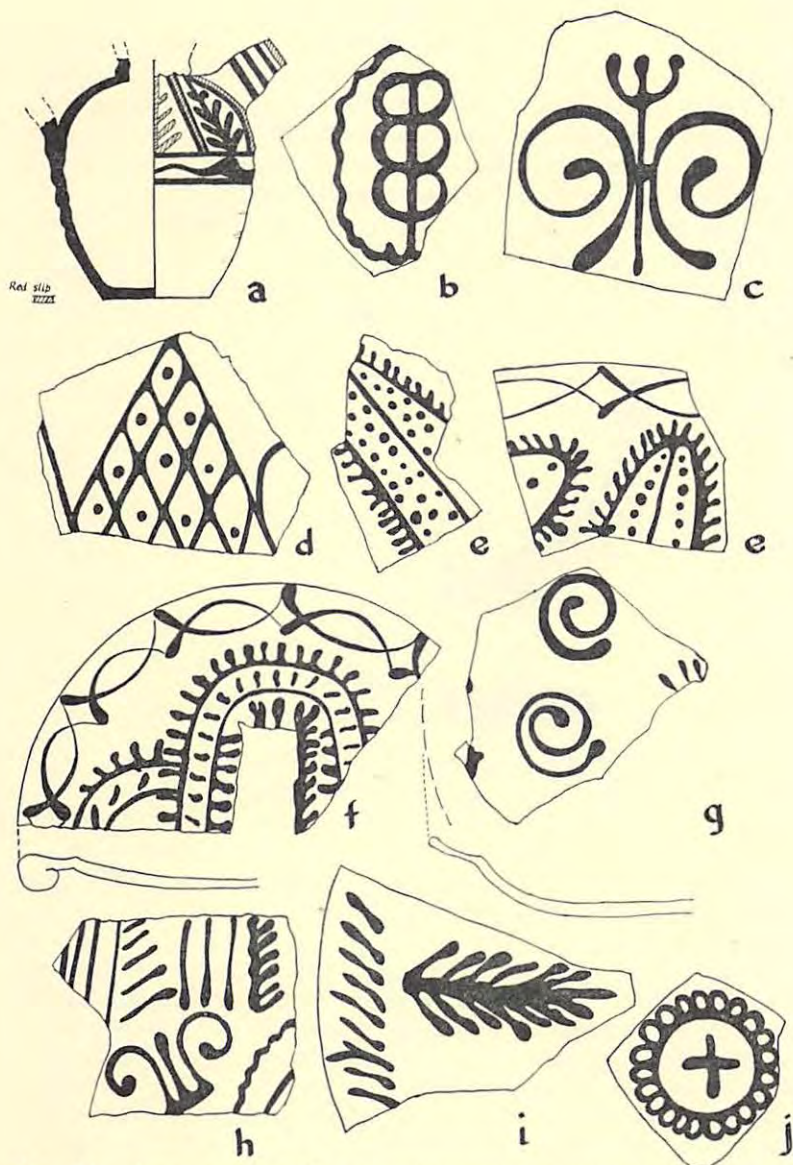


FIG. 12. DECORATION ON METROPOLITAN SLIPWARE AND RIM PATTERNS ON SPOUDED JUG, PLATES AND DISHES. Scale $\frac{1}{4}$.

In Figs. 12 and 13 are shown a variety of Metropolitan slip ware sherds to give a general idea of typical styles and designs. For convenience, sherds from Sites 1 and 2 are figured together. In all cases black areas are patterns in cream slip, usually on a bright brown body. Fig. 12a shows the reconstruction of a spouted jug with a design on the upper parts in two colours, cream and red. Figs. 12, b-j, are all fragments of plates or shallow dishes, as also are Figs. 13, a-d. Five show rim patterns (Figs. 12, e, f, i, and 13, b, c). Other rim fragments are shown in Fig. 13 e.

Apart from the rims, the designs sometimes suggest natural objects with which the potters would be familiar, e.g., Fig. 12 d appears to

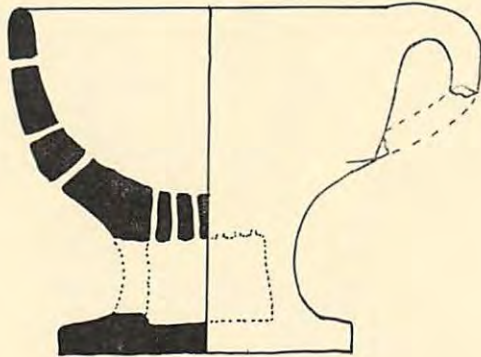


FIG. 14. TWO-HANDLED PUZZLE VESSEL WITH HEMISPHERICAL BOWL AND HOLLOW PEDESTAL. Scale $\frac{1}{2}$.

be conventionalised honey-comb, or other insect nest, Fig. 12 e resembles fish, Fig. 12 g suggests tendrils, Fig. 12 i a conifer spray, Fig. 13 c a flower.

Vessels other than dishes occur, e.g., pieces which had obviously been parts of candlesticks and small jugs. One object almost complete was a small bowl 4 inches across, hemispherical in shape and with two handles, the whole mounted on a hollow pedestal. The bowl has one-eighth of an inch perforations placed haphazardly, and in the centre of the base are other smaller ones leading down to the pedestal, which has a vertical slit through to the interior. This might be a puzzle vessel, the only way of retaining liquids being to cup the hands round the vessel and press the side of the hand against the pedestal slit. Both interior and exterior are decorated with slip. This vessel could also have been a chafing dish. (Fig. 14.)

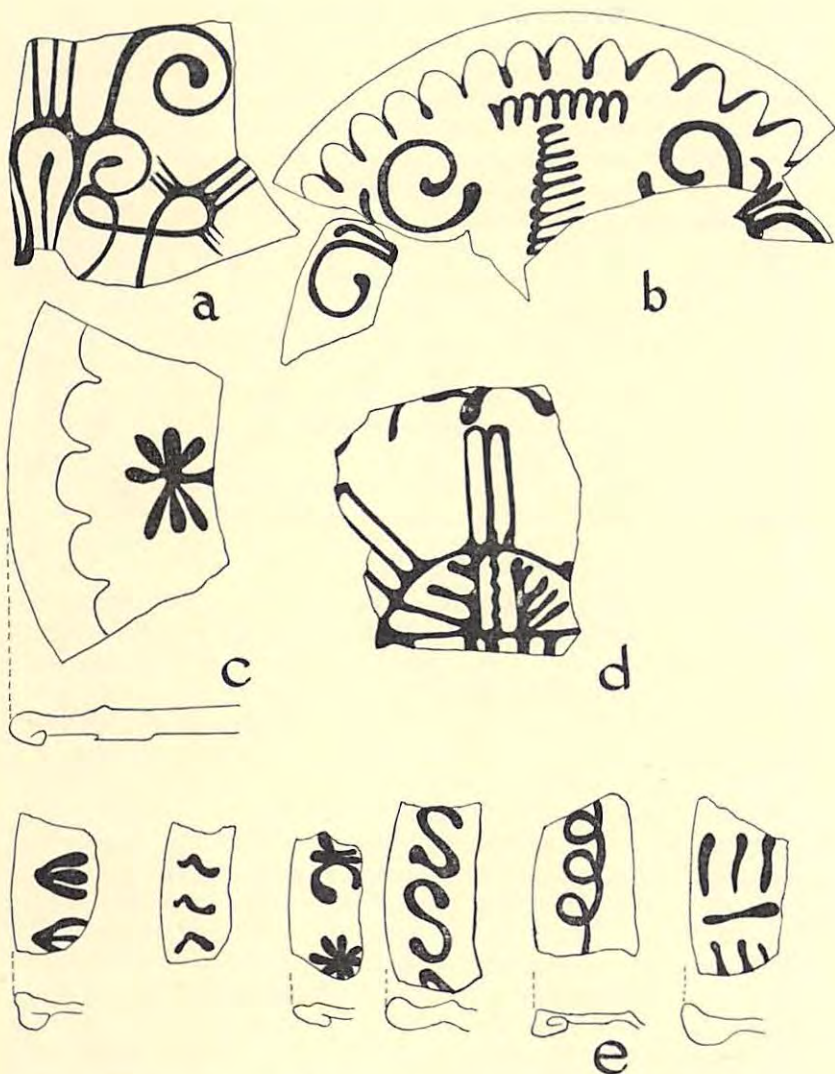


FIG. 13. DECORATION ON METROPOLITAN SLIPWARE PLATES AND DISHES; ALSO RIM PATTERNS. Scale $\frac{1}{4}$.

An interesting Metropolitan ware vessel was found two miles from the site being described when Latton Parish Hall was built in 1953. Near by is Mark Hall, once the home of the Althams, and the foundations of the Parish Hall went down into a rubbish pit near where the courtyard wall once ran. Among the rubbish was a puzzle jug, with glass objects, domestic pottery and a spade. The jug is 8 inches high and 5 inches across at the bulge; it has a bulbous lower part and a short, vertical neck. The decoration in slip consists of the alphabet in two rows of letters rather crudely done. In the neck are a number of triangular holes, so that liquids could not be poured. The rim, which is hollow, has two short spouts, and the rim hollow joins these and also a hole going the length of the handle into the interior of the jug. The only way of getting liquids out successfully is to close one spout with a finger and suck on the other, at the same time holding the handle so that a small hole on the underside of the handle at the top is closed by the index finger. (Fig. 15.)

There is a similar jug to this, though rather larger, in the Fitzwilliam Museum at Cambridge, dated in the slip 1632.

SITE 2.

On a field a quarter of a mile south of the 'Sun and Whalebone' Inn, which is itself south of Potter Street, and on the west side of the A.11 road, fragments of pottery had been turned up by cultivation during the war of 1939-45. Previously this field was unploughed, but with each ploughing a new crop of sherds was brought to the surface; in places they are so abundant as to colour the ground, and from a little distance the soil is distinctly browner.

While the majority of the fragments are of coarse domestic ware, similar to those at Latton Street, there is a marked increase in the proportion of Metropolitan ware as seen in surface finds. With the permission and co-operation of the farmer, W. J. F. Soper, Esq., who had reported the finding of red bricks when a land drain was laid across the field, an attempt was made to discover evidence of a working. About 18 inches below the surface there came to light a structure in red brick (Figs. 16 and 17). It was a flat-based floor, 7 feet square, with sides sloping outwards from the base at about 45°, giving the walls an effective vertical height of 12 inches. The corners were rounded. Scarcely one complete brick was used in the construction, the fragments probably being waste material from old kilns, and no mortar was employed, the bricks being founded on the clay soil.

The land drain had cut diagonally across this structure, which when discovered was completely full of an ochre coloured clay evidently prepared for use. It was quite homogeneous, with no grit or stone to

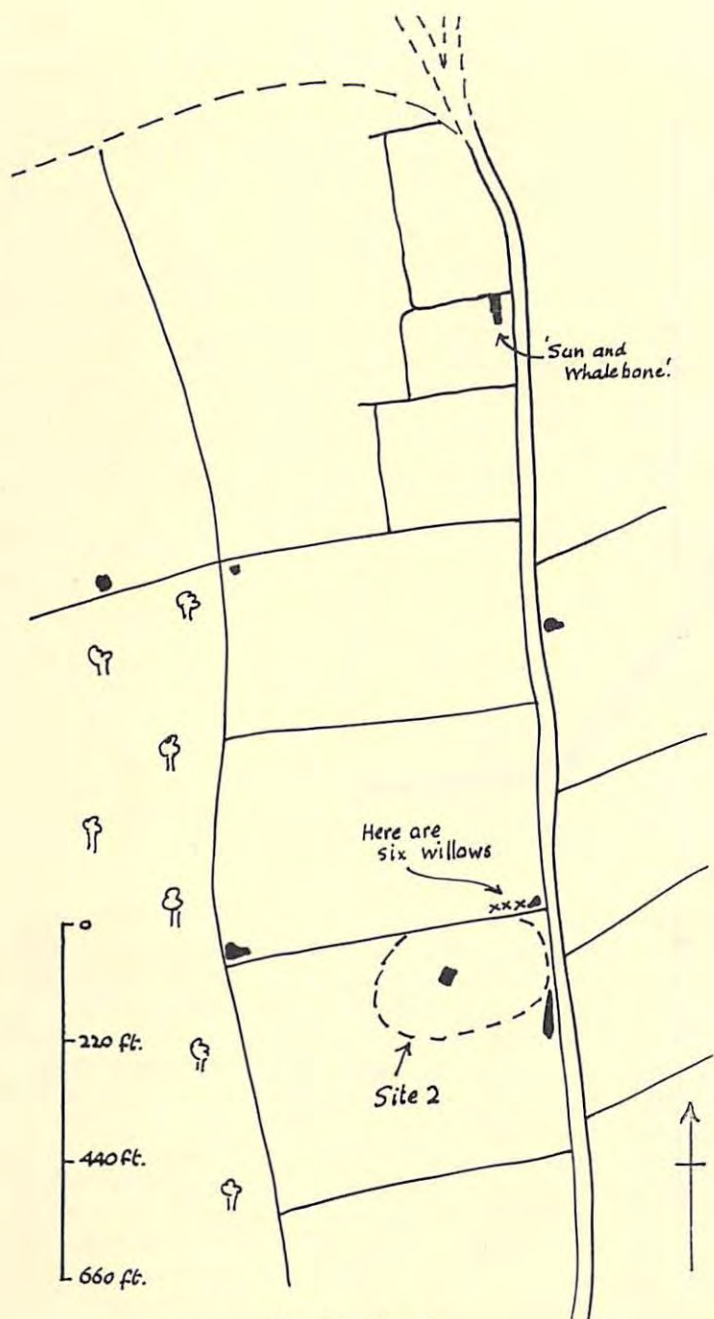


FIG. 16. SITE 2.

Dotted area shows limit of main spread of surface sherds. Black area within is the pugging pit. Other black areas are water holes.

spoil its cheese-like character. This structure was evidently a pugging pit, the outward-sloping sides being intended to prevent the barking of ankles as the clay was trodden and prepared for use. There was no evidence at all of the age of the pit, but it is interesting to speculate on the mass of prepared clay which was never used and which suggests a sudden termination to the small industry here. Nearby the pit, wasters were found, not only of the common wares, but of Metropolitan slip ware, which supports the contention that in this district we have one source of the manufacture of the latter.

On this site fragments of a large, shallow bowl were recovered which have been reconstructed to make nine-tenths of the original; it does not follow the general run of the finds in several ways and was probably a late attempt when the potter had got careless; or perhaps it was



FIG. 18. LARGE SHALLOW BOWL WITH DULL GREENISH-BROWN GLAZE.
Scale $\frac{1}{4}$.

meant to originate a new style in slip ware. The bowl is 18 inches in diameter, slightly out of true; this was no doubt caused in firing, for the glaze suggests that it was fired on edge. The finished colour is a dull greenish-brown, quite unpleasant compared with the bright brown of the majority of the slip ware, and the fracture is grey. The deterioration in colour is due to inadequate firing for at two places round the sides small cracks running towards the centre show the usual brown colour adjacent to them.

The most interesting feature of this bowl, however, is the design of the slip, which is a much more sketchy, abstract, sophisticated and less laboured attempt than on any other piece found in the district. The slip is also much less in quantity, suggesting that the paste used was thicker and used very rapidly; in places it scarcely had time to register. The fourfold design is still represented, and the original quartering lines can be faintly discerned, but in this case not incorporated into the final design. (Fig. 18.)

In general all the slip ware on this site shows a more casual and carefree finish and appears to be the work of potters other than those working at Latton Street. It may well be the most recently used site in the district.

INSCRIPTIONS.

On both the sites detailed above, fragments of inscriptions were found. They appear to have been on jugs or other rounded vessels and are always in brown ware with the inscriptions in cream slip. It has not been possible to get the sense of any wording, so it is not known whether they were religious or loyalist in their significance. The word 'the' and 'gift of' are typical. The lettering is tall (about $1\frac{1}{4}$ inches) and narrow and quite painstakingly done.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.

The authors are grateful for the advice and assistance given by Mr. John Hurst, of the Inspectorate of Ancient Monuments, and for the co-operation received from Mr. W. J. F. Soper, the Harlow Field Club, to the Harlow Development Corporation and to friends who helped in the actual digging.

All the material found and described is at present in the keeping of the Harlow Development Corporation, to whom application should be made through the Liaison Department, Adam's House, Stone Cross, Harlow.

IN MEMORIAM

DUNCAN WALTER CLARK, F.R.I.B.A., F.S.A.

By the passing on the 6 March 1958, at the age of 74, of Duncan Clark, Architect, Antiquarian and Archæologist, the Essex Archæological Society lost one of its most eminent supporters. His membership of the Society extended over approximately half a century and for many years he was a valued member of its council. He was first elected to serve as a representative of the Society on the Museum Committee of the Colchester Town Council in 1915 and ultimately became Deputy Chairman of that Committee.

Born in Halstead, Essex, he was the youngest son of Mr. Walter Clark, who was the proprietor of a furnishing store and well known for his interest in antiques. Duncan chose the profession of an Architect and Surveyor and established in Colchester what proved to be one of the best known firms in the Eastern Counties. As early as 1907 he became an Associate of the Royal Institute of British Architects and was elected a Fellow in 1936. He possessed a wide knowledge of medieval architecture and his expert advice was in great demand.

His contribution to affairs in general received a wider recognition when in 1953 he was elected a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries of London.

He and his firm were associated with many well known local projects, including the Colchester War Memorial and its crescent, reconstruction of the Albert Hall, Colchester, the Nurses' Home and the Outpatients' Block at the Essex County Hospital, various schools, the Minorities (Batte-Lay Trust), the recent Crematorium, the modern dual-purpose Churches, St. Margaret's on the Monkwick Estate and St. Cedd's on the Shrub End Estate, and the adaptation of the ancient Church of St. Martin's in West Stockwell Street for use as a cultural centre.

To the office of diocesan Surveyor, concerned with the fabric of churches and parsonages, he brought his sense of appreciation of the beautiful which enabled him to serve in this sphere with distinction.

He was a leading member of the Colchester Preservation Society, one of the earliest members of the Colchester Rotary Club, founder member of the Colchester Operatic Society, a member of the Angel

Lodge of Freemasons and a co-opted member of the Colchester Borough Public Library Committee.

Duncan Clark was at one time Chairman of the Essex, Cambs. and Herts. Society of Architects and in his 50th year in the profession was appointed to the chair of the Colchester Chapter of Architects.

For some years he was Chairman of the Governors of the North-East Essex Technical College and for a long period a governor of the North-East Essex Technical School.

It is not possible to enumerate all the many activities of Duncan Clark, but mention must be made of his conception of the idea that there should be formed a Society of the Friends of the Colchester Museums and Art Galleries, which he subsequently served as Secretary.

The wide extent of his activities and the high esteem in which he was held were reflected in the large gathering drawn from all ranks of life which attended the Memorial Service at St. Peter's Church, Colchester, when the Bishop of Colchester (The Right. Rev. F. D. V. Narborough) paid fitting tribute to the services rendered to the community by Duncan Walter Clark, Architect, Historian and Archæologist.

In February 1960, a representative gathering, including the Bishop of Colchester, met at the Holly Trees Museum, Colchester, to witness the unveiling by the Mayor of Colchester (Councillor A. W. J. Kay) of a wall tablet commemorating the services of Duncan Clark to the town, and referring to the ornamental ceiling placed there by the Friends of the Museum.

L. E. DANSIE.

GERALD MONTAGU BENTON, M.A., F.S.A., PRIEST,

1881-1959.

It is the lot of one who tends to make older men his more intimate friends to find himself, if he lives long enough, a somewhat solitary figure. Thus it has fallen to me, who had known Benton only since 1927, to write this memorial of him. The space allotted to me shall not be filled with the details of his record, the long list of his publications, or of the offices he filled in this Society. Research in cold print will determine them all. He spoke rarely of his youth, but he was delighted when I planned, in 1945, the first excursion after the war to Sudbury, where as a lad he had watched G. F. Bodley's admirable painting of the angels over the chancel arch of St. Peter's church in 1898. Very early, indeed, were his artistic powers and

antiquarian interests developed, for his fine coloured drawing¹ of a window in Pebmarsh church was done in 1901, while the Rev. J. F. Williams reminds me that he had published an excellent account of the monumental brasses of Cambridgeshire as early as 1902.

After graduating at Cambridge he was for a time secretary to Baron Hügel, and in 1911 became curate to Canon J. T. Steele at Saffron Walden; many and long were the tours of the two friends on their bicycles, examining and discovering the antiquities of East Anglia. If Benton's chief interests were chiefly medieval—wall-paintings and church fittings especially—he had a wide knowledge of many other archaeological studies; he was never a pundit, for whom the *minutiae* of heraldry, or the profiles of countless pots, are gold, and all else is trash. When I joined the Society's Council, nearly all the other members were about twice my age; the discussions at the meetings, held then in Fleet Street, reached a very high level; and Benton was firmly established as an institution. It was not, in my view, that he sought to keep all the activities in his own hands and was unwilling to delegate anything. As soon as he realized that anyone could attain his own high standard of meticulous accuracy and knowledge, he would hand over. As an editor he was superlative, checking almost every reference in a paper with the greatest care. His contributions to *Transactions* and other periodicals were innumerable. As co-author of *The Church Plate of Essex*, he had a large share in a standard work, and *The Church of St. Ouen, Fingringhoe*, is a model parish history. In all his writing there were displayed a profound knowledge, wide culture and a broad humanity. His fellowship of the Society of Antiquaries he held to be a high honour, never to be lightly regarded or conferred, and it was long before he would propose me for the same.

A member from their inception of both the Chelmsford Diocesan Advisory Committee for the Care of Churches and of the Central Council, Benton became eventually the sole survivor of the original companies. His work in this connection was of immense value to the Church in Essex, for he had an innate sense of the fitness of things, and would take great pains, by suggestion or a visit, to prevent the introduction of any unworthy fittings. When I joined the Chelmsford committee, it included a formidable number of experts, but it usually emerged that Benton had the advantage of knowing the church concerned intimately. 'Appalling', he would exclaim at first glance at a design for a window, and he was always right. The explosive use of this adjective was characteristic. 'An appalling woman' he would say of a refractory member of the Society, and again he would be right. He was appointed Vicar of Fingringhoe in 1922, holding for 37 years this undistinguished and ill-endowed benefice, to which no

parsonage was attached, and never receiving any other preferment or advancement. His book on Fingringhoe is sufficient evidence of his love and care for his ancient church, and he would often tell me how conscious he was of his fellowship with those who had ministered in holy things there before him, and how greatly he valued the privilege of celebrating the eucharist at its altar.

To the welfare and work of this Society he gave the larger part of his life and the whole of his heart. It was fitting that, having filled each office with industry and distinction, he should have held the Presidency at the time of the celebration of its centenary; he greatly enjoyed the Medieval Feast, suggested by him during an excursion many years earlier, when, garbed as Cardinal Wolsey, he presided over the gathering. There was sadness in his closing years. The infirmities of age made him slow, but those most anxious to relieve an old man's shoulders of his mantle are usually equally zealous that it falls not on their own. He did not, perhaps, understand the new men; for him the 'inspired amateur' (another favourite phrase) was the ideal, and he frankly disliked the conception of archæology as a remunerative occupation. If Benton had lived amid the leisured calm of the eighteenth century, his output might well have equalled Morant's. He cherished the memory of the great parson-antiquaries of the past, who were the main support of societies such as this, and he himself was the last of them in Essex. Benton was essentially a lover of all beautiful things, whether ancient or modern. When I lunched with him last summer, this characteristic was still strong. He was full of hope and plans for the Society, but he was clearly failing, and I knew that I should not see him again. Indeed, none of us will ever see again his like—R.I.P.

T. D. S. BAYLEY.

¹ *Pebmarsh Church*, pl. 15.

ARCHÆOLOGICAL NOTES.

Richard R. Barnes, the Harwich Diarist and Writer.—

The Essex County Council Publication, *The Great Tide*, has recorded all that happened in the great floods of this decade. Work has gone on to see that never again shall the coastal towns be caught unaware.

In the Society's archives are some 17 diaries of a Richard Read Barnes, of Harwich. Barnes lived at Harwich from about 1790 to about 1860. He was a prominent and leading resident; a sincere and Christian gentleman; a writer of charades and enigmas and articles for the Magazines of the early and mid-nineteenth century; an artist of some merit; frequenter of the Harwich and Colchester Theatre and a visitor to the Stage Door; a musician and small-way composer of music for the flute; and an antiquarian and recorder of the daily and national events that he thought worthy of record.

Barnes' father married a Miss Robinson by licence from the Bishop of London and annually on December 6th, St. Nicholas' Day, Barnes remembers 'mother's wedding day'.

Barnes' son, Richard Saxty Barnes, was a Borough Treasurer of Harwich, an Attorney and Notary Public, and a Colonel in the Volunteer Artillery. His descendants donated the Barnes' diaries to the Society in 1939.

Barnes himself was the Barrack Master's Clerk at Harwich; Colonel Child, his employer, is continually mentioned in his memorandum.

The weather information included in Barnes' diaries will be presented to the Royal Meteorological Society for inclusion in its Journal or other publications and perhaps the 'Journal of the Weather' kept by Mr. Robert Stanes (Barrack Master's Clerk, Colchester, till 1810), will also provide future study.

The following information is from the diary volume for 1807 to 1810, the commentary being written on the front inner flysheet. Perhaps the most interesting item in this volume is the record of the 'great tide of 1808'. It runs as follows:

'Harwich, Jan 15, 1808. Considerable damage has been done to the Quays &c at this place (particularly the Quay on the Lawn which is washed all to pieces) by the very high tide, — the highest tide ever remembered in this place by the oldest inhabitant — last night and this morning. A poor man named Jonathan ——— who lives in a small house near the New Rope Walk

on the Marsh was alarmed at 12 o'clock, last night by the water being up to his bedsides, who, when finding his perilous situation, with difficulty rescued his wife and child from (no Doubt) a watery grave. A sentinel (posted over a coal depot in the town) was obligated to stand on some pieces of timber a considerable time to prevent being carried away by the current, he being completely surrounded by it before he was aware of his danger.

'The Marsh and the further part of the Lawn today is one complete pond of water. Mr. F. Stevens, Rope Maker, has suffered considerably by it; the water has found its way into a number of houses, particularly those of Mr. Fryatt's, Whitings & others situate at the North part of the Town (which was the corner the wind was in, and it blowed exceedingly hard indeed—there was a current of water run'd completely through the West Street. Several Pigs &c. have been drowned and *many* other Damages done.'

'Feb. 12 (1808). A dismal gale of wind from the NE came on this morning about 2 o'clock with thick of snow and there was more felt than I ever remember. It is level on the roads to the hedges so that no Coach or cart could go to and fro: the morning post (I believe) was sent forward afoot—the Signal Post blew down between 5 & 6 AM. There are six colliers run'd on shore by the Mill, it being so thick a snow about 11 AM, it being then near high water (which was a high tide) and not knowing where they were got on shore.—The Ariel, sloop of War, which is on shore at the Angle Quay, was in danger of upsetting (owing to her having no ballast on board) the wind blowing so hard and the tide being so high.'

Some of Barnes' sketches are 'The Quarter Master's Huts, Cavalry Barracks, Colchester' (1810), 'Colchester Castle' (1810), 'Greenstead . . . a South view of the Church, which stands on an elevated position from whence you have a pleasant glimpse of Colchester' (1810), 'A N.W. view of St. Mary Magdalene Church, Colchester' (1810). At Harwich his paintings include 'The S.E. view of Harwich Chapel from the Timberfield' (1807), 'The Beacon Hill' (1807), 'Harwich Church' (1807), 'The Church of Dovercourt' (1807). (vide EAST xxii, 388 and 396.)

On June 5, 1807, Barnes records: 'I went to Mr. Cottingham's for 3 pennyworth of paint but he gave me six.' and on 14 July 1807 'I lent Wm. Haggis, my box of paints'.

The keen eyed Barnes was in Colchester for some time in 1809 and recalls 'I saw an Odd Fellows funeral. He was carried into All Saints Church where there were prayers. I saw him carried there and went into Church,' (Sept. 17, 1809). This Odd Fellow was probably one of the Loyal Victoria Lodge, No. 19, of London Unity, and without doubt the oldest Lodge in the modern Colchester and Maldon District of the Manchester Unity.

On 18 December 1809 he says 'I saw a Mason Funeral Procession in Masonic Order'. Again it would appear that a member of Angel Lodge No. 51 was being buried.

The Antiquarian interests of our Diarist were aroused on 9 November 1809 when his brother Benjamin came to Colchester and 'dined at

the Cups, just before which Mr. Ralton showed us his Ball Room . . . after dinner we walked up and down of (the) Fair and had oysters at a house near the Market from which we proceeded to the play and sat in the Green Boxes. While we were at the Cups in the course of the evening the Clerk there, T. Collins, showed us a drawing by him of a piece of Roman Tessalaid Mosaic Pavement what is now in Three Cups Garden, Colchester, discovered about 3 ft. under the surface of the ground, AD 1763'.

But this article could run on and on and bore to tears, as Barnes does after a while. He has recorded much of interest, and perhaps in the future it will be possible to unlock another of his diaries and extract more records of interesting events of his small world.

JOHN S. APPLEBY.

Recent Discoveries in the Thurrock Area.

HOARD OF ROMAN SILVER DENARII FOUND AT CHADWELL ST. MARY.

In July 1956, during excavations in a gravel pit at Chadwell Hall Farm, four members of Thurrock Historical Society—Mr. A. Bannister, Mr. K. Bannister, Mr. K. Barton, Mr. A. Taylor—discovered more than 90 Roman silver coins, together with fragments of the neck of a Roman pot.

The coins were identified by the British Museum and included a representation of Antony's legionary coinage, one coin of Nero, and a range of coins from Vespasian to the sole reign of Caracalla, A.D. 213-17.

At a Coroner's inquest, the jury returned a verdict declaring the coins to be treasure trove, and directing that they should be given to the finders who, in turn, have donated them to the Thurrock Local History Museum at Tilbury, where they are now on display.

HAND-AXE FROM CHADWELL ST. MARY.

In July 1957, on the site of the new Thurrock Technical College, a large oval palæolithic hand-axe of ochraceous flint was unearthed at a depth of twelve feet. The axe is now on display in the Thurrock Local History Museum.

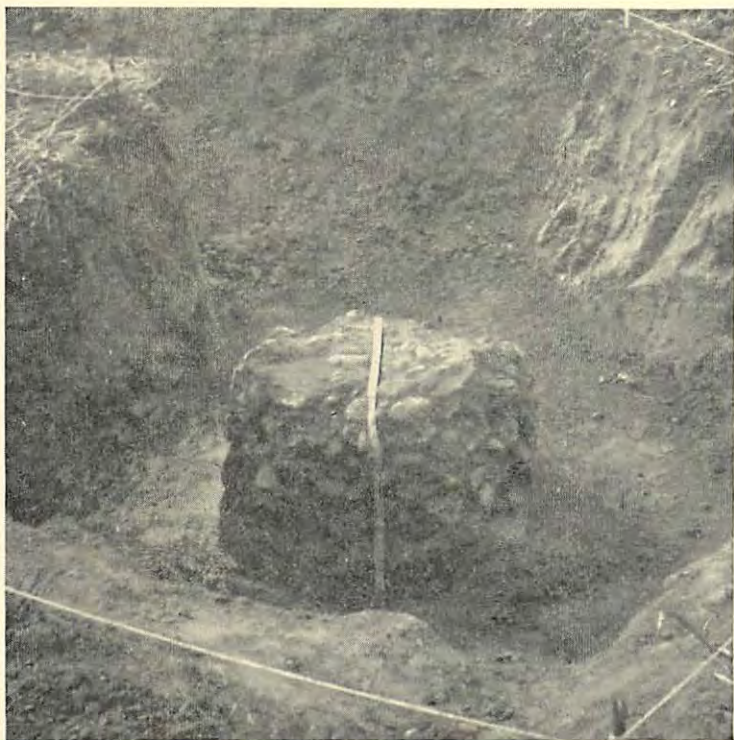
EXCAVATIONS AT AVELEY.

Two Romano British pots of the first century A.D. were discovered by a grab driver during the working of a gravel pit at the junction of Sandy Lane and Mill Lane, Aveley. Subsequently the site was investigated and excavations were carried out by members of Thurrock Historical Society during 1956. The pottery sherds and other finds indicate successive occupations of the site from late Bronze Age, Iron Age, Roman period between 150 A.D.—190 A.D., and Pagan Saxon occupation in the fifth century. Mr. K. Barton has written a detailed

Report of the Excavation which was published last year by the Society. All the finds have been deposited with the Thurrock Local History Museum.

EXCAVATIONS AT LINFORD.

A complete food-vessel of the late Bronze Age was found in a gravel pit at Linford in March 1958 and donated to Thurrock Local History Museum by the Thurrock Historical Society.



EAST TILBURY CAIRN BEFORE RECOVERY OF FUNERARY URN.

On the same site, which is near the Hofford Wood Road at Linford, Mr. K. Barton carried out an excavation for the Ministry of Works in 1955. It was established that there were three successive periods of occupation—Iron Age 'A' and two Pagan Saxon occupations. Included in the Iron Age 'A' finds was a large bucket or 'situla' shaped vessel in coarse, gritted ware, while from the Saxon occupation of the fifth century came potsherds, annular loom-weights and a number of lead loom-weights. These are now in the possession of the London Museum.

BRONZE AGE URN AT EAST TILBURY.

During the dry summer of 1959, two concentric rings of lush growth some 100 feet and 35 feet in diameter respectively were noticed in a field at East Tilbury. The site was excavated by Mr. K. Bannister and other members of the Thurrock Historical Society, who discovered in the centre of the two circles a cairn, 22 inches in diameter and 14 inches high. The top of the cairn was 10 inches below the surface of the field. Inside the cairn, Mr. Bannister uncovered a Bronze Age funerary urn, inverted, and containing bones which have since been identified as those of an adult and child. Part of a quern had served as a base for the urn and another most interesting find in this Bronze Age burial was that of a faience bead. The exhibits, together with detailed drawings and photographs, have been donated to the Thurrock Local History Museum.

D. A. WICKHAM.

Victoria History of Essex.—A volume in this *History* of special interest to archæologists will soon be going to the press. This is *Roman Essex*, which will be Volume III in the series. It was originally intended that this topic should be treated by a chapter in Volume I (published 1903) or in Volume II (1907), but that account, which was to have been written by the late Professor Haverfield, was not completed and nothing more was done until 1951, when preparation of the *Victoria History of Essex* was resumed with the aid of generous financial grants from the local authorities of Essex. The Committee of the *V.C.H. of Essex* then decided to devote a whole volume to the Roman history of the county. It will be the first time that this has been done since the *Victoria History of the Counties of England* was started in 1899. The main feature of the volume is a detailed gazetteer of Roman remains found in Essex, arranged alphabetically by parishes. Most of the gazetteer has been prepared by Mr. M. R. Hull, M.A., F.S.A., and is the fruit of more than 30 years' work on the archæology of Essex. Major J. G. S. Brinson, F.S.A., has contributed to it accounts of his important recent discoveries at Great Chesterford, Chelmsford, Harlow and Rivenhall. The gazetteer is preceded by an article on Roman roads and another on Red Hills, both by Mr. Hull, and there is an introductory chapter, by Professor I. A. Richmond, C.B.E., F.B.A., F.S.A., providing a general survey of the history of Essex during the Roman period.

The volumes of the *V.C.H. of Essex* already published, in addition to those mentioned above, are Volume IV (*Ongar Hundred*) (1956) and the *Essex Bibliography* (1959). The next two volumes to go to

press after *Roman Essex* will be devoted to Waltham and Becontree hundreds. Later volumes now in preparation will deal with Colchester, Harlow and Clavering hundreds, Rochford hundred, and the Liberty of Havering and Chafford hundred.

The President of the *Victoria History of Essex* is Col. Sir John Ruggles-Brise, Bt., C.B., O.B.E., T.D., H.M. Lieutenant of Essex. The Chairman of the Committee is Sir Frank Foster, C.B.E., J.P., the Secretary Mr. J. G. O'Leary, F.L.A., F.S.A., the Treasurer Mr. D. L. Forbes, F.C.A., J.P., and the Editor, Mr. W. R. Powell, B.Litt., M.A., F.S.A.

W. R. POWELL.

Mammoth Remains at Bocking.—In the course of ground work and excavation at Messrs. Courtauld's factory at Bocking in March 1956, workmen widening the river bed discovered remains of the pre-historic Mammoth (*Elephantidæ Primigenius*).

At a depth of some 12 feet below present ground level two molars and various pieces of jaw bone were found. These are preserved in the Braintree Museum in the Town Hall.

The contract time schedule did not allow, unfortunately, of further excavation at the site.

C. E. CATLEY.

**Prittlewell Priory Museum, Southend-on-Sea.
Finds, accessions and fieldwork, 1955-1959.**

Palæolithic.

Possible broken or reject hand-axe, found at Rayleigh, 1941. (TQ/805911). S.M. 728/1.

Mammoth tusk. 13 fragments found in a gravel pit at Tunbridge Road, Southend. (TQ/878867). S.M. 717/1.

Tip of hand-axe, Acheulian, from 180, Prittlewell Chase, Southend-on-Sea. (TQ/86458720). 1955. S.M. 727/1.

Flint flake from Nightingales, Warren Road, Leigh-on-Sea.

Mesolithic or Neolithic.

Microliths and worked flakes from site of former Peculiar Chapel at Thundersley. (TQ/807888).

Chipped axe-head from Thundersley. (TQ/798882). S.M. 812/1.

Neolithic. Polished flint axe-head, 5.3 inches long, from Poyning's Avenue, Southchurch. (TQ/906866). October 1959, S.M. 857/1.

Polished flint chisel, and pounder, from Tithe Barn Brickfield. S.M. *Neolithic/Early Bronze Age.*

Crouch burial of a girl, that included Rinyo-Clacton sherd in grave filling. (TQ/873895). S.M. 745.

Two Beaker burials, and fragments of two other beakers from Thorpe Hall Brickfield, Southchurch, January 1960. (TQ/91858575). S.M. *Middle Bronze Age*.

Low-flanged palstave with trident decoration from Potton Island, 1958. In private possession. Photograph taken.

Late Bronze Age.

Two pieces of cake bronze from Briarbank Estate, Runwell, November, 1958. (TQ/750944). S.M. L68.

Seven pieces of cake bronze from Wickford. (TQ/737945). S.M. 713. Bowl and a cremation from Tithe Barn Brickfield, 1958. (TQ/934866).

See P.P.S., 1959.

Iron Age.

Occupation material, unassigned to any particular phase of the Iron Age, was found above the crouch burial at TQ/873895, and at Cherry Orchard Brickfield, Rochford. (TQ/858895).

Red Hills.

A series of investigations has established the existence of Red Hills at the following places:—

Two Hills at Pottom Creek (TQ/951897).

Two hills on Potton Island (TQ/954901).

Two hills at Paglesham, one at Stannets Creek (TQ/924915) and one at Clements Marsh (TQ/947931).

At least one at Corringham (TQ/717818).

Two hills on the mainland opposite Canvey Island (TQ/817858; 818858).

Confirmatory evidence has been obtained concerning those reported by Mr. Linder at May Avenue (TQ/805828), at Ferndale Crescent (TQ/796827), and the two at Blackmore Avenue (TQ/798826), and at Leigh Beck (TQ/823832).

Romano-British cremation groups have been found inserted into the Blackmore Avenue hills, whilst middens have been recorded on several of the others. At Ferndale Crescent, Romano-British sherds were found in situ within the burnt layers.

Romano-British.

Roman coins reported from the area.

Augustus and Agrippa (Restitution by Domitian). Æ 25. Minted at Nemausus. Cohen 10. Found at 32, Richmond Drive, Westcliff, August 1957. TQ/864878. S.M. 781/1.

Claudius.

Æ as Cohen 47. Dug up at 53, Poynings Avenue, Southchurch, February 1958. TQ/901865. S.M. 804/1.

Æ as Cohen 47. Found at 90, Luncies Road, Vange, 1960. TQ/726884. In private possession.

- Agrippa II (under Vespasian)*. Æ in poor condition. From excavations for Roots Hall Stadium, 1955. TQ/874868. In private possession.
- Trajan*. Dupondius. M. and S. 392. Found at 17, Waking Road, Shoeburyness, 1955. TQ/943856. S.M. 723/1.
Four-drachm piece (A.D. 117) found at Thorpe Bay, 1952. In possession of Mr. M. S. Rölfe.
- Antoninus Pius* Sesterius. ? C. 1017. Found at Blackmore Avenue, Canvey Island, 1956. TQ/798826.
Sestertius. Rev. illegible. From Leigh, found during construction of new bridge. TQ/835858.
- Dupondius. C. 1008. From Wheatley's Road, Rayleigh, before 1939. Approx. TQ/797902. S.M. 803/1.
- Commodus* Æ, minted at Alexandri. Found at 28, Meadow Road, Hadleigh, 1956. TQ/80358775.
Sesterius. Probably C. 645. Found at Blackmore Avenue, Canvey Island, 1956. TQ/798826.
- Gordian III*. M. and S. 167A. Dupondius? From Abbots Hall, Little Waking, 1956. TQ/928883.
- Victorinus Antoninianus*. Cohen 46. Found in grounds of Shoebury High School. S.M. 795.
- Allectus Antoninianus*. C.81. Found at Tithe Barn Brickfield, 1958. Ex. QL/Fifth Mint, London. TQ/934866. S.M. 838/1.
- Constantine the Great*. Æ. C.464.
Found at Tithe Barn Brickfield, 1958. TQ/934866.
- Constantinopolis* Æ. Rev. Emperor standing with shield and spear. Found on saltings on Canvey Island opposite Benfleet Creek. Grid Square 7785. S.M. 773/1.
- Maximinian Hercules* Æ Follis. C. 184. Antioch Mint. Found at 19, St. Augustine's Avenue, Thorpe Bay, 1957. TQ/915848. S.M. 782/1.
- Valentinian I* (Æ 18-19). Rev. Aequitas holding a pair of scales and cornucopia. Found whilst laying sewer pipes at Rochford, 1958. Rev. Securitas reipublicæ. Securitas standing holding cornucopia, a child at her feet. Found in School grounds, Billericay, 1958.
- Gratian*. Æ. In worn condition. Found at 22, Woodside, Leigh-on-Sea. TQ/831878. S.M. 744 (received via Colchester Museum). Æ. C.30. Found on Vange Marshes, 1957. TQ/728868.
- Potters Marks*. The following marks new to the area have been recorded:
- On Samian GIAMILLIOF. Canvey Island.
VIMPVS (Vimpus: an East Gaulish potter, probably working 120-160 A.D.). Drag. 18/31—Canvey Island.

CINN—(Cinnamus of Lezoux. 110-200 A.D.). Drag. 37.
Rochford.

Monogram of Dæccus on Drag. 37—Canvey Island.
—IRNM. From Potton Island.

Possibly that of LOGIRNUS of Montans, Flavian
period.

CITTVS FII (Cettus of Lezoux). Drag 33. Trajan—
Hadrian. Rochford.

On Mortarium TITVS. Made at the Sheepen Kilns, Colchester.
c. A.D. 160-200.

Herring-bone stamp. Sheepen Kilns, Colchester.
c. A.D. 160-200.

Romano-British: Burials.

A further group of three vessels, an urn, a flagon and a beaker, from Cherry Orchard Brickfield, Rochford. October, 1956. This must be associated with the three groups previously found in the same brickfield in 1953 and 1954, all in the Prittlewell Priory collections.

A small bulbous beaker was brought in twelve broken pieces from Corringham Hall Farm, TQ/710833. The vessel was said to accompany human remains, but the statement could not be verified since the bones had been buried again beneath the footings of a Dutch barn.

August 1958. Scale drawing in Prittlewell Priory Museum, Southend-on-Sea.

Clay lamp, said to have been found on surface of new housing estate at Thundersley, May 1956. TQ/796886.

Romano-British sherds have been recorded from the following places in addition to those previously listed:

(1956) Great Wakering: TQ/9488.

(1956) Purdy's Farm, Rochford: TQ/885901.

(1956) Potton Creek: TQ/951897.

(1956) Canvey Island: TQ/823832.

(1957) Queensland Avenue, Rochford: TQ/877892.

(1957) Clements March, Paglesham? TQ/947931.

(1957) Potton Island: TQ/954901.

(1957) Corringham Marshes: TQ/717818.

(1958) Tithe Barn Brickfield, Great Wakering: TQ/934866.

Saxon.

Five inhumation burials, probably of the period A.D. 850-1050, were found at Tithe Barn Brickfield, Great Wakering. One had an iron socketed arrow-head (provisionally classified as Wheeler Type 2. Medieval Catalogue of the London Museum) lying at the top of the spine. The burials had been disturbed by early medieval rubbish pits.

Early Medieval.

Foundations, potsherds or middens have been located at the following places:

Star Lane, Brickfield, Great Waking: TQ/93558747.

Prittlewell Church: TQ/877868.

Harps Corner, Eastwood: TQ/Square 8788.

Prittlewell Priory Church: TQ/87658735.

Westwood, Thundersley: TQ/804887.

Little Common, Thundersley: TQ/789894.

Late Medieval.

Thirteenth and fourteenth century glazed sherds from Stoke Gabriel, 77, High Road, Rayleigh: TQ/802892.

L. HELLIWELL.

DONATIONS TO THE SOCIETY.

The following books have been donated or purchased and placed in the Society's Library at the Holly Trees, Colchester:

The Parish Church of Beaumont-cum-Moze. By JAMES ALLEN.

A Short History of Beeleigh Abbey. By W. A. FOYLE.

The Worthy Dr. Fuller. By WILLIAM ADDISON.

Roman Painting. By A. M. SKIRA.

Beaumont Collection of Lordships of Manors, with Foreword by J. WENTWORTH DAY.

Essex. By NICHOLAS PEVSNER.

Tolleshunt Knights: Church and Parish. By H. M. C. and R. O. M. CARTER.

The Roman Army. By G. WEBSTER.

The Cloth Trade in Essex—A.D. 1629. By S. A. WARNER.

Southend before the Norman Conquest. By W. POLLITT.

Roman Silchester. By G. C. BOON.

Dagenham Place-names. By J. G. O'LEARY.

The Rise of Southend. By W. POLLITT.

A Dictionary of English Surnames. By P. H. REANEY.

The Story of Elmstead. By JOHN S. APPLEBY.

The Wormingford Story. By W. M. BEAUMONT.

Roman Colchester. By M. R. HULL.

Central Gaulish Potters. By J. A. STANSFIELD and G. SIMPSON.

The Story of Colchester. By GEOFFREY MARTIN.

English Wall Painting of the 14th Century. By E. W. TRISTRAM.

Victoria County History of Essex, Bibliography.

Chingford. By Members of CHINGFORD COUNTY HIGH SCHOOL.

Bronze Age Cultures in France. By Mrs. N. K. SANDERS.

Audley End. By WILLIAM ADDISON.

Thames Estuary. By WILLIAM ADDISON.

The Parish Registers of Berechurch, Essex, 1664-1837. Typescript with Index and Notes by L. H. GANT.

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