Photo. by[ ] LANGLEYS, GREAT WALTHAM. [*E. Spalding, Chelmsford*

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GREAT WALTHAM FIVE CENTURIES AGO.

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THE Manor of Great Waltham (otherwise Walthambury), of which Colonel W. Nevill Tufnell is the present Lord, is the largest and most important of the seven manors included in that parish. Its Court-Rolls are of exceptional interest, both for their high antiquity and for the light they shed on the conditions of the people and the land long ago. These papers are an attempt to stitch the shreds of information which are found in the earliest of them into a patchwork view of the surroundings, the houses, the ordinary troubles, the common occupations, the special institutions, and the personal and place-names of a typical Essex village five hundred years ago, bringing in also such old English words as have been able to thrust themselves into the Latin record, and the hints which are given about the value of stock, timber, grain, or land. All that we have here noted belongs to the England of Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales* (designed 1387, and written at intervals down to the poet's death in 1400).

The stately mansion of Langleys, the residence of the Lord of the Manor, is a fine example both of the effectiveness of massive red-brick work in a setting of green meadow and grove, and of the solidity and spaciousness of Georgian domestic architecture. It was built on the site of the old mansion of the Everards, in 1718, by Samuel Tufnell, when he acquired the estates from that family. Of the older Jacobean building, one wing only was retained, containing two grand rooms, 36 feet by 22 feet. To the upper of these rooms is attached a striking romance of lost

treasure. In 1794, John Jolliffe Tufnell, the squire of Langleys, died. His executors were much distressed to know what had become of the large sums—amounting, it was ascertained, to many thousands of pounds—which he had recently realised by selling out of the public funds. No trace of the money could be discovered, till, on moving the big law-books in the great book-case, the sum of £150,000 and many family jewels were found behind them. The story makes a sensational paragraph in the London *Star*, of January 19, 1795. The belief is that the deceased squire had been accumulating ready money with a view to the purchase of one or other of the large Essex estates which were then in the market.

The panelling of this room has had a singular history. This was the favourite sitting-room of the present squire's grandfather, John Jolliffe Tufnell, who found it very cold in winter. We can well understand that, in the old days of open log fires, an immense room like this would be very hot close by the fireplace, and very cold everywhere else. Mr. Tufnell imagined that the cold was largely due to draughts circulating in the space between the panelling and the walls. About 1828, he, therefore, had the carved oak-panelling removed, and replaced by a facsimile in stucco. The chimney-piece is quaint in the extreme, both for subject and for execution. It represents the central incident in the story of Tobias in the Apocrypha. Pious Tobit, dwelling at Nineveh, lost his sight, and had to send his young son, Tobias, into Media to take up certain moneys left there. Seeking to hire a guide for the journey, Tobias happened upon a man who said he would go, who, in truth, was the angel Raphael. They twain set out, "and the young man's dog went with them," but of what the dog did, there is no further mention. One morning of their journey, as Tobias washed himself in Tigris, a fish leapt at him, to take him, as a trout might take a fly; but, encouraged by his guide, the young man became assailant and took the fish. After removing the liver and the gall, the two travellers roasted the fish for breakfast. Thereafter, the fumes of the broiling liver drove away Asmodeus, an evil spirit which molested an heiress, whom Tobias obtained in marriage, and an ointment of the gall restored father Tobit's sight. The Jacobean panel exhibits the cutting-open of the fish, Tobias acting, the angel superintending, the dog an interested spectator. Either

because he was no believer in small doses, or because his graving tools were equal only to rough work, the sculptor has made the fish a mighty one, and carved the liver (or gall), which Tobias is holding upon a correspondingly huge scale.

Langleys has a frontage of 150 feet in the main-building, apart from flanking offices. A very striking view of it is obtained from the rising ground beyond Little Waltham on the road to Braintree, when the sun is flashing on its windows. This sheen and shimmer have naturally attached to Langleys in the popular tradition of the district a reputation, which, in other counties, is found similarly ascribed to their statelier mansions, viz., that it has "as many windows as there are days in the year." In plain count, as distinct from poetical imagining, there are 56 windows on the park front, and 36 windows on the garden front.

The name Langleys for a house here, and the name Langley for the family occupying it, go back to Henry IV.'s time, and no doubt even higher. The house was a separate manor outside the precinct of Great Waltham Manor, and the family at this time held no land of that lordship. Accordingly, we find few entries about them in the rolls, and those all point to their being resident in Great Waltham, as neighbours of Walthambury lordship but not tenants. They are under the jurisdiction of the Court Leet, which in some things went beyond the manor and embraced the township. If they are brought into the Court Baron it is by suit against them, as trespassers, probably on debatable or march-land. In June, 1408, William Langelyegh was mulcted by the Court Leet in 12d. for neglecting the scouring of his ditch under Cherche-feld (Church-field). In June, 1411, the Court Leet fined John Langley for not scouring his ditch at Langlyes. In February, 1412, the Court Baron fined John Langlyegh no less than 3s. for trespass in cropping three perches length (usual value 1d. per perch) of a hedge claimed as part of the Walthambury copyhold called Alizsaundre's. The severity of the fine suggests the "spoiling an Egyptian," *i.e.*, a non-manorial person.

THE MANOR-HOUSE.

In Richard II.'s time, and after, the Manor House of Great Waltham was the large farm-house, called then and now

Walthambury,* which stands in the fork of the roads from Howe Street to Pleshey and Good Easter. This manor-house cannot at any time have been inhabited by the Lord, who had his chief seat only two miles off at Pleshey Castle. From such indications as we have, it is clear that then, as now, the manor-house and encircling farm-buildings presented to the passer-by an imposing cluster of buildings, but, at that time, constructed only of timber, or of timber frame-work and wattle, and roofed with thatch. About 1400, or even earlier, the demesne-land and the manorial buildings were let, apparently on the understanding that the lessee should do the repairs, the tenant (Jeffrey Curwene) probably occupying the house. He neglected the repairs, and the place became greatly decayed. Orders for repair occur, but there are no indications of their being obeyed. In October, 1405, Jeffrey Curwen was directed to mend the roof of the dove-cot, then an important adjunct of a manor, partly as supplying a favourite pasty for the table, partly as affording sport in hawking. In November, 1407, the homage reported that "the fermerye house" was tumbling to pieces for lack of carpentry; that the fowl-house, hay-barn, and cow-house were going to wreck, and that the gates of the barn-close had fallen—defects which the tenant was called on to make good. In February, 1409, the wind having stript off the thatch of the wheat-barn, new thatch was ordered. In July, 1410, the homage again brought in a long list of dilapidations. The man-servants' house (domus famulorum, the Scotch "bothy"), they said, and also the cow-house, needed wattling and thatching; the dove-cot, the stallions' stable, and three barns required timber and thatch; the house itself and the walls of the enclosures showed damage to the extent of five marks by the neglect of John Roberd, the late, and John Glascok, the present, tenant; and the stable called Warde-stable had quite fallen. In the winter of 1412, the stable called Castell-acres-stable, belonging to it, was blown down by a great wind.

THE COURT-ROLLS.

The Court-rolls for Walthambury manor are preserved at Langleys in a splendid iron chest of foreign workmanship, believed to have come from a wrecked ship of the Spanish

*Court Leet, May, 1399, ordered scouring of a ditch between Lambherde's and Walthambery and June, 1408, of one in Walthambery-field.

MANTELPIECE AT LANGLEYS.
(The Story of Tobit).

Armada. It has no outward bravery of ornamental painting. In other respects, in workmanship, in massive padlocks outside, and elaborate lock-bolts round three of the inner ledges, it closely resembles Sir Thomas Bodley's chest now in the Bodleian which was acquired by that diplomatist when acting as Elizabeth's agent in the Low Countries.

The period brought into this paper comprises the reigns of Richard II. and Henry IV., *i.e.* 1377-1413. For the reign of Richard II. (22 years), 25 rolls have been preserved containing the records of four Court Leets, and of Court Baron meetings for portions of nine years. For Henry IV.'s reign there are 55 rolls, containing twelve Court Leets (1401-1412), and an almost complete record of Court Baron proceedings from July, 1400, to January, 1413. These early rolls are parchment sheets, about 10 inches wide, generally from 28 to 22 inches long, but occasionally cut down to 16 or even to 7 inches. Parchment was dear, and, therefore, when the Steward found that the minutes of a court-day did not fill up one side of a sheet, there was a temptation to cut off the bottom portion, to make use of it for engrossing some smaller deed. In Henry IV.'s time this snipping is replaced by a different economy of parchment, namely, filling up the vacant space by the entries for the next court. Wherever the record is carried over to the back of a roll, there is a law-Latin P.T.O. at the foot of the recto—*Verte*. The rolls are written with a wide margin, in which is entered most methodically a note of the contents of each paragraph and of the moneys mentioned in it. At the end of the record of each court a sum-total is given of the fees collected that day. The largest amount (in Richard II.'s reign) is 37s. 6d., in October, 1396; the smallest, 1s. 5d., in June, 1399. Certain items, *e.g.*, the proceeds of sale of wood, and the rent from pasture of pigs, although they are mentioned in the body of the roll, are never included in this *summa*, but are noted separately after it. On the back of the last roll of a regnal year, a summary is made of the whole proceeds of the Courts Baron and the Court Leet for that year. Afterwards,* the Steward added also a note of his expenses (generally about 2s.) in holding the Court; and occasionally, in accounting for these expenses, included bits of information of more interest

*This is found, as an established practice, in 1393, in the first roll after the gap (p. 8).

than the matters recorded in the roll. To the money expenditure, he always added the record of the bushel of oats (1 bz. aven.) which he drew from the store of the manor for the horses of himself and his clerks. The parchment is of two very different types, a thin filmy sort, and a thick leathery sort, reminding one of the difference between stout writing paper and foreign-letter paper. Up to September, 1401, the dates of the Court are by the old Saints' days, *e.g.*, Tuesday before St. Lawrence the Martyr, Tuesday after St. Faith the Virgin. From December, 1401, the date is by day of the month. The year is always that of the King's reign (the regnal year), never (in these early rolls) the year of our Lord.

TECHNICAL TERMS.

For explanation of any technical terms which occur in these notes, reference may be made to the paper on the Lyons Hall Court-Records, which appeared in this *Review* in October, 1903. It is interesting to compare the scope of the Waltham Court-rolls of Richard II.'s and Henry IV.'s time with the Great Leighs rolls of Charles I.'s and Charles II.'s time. The later rolls are much more explicit in their statement of the technical procedure of the manorial Court. The earlier rolls show a far wider range of business, and a real exercise of these arbitrary powers ("at the will of the Lord") which afterwards became something of a mere formula. The Court Baron at this time met at least four times a year, an indication of the urgent nature of its affairs.

ANTIQUITY OF PLACE-NAMES.

Great Waltham is a parish of unusual extent, comprising some 7,450 acres. It is, therefore, locally divided by rather more than its share of those Ends, Greens, Streets, etc., which occur so frequently in Essex place-names. It is interesting to find that the place-names which are still in use all date from more than 500 years ago.

Thus, taking definite examples in preference to a general statement, before 1399, we have Humphrey Clerk's copyholds in the hamlet of Forth-ende (now Fordend); a garden called le Osyeres, lying in the North-ende; John Grendhey and William Lurk, dwelling in Lytelhey-ende (Littley); John Stebbyng, tenant of Palmer's-garden in the South-ende; a purpresture (enclosure from the road) called Wikynge's, lying in Cherche-ende

(Church End) next the churchyard; John Gyn's meadow near Herteford-bregge (and so in Hartford-End). In the same way Broad's Green (no doubt) takes its name from some of the Brode family, a numerous clan of manorial tenants in Richard II.'s reign; and Breed's, from a similar family Breed or Brede, one of whom (John Breed) was a head tithing-man in 1397. Chatham Green is represented by John atte hill de Chatham. Rophey appears in Richard Parker, dwelling at Rowg-hey, and in 1404 in John Russell's socland at Roughey-grene. In 1406, we have mention of a two acre croft, called Colyn's, at Nuncel-hey-grene, now forgotten.

Howe Street is often found, *e.g.* in 1395 in Peter Brode's cottage in le hoo, and in 1396 in the Abbot of Walden's land at Shalfhope in hoostret. There were also within the parish Buck-street, New-street, and Oldfeld-street, the memory and names of which have perished.

Many farms also, after the lapse of five centuries, bear the old names. There are now Fitz-andrew's, Fitz-john's, Fanner's farms on the map, as also Margate wood, South House. In Sept., 1399, distraint was ordered for a relief due from Roger Fitz-andrew's freehold, on a change in the succession. In May, 1397,there was a dispute about the ownership of a hedge between John Fitz-john's lands and Cumbwell's, and at the same date Fanner's-croft changed hands. South-house is mentioned in 1404. John Magote is mentioned as owning land in 1409. Friday's farm is just south of Great Waltham: Gilbert Fryday occurs in 1407.

THE PEASANT RISING OF 1381.

The four earliest Waltham rolls are dated Dec. 20, 1379, and June 30, Aug. 7, Sept. 25, 1380. These dates are noteworthy. The year 1381 saw the great revolt of the peasants against the oppression of feudal superiors and the iniquity of the collectors of the King's taxes, a revolt which nowhere blazed more fiercely than in Essex. A chief object of the insurgents was the destruction of manorial deeds and court-rolls, because these recorded the burdensome duties to which serfs were bound by feudal custom. It is, therefore, remarkable to find Essex rolls which have escaped the general destruction of 1381. It is greatly to be regretted that the first rolls are followed by a gap of twelve years (1381-1392, 5-15 Richard II.) for which there

are no records. The leader in the suppression of the revolt was the king's uncle, Thomas, who in right of his wife was Earl of Essex and Lord of Great Waltham manor, and had his seat at Pleshey. We cannot but surmise that the missing rolls might have furnished, on the earl's own manor, valuable information about manorial conditions after the great revolt and about the severe measures adopted to reimpose the fetters of serfdom.

THE LORDS OF WALTHAM MANOR.

In these rolls the name of the Lord of the Manor is inserted in the heading of the roll only in the record of the first court held after his accession. There are, however, in the minutes themselves, incidental notices which help to bridge over the gaps caused by missing rolls. It is plain that throughout this period the Manor of Great Waltham was an appendage of the Earldom of Essex, and with it partook of that gloomy recurrence of defect of male heirs, and consequent change of house, which gives the annals of that title the complexion of a family under a curse, just such a story as Æschylus and Sophocles loved to moralise upon, an English analogue to the houses of Atreus and Laius. From a quotation in a later roll we learn of a grant which was made (probably*) by Humphrey de Bohun, third Earl of Essex (fourth Earl of Hereford), who fell in battle at Boroughbridge in March, 1321, and which was recorded in an "extent" (survey) of the Manor made in April that year, on the succession of his son, John. In 1374, after the death (1372) of the sixth de Bohun Earl of Essex (Earl also of Hereford and Northampton), the title, with the Manor of Waltham, became vested in Thomas Plantagenet, Edward III.'s youngest son, on his marriage with Eleanor, heiress of the de Bohuns. He was further created Earl of Buckingham in 1377, and Duke of Gloucester in 1385. From later notices we learn of two grants of his in Waltham Manor, the original records of which have not been preserved. On John "Cauntirbury" he bestowed the half-virgate, called Betteramme's, worth 20s. a year, free of rent; and he life-rented John "de la Sawcerye" in the virgate called Palmer's.

The tragic end of this prince forms one of the strangest episodes in the pictured pages of Froissart. Gloucester, with his

*Possibly by an earlier de Bohun. The Earldom and Manor came to the de Bohuns through the heiress of the Fitz-piers family about 1230, having already passed in the same way from the Magneville or Mandeville family to Fitz-piers.

duchess, and their young son and three daughters, was living at Pleshey. His nephew, Richard II., having stationed a ship in the Thames with orders to be ready to sail at a moment's notice, posted a body of the Earl Marshal's men at Stratford to arrest a prisoner of state on his way to London. When all was ready, Richard made a pretence of hunting towards Havering, and from thence rode over to Pleshey, which he reached about five in the afternoon. After a hasty supper, he said he must ride to London that very night to attend an important conference next day with the citizens. He then begged his uncle to ride with him, and advise him at the meeting. Gloucester, suspecting no evil, took with him of his own men only three esquires and four yeomen. The king then rode, at a rapid pace, by an unfrequented route towards London, reaching Stratford at ten at night. Here the men-at-arms in waiting seized Gloucester in the king's presence, hurried him to the ship, and so brought him to Calais, where he was speedily murdered (? 8 Sept., 1397) by the king's express order. His body was brought to Pleshey and buried in the College, which he had (in 1394) founded there. The occurence of this tragedy is marked in the formal minutes of Waltham manor by the alteration of a single letter. On 16th May, 1397, the style is *ad voluntatem domini* ("at the will of the lord"); on 8th October, 1398, in the next extant roll, it is *ad voluntatem domine* ("at the will of the lady"), because the manor was now in the widowed duchess's hands. This roll of 1398 contains also three grants, quite exceptional in their nature, which possess a pathetic interest, as being made by the duchess to servants who had been kind to her in her sorrow. On 8th October, 1398, John Cornyssh was admitted (for himself and his wife Margaret and their heirs) to tenure of a messuage and a virgate of land, called Adgore's, worth 30s. a year. He paid for admission only one farthing, because a servant of the lady of the manor; and, in addition, "for his good service, the lady, of her special grace," directed that he should pay five-pence a quarter in lieu of all rent, services, and customs. It was only after John Cornyssh's death that Adgore's was to resume the burden of "the services and customs due of old." Similarly, to Howell (Latinized as Hugo =Hugh) Power, "for his good and faithful service, the lady, of her special grace," gave the life interest of a messuage and a

quarter-virgate of land, called Gybelote's, in Lytel-hey, paying threepence half-yearly in lieu of all services and customs : at his death, the holding is to revert to the manor. This grant exempted Power from any obligation to repair his buildings, and we find the homage in later years loud in complaint of the ruinous condition of Gybelote's. More striking still is a grant, by "special grace of the lady," to Thomas* Wayte and his wife Joan, of John Blecche's half-virgate of "molond" in the south end of Waltham, worth 16s. a year. In this case, the only rent is to be six hunting arrows (sex sagittæ pro bosco), payable at Midsummer, and the grant is to hold good for their heirs of body; in defect of issue of the marriage, to revert to the manor. An Elizabethan lawyer, searching these rolls for matters pertinent to his profession, has pounced on this quaint tenure, and noted in the margin, "A reservacyon of six shafts." Still more striking, if we may vary our phrase to meet a new case, is the grant of Thomas Cowland of a house and 10 acres, worth 7s. a year. Here the roll recording the grant is not forthcoming, but we have a copy of the letter, in law-French, by which the duchess made the grant, dated "à loundres [London] le xiii. d'Octobre, l'an du roy Ric. secund puis le conquest xxii." [1398]. In this Alianore de Bohun, duchesse de Gloucestre et countesse d'Essex, lets everybody know that, pour le bonn et greable service que nostre ame servant Thomas Couland ad fait à mon très honouréz sieur et mary (que Dieu asseolle), she has granted late James Godard's holding to said Thomas Couland, on payment of all usual services and rents and under condition of keeping the buildings in repair, and this grant is to be only "à nostre volunté."

Thus, in four grants made in one year, we have examples of tenures created at the lady's will (*a*) for term of the lady's pleasure only (Cowland's), (*b*) for life-rent of the individual (Power's), (*c*) for heirs of-body of a particular marriage (Wayte's), (*d*) for heirs general (Cornish's). It is characteristic both of the arbitrary nature of the copyhold system and of the debt-of-honour feeling of a manor that the Steward (on Duchess Eleanor's death in 1400), ordered the seizure of all these holdings, and that in the same year Edmund, Earl of Stafford, the new lord, confirmed them, even Cowland's.

* Possibly "John." My notes (and it may be the rolls) have "John" in the earlier, "Thomas" in the later notices. A weak-sighted person, like myself, is apt to make mistakes with the contractions of the MS.

Duchess Eleanor died on the second of October, 1399. On July 28, 1400, we have "the first court of Joan (Plantagenet), Countess of Bucks,* one of the daughters and heirs" of said Eleanor. Here we have the remarkable record of 92 freemen tenants and one serf tenant attending to perform fealty and of 38 absent tenants being bound over to attend next court for that purpose. Even this list of 131 tenants of the Manor was incomplete. Joan died that autumn, and on December 18, 1400, we have "the first Court of Edmund (de Stafford, fourteenth) Earl of Stafford," the youthful husband of Anne, daughter and now heiress of Eleanor, late Countess of Essex and Duchess of Gloucester. On this occasion, 127 tenants attended to do fealty, and 15 defaulters were summoned to next court, a total of 142 all mentioned by name. In Joan's first court, the Steward had ordered seizure of all the holdings granted by Duke Thomas and Duchess Eleanor, until the grantees had proved that these holdings ought not to be forfeited. The record of Earl Edmund's confirmation of two of them (Wayte's and Cowland's) is entered on the roll for May 16, 1403, and on two attached slips, endorsed (in French) by his "auditor" Robert Frampton, setting forth his pleasure to that effect, dated May 6 (1403), 4 Henry IV. This must have been among the last of this earl's Waltham transactions, since he fell in Shrewsbury fight, July 21, 1403. For a short time his widow, Anne (Plantagenet), Countess of Stafford, held the Manor in her own right, there being a manumission of a serf dated January 1, 1405, granted by her while still in pura viduitate. In the roll for February 19, 1405, the change of a single letter (*ad voluntatem domine* becoming *ad voluntatem domini*) advises us of her re-marriage, this time to William Bourchier, Comte d' Eu in Normandy. Next year (September, 1406), the Steward's foot-note of his expenses contains this item:—"Expenses at Waltham several times about money lent by the villagers to the Lord, 20d." We are left to conjecture the occasion for this loan. Henry IV. had a modern Chancellor of the Exchequer's appreciation of the fiscal capacity of estates, and may have

* The title is by mere courtesy, this earldom being extinguished by her father's attainder 25th Sept., 1397. It is remarkable that the Staffords omitted to claim the earldom of Essex, which was not revived till 1461 and then in favour of Henry Bourchier, son (by her third marriage) of Anne Plantagenet.

exacted a heavy contribution from the fortunate wooer* for leave to marry the Essex heiress. Or, this third husband's foreign title may have been accompanied by impecuniosity in England. On this latter alternative, the Steward's little note on the back of the court-roll is a fifteenth century anticipation of William Prynne, who lost his ears for inserting in the index of his treatise against the stage a condemnation which he had not dared to include in the text.

NOTICES OF SERFS IN WALTHAM MANOR.

In later Plantagenet times the outstanding social feature was the existence of serfdom. Violently shaken by the great rising of 1381, this form of slavery had been speedily re-established, and its presence can be traced long afterwards, though as a dying institution.

We should scarcely have looked for notices of serfdom in the Court-Rolls, since the serfs would be found either in the Lord's household or on his demesne-land, and therefore not under the Steward's jurisdiction. It so happens, however, that, from one cause or another, questions relating to serfs did come before the Court, and that we have thus several glimpses of serfdom in its decadence.

There is a remarkable suit in the Court Leet of 1397, which testifies to the intolerable slur imposed by an imputation of servile birth. Humphrey Clerk, of Great Waltham, a considerable copyholder, had been slandered by some of the Duke of Gloucester's household, asserting that Clerk was a serf (nativus). To clear himself, he petitioned the Duke to order an inquisition, by all tenants (free and serf) of the manors of High Easter and Waltham, into his birth and the status of his forbears. The Duke committed this enquiry to his chief steward, William Nafreton, and his esquire, John Corbet. They assembled the tenants of both manors, and chose from them a sworn jury of 24 men. Evidence was then led, both oral and documentary. The verdict was that Humphrey Clerk was a freeman (liber et liberæ conditionis, according to the oft recurring formula), as had been his ancestors from all time.

Serfdom involved certain annual payments (a sort of poll-tax) and certain acts of forced labour for the lord. In November,

* He was son of Sir William de Bourchier and of Eleanor de Lovain, heiress of Little Easton, Essex.

1406, the homage reported the deaths of John Durame and of William Russell, each of whom owed the lord yearly a capon for his head, and of William atte Wode, Edmund atte Wode, and John atte Wode, each of whom owed three capons a year. The bedell was no longer to account for those eleven capons. Here we have a hint of one way in which serfdom died out, the old serfs passing away, and the new generation growing up as freemen. The forced labour we find attached to certain small holdings, and we have examples of its extinction by omission or commutation. In July, 1400, the cottage of Lettice Bekenere (Bickner), forfeited because no heir claimed it, was re-granted to John Pastan, on condition of performing the old services, but *sine merennio* (*i.e.* released from obligation to give so many days timber-felling for the lord). In February, 1405, John Lefchild succeeded his mother, Joan, in the tenure of a half-virgate of copyhold and a quarter-virgate of molond, which were held by a rent of 40d. a year, and the reaping of a rood of wheat and a rood of oats for the lord. In the same court John Stonhach, chaplain, inheriting from his mother a quarter-virgate of copyhold and a socland was allowed for term of his life to substitute a money payment (proportionable to the requirements of the manor) in lieu of all services. In April, 1410, John Porter surrendered two copyhold crofts, called Huntelee's crofts, which he had held by performance of the old services, and received them again by re-grant to himself and his heirs, to be held by annual payment of 3s. 10½d. in lieu of services. These old forced labour contributions gave to the lord's cottage property the opprobrious name of "bondage" (bondagium), as distinct from "fee" (feodum), the name for the rest of the manorial land. Contrast the two entries:—"Jeffrey Davenysch is to show his title to certain lands which he has occupied in the lord's fee," and "Robert Warrenger is to show how he has come into the lord's bondage, viz., in respect of a cottage called Russell's." Among the servile dues which continued to attach to copyholds we ought, perhaps, to reckon the *avesagium* custom, which is mentioned later on among the notices of Apechild park.

The serf was bound to the lord by a different form of oath from that imposed on other tenants. We have not the terms of the oath, but we have express mention of its existence. On July 28, 1400, in the first Court of Joan (Plantagenet), Countess

of Bucks, 92 tenants did fealty, and " John Rede came and made to the lady the oath after the fashion of a serf because he is a serf by birth " (praestitit dominæ sacramentum ad modum nativi quod nativus est de sanguine). We are not to assume that he was the only serf in the manor, but apparently the only one holding land as a tenant.

We have an instance of emancipation of a serf and his issue and all his belongings. On Feb. 19, 1405, Stephen Rede of Great Waltham, produced in court a letter dated at Plesshiz, Jan. 1, 1405, under seal of Anne, Countess of Stafford, emancipating said Stephen, cum tota sequela sua et cum omnibus bonis et catallis suis, so that said Stephen and his issue are for ever to be free and of free condition and for ever exonerated de chivagio. The bedell is no longer to account for the levying and the payment of the said "chivage," i.e. (from French chef) the yearly capitation fee paid by a serf to his lord.

Another feature of serfdom was the obligation of the serf to remain on the manor; if he left, the law brought him back. At all its meetings, of which we have record in 1379 and 1380, the Court Baron ordered the arrest (attachiare per corpus) of two serfs of the lord, both named John Oldefeld, one living in Hatfield Peverel, the other in Ware. On April 4, 1408, the Court ordered John Artor, son of Arthur Levegor (who was a serf of the lord), to be present in next court " to receive what the court shall decide concerning him."

A serf's daughter might not marry without the lord's leave, and for this leave a fine was exacted. On Jan. 31, 1397, John Rede gave the lord 3s. 4d. fine for leave to marry Matilda, his daughter, to Andrew Hereward, a freeman; and, the record runs, " this license was granted in consideration of that fine." A later case dragged for some time through the Court, going through some odd developments. In Feb., 1405, the homage presented that Thomas Wavell of Moulsham (by Chelmsford), had come into the lord's domain; contracted with Juliana Kyng (a serf, daughter of a serf, John Kyng, deceased), and married her (on Monday, Feb. 10) without leave; it was suggested that the lord should prosecute him " by brief." In May, 1406, the homage presented that John atte Rothe, ex-bedell, among his other malversations, had without warrant taken 40d. from Thomas Wavell, as fine for his marriage with Juliana Kyng. In

April, 1408, the homage resumed the subject of the Kyng family. Juliana Kyng, daughter of the late John Kyng, was now a widow and resident in Chelmsford, and the bedell was ordered to arrest her (seisire per corpus) and bring her to next court. Her brother, John Kyng, was at this time resident in the lord's household (see note, *infra.*), and his children John and Margaret observed the feudal law by living with their mother within the domain. In August, 1408, the bedell reported that he had executed the arrest and taken sureties for Juliana's appearance. The matter was finally settled by the Court levying 6s. 8d. from John Reve and John Colhoppe, Juliana's pledges, as a fine for her marrying without leave.

The last mark of serfdom which we must notice was the exaction of a heriot. No instance of it occurs in these rolls, but its possibility is constantly kept in view, in the entry "on the death of this copyholder no heriot fell to the lord, because the holding is not heriotable." The nearest approach to it is in December, 1400, when the Steward reported that "no heriot fell due on the death of Marjory Alysandre, widow, because a heriot was given by her jointure-land on the death of her husband."

NOTICES OF THE FRANKPLEDGE TIE.

Another noteworthy feature in the structure of society was the "pledge" (plegium) by which the bulk of the male population was knit together under the lord, and through him to the king.

With the exceptions (*a*) of freeholders and other persons of rank or property and *(b)* menservants and retainers of a great household* (whose head was responsible for them), all men between the ages of 12 and 60 were grouped into sets nominally of ten. This, in Saxon times, seems to have implied the making good by the corporate "ten" of any damage done by any of its members. But by this time, as we shall see, the number ten in a tithing cannot have been kept up.

The chief function left to the tithing in these later Plantagenet times was the bringing of the mass of the people under oath of allegiance to the king. As soon as a lad within the Manor reached the age of twelve, he was summoned to attend the Court and take the oath. So also with any incomer, as soon as

*In 1408, *e.g.*, John Kyng, put down with other defaulting tithing-men, is not fined with them because "within the household" (at Pleshey).

he had been resident within the Manor for a whole year. The summons, in either case, was issued indifferently by the Court Baron and the Court Leet. Thus, October 1398, the Court Baron placed John Brode on the tithing, and he took the oath ; and on the same day John Arundel and four others were summoned to attend next Court to "undertake the burden of a tithing-man." Similarly, May, 1399, the Court Leet presented that John Rede, souter (shoemaker), John Blacston, and John Whyn, were "over twelve years of age, and resident in the precinct of the view," and ordered them to attend the next Court. Accordingly, in the Court Baron, June 10, 1399, these three men were present, and took the oath. In 1407, no less than 17 persons received this order, and in 1408, twelve persons, including John Duraunte and "Richard, servant of John Pyryman."

It was possible to purchase removal from the tithing. Thus, in June, 1396, John Cauel, and in May, 1412, Andrew Hereward, each paid 6d. to be "removed from the duty of a tithing-man." I take this to be purchase of discharge in anticipation of the legal limit of 60 years. It has been otherwise explained to be purchase of transference from one tithing to another, but that does not seem to satisfy the formula employed. Change of residence broke the tie: thus, in 1408, John Couland, John Badcock, John Arundel were put down as in default as tithing-men, but not fined, "because outside the domain."

For each "ten" or tithing, the lord nominated a head-man to act as spokesman for the rest. These head-men (capitales plegii) are usually recited by name at the beginning of the Court Leet roll. For Waltham Manor they seem to have been about 30 in number. In 1399, 33 are named ; in 1400, 30 named and 5 fined (for default or absence); in 1408, 27 named and 4 fined.

The head-man's office must have had its troubles, for we find, people paying to be excused from it. In 1395, John Marchaunt and John Bernard each paid 6d., "to be removed from the duty of head-man of the pledge."

There are some obscure entries about them. Thus, June 17, 1408, John Brede and John Gyn, carpenter, were mulcted 4d. each, because, being summoned ("exacti"), they did not appear ; and Thomas Corynall was mulcted 3d., because, being seen in the "view" and exactus, he did not come. One wonders whether, as in the old church-vestry days, someone had been sent

out to drag in people to constitute a quorum, and these three had refused to come.

The chief duty of the head-men was attendance at the Court Leet (see later on). We find head-men fined for default, probably for absence. The fine varies, being perhaps increased on repetition of the offence. In 1399, James Porter, head-man, was fined 3d. for default; in 1401, he was fined 1s., while John Ryche, also in default, was fined only 3d.

At this time, not only the head-men, but, I think, also the rest of the tithing were expected to attend the Court Leet. In May, 1401, 16 tithing-men (decenarii) were mulcted from 3d. to 8d. each for default, and in 1409, 18 men were mulcted. I can see no probable explanation of this large number of defaulters, except that they were fined for absence from Court.

If both head-men and their tithing-men attended the Court Leet, it must have presented something of the character of a review of all of military age of the classes who furnished private soldiers. This would be the more striking, since other Manors, (High Easter, for example) held their Court Leet at Pleshey on the same day as Waltham. We learn this from the Steward's note of expenses, *e.g.*, in the view of 1404, he noted that he had charged nothing on the Waltham roll, but had put down the expenses to the account of the bedell of High Easter.

The head-men and their tithing-men combined, at the beginning of each Court Leet, to present the lord with a "common fine." The formula sets forth that "for themselves and their tithing-men (tam pro se quam pro decenarsii suis) according to ancient custom, they present to the lord for a common fine at the rate of a penny per head up to this day." This seems to me to correspond to the custom of "suing out the King's pardon," by which, on payment of fees, a deed was obtained, debarring the Crown from prosecuting the holder for any offence prior to its date. If this is the right analogy, this common fine may be looked upon as purchasing immunity for all petty offences of the past year, not actually brought into Court. The amount of the common fine was seldom the same in any two years; thus in the year 1403 it was 11s. 9d., in 1404, 11s. 7d.; in 1405, 11s. 3d.; in 1406, 11s. 1d. From this it is plain that it bore some distinct relation to the number of men in the tithings

within the view. The lowest amount is 8s. 8d., in 1397, representing 104 persons; the highest is 12s. 1d. in 1401, representing 145 persons. These numbers, for some reason, are far below what they would be if the 'tens' were filled in. Thus, in 1404, with 31 head-men and 11s. 7d. common fine, we have a little over four in each 'ten,' and in 1409, with 25 head-men (assuming that those named in the roll were all) and 10s. 5d. fine, we have just five in a 'ten.' This points to a skeleton system, handed down from an age of denser population; an assumption confirmed by the frequent mention, at this date, of ruinous cottages.

(*To be continued.*)

AN ESSEX ALCHEMIST.

BY WILLIAM CHAPMAN WALLER, F.S.A.

NOT long ago Mr. Edwin Francis Gay, an American student of our early records, very kindly gave me the reference to a curious bit of Essex lore, on which, in the course of his researches, he had chanced to light.* It occurs in the *Star Chamber Proceedings* of the reign of Edward VI., but internal evidence leads one, as we shall see, to the conclusion that it should occur under those of his father's reign. It is endorsed, "The examination of Sir Thomas Elys, priest," who, as we learn, had been prior of Leighs, to which office he was, Newcourt tells us, appointed in 1527. While yet prior, he appears to have devoted himself to reading books on alchemy. Intercourse with a Lombard Street goldsmith made him acquainted with a priest cunning in such matters, and the priest put him into communication with Thomas Peter, a London clothworker, who asserted that he had the science of alchemy as well as any man in England. This science he was not unwilling, for a consideration, to impart, and the prior, in addition to paying twenty nobles down, gave also a bill for twenty marks—no inconsiderable sum in those days.

With the assistance of Edward Freke, at the time aged twelve years, but already a canon of Leighs, the prior set to work, with metals supplied by Master Peter; and, according to his own account, for ten weeks, according to that of his assistant, for eight months, he made a continual fire night and day, under

* *Star Chamber Proc.*, Edward VI., 7/85.

a furnace, on which he set his silver and quicksilver to boil. After a time, whether longer or shorter, he came to the conclusion that his occupation was, as he phrases it, "but a false craft," and, having melted the silver, he sold it, telling Peter that he would pay him no more money.

Three or four years afterwards Peter appealed to law, and the prior was served with a *subpœna*. Thereupon his heart failed him, and, confessing his indebtedness to the convent chapter, he set about finding money to meet his bill. In his difficulties the prior had turned to one Richard Lyndsell, or Lyndsey, by whom he was advised to pay the money, as his proceedings were contrary to law, as indeed they were, being punishable as felony.* Lyndsell seems to have used his knowledge to extract from the Prior a lease of the vicarage of Matching, at that time in the gift of Leighs Priory, promising at the same time to discharge the debt due to Thomas Peter. Now twenty marks, it is suggested, was less than the lease was worth, and there is a hint that Lyndsell, aided by one Thomas Wiseman, of Great Waltham, threatened the luckless prior by means of "divers letters and great words." It is evident, too, that the prior was suspected of something worse than alchemy, but he emphatically repudiates the suggestion that he had coined money, or clipped and uttered coins : proceedings punishable as high treason.

The decrees and orders of the Court of Star Chamber are, unfortunately, no longer extant. "In 1719," Mr. Scargill-Bird tells us, "the last notice of them that could be got was that they were in a house in St. Bartholomew's Close, London, and it is to be feared that they have been destroyed." There is, therefore, nothing to shew what the upshot of it all was ; but the fragments as they stand, afford a curious picture of the occupations of a dignified ecclesiastic of the time, and of the training of a neophyte.

The proceedings would seem to have been taken long after the commission of the offence, if they are rightly assigned to the reign of Edward VI. But Edmund Freke, the youthful canon of Leighs, in his deposition, describes himself as "now beyng Chanon of Waltham," and the abbot and canons of that monas-

*Statute 5 Hen. IV., c. 4 (1403-4) :—"Item ordeignez est et estabiiz q' nully desorenavant use de multiplier or ou argent, ne use le art de multiplicacion : Et si null le face et de ceo soit atteint qil encourge la peyne de felonie en ce cas." This statute was not repealed until late in the 17th century.

tery executed a deed of surrender in 1540, he being the last of the signatories to it. It seems, therefore, that the proceedings must have taken place in or before that year, and, consequently, in the reign of Henry VIII. Elys, or Ellis, as we have seen, became prior of Leighs in 1527; and, also according to Newcourt, he was in 1538, presented by the abbot of Waltham to the vicarage of Blackmore, possibly on the suppression of his priory. It only now remains to add the quaint depositions and interrogatories:—

THE EXAMINATION OF SIR THOMAS ELYS, PREAST.

It ys of a trewth ther was a certeyne preste I London browght me acquayntyd wt thoms peter clothe worker in london that sayd he hade the scyens of Alkemy as well as eny man in Yngland, whom I desyryd to teche yt me, and he wolde not but I shulde geve hyme xx li., and so he hade xxti nobyls in hand and xxti marks to be payd by a byll of my hande when yt was fynsyhyd. Wtin a certeyne tyme I perceyvyd yt was but a false crafte I wolde not paye hym no more mony. then he be gane to sue me for the xxti marks. then I wolde not abyde the tryall of the lawe. And master lyndsell desyryd to have the lease of the parsonage of macchyng and proferde me xxti marke ther for. then I desyryd master lyndsell to paye that xxti marke unto the above sayd thomas peter. And thus I never medelyd wt hym syne, nor with the crafte, nor never wyll, god wyllyng.

THOMAS ELLYS, preste.

It. Wat occasyon The prior had at ye fyrst to ynquier Who was conyng yn multyplyyng*.

Nothyng causyd me to enquire but by redyng of bokys and comynyd wt. crawthorne a goldsmyth in lumbardstrete that sayd ther was a prest callyd Sir george that made hym selfe cunnyng in suche maters the wyche preste browghte me acqueyntyd wt thomas peter.

It. Who gave hym cowynssell to lerne The craft and the circumstance of the same.

By the redyng of my bokys and thomas peter gave me councell to folowe yt.

It. Who browthe hym acquayntyd wythe ye prest yt browthe hym to Thomas peter and wat was ye prestes name and where he ys and wat occacyon the prior had to move eny shyche matier to ye prest.

As yt is answerd in the fyrst article.

It. howelong ye prior occupyd The craft and how and after wat fassyon and who was withe hym all ye whyle where yt was don and how long yt was adoying and where.

I dyd folow thys peters Instruccons uppon a ten wekys and sealeyed yt in a glasse and put it in a pot of erthe wt water and so kept yt in a heate and no body wt me but my selfe and my lade and peter came thyther twysse in the mene season.

It. Wat metall wat water wat sylver wat gold he put together and wat he lost by yt and where he bestoweyd yt wan he had don and wat he dyd wythe

*Cunning in multiplying.

ye pottys and panys and whereof They [were] and wat tolys and ynsterments yt he ocupyd wythe all Thereabowthe.

An ounce of sylver in lymall* I hade of peter and quyksylver and that peter put to gether and when I perceyvyd yt was nought I molte the sylver and solde yt and vessells I had non but a erthen pot and a glasse the I brake to have yt oute.

It. Whether The prior cowyned eny mony or no to serve There turne or no.

I never coynyd nor never thowght to do nor never wyll god wyllyng.

It. Whether he menysshyd ony sylver or gold cowynyd and uttered yt after or no.

I never mynyschyd non ther for.

It. Wat occassyon Then had to leave ys occupying of ye same.

by cause I dyde perceyve It was not trewe.

It. Who suyd ye byll of xx marcs for peter yn ye law and who hathe ye byll.

Mr. hughe Oldecastell sued the byll by a letter of attorney the whyche byll when the mony was payd was delyvered me.

It. Who was ye priors Aturny yn ye law for ye Defense of ye same.

Attorney had I none but when the subpena was delyverd me I desyryd M. lyndsell to paye the mony for me and he demaundyd wherfor I dyd owe hym the mony and I sayd for suche a folysthe bargayne I made wt peter as I have writyne afore and he advysyd me to paye the mony and schoyd me yt was contrary to the lawe to occupye it.

It. how lynsell cam to ye knowledge fyrst and by whom and wat tyme.

by the men as I have writyne afore.

It. for wat cawse ye prior dyd breke promys to (? Sprenger) for ye lesse of macchyng parsonage seyng he had Receyvyd hom hys stok of corne yt went wythe ye parsonage and receyvyd sertyn mony to.

[*Blank.*]

It

It. Who wer messyngers and spechemen for lynsell for ye obtaynyng of ye lese of Macchyng parsonage and wat Thretenyng wurds They gave ye prior and shyche letters as lynsell sent ye prior bryng to me.

Hymselfe was the grettest laborer therefor and Thomas Wysman of myche Waltham and sent me dyvers letters.

THOMAS ELLYS, preste.

It. Wat and how lynsell Thretend yye prior or he cold have ys lese wythe grete wurds.

[*Blank*]

It. How myche the prior mythe have had for ye lese at That tyme (yf lynsell had not had it) more than xx marks.

It. Bryng me sum of ye mony yt They had witshyd† yn exeersysyng of ye same.

Md. that I edmund freke now beyng chanon of Waltham do the knowlege the truthe for as myche as I do remember that when I was chanon of leghs and of the age of xij. yere olde, by the commawndment of syr thomas ellys then pryor of

*i.e., silver filings. Limail (*Fr. limaille*) is used by Chaucer. (Bailey).

†Witched

the sayd house of leghs dyd make a contynual fyer under a furnes bothe day and nyght the tyme of eight monthys or more to my remembrans and uppon the same furness there was sett in arshes sum tyme thre glassys and at sum tyme iiij. glassys in the wyche ther was metall putt in by the sayd syr thomas ellys but what metall yt was yt ys to me unknowen and farther I dyd se hym sett thes glassys in the fyer and after when they had takyn a very grete hete wt a payer of pynchyns he wold wrest the mowthys of them together, thys forsayd metall was temperyd in hys hands or ever it was putt in to these glassys wyche parte of yt was quycke sylver and the rest of yt was in thynne platys lyke tyne or whyght lead, and in the tyme of the doyng of thys forsayd besynes there dyd Repayer unto hym a man that then dwellyd in london whose name he callyd Master peter and also a prist wyche often tymes came wt the sayd master peter, whose name ys unknowyn to me then afterwards the tyme of iij. or iiij. yerys the sayd pryor dyd geve knowlege to the covent that he was Indettyd to the said master peter and for the contentatyon of the same dett he grawntyd the lease of machyng parsonage to one master Rychard lynsey for terme of yerys, the wyche Richard lynsey promysyd the pryor to dyscharge him of the forsayd dett.

By me EDMUND FREKE.

WILLIAM OF COLCHESTER:

ABBOT OF WESTMINSTER 1384 to 1420 A.D.

BY ALFRED P. WIRE.

WANDERING recently among the tombs and monuments of Westminster Abbey, I found in the Chapel of St. John the Baptist in the north ambulatory, the Gothic tomb of William of Colchester, abbot of Westminster from A.D. 1384 to 1420, a most important man of his time who lived and held office during the reigns of Richard II., Henry IV., and Henry V. As I stood looking at the fine tomb, with its handsome recumbent, though somewhat battered, figure, I could not remember that William had ever been recognized as a Colchester worthy. Without evidence to the contrary, Colchester may surely claim him as a noble son, for in those days eminent men generally took their surnames from the places of their birth, witness John of Waltham, a contemporary of William who lies buried in the Chapel of the kings.

By kind permission of the Dean, I was allowed to take the photographs of the tomb which illustrate this article. The tomb and figure are of freestone, the effigy having been painted black. Two mourning angels, clad in elegantly folded drapery,

recline on each side of the head—one, sad to say, that on the south side, has lost its head. The feet rest on a dog. The guide books say a "lamb," but on looking carefully at the sculpture, the feet of the animal are certainly those of a dog. A very small part of the tomb can be seen from the ambulatory, as other monuments hide it. The photographs were both taken from inside the chapel. It will be noticed that a piece of the tomb at the east end has been broken away to make room for the steps of a more recent monument. The name and dates are painted on the tomb in modern letters, but the second date 1396, presumably meant for the date of abbot William's death, is acknowledged by all authorities to be wrong.*

The picture of the effigy looking down on the tomb is copied from Chas. Knight's *Old London* (vol. iv., page 77). The hands are represented here in a different position from that they are now in. This discrepancy might be accounted for by supposing that the artist thought the abbot would look better in a fresh attitude, or by imagining that the stone effigy, growing tired of praying through so many years, adopted a little change of position as a relief.

William of Colchester is the abbot of Westminster who figures as one of the *dramatis personæ* of Shakespeare's "Richard II.," but he is not a prominent character, for he only speaks twice. Shakespeare, following the chroniclers (Hall and Holinshed), makes abbot William the originator of the conspiracy to

*On the pillow are the initials "W. C." (cf. Miss Bradley's Annals *of Westminster Abbey*, 1895, p 99.)—EDS.

replace Richard on the throne by the murder of Henry IV. Afterwards he records the abbot's sudden death of remorse for his crime.* These statements are historically inaccurate, for the archives of the Abbey prove that abbot William lived until the reign of Henry V., and was so much in the confidence of Henry IV. that this king, after ruthlessly crushing the rebellion by executing the chief conspirators, handed one of them—bishop Merke of Carlisle—over to him for safe custody.

Photo by *A. P. Wire.*

TOMB OF ABBOT WILLIAM OF COLCHESTER.

William of Colchester was evidently a man of great scholarship and ability. Nothing appears to be known of his early life and education, but before his appointment as abbot in 1386 he was an important monk of the Abbey. We find that he was Archdeacon in 1382, and was allowed certain great privileges—a chamber and garden to himself, a yearly salary of six marks, a corrody, or monk's provision, and was treated in all respects

* "The Abbat of Westminster in whose house this traiterous confederacy was conspired, hearyng that the chefetains of his felowshippe, were espied, taken and executed, going betwene his monastery and mancion, for thoughte fell in a sodaine palsey, and shortely after, without any speche, ended his life."—(*Hall's Chronicle, p.* 19).—EDS.

as a senior monk. All this was on account of special services he had rendered to his convent in a lawsuit. King Edward the Third had founded within the royal palace at Westminster the College of St. Stephen's, and the then abbot of Westminster claimed jurisdiction over the Dean and Canons of this new foundation. The cause was removed to Rome, and William of Colchester was sent as the Abbey's advocate. He was in Rome from July, 1377 to November, 1379, when the cause was settled in favour of the Abbey of St. Peter's. The Dean and Canons of St. Stephen's would not, however, submit, and by the King's influence the cause was re-opened and finally settled by a compromise in 1794. A second time in 1384 Colchester went to Rome on business most likely connected with the above suit. Again in 1391 the king sent him abroad on some business now unknown. In 1393 he was president of the triennial chapter of the Benedictines.

On Aug. 2, 1394, Ann, the beloved consort of King Richard II. had a most magnificent funeral in the Abbey, at which Archbishop Arundel, the northern Primate and abbot Colchester officiated, assisted by the principal clergy. In 1395 the abbot opposed the king about the interment in the Royal Chapel, of John of Waltham, bishop of Salisbury. Hitherto no person except of royal blood had been buried there. The king insisted on his wishes being carried out, and the abbot only gave way on being appeased with costly gifts from the king and friends of the deceased prelate.

In April 1399 abbot William accompanied Richard and various nobles and prelates to Ireland to form a commission to settle matters that had been left over by a Parliament which was held at Shrewsbury in 1390. On their return, Richard was imprisoned in the Tower by the Duke of Lancaster. Abbot William, with fifteen other commissioners, was deputed by Parliament to confer with the imprisoned king and to receive from him the resignation of the crown. This conference took place on Michaelmas Day, 1399, and Holinshed says:—

> He tooke a ring of gold from his finger being his signet and put it upon the said dukes finger [Henry of Bolingbroke, duke of Lancaster], desiring and requiring the archbishop of Yorke and the bishop of Hereford to shew and make report unto the lords of the parlement of his voluntarie resignation and also of his intent and good mind that he bare towards his cousin, the duke of Lancaster, to have him his successour and their King after him.

It was at the end of this scene, so well described by Shakespeare, that the following colloquy (*Richard II., Act IV. Scene i.*) occurs :—

Abbot of Westminster. A woeful pageant have we here beheld.
Bishop. The woe's to come : the children yet unborn
Shall feel this day as sharp to them as thorn.
Aumerle. You holy clergymen, is there no plot
To rid the realm of this pernicious blot ?
Abbot of W. My Lord, before I freely speak my mind herein,
You shall not only take the sacrament
To bury mine intents but also to effect
Whatever I shall happen to devise.
I see your brows are full of discontent
Your hearts of sorrow and your eyes of tears ;
Come home with me to supper, I will lay
A plot shall show us all a merry day.

The next day, September 30, the Duke of Lancaster was proclaimed king as Henry IV., and on St. Edward's Day, Oct. 13, he was solemnly crowned in Westminster Abbey. Before the expiration of the year, however, an extensive conspiracy was formed to reinstate Richard II. on the throne. According to Hall, whom, as we have seen, Shakespeare followed, the arch conspirator and contriver of the plot was William of Colchester :

Ye shall understand [says the historian] that this abbat, as it is reported upon a time heard king Henry saie when he was but earle of Derbie, and young of yeares, that princes had too little and religious men too much. He therefore doubting now least if the king continued long in the estate, he would remove the great beam that then greeued his eies and pricked his conscience, became an instrument to search out the minds of the nobilitie and to bring them to an assemblie and councell where they might consult and commen together how to bring that to effect which they earnestlie wished and desired, that was—the destruction of king Henrie and the restoring of king Richard. For there were diuerse lords that shewed themselves outwardlie to fauour king Henrie where they secretlie wished and sought his confusion. The abbat after he had felt the minds of sundrie of them called to his house on a day in the terme time all such lords and other persons which he either knew or thought to be as affectioned to king Richard, as enuious to the prosperitie of king Henry, whose names were – John Holland, earl of Huntingdon late duke of Excester, Thomas Holland, earle of Kent late duke of Surrie, Edward, earle of Rutland late duke of Aumarle sonne to the duke of York, John Montacute, earl of Salisburie, Hugh lord Spencer late earle of Gloucester, John the bishop of Carlisle, sir Thomas Blunt, and Maudelen a priest, one of king Richards chappel—a man as like him in stature and proportion in all lineaments of bodie, as unlike in birth, dignitie and conditions.

The abbat highlie feasted these lords, his speciall friends, and when they had well dined they withdrew into a secret chamber where they sate downe in

councell and after much talke and conference had about the bringing of their purpose to passe concerning the destruction of king Henrie,at length by the aduise of the earle of Huntingdon it was deuised that they should take upon them a solemn justs to be enterprised betweene him and 20 on his part and the earle of Salisburie and 20 with him at Oxford, to the which triumph king Henrie should be desired, and when he should be most busilie marking the martiall pastime he suddenlie should be slaine and destroied, and so by that means king Richard who as yet liued might be restored to libertie; and have his former estate and dignitie. It was further appointed who should assemble the people, the number and persons which should accomplish and put in execution their deuised enterprise. Hereupon was an indenture sextipartite made, sealed with their seales, and signed

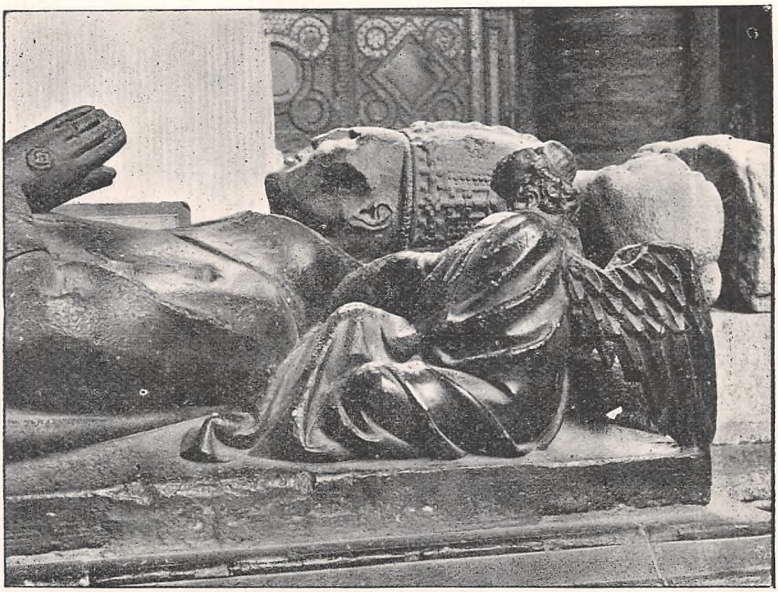


Photo by *A. P. Wire.*

WILLIAM OF COLCHESTER.

with their hands in the which each stood bound to other, to do their whole indeuour for the accomplishing of their purposed exploit. Moreover they sware on the holie euangelists to be true and secret each to other, euen to the houre and point of death (Holinshed, *Chronicle*, vol. iii., p. 514).

These precautions, however, were of no avail. The conspiracy was discovered to Henry by the Earl of Rutland, himself one of the conspirators, just a few minutes before his father, the Duke of York, who had accidentally found out his son's complicity, was going to disclose it. Henry took swift vengeance. Nineteen of the conspirators were impeached and

executed, and their heads distributed on poles about the metropolis. The bishop of Carlisle (Merke) was handed by the king to the safe keeping of abbot William—a thing Henry would hardly have done had Colchester been the head and front of the plot; this, therefore, throws doubt on the story.

In May, 1408, abbot Colchester was in Italy, most probably to attend the Cardinals who assembled at Pisa in that month to consider and amend if possible the schism in the Papacy.

On March 20, 1413 Henry IV. being at his devotions at the shrine of St. Edward (the Confessor) previously to his proposed journey or pilgrimage to Jerusalem to fulfil a vow, was suddenly taken ill—a fit, probably, of epilepsy—and was carried senseless into the abbot's room known as the Jerusalem Chamber. On coming to himself and asking where he was, he remembered the prophecy that he should die at Jerusalem, felt that his end was near, gave good advice to the Prince of Wales and then expired. All these incidents are familiar in Shakespeare's marvellous rendering of them. May we not safely surmise that as abbot William was present at Henry's coronation, so he was present at the king's death, in the abbot's own private room.

The abbot became a favourite of Henry V., and was sent by him as English ambassador in 1414 to the General Council held at Constance, in Switzerland, to settle the long continued rivalry of the two Popes. On this occasion, William, finding that foreign churches had a much larger representation than his own and thinking this unfair, caused more persons from England to be added to his commission.

Under William of Colchester the re-building of the nave was pushed vigorously on, the young king giving handsomely from his private purse, as well as 1000 marks annually from the treasury. It must be allowed that this prelate was a man of no mean ability, a scholar, a lawyer, a politican, a friend of kings, and one who worthily deserved a tomb in our grand old Abbey.

[Abbot William, who succeeded the great Litlington, ruled over the monastery for thirty-four years—longer than any previous abbot. He twice conducted funeral dirges for the unfortunate king he first served; first on Richard's miserable death in Pontefract dungeon in 1400, once more when that Prince who had received so many kindnesses at Richard's hand,

requited them in his first kingly act as Henry V. by bringing the remains from Langley to Westminster, and ordering the abbot to say masses for his soul. But the king, we know, never dies, and William, whose office it was to assist at the Coronation and burial of so many successive kings and queens, may surely be acquitted of time-serving. His last ceremony was probably the coronation of Henry's French queen Catherine, for the abbot's long rule ended by his death on 1st October, 1420. All the chroniclers praise his shrewdness and wisdom, and certainly none of the common quarrels between Westminster and other abbeys appear during his abbacy.

Portions of two separate seals of the abbot are preserved, and from a cast at the British Museum, the larger one, of date 9 Henry IV., appears to be of the following description: pointed oval in the centre, under a double canopy, left, a figure of St. Peter with the keys; right, St. Paul with a sword in the left hand. On each side a smaller canopied niche; the right figure St. John Evangelist, with a chalice from which a serpent is issuing; left figure missing. In the base in a round headed niche, a figure of St. Edward the Confessor, holding in one hand a model of the abbey church. On each side of this, shields of arms, the left obliterated, the right a chevron with three mullets.—EDS.]

PLUME MS. PAPERS.

BY REV. ANDREW CLARK, LL.D.

THE report that a chest in Dr. Plume's library at Maldon contained several bundles of papers, placed there by the founder's own direction, awakened hopes that new matter might be obtained for his own biography, or for the history of his foundations at Maldon and Cambridge. These hopes have been dispelled by examination of the papers, and it only remains to give a brief indication of their nature.

The majority of the Plume papers proved to be pulpit-notes, such as divines placed on their pulpit-cushion to aid memory in the preaching of sermons. The preachers belong to four ages. First comes an unknown divine, of the time of James I, if one may judge by the handwriting, then, in succession, Dr. Edward Hyde, died 1659, Dr. Robert Boreman, died 1675; and Dr. Plume himself, who died 1704.

Dr. Plume's own pulpit-notes are, in outward form, somewhat quaint. It was his practice to take a foolscap sheet of paper, to fold in two, and refold it, and then, having secured the middle by a pin, to cut open the top edge, so making a little book of eight pages. If one book was too small for the notes of the projected sermon, he took a second, a third, and even a fourth. In his handwriting, the letters are sprawling and indistinctly formed, and most words are arbitrarily contracted, with the result that the notes are practically indecipherable. It is a marvel that they could be of use even to the doctor himself. The few sermons which are dated lie between 1667 and 1677.

The Jacobean divine's sermons had been originally contained in a MS. book, but this book was afterwards dismembered, to allow of the individual sermons being preached by someone else. Several have inserted slips, with expansions of particular heads. These slips are in Dr. Boreman's hand, and have notes that the sermons so touched up were preached by him in July and August 1667. Boreman was then incumbent of a fashionable London church—"the dutchesse Dudley," "the lord Gorge," "the lord Wharton," appear in his list of Christmas and Easter gifts in 1664 and 1665—so that it was a metropolitan and aristocratic congregation, which, after the Restoration, was indulged in these echoes of the pre-Commonwealth pulpit.

Dr. Hyde is represented mainly by fragments of a set of sermons, expository, verse by verse according to the Prayer Book version, of Psalm xxv. His notes show that the sermons were actually preached in his church at Brightwell in Berkshire. They, therefore, supply proof positive that, about 1645, village congregations were treated to frequent Latin and Greek quotations, and even to discussions on disputed points in Hebrew grammar. One would not naturally turn to a treatise of this kind for information about the price of wine or the scarcity of specie in the Civil War period. It happened, however, that Dr. Hyde, while writing one of these sermons, ran out of paper, and to complete his discourse was compelled to use the partially blank pages of a couple of old letters. From these, oddly mixed up with his exposition, we learn that he bought his sack from a Salisbury merchant, who had it from the ship at Bristol, and sent it by carrier to Abingdon. Hyde had bought eight gallons, at 4s. 4d. a gallon, and the carriage (apparently of the whole, from

Salisbury to Abingdon) was 2s. 6d. When he wished a fresh supply he was told he could not have it at less than 4s. 6d. a gallon ; that the fresh consignment was not expected before Christmas, but that it was " excellent sack." A Wiltshire debtor, Geoffrey Pope, then serving as an officer in Colonel Barnes's regiment in Wardour Castle, earnestly desires leave to pay Hyde " in sheep, for money is a scarce commodity here in this country "—*country* being the seventeenth-century word for *county*.

Another set of sermons exhibits the same features. The subject is the Beatitudes. From the addresses on envelopes used to eke out a short supply of paper, we learn that the writer was Robert Browne, beneficed in Kent. There was a Robert Browne, of Magdalen College, Oxford, who took M.A. in 1598, whose date would suit these papers. A draft letter describes how he had lost a dog belonging to " Mr. Mussell in Lorrence layne " ; that he had offered 5s. for its recovery to " the falconer" ; and assures the angry owner, " if your dog were made of gold, I can doe no more "—a strange last page to a sermon.

Testimony to the continued popularity, or at least the continued practice, of these lecture-sermons is supplied by another Plume MS., in which a parishioner of Fordham, Essex, has noted that his rector, Richard Pulley, preached a set of sermons on the Ten Commandments from Midsummer, 1670, to Easter, 1671 ; that on August 20, 1671, he began another set on the Lord's Prayer, and did not again " change his text " till December 4 following, when (Christmas approaching) he began a third set, on the song of the herald angels.

Of longer theological treatises, there is one, prepared for press, on the then favourite topic, *The Four Last Things* : *Death*, *Judgment*, *Heaven*, *Hell*, which might be of interest if the handwriting attached it to any famous divine. There is also a treatise, 40 pages long, on *The Forme of Church Government before and after Christ*, which professes to be an unfinished work by Bishop Lancelot Andrewes, and may be his autograph.

There are a great many single leaves of excerpts from books, some written on the back of old envelopes or letters, and so preserving matter of greater interest than their own. From these we learn that Dr. Plume's position as Vicar of Greenwich and his reputation for charity, brought him a plague of begging letters, partly from seafaring people. In a draft letter (undated)

Dr. Plume justifies his detention of a maid-servant's chest, on the plea that he had thereby hoped to elicit from her the names of the thieves, admitted by her to his house, who had stolen his keys and his will. He had already spent "more than £5 to take but one person of all the gang," and was in despair of ever learning "the depth of the plot." The cover of a note-book, preserved without its contents, has Thomas Plume's autograph signature in a boyish hand, and a fragment of what may well be the quizzical speech which he, at the end of his freshman's year, had to deliver in his College hall. In this he describes "the boyling and broyling, roasting and toasting, stewing and brewing" of the festive season, and confers on the College cooks their high titles of "Marquesses of Muttons and Barons of the Gridiron." An odd effect is produced by the occurrence, among grave divinity notes, of the doctor's beer bills for part of 1671, by which it appears that his household consumption was at the rate of a firkin a month, viz., on March 30, April 19, May 4, and June 15.

Some few of the papers have a touch of historical interest. Among copies of Latin verses by Dr. Boreman are some expressing much sympathy with Holland, endangered in 1672 by the aggressions of Louis XIV. There is, also by Boreman, an *Encomiastick Epitaph*, 1674, in somewhat uncouth English verse, on ex-Lord Chancellor Clarendon, "an Atlas both of Church and State." *The Countryman's Catechism* is Boreman's defence, (published 1652,dated 1648), of ministers' right to tithes,then much in debate. Some papers referring to the second trial (1637) of John Williams, bishop of Lincoln, before the Court of Star Chamber, probably came from Dr. John Hacket, that prelate's chaplain and confidant. A hurried note, on a mere scrap of paper, is a singular survival from the post-bag from London to the country, the day after Cromwell's troopers took away "that bauble," the mace of the Long Parliament:—

"Deare Brother, These are only to acquaint you that yesterday the Army dissolved the Parliament, the confusion whereupon is so great that men know not what to do. And therefore my lady desires you not to remove your bookes or other goods till you heare further from her. I shall not faile to write more at large to you by the next, and then to resolve you whether I shall remove or no, who humbly commende you to the grace of God, and remaine Your assured but anxious Brother, Rob. Breton. April 20, 1653."

Here the writer's agitation has, apparently, made him forget the day of the month. April 21 was the day after the dissolution in question.

ESSEX PORTRAITS.

V.—COLONEL DAVIS, HIGH SHERIFF.

THE massive form of Colonel Richard Percival Davis is well-known in the Sokens of Essex. In that whilom Daneland he is accounted a power strictly in keeping with his surroundings. His stalwart appearance and breezy bearing are those of the typical Viking. He has sailed the northern seas in various craft, and he has all the freedom of a son of the waves. One fine yacht of his changed hands not long since, in characteristic fashion. Yet this open-handed sea-rover is a Lord of the Manor, who knows how to guard his threatened acres from the sea and to maintain his lands in prosperous and productive fashion. Though he may claim to be one of De Foe's "true-born Englishmen," there is little of the Dane about him. He is a genuine John Bull, with a strong Yankee strain, and with the fervour of the Anglo-Indian temperament super-added. His grandmother was the daughter of John Quincy Adams, President of the United States. He himself is Colonel (retired October 22, 1883) of the Bengal Staff Corps. As the result of no small experience of the world the Colonel knows a thing or two, and when occasion requires, he can express himself with all the warmth and point of an accomplished linguist. In private life he can tell a spicy tale with zest and vigour. For many years he has taken considerable personal interest in the affairs of his immediate neighbourhood at Walton-on-the-Naze. The Church tower of that place stands as a monument of his generosity. At the local Bench he is a constant attendant. He is generally one of the first to arrive—if not always quite the last to depart—when County Council meetings are held at Chelmsford. He is a member of the Standing Joint Committee of Essex, where occasionally his forcible remarks compel attention to his always welcome, and in any event not unnoticeable, presence. In 1903 he became High Sheriff of the county, and in that office he has established a record by personally conducting three hangings, including that of the notorious Dougall. May he have no necessity to add any further incident of this kind to his rich store of experiences. The Colonel is a fine shot, either in the open or on the billiard table. When not prevented by business or by the exigencies of hunger or thirst, he solaces himself by destroying considerable quantities of tobacco, being specially implacable in the matter of cigarettes. He stands over six feet in his stockings, and wears the trappings of his office as to the manner born.

"HIGH SHERIFF."
DRAWN BY F. CARRUTHERS GOULD.

THE WALTHAM BLACKS.

BY H. BURDON.

THE tangled and shaggy woods of ancient Waltham from very remote times, were ever a hunting ground for man and beast. The outlaw banished from the protecting care of the law, and the murderer escaping from the awful penalty associated with his crime, ran to these woods and found safety in the leafy coverts. There, also, bands of armed men hid themselves in quiet bye-lanes bordering the forest and held up travellers, who durst not resist them. The terrors of these times date back many centuries, during which secret bands of men went forth to slay the king's deer, notwithstanding the vigorous punishment inflicted for what was, in the early days, regarded as an offence of the greatest magnitude. For the stern laws of Canute, and the sterner laws of the Conqueror, made the killing of deer a crime greater than the slaying of a man. Yet within the rambling shades of those ancient woods the outscourings of mankind gathered from time to time, made their home, and set at defiance the armed forces and rangers sent against them. If it so chanced that an outlaw fell into the clutches of a woodward or ranger, he was accordingly tried in a forest court held beneath the spreading branches of some mighty oak; there the deerstealer would receive a sentence better imagined than described. Skinning alive, the loss of sight, heavy fines of an impossible kind, were some of the penalties imposed; while the poorer serfs or commoners received such punishments as were barbarous in the extreme. Yet deerstealing continued at the risk of all punishments.

As far back as the fourteenth century, a gang of deerstealers squatted in the Waltham woods—near Copt Hall—and with bows and snares and other engines, trapped the deer, or robbed people on their way to the venerable Abbey of Waltham, the glory of which was then renowned throughout England. The monks of Waltham complained of the frequent outrages and dangers of this spot, pointing out that the scum of the country had gathered there, so those thickets were enclosed, and the "Black Gang" was compelled to shift further into the forest, for the sloping woods of the green Lea Valley ever held a particular attraction for the desperado and renegade.

This state of outlawry was woefully accentuated after the Revolution, and in the days of William and Mary the robbers had increased in such numbers as to make the name of Waltham woods terrible.

Among the many facts handed down, perhaps none stand so prominent as the doings of the "Waltham Blacks," a rough set of men, who, about the year 1690, or later, took up their abode within the precincts of the forest from which they derived their name.

Most of them were ex-soldiers who had fought during the troublesome times of civil strife, and now, thrown upon their own resources, turned highwaymen and deerstealers. Armed, and sometimes masked, they robbed or slayed travellers upon the highways, and thinned deer in the surrounding woods and enclosures. This rugged crew, whose previous experience as fighters had made them acquainted with hard living, hard knocks and extreme trials, was well fitted for this airy mode of life. But they were a murderous set, and ill-conditioned, whose hands were raised against every man and every man's against them. Originally drawn from the low and illiterate class and forced into service, they were rough indeed, and now, either as renegades or dismissed soldiers, found some satisfaction in taking to the free-and-easy, stand-and-deliver life of the highways.

Damaging parks, breaking into country mansions, robbing warrens, and thinning the woods of deer, their actions were "black" indeed, and people who were compelled to pass through the Forest of Waltham did so with fear and trembling. So daring and ill-reputed had the "Blacks'" outrages become that Acts were passed in Parliament to suppress them, besides one instituted in the days of Elizabeth to put down deer-stealing in the royal forests. Acts of Parliament did no good however, for with the wild acreage of Waltham to roam in, the outlaw bid defiance to Acts, locks, and bars.

But the armed company, known as the "Waltham Blacks," who appeared on the scene soon after the treaty of Ryswick had been signed, were some of the scum of the vast body of fighters whom the criminal connivance of forest-side innkeepers enabled to pursue their plans of robbery and damage with impunity. Public danger became general throughout the county, excesses

were committed in every direction, and the roads and waste lands near the metropolis became a harbour for these notorious characters. At last the "Blacks" became so desperate that it was found necessary to frame an Act called the "Black Act," and to proclaim martial law.

No spot seems to have been more dangerous than the highway separating Enfield Chase—a forest twenty-five miles in circumference—on the Middlesex side, and Waltham Forest on the Essex side. Here they would sally out and attack well-to-do travellers and stage coaches journeying to Newmarket. This band on one occasion attempted to arrest William of Orange, who was journeying through Waltham Cross to Newmarket. William was in company with one named Tallard—a renowned officer in those days—and a good retinue. Tallard, being somewhat in the rear, came up in the nick of time to engage the Waltham Blacks, who had attacked William's carriage. The outlaws, notwithstanding their numbers, were beaten off, and some of them were shot dead by the escort of the king. Doubtless, had William been unattended, the "Blacks" would have made a capture and demanded a heavy ransom for his release. After this encounter, a troop of mounted soldiers were sent to patrol the Essex road.

The encampment of this nest of highwaymen was situated in Wake Valley—a low part of the forest between High Beech and Waltham Abbey. With the extensive Waltham Forest to hide in, the outlaws continued in safety. They were dispersed for some time, but soon gathered again and pursued their sinister doings in smaller bands. The woods of Essex, at that time, spread from the valley across to Navestock and Romford, and stretched south as far as the confines of London, close to Bow Bridge.

The "Blacks," finding their wild life uninterrupted and secure in their retreat, built huts of briars and turf, in which they stabled their horses, and after dusk stole forth armed and well mounted, haunted the by-roads and demanded in the stand-and-deliver style, common in the good old days, any possessions of value that the chance traveller had upon him. This maroon encampment spread terror to travellers whose way compelled them to pass through the forest, and men formed themselves into bands for security and company's sake, to ensure a safe passage.

The lonely, if bold traveller, who sought to maintain his right with the aid of his horse-pistol, more often than not was found dead and without his weapon. Wayfarers who desired to evade conflict with the lurking gangs, avoided the dangerous road and made a wide circuit to reach the distant town.

The people residing within the Hundred of Beacontree at this time complained bitterly, and represented their case before Parliament over and over again; this occurred soon after the Revolution, for the dangers had still continued to increase. In some of the Royal woods keepers and "Blacks" had open conflict, many a stray shot was fired, and an occasional victim secured. If a keeper came to grief by falling into their hands, he was put through some ridiculous torture, or shot. If, on the other hand, a "Black" fell into the clutches of the armed representatives of the law, he was conveyed on the tail of a cart to execution and gibbetted by the roadside.

The action to suppress their doings only incensed them, for later they sent a cartel to king George I., signed with their real names, making many demands upon His Majesty. The surrounding farmhouses, and estates bordering the forest, suffered keenly, the residents receiving all kinds of threats, some of which were of a murderous nature. Letters were left at their houses by mysterious and disguised persons, who instantly disappeared. Many of the missives demanded money at once; others threatened that the inmates would be shot, if venison were not immediately sent to a particular spot. In the shades of evening, some of this gang would steal upon an over-zealous woodward, who had been the means of securing one of their comrades, and slay in revenge this keeper of the king's deer.

If report be true, the terror-striking "Blacks" were left severely alone, and flourished down to the days of Turpin, who led a desperate body of roughs in deer-stealing and robbery in and about the forests. Each wayside innkeeper knew his outlaw, and ostlers and stable-helps gave information to the highwayman of coaches due, their passengers and likely booty; however, some curious stories have been related of the Blacks upon whom so much credit for outlawry had devolved. Their doings passed into fables and their temerity became history and the talk of the times.

It was by a chance circumstance that a traveller in the early

eighteenth century alighted among them. This gentleman, a Mr. Woods, in writing to a friend, in the year 1729, thus relates his adventure :—

Being late in the evening, and my horse lamed with a stone in his foot, I was compelled to put up for the night at a small alehouse on the country side. The innkeeper received me very civily, but when I enquired if he could accommodate me all night, he only answered that he had no room.

I requested him to put something in my horse's hoof, and I would sit up all night. He was silent. The good wife was more crude, and insisted upon her husband bringing my horse out immediately, but putting a crown into her hand, and promising another in the morning, she became more accommodating. She then told me there was a small bedroom upstairs that I could have, and added that she supposed I was more of a gentleman than to take notice of what was passing there. I immediately concluded that I had fallen into a den of highwaymen, and that I should have my throat cut. Necessity constrained me to submit. As night wore on, for it was nearly dark and everything was silent, I suddenly heard three or four men dismount from their horses and lead them into the yard at the back of the inn, and as they were coming in I heard the landlady say, " Indeed, brother, you need not be uneasy, I am positive the gentleman is a man of honour." Another said " What good could our death do to a stranger ? The gentleman will be happy of our company." " Hang fear, I'll lead the way." So said, so done, in came five stalwart fellows, so effectually disguised that, unless it was in the same disguise, I should not be able to distinguish any one of them. Down they sat, and then the captain, accosting me with great civility, requested me to honour them with my company at supper. Supposing that my landlord would not permit either a robbery or a murder in his house, I gradually became composed.

As the hour advanced, and it was now about 10 o'clock, I heard the noise of a number of horses arriving, and soon after the feet of men stamping in an upper room. In a little while the landlord came in to inform me that supper was on the table. Upon this we all went upstairs, and the captain, with a ridiculous kind of ceremony, introduced me to a man, more disguised than the rest, sitting at the head of the table, at the same time adding " that he hoped I would have no objection to pay my respects to ' king Orronoko,' king of the Blacks." It then immediately struck me who these uncouth fellows were, and I called myself a thousand names for not finding it out before ; but the hurry of things, or to speak the truth, the fear I was in, prevented my judging even from the most evident signs.

As soon as supper—it consisted of eighteen dishes of venison, roast, boiled, hashed, collups, pasties, and humble pies—was brought in, the company all sat down—twenty persons in all. At each elbow there was set a bottle of claret, and the man and woman of the house sat down at the lower end of the table. Two or three of the fellows had good natural voices, and so the evening was spent merrily. About two o'clock in the morning the company seemed inclined to break up, having first assured me they would like my company as a favour on Thursday evening if I came that way.

They did me the honour to inform me of the rules by which their society was governed. The government was monarchial, and the " Black Prince " informed me that when they went upon an expedition he had absolute command. But in

times of peace and at the table, he condescended to live familiarly with them, his subjects, as friends. One rule of the society was that no person be admitted into their association unless he had been twice drunk, so that they might be perfectly acquainted with his temper. When it was agreed to admit a brother "Black," he must provide himself with a good horse, a brace of pistols, and a gun to be on the saddle bow. After this he was sworn upon horns over the chimney, and having a new name conferred upon him, was accordingly entered upon the roll and looked upon as a new member.

A new member of this fraternity was immediately ordered to blacken his face and obey orders. His instructions were to break down embankments for the protection of fish-ponds, burn wood, and shoot deer; he was assured that if he disobeyed, the "Blacks" would, by magic, turn him into a wild beast, and by this compel him to carry their loads and live upon grass and water.

Two men whom they were trying to enlist, and who refused to comply with their "black rules," were taken and blindfolded by the gang, who afterwards dug holes in the woods and thrust their victims in up to the chin.

They afterwards ran at them, at the same time making hideous growls and barks in imitation of dogs. After awhile the victims were released, and were told never to offend the Black nation again.

These whimsical rogues, who lived upon the fat of the forest and woefully thinned the deer, by their elusiveness, continued in safety. Higglers and carters did not escape their exactions, for frequently they were stopped upon the forest roads by the "Black Gang," and compelled to carry venison to certain places, under threats of death if refusing. The terrified waggoners, having heard of their reputation, promptly acted on their orders, and, perhaps, felt a secret delight, mixed with fear, in the adventure of meeting them on the forest, although, if caught abetting them in their nefarious acts in opposition to law, the carters themselves were imprisoned or executed. But secret deer-stealing went on. The peasants' cottages on the outskirts of the woods were receptables for stolen deer. Not long ago, in pulling down a row of old cottages near Epping Forest, the method of receiving stolen venison was brought to light. Before the hearth of each cottage was a pit, over which was a trap-door; into the pit the deer was flung, and when the chance came along, the venison was sent to one of the woodland inns where it was always possible to get "black sausage," another name for stolen forest deer. In the early days of Queen Victoria it was quite possible to buy stolen deer in and about Epping Forest, and, as a Mr. Palmer relates, there was a desperate horde of men who lived in the forest on the proceeds of robbery.

Some time after William the Third had been attacked on the forest side, the mischief done by the "Waltham

Blacks" necessitated the passing of an Act—in the reign of William and Mary—to put down robbers in general and especially to wipe out the maroon encampment near Waltham. "A warrant of the Lord Chief Justice broke up this clique for a short time, but the dispersed outlaws soon returned again, and the civil powers were unable to deal with the evils of the highways." The Act of William and Mary recites that whereas in defiance of the laws already in being, several disorderly and riotous persons have of late, in great numbers, with armed force, entered enclosed ground where deer are kept, whereby murders hath frequently happened and greater mischief may ensue. That if any person shall after the 1st of May, 1719, enter any park, wood, or enclosed ground where deer are kept and wilfully wound such deer, shall in such offence be sent to the plantations for seven years. This Act did not mitigate the outrages, and the deerstealers still lived on in security. So great did the evil become that it was found necessary to bring forward yet another Act, during the reign of George I., which was also called the "Black Act." This passed the Commons, and now the hunt became hot for these deerstealing "Blacks," for soon after Sir J. Fielding wrote a book entitled *How to suppress Robberies within twenty miles of London.* The Black Act was read in the market squares of country towns and especially in the old towns of Waltham and Winchester. It recites that if any person after the 1st of June, 1723, is caught armed with either sword or fire-arms, or having his face blacked or in any disguise in any forest or highway, heath or common, he shall be adjudged guilty of felony and shall suffer death. However, in spite of this the "Blacks" contrived to escape capture; but the penalties inflicted on innkeepers for supplying their wants, became so hard, that they were compelled to disperse for some time, only to meet again and continue with more caution their sinister practices.

The "Gregory Gang" was another rough set who, with Dick Turpin at their head, frequented the Waltham glades, but their attention was more directed to highway robberies about London, with Epping Forest as their meeting place. Their numbers decreased one by one; they were caught and suffered the penalty of their crimes. Captain Rogers, one of the crew who made deer-stealing in the forest a practice, was seen and chased to Hackney—then a little village. Here he made a stern fight for

liberty against the rangers, and it was not until he was shot in the shoulder and disabled, that he was taken.

Soon after this, the "Essex Gang" came into existence. Their headquarters were near Hackney Marshes. Here they would meet and practise horse riding, and it is reputed that Turpin gained his knowledge of horsemanship over the pound belonging to Farmer-bailiff Lee. Here, on Marsh hill, he and his Essex Gang took a house, from whence they would sally out across the marshes to deer-steal by day and rob coaches by night. The old house was particularly adapted for escape; it is a rambling curious old place with spacious shafts from top to bottom, a broad bricked kitchen and heavy oak-beamed rooms, dummy door and dummy windows which opened on to the open marshes. Ned Rust, Wheeler, Fielder, and Rose were some of the highwaymen of this clique. The Bow Street runners captured three of the band in a tavern near Charing Cross. A scuffle with cutlasses ensued, in which some of the combatants were wounded and the outlaws taken.

Turpin was a frequenter of Tyler's Ferry, Hackney Marsh, and after committing a murder near the spot, resorted to the old King's Head Inn, which stood in Hackney until as late as 1885; subsequent alterations have brought to light many curious features of this spot.* The old house in which Turpin and his deer-stealing gang lived still stands in its weather-worn two centuries of age, although somewhat altered. There is an interesting mantle-piece which is curiously carved, and is supposed to be the handiwork of this highwayman, for it represents a typical highway scene and attack.

Although highwaymen and deer-stealers are no more, there is an old-world romance about their doings which appeals to us, in spite of thankfulness that they are relegated, with other dark and troublesome things, to the past.

*See *E.R.* xi., 25. Readers interested in the romantic history of Dick Turpin and his fabulous Black Bess, should refer to the amusing articles by Mr. T. Seccombe (*E.R.* xi., pp. 17-32 and 65-80), illustrated with some reproductions of the originals by Cruickshank in his well known romance of *Rookwood*, and by "Phiz," and containing the story both of the real Richard, born at Hempstead, near Saffron Walden, and of the pseudo-Turpin legends, romance and songs.—EDS.

NOTES OF THE QUARTER.

Mayors. On November 9th, the following gentlemen were elected as Mayors of our seven Essex boroughs :— *Chelmsford*, Alderman George W. Taylor (re-elected) ; *Colchester*, Councillor Ernest H. Barritt ; *Harwich*, Councillor Robert Hill ; *Maldon*, Alderman Edward A. Fitch (for the sixth time) ; *Saffron Walden*, Councillor Henry Stear (re-elected) ; *Southend-on-Sea*, Councillor James Berry ; *West Ham*, Councillor George McDowall. Mr. John Bateman was (for the fifth time) elected Deputy-Mayor of Brightlingsea at the annual "choosing day," on December 7th.

Parliamentary Electorate. The following table of parliamentary electors in Essex, shows an increase in each division, as well as an increase of the total number of names upon the register. If our readers compare it with the last return we printed, viz., that for 1901 (*E.R.* x. 103) they will find the total increase in two years to be 22,095. It would be interesting to compare this with the increase of population, and to discover what proportion of the enhanced number is due to increased education and a desire for the full rights of citizenship. In the return for 1901 Harwich and Saffron Walden divisions both showed a small decrease.

Division.	Total No.	Increase.
Walthamstow	32,945 ..	2,396
Romford	41,759 ..	2,601
Epping	10,731 ..	290
Saffron Walden	8,626 ..	26
Harwich	12,559 ..	188
Maldon	10,366 ..	213
Chelmsford	11,211 ..	265
South Eastern	18,366 ..	1,071
	146,563	7,050

In addition to the above numbers, there are also 22,761 county and parochial electors who are not also parliamentary electors, so that the total number of names appearing upon the register is 169,324. The parliamentary register for the borough of Colchester contains 6,033 names, against 5,664 in 1901.

Valuable Picture at Braintree. Modern transformations are gradually wiping out the face of ancient buildings even in small country towns, and we may chronicle the disappearance of the frontage of the ancient red-brick house known

as the Great Square, Braintree, which is now gorgeous in plate glass as a motor and cycle shop. Mr. John Oates Harrisson, who died some two years back, had spent most of his long life of 92 years there. The house contained an interesting oak staircase, several panelled rooms, and two beautiful moulded ceilings. Among the pictures was an excellently preserved portrait of a lady in white, with blue sash and pearl necklace, signed and dated Nattier, 1741, a date signifying the best period of that now much sought after French master. Mr. Harrisson purchased it about 1840 for £4 10s. in Ipswich, and it was sold on November 28, 1903, for 3,100 guineas to Messrs. Colnaghi, the well-known picture dealers. A much larger picture by this artist of the Countess de Niubourg and daughter realised 4,500 guineas in March last, at the Vaile sale, while the finest Nattier sold in England in recent years—a lady seated in a cloud—fetched 3,900 guineas.

Churches, Restorations, &c.

ALPHAMSTONE.—During the progress of some restoration work in the parish church of this little village near Bures, some remarkable discoveries have recently been made. The chancel walls, being in a dilapidated condition, funds were raised to put them in repair. When the old plaster was skinned off preparatory to re-stuccoing, the south wall was found to be built, not of flint like the others, but of red brick interspersed at regular intervals with white stones (clunch) of varying sizes. One of these being extracted, was found to have been moulded on the hidden side: moreover, an inscription was found upon it, which, though apparently clear, is undecipherable. Upon further consideration it was decided to extract others of these stones ; the result is that almost the whole of the tracery, etc., of the sedilia, a window, parts of another window (it is supposed), and parts of two piscinæ, of eight petals and four petals respectively, have been recovered in a more or less perfect condition. About nine inscriptions have been found, most of them referring to one " Nycholas le Gryce," who was rector of Alphamstone, from 1567 to 1593. Others of the inscriptions (about four or five) are, as yet, undeciphered ; and one, of a date antecedent to that of Nicholas le Gryce, appears to be the name of a rector, one Isaac, who was presented to the living in 1456. The extraction of all these stones involved taking to pieces and re-building almost the whole of the south wall. This was done in sections, so to speak, that is to say, when a

stone or two had been extracted the whole was filled in with other material, and strong cement. Stones were found all over the wall, outside and in, and deeply embedded in the middle (the wall is about 3 feet thick) a workman's hammer, too, was found where it must have lain for hundreds of years. This church is considered to be much earlier than the first date (1218) of which any record respecting it is known. The dedication is lost, and though every effort has been made to discover it no satisfactory result has accrued up to the present. There are two low side windows in the chancel, and there appear to be indications of a third in the south aisle—but this is conjecture, at present. The font, which, until just lately, has been covered with plaster and colouring matter, has been scraped, and turns out to be (at least the top of it) of Purbeck marble, somewhat damaged and now devoid of polish and with every appearance of great age. It has at some time or other been apparently broken in halves and cemented together again ; the base is merely composition. The work of re-constructing the sedilia is in progress, as also a window in the south wall. The stones discovered have been replaced exactly as they were found ; where parts were entirely missing they have been replaced by new work, but none of the broken mouldings have been added to, except when the actual pieces that were broken off have been found, and these portions have been dowelled into their original places. Funds are very urgently needed in carrying out this conscientious restoration work, and we cannot withhold our sympathy with the venerable rector who, in his 90th year, is bravely facing the difficulties connected with this scheme, the cost of which cannot be far short of £2,000. We feel sure that he would be very grateful for any help in the matter. The work is in the hands of Mr. A. Blomfield Jackson, the well-known church architect. The church was re-opened after partial restoration on 4th November, when a hymn written especially for the occasion by the aged rector was sung as part of the service.

DEDHAM.—The east window of this church has been filled with stained glass, "To the glory of God and in loving memory of Elizabeth Jones," who died in 1896, wife of the Rev. C. Alfred Jones, vicar of the parish. The church being dedicated to St. Mary, the central figure is that of the Virgin

and child; the lights on either side show the Adoration of the Shepherds, and the Visit of the Wise Men. The figure on the north light is that of St. Alban, that in the south is St. Augustine, thus connecting the window with the diocese of St. Albans and the Province of Canterbury. The spaces above are filled with angels. The colours are singularly rich. The window was designed and executed by Mr. C. E. Kempe.

CHELMSFORD.—A memorial tablet of Sicilian marble has been placed in the London Road Congregational church, with the following inscription to a former Pastor whose death we have already recorded (*E.R.*, xii., p. 112) :—

> To the memory of the
> Revd. GEORGE WILKINSON,
> Who entered into rest March 9th, 1903, aged 85 years, during 34 of which he was the devoted Pastor of this Church. A man of prayer, a diligent student and expounder of the Word of God and a faithful minister of the everlasting Gospel.

GREAT BADDOW.—The parish church was reopened on October 21, after alteration and repairs. The old choir gallery and organ loft in front of the tower at the west end have been removed. A new entrance has been made in the west side of the tower, the space below being cut off from the main aisle by swinging doors. A ringing chamber has been constructed above, open to the body of the church, with a carved oak front. A new organ by Messrs. Norman and Beard, of Norwich, has been placed in the north transept. The old pews in the chancel have been replaced by handsomely carved oak stalls, and a fine oak screen separates them from the south transept. The pulpit is placed upon a carved oak base, the pews in the church transformed into open benches and a centre aisle provided. We trust the Vicar will successfully attain his cherished wish of making all seats free. A new stained glass window is placed in the west wall of the tower; the heating apparatus is entirely new. The dedication service was conducted by the vicar, Rev. A. N. Colley, assisted by a number of the neighbouring clergy. The Bishop of Colchester preached the sermon, and read the special prayers. An anonymous donor has contributed most of the cost, which has amounted to over £1,000.

WALTHAMSTOW.—The new church of St. Barnabas erected in this place was consecrated by the Bishop of St. Albans on

7th November, in the presence of a large number of clergymen and others. The spacious edifice is the gift of Mr. Richard Foster, designed as a representative specimen of a simple substantial place of worship for the growing population of an outlying suburban district. It has a wide nave, and a tower at the western end. Brick is used throughout, with stone facings for the windows and arches. The chancel is fitted with oak, the benches are of a hard Canadian wood. An organ will be added when the building is sufficiently dry, and a vicarage is to be built. Mr. Foster was joint donor with his partner, some thirty years ago, of St. Saviour's Church, also in Walthamstow; now the growing needs of the district have called forth his further philanthropy. The earlier gift was a memorial to members of his family. The new church stands, he says, "as a humble thanksgiving to Almighty God for numberless mercies throughout a long life."

HALSTEAD.—A stained glass window has been erected in Holy Trinity church to the memory of Mr. John Robert Vaizey, J.P., D.L., whose death is recorded elsewhere (*E.R.* x., 108). The subject chosen for illustration is the Good Samaritan tending the wounded traveller who fell among thieves. The inscription is:—"The Memory of the just is blessed. To the Glory of God and in loving memory of John Robert Vaizey, of Attwoods, born Nov. 29th, 1839, died Nov. 1st, 1900, churchwarden of this parish, 1890—1900." The window was dedicated on Nov. 22, at a special service by the vicar, Rev. J. B. Oldroyd.

FELSTED.—A memorial window in the School chapel was unveiled on December 3 by Major-General Sir Wm. F. Gatacre, K.C.B., and at the same time was dedicated at a special service by the Bishop of Colchester. It is to commemorate the eleven Old Felstedians who fell during the Boer War, some of whom were killed in battle, others died of disease. The cadets of the School Corps, under the command of Lieut. G. F. Hornsby-Wright, formed a guard of honour for the General and his staff, and met him at the school gates. The corps has the honour of being the oldest cadet corps of any school in the country. The Head Master (Rev. H. A. Dalton), in a speech after the service, pointed out that 97 Old Felstedians were engaged during the war, 18 of whom were mentioned in despatches, and five obtained the

Distinguished Service Medal. The window consists of three lights, and represents scenes in the life of David. The inscription on the brass tablet, placed below the window, is as follows :—

Dedicated to the memory of those Old Felstedians who lost their lives in the Boer War, 1899—1902: In gratitude to Almighty God for their example of patriotism, courage, and devotion to duty :

Major R. L. MACGREGOR.	Captain C. L. MURIEL.
Lieut. C. E. MILLS.	W. M. AUSTIN.
H. D. BOTTOMLEY.	J. R. J. GRIPPER.
A. E. L. PARKER.	J. F. POWER.
H. E. SANDERS.	F. N. TERRY.

F. C. WEST.

Memorial to Essex Soldiers.

ON December 11, the memorial which has been erected in Warley Garrison church, to the memory of the officers, non-comissioned officers and men of the Essex Regiment, who lost their lives during the South African War, was unveiled by Sir Evelyn Wood, V.C., than whom no better representative of the county could be found in military ranks. He was accompanied by General Plumer, C.B., now commanding the Eastern District in succession to Major-General Gatacre. The union jack covering the brass tablet having been removed by Sir Evelyn Wood, he delivered a short and stirring martial address (in which he dwelt on the many races combined in East Anglians) from the chancel steps, the bugler meanwhile sounding the Last Post outside the western entrance of the Church. Bishop Taylor Smith, D.D., Chaplain-General, then dedicated the memorial, after which the buglers sounded the reveillé. A hymn and the National Anthem concluded the service. The memorial is affixed to the north wall of the chapel. It bears the names of 209 soldiers, among them that of Lieut. Parsons, who won a V.C. at Paardeberg.

Obituaries.

MR. THOMAS KEMBLE, J.P., C.A., everybody's "old squire," died at his residence, Runwell Hall, Wickford, on November 17th, aged eighty-eight, after an illness extending over three months. He presided as usual at the Chelmsford (County) Petty Session on July 31st, but a few days after contracted a chill, which his fine constitution failed to throw off.

Mr. Kemble, eldest son of Mr. Thomas Nash Kemble, of Gobions Park, Herts, by Virginia, daughter of Mr. Horatio

Clagett, of Clapham, was born on February 16th, 1815. He was educated at Winchester and Oriel College, Oxford (graduating B.A. in 1837). Succeeding to his family estates in 1833, he married Laura, third daughter of Mr. William Le Blanc, of Pippingford Lodge, Sussex, in 1839. Always a man of affairs, we have some most interesting experiences, racily related, of his early life, in that remarkable little book, privately circulated in 1887, *Sporting Reminiscences of an old Squire, being notes jotted down in a Farming Book*, by T.K., to which other experiences as an old Wykehamist may probably be added in Mr. A. F. Leach's forthcoming work on that foundation. Mr. Kemble qualified as J.P. for Hertfordshire on October 18th, 1849, for the liberty of St. Albans in 1843, and for Essex, February 22nd, 1853, but his name had been placed on the Commission of Peace as long ago as March 1838, a record not easily to be beaten. It was as a Justice that Squire Kemble was best known; from the time he came to reside at Runwell, about 50 years ago, he was a diligent attender at the sittings of the Chelmsford Bench and took an active interest and leading part in the administration of county affairs. He has been chairman of the Chelmsford Bench since 1857, always painstaking, patient and just to a remarkable degree, and acted as chairman of Quarter Sessions from 1872 to 1887. In 1872 Mr. Kemble served as High Sheriff of Essex; his father had been High Sheriff of Herts in 1825.

In old Quarter Sessions days nobody in the county gave more time to useful county work; then he was Chairman of the Constabulary Committee and a most active and keen member of all other committees. With this ripe experience in all the threads of county administration, he was completely fitted for the position of a County Alderman, to which he was elected on the institution of the Essex County Council in 1889. He worked with his new colleagues with the same zeal and ability as heretofore, and his rare energy, tact, and mastery of all details were at once appreciated both on the County Council and on the Standing Joint Committee; he was elected Chairman of the Highways Committee of the former body, and of the Shire Hall and Justices' Clerks' Salaries Committees of the latter, refusing other honours, although constantly putting in much useful work in other directions. When much over eighty years of age his wit was

as keen, his voice as strong, and his eyesight as good as ever; he never used spectacles and was the recognised humourist of the County Council. His interest in politics, agriculture and sport was as intense as in the more serious business already alluded to. Mr. Kemble's tall figure, handsome face and cheery voice were welcome and popular everywhere; these will be greatly missed in many directions as a long life of remarkable ability and singular usefulness is ended. He was buried in Runwell churchyard on November 21, every available spot in the ancient little church and churchyard being occupied by people of all classes, who formed a most representative and sympathetic crowd.

Mr. JOHN CRICK FREEMAN, the youngest son of Mr. William Freeman, was born at Sydney, N.S.W., on July 18th, 1842. His parents returning early to Maldon, he was educated at Little Baddow, under Mr. Stephen Morell (see *E.R.*, i. 170), at Danbury and at Taunton. He passed first in honours at the Law Society's Examination, Trinity Term 1865, and was admitted a solicitor in 1866. Entering the office of Messrs. Gepp and Sons, of Chelmsford, he subsequently became their managing clerk. Upon the death of his uncle, Mr. John Crick, he joined the firm of Messrs. J. and W. Crick, solicitors, Maldon; at the time of his death he was head of the firm of Messrs. Crick and Freeman. Nearly all his life he was closely identified with public matters in Maldon, holding office as Superintendent Registrar, Registrar of the County Court, clerk to the Burial Board, clerk to the Borough Justices, clerk to the Maldon Union Board of Guardians and Rural District Council. For upwards of twenty years he was Town Clerk of Maldon, appointed 12th September, 1882, relinquishing that office upon succeeding his late brother in the clerkship of the rural authority. Upon December 26th last, after a keen contest, he was elected County Councillor for the borough of Maldon (see *E.R.* xii. 38). He was a prominent member of the Congregational church and a vice-president of the Christian Association. He took a lively interest in the Congregational Sunday Schools, the British Schools (being Chairman of the Committee), and the Grammar School (acting as clerk to the Governors). He was a hearty supporter of all local sports, an enthusiastic football and tennis player. As President of the Maldon Football Club he presided at the annual

meeting for something like twenty years, and was seldom absent from a home match. He was an original member of the Chelmsford Odde Volumes and a contributor to this *Review*. Mr. Freeman's robust health failed somewhat during the last year; while taking a short holiday with his wife at Attleborough, Norfolk, on the morning of November 13th, he was seized with apoplexy, never regained consciousness, and died on November 18th. Widely known and universally respected, his keen business tact, genial presence and cheery word will be sadly missed by all his fellow-townsmen and by hosts of friends. He was buried in Maldon Cemetery on November 21st, amidst abundant signs of respect and regret. Mr. Freeman was twice married; he leaves a widow, and, by his first wife, a family of one son and five daughters.

The late Sir Joshua Girling Fitch, M.A., LL.D., was son of Thomas Fitch, of Colchester, and was born in 1824. Educated at the University College, London, he became Principal (in 1856) of the Training College of the British and Foreign School Society. In 1863, he was appointed one of Her Majesty's Inspectors of Schools. In 1865-7 he acted as Assistant Commissioner to the Schools Inquiry Commission, and in 1869 as Special Commissioner on Education in the great towns. From 1870 to 1877 he was Assistant Commissioner of Endowed Schools. He was a Chevalier of the French Legion of Honour, and was knighted in 1896. He was an eminent educationalist, the author of many lectures, papers and articles on educational subjects, and was a writer for the *Encyclœpedia Britannica* and the *National Dictionary of Biography*. He married Emma, daughter of Mr. Joseph Barber Wilks, Treasurer to the Honourable East India Company. Sir J. G. Fitch died in London on July 14, 1903.

Sir John Richard Robinson (for many years connected with the *Daily News* as manager and editor), died on November 30, at his residence in Addison Crescent, Kensington, at the age of seventy-five. He was second son of the Rev. Richard Robinson, Congregational minister, of Witham, Essex, was born there, and educated at the Congregational School, Lewisham. Sir John Robinson, who was knighted in 1893, married in 1859 Jane Mapes, daughter of Mr. W. Granger, of Wickham Bishops. He was left a widower in 1876.

He began his journalistic career in the provinces, on leaving school, but soon found his way to London, where he became sub-editor of "Douglas Jerrold's Paper." Afterwards he edited the Express (evening paper). His connection with the Daily News began in 1854 and lasted until 1901. His management of that paper was characterised by great literary insight and business ability. He was greatly esteemed and respected by his contemporaries, and enjoyed the friendship of many famous men in the world of literature and of politics. In the January "Cornhill" is an article from his pen, giving some interesting reminiscences of Charles Dickens, who had sincere regard for him. It is understood that Sir John Robinson kept a diary, which it is hoped will in due season be published. It should contain much information respecting the history of the nineteenth century (*cf.* Mrs. J. Ewing Ritchie's sketch, *E.R.* iv., 245).

NOTES AND QUERIES.

Care-Cloth.—In a notice of a work (Vernon Staley's *Hierwigia Anglicina*), on church furnishings in the *Athenæum* for 12th September, the reviewer says that a care-cloth was provided in many Essex churches in 1550. In the New Oxford Dictionary the word is explained to be a veil which was thrown over the bride and bridegroom at a particular point in the marriage service, and examples are quoted from Sussex. A correspondent sends an account of its present use at St. Jean-de-Luz in the Basque country. There the veil is of white silk, and is put over the shoulders of both bride and bridegroom. In a curious Spanish work, *The Why of all the Ceremonies of the Church*, Madrid 1770, p. 539, there is this note:—"While the priest says the collect *Propitiare*, etc., and the one which follows, and not before, the sacristan or minister who assists at the mass places on them (kneeling before the altar) a white and red veil (if it can be had) or one all white, so that the bridegroom has it on his shoulders, and the bride over her head." Can any reader supply information about such a ceremony in Essex Churches? Was the veil the same as was kept in parish churches for the office of churching of women? Is the present bride's veil a tradition from the care-cloth?

ANDREW CLARK, Great Leighs.

Colonel Peter Hawker.—The mention of Colonel Hawker as owner of Lyons Hall in Great Leighs (*E.R.* xii., p. 208) brings into connection with Essex one of the most famous writers on sport. Peter Hawker was born in December, 1786, and entered the army in 1801. He saw a good deal of service, and was severely wounded at Talavera (1809). He retired from active service in 1813, and resided chiefly at Long Parish, Hants, where he died, August 7, 1853. He was a capable musician and an extremely keen sportsman. His works include *Instructions to Young Sportsmen* (1st edition 1814, 11th edition 1859), which became a classic in its own department. His Diary has recently been edited by Sir Ralph Payne Gallwey.—Our thanks are due to Mr. Miller Christy for notifying this omission.

ANDREW CLARK, Great Leighs.

"Houseling People" (*E.R.* xii., p. 193).—Finchingfield is here described as having in 1548, "500 houseling people." The writer of the article asks, "Where did those human beings live who were not houseling?" The answer is, in their cradles. All children at that period were confirmed and were communicants by the time they were three years of age. The phrase simply means that, exclusive of infants in arms, the population of Finchingfield in 1548 was 500; there were 500 communicants, the housel being another term for the blessed sacrament.

JOSEPH H. PEMBERTON, Havering.

Houseling Folk.—In her interesting article on "William the Silent" (a somewhat misleading title, by the way), Miss E. Vaughan, commenting on the statement that Finchingfield in 1548 had in it "to the nombre of 500 houseling people" asks "Where did those human beings live who were *not* houseling?" evidently under the impression that *houseling* means *dwelling in houses*. But the word housel means the Host, and to housel means to receive the sacrament, so that *the houseling people* means all those persons in the parish who were of age to communicate at Easter. The word *housel*, both verb and substantive, occurs not rarely in Piers Plowman and Chaucer, and the houseling folk is a common expression for the adult population, or, as we should say, all over school age. The word does not seem to have survived the Reformation, if it lived as long.

R. E. BARTLETT, Chelmsford.

Houseling.—In her interesting story of Spains Hall (*E.R.* vol. xii., p. 194) Miss E. Vaughan asks :—"Where did those human beings live who were not houseling?" May I courteously point out a meaning of the term "houseling people," no doubt forgotten for the moment by the writer of the article, vizt. communicants, or people of an age to receive the holy communion.

In the middle of the sixteenth century, Walthamstow was called "a great town having in it to the number of 360 housely or houseling."—see Salmon, Morant, &c.

Housel is given in several dictionaries, Bailey, Johnson, Walker, Webster, &c., and the root of the word will be found in Bosworth's *Anglo-Saxon Dictionary*, *husel*, sacrament, hence *housel*, the Eucharist, *to housel*, to give or receive the Eucharist.

The following are instances of the use of the word in works easily consulted:—

Chaucer, in *The Persones Tale*. "And certes ones a yere at the lest way it is lawful to be houseled."

Matthew Parker, Archbishop of Canterbury, 1567, sermon on the sacrament, for Easter, translated from the Saxon of the tenth century, see Henry Morley's *Illustrations of English Religion*.

"Now will we open unto you through God's grace, of the holy housell, which ye should now go unto. . . . The Apostles did as Christ commanded, that is, they blessed bread and wine to housell again afterwards in his remembrance. Even so also since their departure all priests by Christ's commandment do bless bread and wine to housell in his name with the Apostolic blessing."

Spenser, *Faerie Queene*, Book I. canto xii., v. 37.

Shakespeare, *Hamlet*, Act. I., Sc. 5 (Scene 3, text of the first edition)—

"Cut off even in the blossomes of my sinne,
Unhouzzled, disappointed, unnaneld."

Percy's *Reliques of Ancient English Poetry*, Legend of Sir Aldingar—

"A priest, a priest, says Aldingar,
While I am a man alive.
A priest, a priest, says Aldingar,
Me for to houzle and shrive."

Tennyson, Guinevere, *Idylls of the King*—

"for housel or for shrift."

Dr. Murray's *New English Dictionary* gives many examples of sundry forms of spelling, and of various dates during the last eight centuries or so.

JAMES BIRD, Walthamstow.

REVIEWS AND NOTES OF BOOKS.

Warwick Castle and its Earls : from Saxon Times to the Present Day. By the COUNTESS of WARWICK. Pp. xvi., xv., 822, 2 vols. Illustrated. London : Hutchinson and Co., 1903. Price 30s. net

How delighted would Lord Macaulay have been could he have held in his hand this striking proof of the persistence of historical tastes (which so pleased him in Lord Mahon) among the ranks of our ancient aristocracy. Horace Walpole, we fear, would have deplored the spectacle of a countess condescending to enter the ranks of the compilers ; but he could hardly have refused the fair compiler a chapter to herself in his entertaining record of *Royal and Noble Authors* upon the strength of an historical work so large and imposing as the present. If all the illustrious authors in his catalogue merited the title of author as well as Lady Warwick, their numbers, we imagine, would be very sensibly reduced. Here we have a work in two substantial volumes, weighing certainly not less than eight pounds avoirdupois, upon the familiar history of the successive houses which have held sway at Warwick Castle. Upon a moderate computation this provides for an allowance of well-nigh two pounds each to the consecutive families of Beauchamp, Neville, Dudley, Rich, and Greville. The writer begins in a somewhat flamboyant manner, by stating " the history of Warwick Castle is almost as old as the history of England itself." The statement is true in a sense rather different from that which is apparently intended. We venture to predict, however, that the last quality which the gentle reader will be inclined to claim for this unimpeachable narrative will be historical novelty. From the story of Guy of Warwick we proceed to that of Godiva, next we have Thurkill, the Traitor Earl, the fabled encounter between Edward I. and Earl Warrenne, the story of Piers Gaveston, the fall of Calais, the career of the king-maker, the ' odvouse ' (*sic*) death of the Duke of Northumberland, the sad fate of Amy Robsart and Lady Jane Grey, and the reception of Queen Elizabeth by Leicester at Kenilworth. All these stories and many as familiar are reproduced at considerable length from sources so little inaccessible as Holinshed and the Chronicles, Stubbs's *Early Plantagenets*, Oman's *Warwick the*

King Maker and the *Dictionary of National Biography*. Weighed in the moral balance it must be confessed that the careers of these early occupiers of the earldom, are equally the reverse of edifying. The Tudor Dudleys have the distinction of having produced two, if not three, of the most notorious scoundrels in English History. The King-Maker at best was an astute and shifty time-server, and the black dog of Arden a most relentless ruffian. Nor are things much improved when we come to the house of Rich (that Essex family who, though holding the title of Warwick, had no connection whatever with the historic Castle). The piety of a Felsted foundationer forbids him to canvas the moral character of Richard, Lord Rich, but we are far from sharing the exalted view which the writer takes of the Roundhead virtues of his descendent, the second earl of a house which had received such great benefits from the Stuarts as had the house of Rich. A formula, not unfrequently used in the present work, and derived, we imagine, from the Book of Chronicles, is "This is not the place to repeat the story of . . . these things may be read in any manual of history." We have, nevertheless, a concise account of the real difference between Charles and his Parliament, and a rather brilliant account of the levying of ship money, derived from "Professor Gardiner's great history." Another work of more recent date, which must have been found of great utility in this section of the book, is Miss Fell Smith's elaborate monograph on the pietetic Mary Rich. (See *E.R.* xi., 49-54) yet we find no allusion to it. Hitherto it must be admitted that evidence of the materials having been drawn from a castle muniment room rather than from the British Museum reading room is scanty, while the last portion of the book (from the days when Joseph Addison married a Countess of Warwick onwards) is made up of cuttings from the local guides and papers and from *The Times* to an extent which makes us fear that the loss of documents in the great fire of 1871 must have been well nigh comprehensive. For a more intimate knowledge of the Castle, its inmates and its collections, we sigh in vain. With one remarkable exception the family reserve of the Countess has prevented her from revealing any details beyond such as might be gleaned from the most ordinary books of reference. But the exception is a very interesting one, for it concerns the spectral

history of the Castle. On page 751 we are informed that Frederick, Prince of Wales, the father of George III., visited the Castle about 1768, that is no less than seventeen years after his decease. We were inclined to think at first that this must be a misprint merely, but no, on page 763 we have a picture of Fred as he appeared, in his princely robes, when he visited Warwick Castle "about 1768":—

> "He was alive and is dead,
> But as it's only Fred,
> Why, there's no more to be said."

So it was written, but it appears after all that there is more, and there can be little doubt that after having sought and been refused admission above and "elsewhere," poor Fred found at least a temporary refuge at Warwick Castle "about 1768."

That the Countess of Warwick has altogether avoided some of the more obvious dangers of the compiler's craft we cannot bring ourselves to affirm. But that a lady whose counterfeit presentment is such a dream of beauty and enchantment as that which confronts us on the frontispiece of this work should be compelled to compile at all—the pity of it, Iago! Where is the chivalry of Grub Street? Here are some 56 chapters. Let then but 56 gentlemen of the pen combine in future, whenever the Countess expresses the desire to produce a book, and hey presto! in the course of a single afternoon, we venture to pledge ourselves, the thing is done; and those fine eyes are spared the risk of being dimmed by poring over the dull pages of dictionary makers and the aridities of antiquaries.

An Extinct Essex Industry.—In a review of a new book on *Old Scottish Clockmakers*, the "Athenæum," after deploring the absence of a history of clockmaking generally, sets down this contribution to such an undertaking:—

> "At Colchester, for instance, from the latter part of the seventeenth century, was made a large part of the picturesque bird-cage clocks, with their bob pendulums. Their decorative portions (there are not many varieties) are found inscribed with the names of widely-scattered country makers, who thus provided themselves with complete clocks from Camulodunum, or with their frames only, which they filled with their own home-made trains of wheels.

It appears that for some time Colchester had a monopoly of this trade, though the very recollection of it has now entirely died out in the town.

The "Original Poems" and Others, by ANN and JANE TAYLOR, and ADELAIDE O'KEEFE. Edited by E. V. Lucas, with illustrations by F. D. Bedford. London: Wells, Gardner, Darton and Co. Pp. xl., 410. Price 6s.

An appreciative article of the Essex Taylors, from the pen of Mr. J. Ewing Ritchie, appeared in these pages in 1898. A copy of the graceful portrait of Ann and Jane as children in the garden at Lavenham was issued as frontispiece to our volume for 1900; the original of the picture was presented shortly afterwards to the National Portrait Gallery.

We welcome this Centenary edition of the verses so well known to our childhood. The Taylors were among the first to write nursery literature, and it is not remarkable that in spite of the vast number of children's books annually published, there should now be a demand for a new edition of the Original Poems, one hundred years after they were written, for no verses have ever seemed so to appeal to the child's small mind and knowledge as these.

In his excellent introduction, Mr. Lucas writes:—

> The *Original Poems* stand at this day in no need of commendation, but it might be said that the secret of their longevity and acceptableness is probably their simplicity and truth. The authors carefully chose their subjects from the daily life of normal children . . . . described them in language such as children would use, prettily decked with rhyme, and imagined them very much as a child would have done. Thus they naturally appeal to young readers, while parents are pleased to feel so secure that the verses, while never sickly, steadily inculcate good morals and manners, and quicken the gentler emotions. Great critics, as well as those on the hearth, have found the Taylors' verses good—among them Scott and Southey, Browning and Mr. Swinburne.

He also adds:—

> Only twice was their surpremacy assailed—once in 1807-09, when the world was full of the imitations of Roscoe's *Butterfly's Ball*, and again in 1846, when Edward Lear's *Book of Nonsense* came out to inaugurate a new variety of children's verse, the chief exponent of which, after Lear, is Lewis Carroll. But the fashion for the *Butterfly's Ball* type of narrative soon perished, and Edward Lear and Lewis Carroll being (in this connection) only writers of rhymed nonsense cannot be said strictly to compete with the Taylors. As writers of poetry for children the Taylors have never been excelled or equalled.

It may not be generally known to our readers that Isaac Taylor (1787-1865), the elder brother of Ann and Jane, who passed forty years of his life at Stanford Rivers, near Ongar, writing grave books on philosophy and religion, began his career as an artist and illustrator of books about the year 1805,

Some of his early designs are reproduced in this volume, noticeably those in illustration of his sister Ann's poem, "My Mother." These drawings, being contemporaneous with the poetry, the costumes and accessories, are in accordance with the spirit of the times, which is certainly not the case in some of the numerous editions of the poems which have appeared during the last few years. If we may venture to criticise the excellent new illustrations with which this volume abounds, we should say that Isaac Taylor's drawing of the four footmen, coachman, and postillion, six men in all, attending the grand lady, which appeared in an early edition of these poems, illustrating Little Ann and her mother in Cavendish Square (Title "A True Story"), and sketched by him in London contemporaneously, are more vivid and certainly more historically correct than is the recently-designed picture in this volume, charming though it is. The editor rightly states that the most important work of these two young ladies was done early in their career at Colchester (where a tablet on a house in Angel Lane records the fact) rather than at Ongar.

The book consists of a long and interesting introduction, giving a good deal of fresh information about the Taylor family; a reprint of "Original Poems," containing the well-known story of "Little Ann and her Mother in Cavendish Square," "The Little Fisherman," "George and the Chimney Sweep," "My Mother," "Crazy Robert," "Meddlesome Matty," "Greedy Richard," and "The Violet," etc.

The second part is *Rhymes for the Nursery*, containing the universally well-known poems, "Thank you pretty cow that gave," "Twinkle, twinkle, little star," "The Baby's Dance," "Sleepy Harry," "The Little Husbandman," "The Old Beggar Man," "Good Dobbin," "The Tumble," etc.

The third part contains Appendices, giving some verses omitted from the final editions of the preceding poems, others by Ann Taylor, Adelaide O'Keefe, and Jefferys Taylor, and notes on the designs by Isaac Taylor, of Stanford Rivers.

Amongst the illustrations are a portrait of Ann as a child, from a sketch by her father; a plan of a fortified town, also drawn by him to teach his children the military art; a copy of the portrait of Ann and Jane, already referred to, from the National Portrait Gallery; a silhouette of Jane Taylor;

and an entirely new set of illustrations to the poems by F. D. Bedford.

We notice a misprint in the introduction ; Ann Taylor married Rev. Joseph Gilbert, not Josiah, who was her eldest son.

The Mystery of Human Life. A revised and amplified edition of a lecture delivered by Mr. F. A. Fawkes to the Chelmsford Literary and Scientific Society. London : Gay and Bird, 1903, pp. 64, 8vo.

Mr. F. A. Fawkes, of Chelmsford, has published "a revised and amplified edition" of a lecture delivered by him to the Chelmsford Literary Society on the "Mystery of Human Life." Locke held that reason does not go astray in its deductions, but that human error is rather due to conclusions being drawn from wrong premises. The normal mind he regards as being practically infallible in deducing, but prone to err in the basis from which those deductions are drawn. The structure of an argument is true to the plummet, but the foundation on which it rests is not always sound. The premise on which Mr. Fawkes builds is the hypothesis that men are "fallen angels," and if this is granted perhaps a good deal follows as a matter of course. But unfortunately he does not drive the foundation into any very solid rock-bed of proof. All he says to support such a statement is that the fall of the angels is not a new topic, but is referred to by Milton and Shakespeare, while parallels are found in Egyptian and Greek mythology. While this in itself is not very convincing, it is somewhat futile to attempt to argue the proposition in default of actual record one way or the other, and it will be best to waive the question and see what conclusions are arrived at as necessary corollaries according to Mr. F. A. Fawkes. They are set out as follows :—(1) That man must have had a previous existence and must have a future life after the death of the body ; (2) That original sin must have commenced in man's previous angelic state ; (3) That man's origin must be divine ; (4) That there must be transmigration of souls through successive incarnations. Those who would like to be informed further as to how these consequences follow logically from the postulate that man is a fallen angel must refer to the brochure itself, in which they will find each point dealt with in turn. The writer at any rate seems

well satisfied with his argument and concludes by pronouncing his "scheme of regenerative redemption" as "the most magnificent and yet the most simple, natural and complete, that the mind of man can possibly conceive—a scheme which exactly fits the wants of a fallen world, and a scheme which should appeal most forcibly not only to our sympathy but our common sense." What more could anyone desire or deserve ?

Notes on Kelvedon Church. By Rev. E. F. HAY. To be obtained of Miss Hunwicke, Stationer, Kelvedon. Price 1s. 6d. net. Postage 1d.

When the historian J. R. Green marked the divisions of his short history of the English people, not by reigns and dynasties, but by great social epochs, *i.e.*, the Reformation, Puritan England, the Revolution, Modern England, it was a recognition of the fact that the true history of a nation is to be found, not among the drums and flags of victorious armies, nor in the vicissitudes of ministries, but in the rise, often obscure, and growth of national movements, not only in the palaces of monarchs and the halls of Parliament, but also sometimes amid the "village Hampdens" and the "mute inglorious Miltons" that the spread of education, the rise of manufactures, the growth of towns, and the dilapidations of villages, are an important part of the history of the people.

Hence the greatly-increased activity of local archæological societies, and the greater attention paid to the custody of parish registers, those priceless storehouses of parochial records of which, alas! many have perished through ignorance or carelessness, but enough remain to reward the research of those who have leisure, patience and discernment. No doubt ninety-nine entries in a hundred may be quite uninteresting ; but the hundredth may throw an unexpected light on some subject of permanent interest. The battles and sieges of the Civil Wars, the ousting of the episcopal clergy under the Protectorate, the return of the old rector after the Restoration, the spread of the plague, the ravages of small-pox, all these have left their traces in the pages of our Parish Registers.

The vicar of Kelvedon has done a useful piece of work in publishing in an unpretending little pamphlet Notes on the Parish Church of Kelvedon (Easterford) with inscriptions and

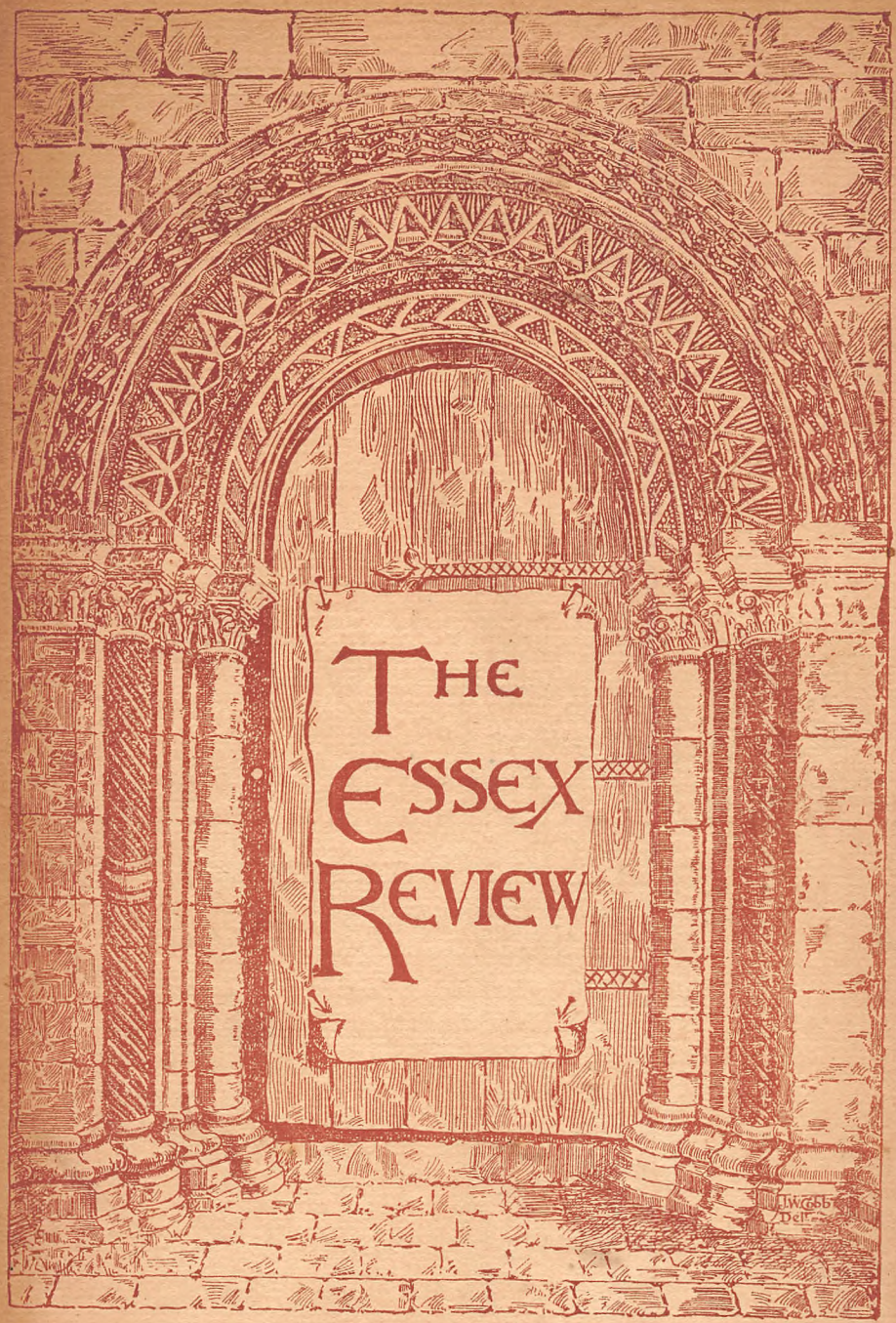
other records. The church, a familiar object to travellers on the railway between Witham and Colchester, and of great interest, is well described and illustrated in Mr. Hay's book. The greater part of the pamphlet is taken up with inscriptions and monuments both in the church and in the churchyard. The chief personages of importance commemorated are the family of Abdy, of Felix Hall, whose period, so far as monuments go, extends from 1685 to 1710, and the Westerns, of whom Sir Thomas Burch Western, of Felix Hall, has a brass tablet in the church. One finds here, as in other Essex churches, the names of prosperous London merchants and tradesmen, who evidently came into the country to spend their later years ; thus we have William King, late of New Brentford, Middlesex, sadler ; Nicholas Fyrmage, Merchant, late of London, and others. There are also many monuments of former vicars and their families, of whom the Rev. Charles Dalton, vicar for 55 years, and the Rev. George Peter Bennett, are still remembered at Kelvedon.

Mr. Hay gives a list of rectors and vicars in unbroken line from Roger de London, instituted in 1259, to Edward Francis Hay in 1891. One notes that John Dears held the living from 1640 to 1660, so he must have escaped the ordeal of Cromwell's Triers, unless, indeed, an intruder was put in whose name is not thought worthy of mention.

The Register Books appear to be unusually perfect, including what is not often found, a book of civil marriages between 1654 and 1657. May we suggest that Mr. Hay in his next edition should give us any interesting excerpts that he may find in the older registers? And we greatly desire to know something about the Briefs, mentioned in the list of the registers. One wonders on what principle Briefs were issued. They were often for loss by fire, and seem to have roughly anticipated insurance policies, but they were also issued in case of any great calamity, as pestilence or floods, and also for distressed Protestants in Germany, for in those days the English Church acknowledged a very real connection with continental Protestantism.

We thank Mr. Hay for his little book, and trust he will not mind our asking for more. Has he any tolerable derivation to suggest for Easterford, the other (now extinct) name of Kelvedon? And can he not give us a brief history of the town, including (as is only right in the case of the birthplace of Mr. Spurgeon) some account of local Nonconformity?

No. 50 Vol. XIII. [64 PAGES.] April, 1904.



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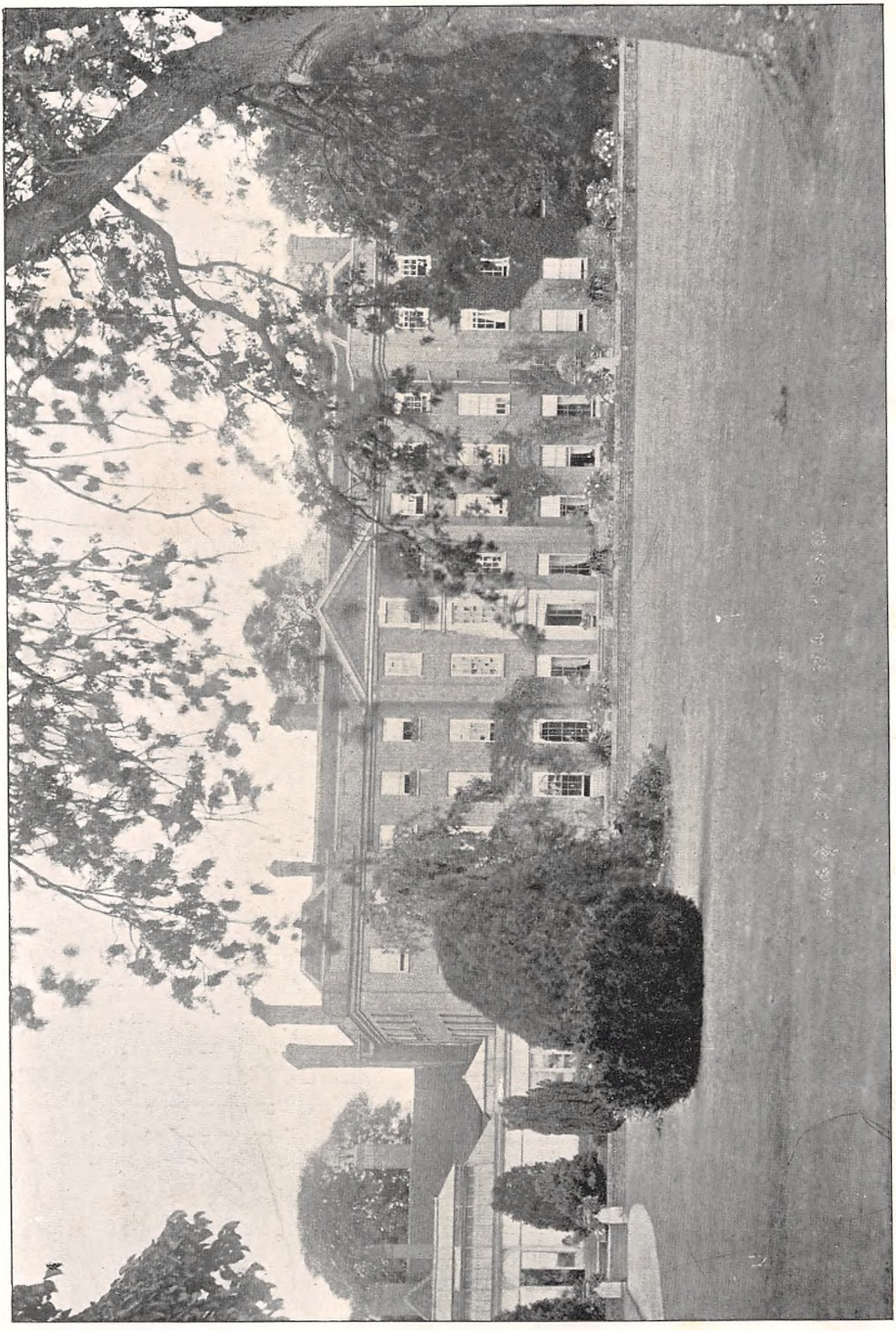
Copies of Volumes **1**, **2**, and **3**, having now become extremely few in stock, they will in future only be sold with complete sets of the *Essex Review*, from the beginning, 1892, to present date.

Persons desirous of parting with early parts or volumes of the *Essex Review*, should communicate with the Publishers or Secretary.

THE SECOND EDITION of Part **49**, JANUARY, 1904, is now ready. The first edition was entirely sold out within a few days of publication.



LANGLEYS—GARDEN FRONT.

Photograph by F. Spalding, Chelmsford.

THE

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No. 50.] APRIL, 1904. VOL. XIII.

GREAT WALTHAM FIVE CENTURIES AGO.

BY THE REV. A. CLARK, LL.D.

(Continued from p. 19).

THE ENCLOSED PARKS AT WALTHAM.

A CONSPICUOUS feature of Great Waltham of the present day is the great oak-paled park at Langleys, with the deer browsing on its broad sward, or resting in the shade of its immemorial elms. This feature is prominent also in the view of Langleys (by J. Mynde, *fl.* 1760) in Morant, where the deer are seen separated from the house by a low wall and iron gates. This woodland character was even more pronounced five hundred years ago, when, within the one manor of Walthambury, there were three parks, each enclosed with an unbroken cincture of paling, and each with its "gate" as a conspicuous mark on the roadside, the Old Park, Apechild Park, Lytel-hey Park.* Each park was in charge of two officers, the parcarius and the paliciarius. The parcarius had charge of the timber in the park, and joint charge of cattle or pigs grazing there; and he looked out for trespassers after fish or game. The paliciarius found his occupation in keeping the paling in good order. He had also joint charge of the cattle and pigs, by means of nick-stick or tally with the parcarius. Thus, in Sept., 1404, the number of cattle at summer grazing, and in Jan., 1406, the number of pigs acorn-eating, was determined by the tally between the parcarius and the paliciarius. In English, both officers seem

* Apechild is now colloquially Absol or Apsol Park; Littley Park survives as name of a farm.

to have been called "parker"; the employment often displaced the surname; and hence an apparent superfluity of persons called Parker in these rolls.

It was an offence to enter within the pales. The park-keeper had the right to arrest a trespasser, and commit him to temporary custody ("impark" him). It added to the enormity of a breach of the peace, if it were committed within the park pales. These privileges are shown by the two notices following.

In Jan., 1408, the Court Baron ordered prosecution by brief of Richard Barbour, of Plecy, and his wife, Alice. Thomas Lynghey, parcarius, seems to have arrested their boy, no doubt for trespass. Thereupon, they "entered Lytel-hey Park beyond the pales without licence and took away the boy from custody without release."

In May, 1409, the Court Leet ordered prosecution by brief of Thomas Adecok of Felsted. He had, in Roger Noon's absence, carried off Walter Carlowe, Roger's apprentice. When Roger followed to demand his apprentice, Adecok turned on him with sword, bow and arrows, "and entering Lytel-hey Park without leave chased Roger as far as Kenynton's," a keeper's.

Apechild, the principal park, lay in the North-end, and gave its name to Apechild-bregge, a bridge now called Absol's on the way to Dunmow. The timber for its paling was taken out of the park itself,* and the work of keeping it good was a burden imposed by one of the de-Bohun Earls on a particular holding prior to 1321. By this charter the "parker of Apechild" held freely 9 acres of land; he had for further perquisite whatever portions of the new felled timber were unsuitable for pales and whatever portions of the old pales were unsuitable for mending the fence: also the right to have five grazing animals in the park throughout the whole year, and five pigs at pasture there except during the month when pigs are excluded from the park. In return he was to keep up the paling. The homage kept a sharp look out both on the parker's work and on his perquisites. A constantly recurring precept is that the paling of Apechild park is to be repaired before next court day under penalty of 20s. or 40s. A fine is sometimes imposed; in November, 1407, Gilbert Shergot, paliciarius, was fined because the pales of Apechild towards the New-fryth were in bad condition. In March, 1411,

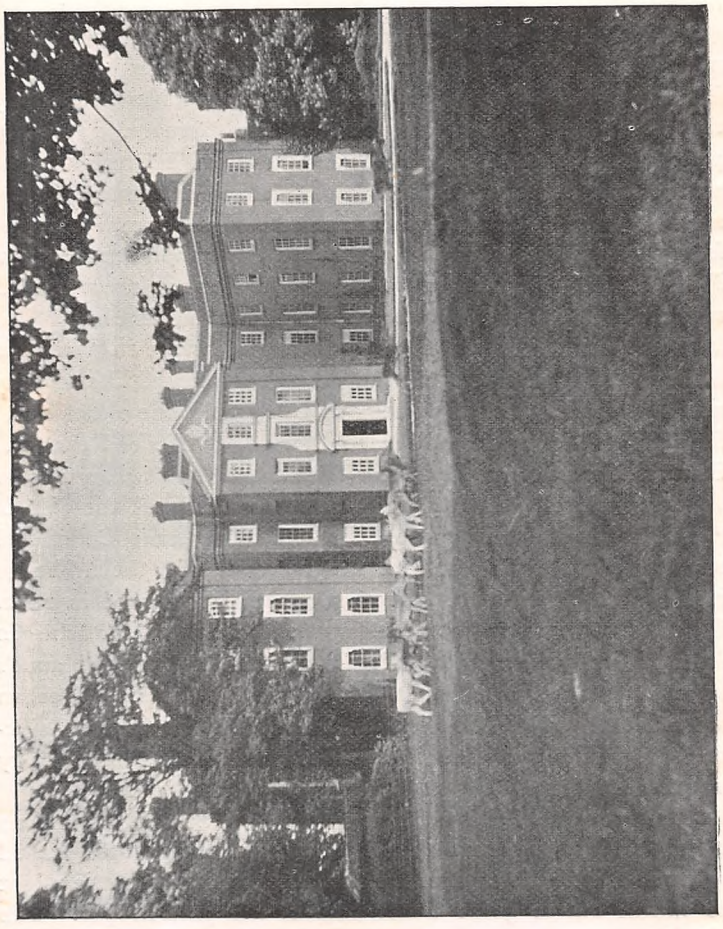
* In May, 1397, four oaks are returned as felled in Apechild for repair of the palings.

William Shergot, called to book for carrying off part of the pales at Mychelles-pond, confessed to taking a pale blown down by the wind, and was fined 6d. In October, 1398, the homage presented that William Harecoarte, parcarius of Apechild, had five beasts at pasture there, and desired to know if this were by his patent.

The Court Baron watched the timber in the park with the most jealous care, requiring strict account not only of the trees felled and of their toppings, but also of boughs blown down by the wind, and of the undergrowth. In January, 1395, the parker of Apechild, Thomas Couland, reported delivering to the praepositus (reeve) of the Manor two oaks and one branch for the repairs of the lord's mills, and, in July of the same year, the felling of twelve oaks for repairs at the "new college" at Plessitz. In May, 1397, William Harecoarte, now parker, reported felling four oaks "for the bay next the kitchen" (? at Pleshey Castle), and one oak for making a bridge in Waltham Manor. In October, 1398, the homage presented the sale by said William Harecoarte of one ash, one maple, one old oak, and firewood, all blown down by the wind, to the end that the Steward might enquire whether Harecoarte had accounted for the proceeds. In January, 1399, the Court ordered the sale of "one lop of oak, blown down," for 40d. The same Court sold at the rate of 1d. per perch the hedge-growth of "the old hedge in Apechild Park," a transaction which is repeated in 1402. Especially interesting is the felling (Jan., 1404) of four ashes in Apechild Park, by order of the Treasurer of the Lady of the Manor's household, to be made into tallies (cipherae) by which to reckon the expenses of the household. Four ashes made into nick-sticks suggest a very extensive set of domestic accounts, in a very inconvenient form.

The pasture of the parks was turned to account in various ways. There was first the right of summer-pasture, called *agistamentum*, by which at a fixed payment per head cattle might be turned out to graze under care of the park-keeper. The rates were:—for a horse, 1s. 4d.; for a cow or bullock (bestia plenae aetatis), 1s.; for a steer (boviculus duorum annorum), 8d.; for a calf or a foal, 6d. If the animal had been at pasture for only part of the time, only part of the fee was charged: thus, in September, 1404, a steer paid 4d. and a calf 3d., they having

been in Apechild Park half the time only. The proceeds fall away in the later years of this period, showing the disuse of this form of grazing. The agistamentum of Apechild in September, 1380, brought in 30s. 8d.; in 1404, only 13s. 7d.



LANGLEYS, GREAT WALTHAM.
(*Park Front*, p. 65).

During the acorn season the right (called pannage) of pasturing pigs in the parks was let out at fixed rates, viz., for a porcus (hog of 1 year old), 4d.; for a porculus (jointer of half-a-year old), 2d.; and for a porcellus (store ig), 1d. Trespass with

pigs was visited by a mulct, *e.g.*, November, 1394, John Barnard was fined 4d. for trespass with his pigs in Apechild Park. In 1394, the pannage of Apechild yielded 23s. 6d. In 1404, 34 porci and 31 porculi there yielded 16s. 6d. Here again, a reduced charge was made for a pig at pannage for only a portion of the time : thus, 1404 (in Lytelhey Park) for a " porcus " not the full time, 3d.

Another perquisite of this sort was that called *avesagium*. This was certainly for pasturing pigs, *e.g.* November, 1409, John Tyler was mulcted 2d. for not paying at the right time " avesagium suum pro porcis pascendis," and it seems levied at Martinmas. Whether it was in the woods or not, I cannot tell. It was certainly different from the pannage just mentioned. A typical example of it is found in December, 1401, when the homage presented that " by the custom of the manor the copyholders paid the lord for each porcus (hog of one year old) one penny, and for each porculus (porker or jointer of half-a-year old) one half-penny." On this occasion the amount was 9s. 8½d., fifty copyholders paying for 110 hogs and 13 porkers. Four years earlier (1397) it had been 11s. 0½d., with fifty-three copyholders, the largest individual contribution then being by Arthur Levegor, who paid 4d. for 8 porkers. It was possibly of servile origin (*E. R.* vol. xiii. p. 14).

In the first years of Richard II.'s time, manorial law visited trangressions of this *avesagium* custom with some severity. In December, 1379, the homage presented that John Hammond had four half-year-old pigs, beyond the *avesagium* (*i.e.*, not paid for), valued at one shilling each : " by the custom of the manor " they were forfeited to the lord. In Henry IV.'s time there is a marked falling off under this head, the amounts being, 1407, 37 copyholders, paying 8s. 4d. ; 1408, 36 copyholders, paying 5s. 8½d. ; and in 1409, 10 copyholders, paying only 2s. 3d.

From one of the Steward's notes of his expenses we learn that Apechild had a lodge and a horse-breeding establishment. In 1410, he explains the unusual amount (3s.10d.) of his charges at the Court Leet by having had to visit Apechild the day after to superintend the lodge and the lord's mares there.

The Old Park seems to have lain towards Pleshey. We learn that it was paled, because in Feb., 1396, Thomas Thrower was mulcted 6d. for cutting down, without leave, part of the hedge-

growth next the paling. It had its own parcarius, John Hadstoke, who was ordered by the Court in June, 1396, to account for two oak-planks and some oak-boards, altogether 12d. in value, which he had removed from the Old Park. We have had (p. 66) in Apechild, the word "frith" for a wood; here we have another example, Robert Armurer buying in 1405, some lopps of ash in the Old Park, in Ulting's-fryth, for 2s. 6d. Some pieces of manorial land were bound to provide hay for the deer here. In July, 1410, the homage presented that Thomas Couland, without leave, had housed elsewhere the hay from one rood of his holding, which had been assigned for the deer (pro feris domini) in the Old Park; order was issued that the said hay is to be forthcoming when asked for.

Of Lytelhey Park we learn that it was paled, from various orders, directed, about 1400, to Edmund Kenynton (its paliciarius), to have its pales repaired. The agistamentum and pannagium shew that it was much smaller than Apechild. A new deer-house was made in it in 1409. There were probably osier-beds in it, since in May, 1409, the bedell reports the sale of the crop of the willows in Lytelhey park. Its keeper (parcarius) was Thomas Lynghey, who, in March, 1401, was called to account for 5s. received for some pieces of willow, alder, and ash sold out of it. Its gate was at Hertforde-bregge.* In 1402, besides the agistamentum of Apechild (22s. 4d.), entry is made of 8s. 4d. agistamentum in le Fanne, but no mention of Lytel-hey, so that le Fanne is possibly an alternative name.

Besides the parks, there were other woodland enclosures for the preservation of game, called "Plees." In 1395, John Parker, parcarius de les Plees, reported felling in New-wood, eight elms to supply piles for a main pond at the "new college" at Pleshey. In May, 1399, lengths of the hedge-growth in Brade-lyeghs plees were sold. In 1412, the lord of the manor is asked to have his ditch cleared out at the Couplees. These places took their name from the hedge (low-Latin *plexitium*) which surrounded them. The same word has given name to many places in France called Plessis,† and to the Earl of Essex's castle, Plessitz (1396), or Plecy (1397). An accidental pronunciation has developed the modern form Pleshey; giving birth to a good example of

* Now of course Hartford End Bridge.

† See Scott's *Quentin Durward*.

popular etymology and the invention of the fiction required to establish it, viz., that that district is wetter (more "plashy") than the neighbouring parts.

There are two "heggs," whose name is of interest, as a dialectical form of "hag," an enclosed wood, familiar to readers of *Waverley*. Mummes-hegge is mentioned in April, 1408, as a wood of the lord's where Valentine Rammes had, without leave, cut willows and maple to the value of 2d., for which he was sconced 4d. In 1404, and again in 1408, 14 oaks were felled in it for the repair of Little Waltham mill. The farmer of the manor in 1413 was reported as having done wanton damage in Welden-hegge to the amount of 20d., which he was called on to pay.

The woodland character of the country is further shown by the occurrence, in the precinct of the manor, of such place-names as Davenyssh's-grove, Graunger's-grove, Lytel-hey-grove, West-wood, Hertford-wood, etc.

FOREST INDUSTRY AT WALTHAM.

These great woods, no doubt, involved much woodland industry, of which we are ignorant, We can imagine that the felling and the barking were done by forced labour of the serf cottagers. We can guess that Walter Wheler, who took oath of fealty in 1400, was really Walter, the wheelwright, and that John Gyn, carpenter, and John Gybbe, carpenter, had material enough to hand for their craft. In addition, we have these trifles. In what is now How Street there was in Richard II.'s time a tanner, probably attracted by the convenience of oak-bark from the woods. The first notice of him is not to his credit. The Court Leet of 1395, declared that John Tanner, del hoo, sold skins which were "raw and badly tanned," and beyond the assise-price: for this he was mulcted 8d. In later Court Leets he is fined the same sum for breaking the assise, but no reflection is cast on the quality of his wares. His place is afterwards taken by a John Waltham, who is often mulcted by the Court Leet for occupying common with a heap of tan-yard refuse. There were also two dealbatores corei, John Honylee and John Colman, who at each Court Leet are mulcted 8d., for exceeding the assise-price. I take their work to have been the producing of whitish glove leather from buckskins and

dogskins, and of parchment from sheepskins. In May, 1399, one of the head-men of the pledge is "John atte hyll, colyer," whom I take to be a charcoal-burner ("cole" is the old English word for charcoal) and to have carried on his trade at the ascent then called Colyer's-hyll.

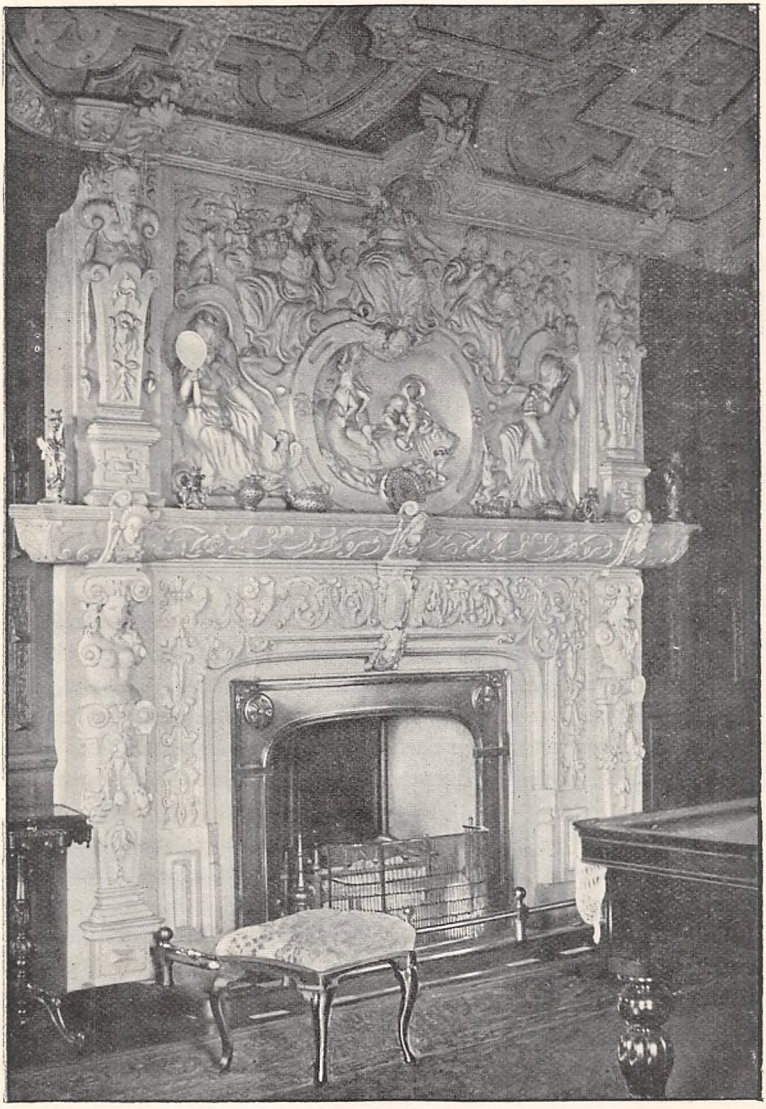
THE GAME-LAWS.

Connected with the woodlands and the deer-parks is the lord's "warren" or ground reserved for preservation of game. There is too little evidence in these rolls to show whether this was merely a right claimed within the whole Manor, or a portion of ground specially reserved. The first notice of it is in May, 1399, when the homage presented that Thomas Jeneyn had gone round the warren and taken partridges, by what warrant the homage knew not. The Elizabethan annotator has here marked in the margin —"free-warren," indicating that the Lord of Waltham Manor had acquired from the Crown the rights of preserving game, and of recovering game taken from his land. In March, 1402, the homage presented that Roger Wodeham, with dogs and grey-hounds, had gone forth "to kill the beasts of the warren," and had killed rabbits and hares; also that Thomas Ker, with his dogs, took his walk over the lord's warren, both in Mumm's-hegg and elsewhere. In November, 1406, Richard Fuller was presented to be a habitual bird-taker (communis auceps) without leave; and again in November, 1407, and again, as going forth with snares, in February, 1410, when he was checked by Thomas Lynghey, the park-keeper, and pleaded that "he had taken nothing, but if he had taken anything he had intended to give it to the lord's use," a hypothetical statement which the homage was slow to believe.

In November, 1408, the homage presented that John Scot of Great Waltham, with his greyhounds, had killed one hare within the lord's warren in the field* called the Vyneyard; prosecution was ordered.

In Oct., 1412, the homage presented that one Jeffrey, a labouring man, had been seen within the lord's warren, with one dead hare slung over his shoulder, but whether killed within the warren or outside, the homage could not say.

* In spite of its vinous name this seems to have been a wheatfield. Dec., 1400, John Hamond was mulcted 40d. for trespass with 100 pigs in the lord's wheat in the field called the Wynyerd.



JACOBEAN MANTELPIECE AT LANGLEYS. (v. p. 2).

THE RIVER AT WALTHAM.

The presence of a considerable river (the Chelmer) flowing through the manor is evinced by a profusion of bridges, viz., Apechild-bregge, Church-bregge, Gildford-bregge, Hertford-bregge, Oxen-bregge (near Pleshey, on the way to "Branketre" = Braintree), Porte-bregge, Ryse-bregge, Symond's-bregge, Wynkeford-bregge. Several water-mills naturally occur, as one called Prylle-melle, and a mill (freehold) of Thomas Berwyk's, which I cannot identify. The lord of the manor owned Mochel-melle (the "Great Mill" at Great Waltham) and the mill at Little Waltham, both of which are constantly mentioned as in need of repair. They were constructed of wood. Their mill-dams are frequently reported as damaged by floods. In May, 1399, John Bernarde was fined 1d. for so stopping the way at Apechild-bregge with his mill (? the Great Mill) that the highway was often flooded. There is a custom quoted as regards mill-stones. In July, 1410, the homage presented that the old mill-stones were worth 40d., but that John Wolston and William "Meller" had taken them without leave. Questioned about this, these assured the court that the custom of millers was to have the old stones for the placing of the new; their claim was allowed. The fulling-mill (for the felting of woollen-cloth), called also Champeney's mill, belonged to the lord; was of wood, and stood in frequent need of repair. A "webbe" (or weaver) resident in the manor probably sent thither the produce of his loom. Fulling must have been an important Essex industry, to judge by the frequent occurrence of the surname Fuller in these rolls.

That the rights of fishery in the river were jealously guarded is shown by quite a number of notices. In September, 1402, the homage reported that Robert Bregge, of Felsted, and others (names unknown), came with nets, and, in the river and the lord's "several water," took first two pikes and then eight pikes. The lord is asked to advise whether Robert Bregge is to be prosecuted and whether the homage is to endeavour to discover the names of the other water-poachers. In May, 1406, John Batayll and John Blecch were summoned into the Court Baron to answer for their conduct, under the following circumstances. Their farm-lads had been caught by Thomas Lynghey, park-keeper, putting "spertes" and other fish-catching devices into

the lord's river. Lynghey seized their "arts and engines" and "imparked" them in the Great Mill. The boys watched him go off; entered the mill, and "broke pound" by removing their tackle. Their masters had taken their part. In November, 1406, Batayll and Blecch apologised and paid each a mulct of 6d. In July, 1410, William Huberd was fined 2d. for fishing in the river without leave. The "several water" mentioned above probably refers to the manorial fish-ponds. They were enclosed by a paling, and must have been of some extent. In May, 1397, four oaks and 16 "ascer." were taken out of Apechild Park for the paling round "lez stues." At Walthambury there are to this day abundant traces of these great ponds.

There was a "fisher" in the manor. But we have no means of judging whether he was a fisherman, who took and sold the produce of the river, or a fishmonger, who dealt in salt fish for the days of abstinence. Like other tradesmen, he reveals his existence by breach of assise. In May, 1402, the Court Leet mulcted John Hunt, piscenarius, for selling his fish too dear.

THE GREAT FIELDS AND MEADOWS.

Another striking feature in the Great Waltham landscape of the years just on each side of 1400 came from the large spaces which lay unenclosed in open fields (campi) and meadows (prata). In those fields the manorial tenants held a medley of strips, on which to grow their grain; and in those meadows they held a jumble of patches for hay-making. The transferences of holdings at this period show everywhere a tenant with an acre or two, lying (together or separately) in such a field, between the acres of such and such other tenants; and strips of meadow in such a mead, lying next the meadow of someone else. A few examples may be quoted, to show the old field-names, ending in field, leigh, dene, croft. We have Walter Parker's one acre, and Juliana Pays's one acre in Church-feld; John Parker's two acres in Myddel-feld; Anna Kyng's six acres in Long-o-feld; John Somersford's three acres one rood in Adame's-feld towards Plecy; John Strout's three half-acres in Smod-leyghe Margaret Greenway's one acre, and Joan Lefchild's two acres in Re-den (or Reydon); John Peverell's three acres in Pyl-croft; John Ram's one acre in Broad Oak.

So with the meadows. We have William Wrongy's one rood in O-mede; Henry Balle's one acre in Ree-mede; Anna Kyng's three roods in Cavell-mede. We have one indication of the great size of the arable fields. William Blecche in September, 1407, was mulcted 12d., for hiring without leave 40 acres in the campus called Lymberhoo* and carrying the crop off them; and William Shergot and others, mulcted for a similar offence about 30 acres in Ryse-bregge-feld. How large must have been the fields, of which these acres were only portions.

The Manor turned the great open fields to financial account in various ways. It let out the grass on the unploughed balks (i.e., green strips between the ploughed acres). In July, 1402, Jeffrey Curweyn, the præpositus (reeve), returned 6s. 8d. as proceeds of the sale of the grass-crop (vestura herbagii) round the grain in the fields Washter, Castelfeld, and Lymberhoo. When the grain had been carried, rights of pasturing sheep, pigs, etc., on the fields were let out. In Dec., 1379, this pannage on the lord's stubble brought in 3s. 7½d.; in Sept., 1380, John, vicar of Waltham, and ten others were fined for trespass (unauthorized grazing), on the lord's stubble, at the rate of a penny for each porker and twopence for each hog.

TRACES OF THE EARLY VILLAGE-COMMUNITY.

It is most interesting to note in the rolls a double feeling, partly that the system represented by these fields was then vanishing, and partly that it had come down from a more ancient time. The holdings were rapidly being broken up into detached fragments, but for a long time the steward continued to mention with each fragment the holding from which it had been taken. We are thus able to draw up for Great Waltham a list of old holdings, which recall the old village-community, where each villein who contributed 2 oxen to the common plough of 8 oxen, held a virgate (or yard-land) of 30 acres in scattered strips in the common arable fields, along with strips of meadow and patches of pasture; and each contributor of 1 ox had half-a-virgate. The virgates mentioned are:—Adgore's, Alizandre's-yerd, Jacob's, Palmer's-yerd, Henry Walle's. There is a three-quarters of land, named Levegor's. Half-virgates are numerous:—John Andrew's, Beteramme's,* John Blecche's, Sawyne Blecche's,

* Two fields towards Pleshey are still called Great and Little Limbers.

Richard Eve's, Hamund's, Horsnayll's, Sawyne Kyng's, Lefchild's half-yerd, Oldfeld's, Ryche's, Shergote's in South-end, Trewe's (or Truwe's) half-yerd, Waryne's. Quarters-of-land (*i.e.*, of a virgate) are equally common :—Alice Cavell's, John Herrye's, Outgate's, Walter de Oxenbregge's, Ramme's, Thomas Ramme's, Rybode's, Sawkyne's, Sawyer's, Wrongy's.

FREQUENT TRESPASS IN CROPS.

One result of the great fenceless fields was constant trespass in the manorial crops by the cattle of tenants. In fact, if we except the transfers of land, there is no business of the Court Baron which occupies so much of the rolls as the mulcts for such trespasses. The manorial land was in charge of a præpositus (or farm-bailiff), and, at harvest-time, of a messor (or chief-reaper). These officers were elected and removed by the Court Baron. Thus in October, 1398, Jeffrey Curwen was elected præpositus, and Jeffrey Davenyssh, messor. In March, 1401, Jeffrey Davenyssh was removed, and John Gyn elected into his place. These two officers reported at each Court Baron the recent trespasses, with the result that quaint entries are found in nearly every roll. A few instances may be given. In November, 1394, John Burr, tailor, was mulcted 3d. for trespass with one cow in Church-mede ; in May, 1395, William Huberd, 3d. for 4 pigs in le Flash (a meadow so-called, towards Pleshey) ; in June, 1395, Agnes Horsnayll, 3d. for 20 sheep in the lord's oats at Lymberhoo ; in September, 1395, Jakeman Dryver, 1d. for one pig in the lord's peas ; in November, 1395, the vicar of Great Waltham Church (probably John Cappe, presented 8th May, 1395, *vide* Newcourt), for trespass of his five little pigs in the lord's meadow. The record for Richard II.'s reign was made by John Stonach, chaplain, farmer of the Rectory farm (a separate manor, opposite Waltham House), who in May, 1395, was mulcted 12d. for trespass with four-score pigs in the lord's wheat peas, and barley. In February, 1412, his successor, John Smyth, trespassing with all the Rectory pigs in Schepcote's mede, did the lord's meadow damage, assessed at 5s.

To provide for the bringing home to the owners the damage done by such stragglers an important adjunct of the manor in old days was the lord's pund (or pound), which formed part of the

* This seems to be Bartholomew Ramme's (originally). The frequent occurrence of Christian names in these divisions of the yard-land suggests partition of the original copyhold between (say) two brothers.

manorial buildings at Walthambury. After 1400 it fell to decay. In Nov., 1407, the homage reported that the gates of the pund-fold were in need of repair; in Feb., 1409, that its wall was fallen; and in July, 1410, that its gates were now fallen.

THE OPEN-FIELD SYSTEM AS A SOURCE OF CONTROVERSIES.

The open-field system was productive of other troubles between the lord and the tenants. Some strips were freehold, some copyhold; some held of Waltham manor, some not. The lord had often cause to think that tenants moved their crops off his land to strips not under his jurisdiction in order to avoid manorial distraint. Tenants sometimes complained that the bedell of the manor distrained for rent on crops not within his right. Thus, in May, 1399, John Somersford, in the Court Baron, claimed 40d. for illegal distraint on his land in the croft called Wystok, "not held," as he alleged, "of the manor"; while the bedell, John Rede, affirmed that the land was so held, and that he was justified in distraining there for rent due to the lord. This possibility of avoiding distraint by moving grain from one strip to another probably (in part) explains the habitual severity with which this offence against manorial law was visited. In Sept., 1380, Job Kyng was fined 2s. for carrying seven sheaves of oats outside the lord's field, and Simon Love-day challenged for similarly removing six sheaves of wheat. In Oct., 1396, Richard Cavy, tailor, was fined 3d. for removing grain off his copyhold. In Oct., 1398, Andrew Gulle, was fined 6d. for removing oats, dragetts, and peas, out of the lady's bondage. Probably also, the old farming rule of retaining on the land the straw to be returned to the soil in the shape of manure was already operative (see later on).

Between tenant and tenant also, the open-field system led to perpetual wrangling and litigation. There were difficulties in determining the limits of the respective strips, and the manorial court was consequently kept busy with suits about ownership and for apportionment of services (*i.e.*, to determine which strip or part of a strip was responsible for certain duties to the lord). Thus, in December, 1379, Margaret Algor raised an action against John and Joan Hanper, for ownership of a piece of land, and in June, 1380, the Court Baron ordered an inquiry by jury to decide whether John atte Wode or Robert Stonhach ought to

bear the services due by a given acre. There were abundant opportunities of trespass by tenant on tenant, both accidental and spiteful. Thus, to cull a few instances:—In 1379, a jury was ordered to determine whether John atte Rothe had removed soil from Thomas Berewyk's land, and if so, to assess damages. In 1399, the Court Baron had to pronounce whether or not William Longe had done Joan Blecche 20s. damages by appropriating a path, which Joan claimed as belonging to her holding, Graunger's-lond. In 1402, John Peverel claimed 20s. from Alice Tanner, as compensation for damage done by four of her horses in his wheat in three successive autumns. It thus appears that if the proverb is true that law is an expensive luxury, it was a luxury of which the manorial tenants of Plantagenet times had no lack.

PLACE-NAMES.

An incidental result of the open-field system was to give prominence to the gaps in the distant boundary-hedges where the long paths passed out of the wide fields. These gaps must have been visible a great way off from all points in the bare lands. Hence, perhaps, the frequency in Waltham manor of such place-names as Cow-ley-style, Long-feld-style, Long-lond-style, Lyn-acre-style, Whyt-feld-style. Here may be added some other quaint place-names of the same sort. We find at this date:—Adgore's-tye, Balle's-tye,* Clerken-tye, Pelton's-tye, Roper's-tye, Barrett's-crouche, Tryppe's-crouche, Warde's-crouche. "Crouch" seems to be "a crossing," perhaps of a hedge or ditch, or of two roads; "tye" is, of course, a cross road.

THE ENCLOSURES AT WALTHAM.

A singular contrast to the great arable fields and the wide meadows was presented by the multiplicity of little enclosures, hedged and ditched, which existed side by side with them, possibly as a fringe along their edges. These had all their names, generally from owners or former owners. Thus, we have a six-acre enclosure, Love's-croft; five-acre enclosures, Trewe's-croft, Ape's croft; four-acre enclosures, Schache's-croft, Hasquille's-lond, Nelton's-croft a three-acre enclosure, Chyche-lyegh (in Littley); two-acre enclosures, Blake-croft, Trewe's brom, Erlond's, Child's-croft, Symond's-croft, le

* There is still a farm in Great Waltham called Balls.

Downe; one-acre, Holcroft; five-roods, Nether-croft; and, unspecified, Lytel-brom, Beldame's-croft, Gooche's-crofts in How Street, Chapel-croft (towards Pleshey), Stryke's garden, Warner's-garden, &c. The hedges enclosing these pieces, and the trees growing in them, led to a good deal of litigation. In February, 1393, there were cross-suits between John Stonhach (or Stonach), chaplain, accusing John Colman of carrying off two willows ("wylwys") belonging to him, and Colman, accusing Stonhach of cutting down his hedge. In January, 1397, Roger Wodeham claimed damages from John Pig for cutting down a hedge, and an oak growing in it. In May, 1397, Joan Lefchild sued for one penny yearly rent for a hedge in Westwode croft, which William Drake had latterly refused to pay. In October, 1398, John Strout sued for 12d. damages for a hedge cut down by William Trewe and his maynpas, but Trewe maintained that the hedge was his own. In 1407, John Strout claimed 12d. damages for a white-thorn of his cut down by Richard Warenger. A whole croft seems occasionally to have been laid hold of without leave. In 1401, John Parker recovered 5s. damages from John Testepyn, who had occupied without leave Cumbewell croft. Testepyn figures elsewhere as a turbulent person; Parker was perhaps an absentee landholder.

NOTES. 1. It ought to have been mentioned that the name Walthambury carries the existence of the manor-house on this site back beyond the Norman Conquest. "Bury" is the *burh*, or fortification of the original Saxon lord's house, with its yards and out-buildings as pictured in Scott's *Ivanhoe*.

2. By an accident, the wrong description has been attached to the plate on p. 5. The mantelpiece there shown is the "Peace and Plenty" one in the lower Jacobean room, called The Old Dining Room. The quaint Tobit panel of the upper room, the Library, is shown on p. 73 of the present number.

3. Since printing the body of this paper, I have found evidence that the fishery (p. 75) in the Chelmer was turned to professional account. At Easter 1422, Richard Waltham took a five years' lease of the fishing in the water between Mascalle's-melle and Champeney's-melle, at a yearly rent of 3s. 4d.

4. Great Waltham also supplies an interesting "popular etymology" (p. 71) to account for a place name. In many parishes which still beat their bounds, the Churchwardens provide on Ascension Day a large bundle of peeled willow-wands. With these the boys of the parish vigorously beat the marks at the different points of the bounds. Older men say that, formerly, the boys themselves were beaten at these points, to fix them in their memory. In Great Waltham, near the Church, there is a house Wallops, which bore that name (no doubt from an earlier owner) when tenanted by John Smyth in 1400. Popular etymology in the parish explains the name by assuming this to have been one of the perambulation points where the boys were "walloped!"

FAITH-HEALING IN ESSEX EIGHTY YEARS AGO.*

BY THE REV. R. E. BARTLETT.

THE claim to heal bodily infirmities and diseases by spiritual agencies, once regarded as a monopoly of the Roman Church, has, in these later days, been put forward by such Protestant bodies as the Plymouth Brethren and the Salvation Army, and has now won large numbers of adherents to the very vigorous and self-asserting body called Christian Scientists. Scientific enquirers are investigating eagerly the mysterious frontier-land between the material and the spiritual world; and narratives of apparently supernatural recoveries, which eighty years ago were met with contemptuous derision, are now sure of a respectful hearing and dispassionate enquiry. It may therefore be interesting to recall a career now well-nigh forgotten, which, in less scientific days, was the subject of vehement controversy. The name of Prince Hohenlohe, now "gone dim" for the most part, was, in the third decade of the last century, the centre of a vast amount of thaumaturgic and anti-thaumaturgic writing; and it may be instructive to note how, on the Protestant side at least, a so-called Catholic miracle was regarded not as a subject for calm investigation, but as an impudent attempt to hoodwink an enlightened public. Indeed, one pamphlet, entitled "Catholic Miracles," published in 1822, contains a frontispiece by George Cruikshank, of "Prince Hohenloe working Miracles," of such a nature that in these days no respectable shop would expose it for sale.

Alexander Leopold Franz Emmerich, Prince of Hohenlohe Waldenburg Schillingfürst, was born on the 17th of August, 1794, at Kupferzell, near Waldenburg. He was the eighteenth child of the Hereditary Prince Karl Albrecht, who appears to have been afflicted with a morbid melancholy. Dedicated by his pious mother from his birth to the service of the Church, he was educated first by a Jesuit tutor, and afterwards in a succession of ecclesiastical seminaries. His career of Church preferment began

* This article, which Mr. Bartlett kindly permits us to reprint, was contributed by him, in March, 1886, to a magazine now defunct. He has now revised it.—EDS.

early. At the age of twenty-one he was elected Canon of the Metropolitan Church of Olmütz, and ordained priest. After a visit to Rome, his first permanent settlement appears to have been at Munich, where he was held in high esteem by the multitude, while the more cultivated class regarded him as the representative of Jesuitism and Obscurantism. In 1821 we find him at Bamberg, where he formed the acquaintance of a pious countryman, Martin Michel, of Unterwittichhausen, in Baden. The Prince was one day suffering acute pain in his neck, and his friend suggested to him that, as it hindered him in his sacred calling, he might with childlike confidence call upon God to remove the trouble. Michel then prayed for him, and the pain at once ceased.

Shortly after this, June 19th, 1821, at Wurtzburg, the Prince sat at table next his cousin, Princess Schwarzenberg, a young lady of seventeen, who since her eighth year had suffered from an affection of the spine. So great was her weakness that she was unable to stand or raise herself without an iron support, which she was obliged always to wear. The Prince's thoughts at once turned to his friend Michel, and two days later he introduced him into the presence of the Princess. As Michel prayed for her, the Prince, moved by a strong impulse, exclaimed, "In the Name of Jesus Christ, stand up and walk." She at once obeyed, left her bed without the aid of the mechanical supports, was dressed, and continued afterwards perfectly well.

Naturally, the fame of this wonder-work spread rapidly. Within nine days (June 28th) we read that the concourse of people from town and country was like the arrival of caravans. The house where the Prince was staying was surrounded from morning till night by multitudes of expectant sufferers. Among other less illustrious patients, the Crown Prince was cured of deafness. A few days later the Prince left Wurtzburg for Bamberg. On the road he was met by several vehicles full of sick persons coming to ask the benefit of his prayers; he stopped, left his carriage, and healed them. At Bamberg, two sisters, who had not left their beds for ten years, were restored to the use of their limbs. The concourse of people who flocked to him seems to have attracted the notice of the authorities, and it appears that a notice was issued that a proper place should be appointed for his public appearances, that no sick persons should be permitted to approach him without a regular authorisation

from the Commissary of Police, and finally that in order to obviate all suspicion of collusion a medical commission should be present at all his works of healing. From this point it becomes extremely difficult to construct a satisfactory narrative of the Prince's proceedings in Germany, on account of the divergent tendencies of contemporary accounts. In a German account, written from an incredulous point of view, we are told that after the appointment of the commission and the requirement that all cures should be wrought in public, success no longer attended his prayers. In the Annual Register it is asserted that the Prince resolutely refused to submit to such unworthy conditions, and shaking off the dust of his feet against the town of Bamberg, withdrew to Vienna. But what is most remarkable is, that in an autobiography, written in 1836, Prince Hohenlohe, after describing, in the fullest detail, the healing of his cousin the Princess Schwarzenberg, says not a word of any further cures, though he mysteriously alludes to matters which he might reveal if his lips were not closed. "When the news of this remarkable event spread, I was immediately surrounded by sick folk. Of this I can give no particulars. I have no word to say of what happened then: it is not for me to judge. I am a son of the Church, and I wish to reman her faithful son. After my death, Rome may judge if my life answered to my faith." It is not too much to infer from this, that for some reason the ecclesiastical authorities saw fit to interfere, and that the Prince found his pretensions to miraculous powers discredited, or at least discouraged, by the Church.

It is clear, however, that his activity did not cease at once, and that if any check to his proceedings occurred at home, his fame continued to spread at a distance. He himself declared that he received more than fifty letters daily, asking the benefit of his prayers—an enormous number for those days of dear postage and slow and infrequent communication. It is unnecessary, however, to pursue the subject of his career in Germany; we fortunately possess a very full and detailed account of a cure alleged to have been wrought in England, written by a Protestant physician who had personal knowledge of the facts, and whose reputation, both as a medal practitioner and as a man of honour, was beyond all question.

A few miles from the county town of Chelmsford, in Essex,

stands a stately red-brick Tudor building, the one remaining wing of what was once a palace of Henry VIII., now by a singular turn of fortune, the home of a convent of Augustinian nuns,* originally refugees from Liège at the time of the French Revolution. Its earlier connection has, of course, long since died out, and it has now been for many years a favourite place of education for the upper class of English and Irish Roman Catholics, many of whom, when their school days are over, return thither to assume the veil which separates them for ever from the outer world. Among the nuns of this convent in the year 1820 was Miss Barbara O'Connor, called "in religion" Sister Mary Aloysia Gonzaga, at that time thirty years of age. On the 7th of December this lady was suddenly attacked with pain in the ball of the right thumb. The pain rapidly increased, and was succeeded by swelling of the whole hand and arm as far as the elbow. The limb soon became red, and painful when touched. The ordinary medical attendant of the convent, Mr. Barlow, treated it apparently as an ordinary case of inflammation, trying leeches, lotions, blisters, fomentations, poultices, long immersion in hot water, but with no favourable result. On January 5th an incision was made in the thumb, from which blood flowed, but no pus. After this a mercurial treatment was tried, by which the swelling was temporarily reduced, but it soon returned to its former condition. At length Miss Gerard, the Lady Superior, bethought herself of the fame of Prince Hohenlohe, and applied to him for his good offices. In a letter from Bamberg, dated March 10th, 1822, written in French which betrays its Teutonic authorship, he directs that on May 3rd, Miss O'Connor, having first confessed and communicated, should with true repentance, Christian love, and a boundless faith, join her prayers to those which he would at the same hour—eight o'clock—offer up on her behalf. It is probable that at that time a letter from Bamberg would hardly reach New Hall under ten days or a fortnight; this would give Miss O'Connor five or six weeks' notice of the Prince's intention.

It happened that on May 2nd the convent was visited by

*The proper title of the community is, as I am informed by the best authority, Canonesses Regular of the Holy Sepulchre, following the rule of St. Augustine. It was founded at Liège during the penal times in England, to afford English ladies an opportunity of becoming "religious," and to educate English girls.

Dr. Badeley,* a physician then practising at Chelmsford. Miss O'Connor's case being regarded as a surgical one, he had not hitherto been in regular attendance on her, but happening on that day to be visiting other patients, he was asked to see her. Nothing was said to him as to what was proposed for the morrow, of which, indeed, he was in entire ignorance till eleven days later. He found the hand and arm greatly swollen, the fingers apparently distended almost to bursting, and the wrist measuring fifteen inches in circumference. This is an important feature in the case, as giving unimpeachable medical testimony of the condition of the patient on the very day preceding that fixed by Prince Hohenlohe. The next morning, at the appointed hour, Miss O'Connor attended the ordinary Mass of the convent, at which she and all the Sisters communicated; and towards the end of the service, experiencing no relief, she ejaculated, "Thy will be done, O Lord; Thou hast not thought me worthy of this cure." Almost immediately she felt an extraordinary sensation in her arm; the pain left her; and from that moment the swelling gradually subsided, though it was some weeks before the hand resumed its natural size and shape. Dr. Badeley writes: "I did not see her again till the 11th. Then it was that I first heard of the application to the Prince. Upon being informed that I was in the convent, she came into the room, to my great astonishment, putting her hand behind her and moving her fingers without pain, and with considerable activity, considering the degree of swelling, the hand and arm having hitherto been immovable, and constantly supported in a sling. I immediately exclaimed, 'What have you been doing?' 'Nothing, I declare,' she said, 'except following the instructions of Prince Hohenlohe.' She then took a pen, and wrote very legibly at my request."

A lively controversy ensued concerning the genuineness of this cure. Dr. Badeley published a detailed account of the case, in which he clearly and unreservedly testifies to the cardinal facts —(1) that on the 2nd of May Miss O'Connor's hand and arm were in a frightful state of distension and inflammation, and perfectly useless; (2) that up to this the malady had for seventeen

* Dr. Badeley's eldest son was also an accomplished physician, and succeeded to his father's practice. His second son, Edward, was a well-known barrister, much engaged in ecclesiastical cases; his speech as counsel for the Bishop of Exeter in the Gorham case was regarded as most able. After the decision in this case he followed his friend Cardinal Newman (who has dedicated to him a volume of his sermons) into the Church of Rome. He is mentioned more than once in Canon Mozley's recently-published *Letters*.

months resisted all the available resources of medical and surgical skill; and (3) that eleven days later she was able to move her fingers and write, and that she herself declared upon her honour that she had done nothing but obey the injunctions of Prince Hohenlohe. Unfortunately, instead of confining himself to a clear and professional statement of facts, Dr. Badeley thought it incumbent on him to put forth a theory consistent both with the facts of the case and with the views of ordinary Protestants. "From the numerous cases," he says, "that are published in France and Germany, we have no right to doubt that the prayers of the Prince have been more successful than the prayers of others, probably owing to the greater faith and confidence which their celebrity had occasioned. This success and celebrity will, doubtless, continue reciprocally to increase each other, because, united, they will double the confidence and faith that will be placed in them. The prayers of our clergy would, no doubt, be attended with equal success in restoring health and prolonging life if the minds of the sick were impressed with the same degree of firm belief, that the prayers then offering would effect their recovery; but our clergy confine their visits to the paramount duty of preparing them for their departure from this to a better world." The interest excited by the case is proved by the fact that in October 1823 an article appeared in the *Edinburgh Review*, written in the well-known trenchant style of the early writers in that periodical, in which the whole matter is treated as unworthy of serious discussion, and is met with such phrases as "the gossip of a convent parlour," "hocus-pocus work," "fictions worthy of a dark age," "wonder-mongers," and the like. Other anonymous writers quoted by Dr. Badeley declared their opinion that "Miss O'Connor's case is a piece of deceit from beginning to end," "a fraud on the public." A reply to the Edinburgh article was published by Dr. Milner, the well-known Roman Catholic bishop, in the *Catholic Miscellany* of December 1823. He had seen and conversed with Miss O'Connor, and he appends to his letter one received from her, about three weeks before, in which she furnishes some additional and highly interesting details of her malady and cure. "From the 30th of November, 1820," she says (the date differs by a few days from that given by Dr. Badeley), "to the 3rd of May, 1822, I had no use of my diseased limb. The fetid odour

from my hand and arm was so offensive, and judged by Mr Carpue (surgeon) to be so unwholesome, that he prescribed ventilators in the infirmary where I lodged. Immediately after Mass I made the sign of the Cross, turned my hand behind me without pain or difficulty, took up and held my Office book, stretched my arm in the form of a cross, and on coming out of the choir made use of it on several occurring occasions, such as in lifting and removing things. Surgeon Barlow (a Protestant) saw my hand on the 5th of May, and almost fainted with surprise ; he declared in the presence of Mr. Reeve, Mr. Marest, of Canford, etc., that it was a wonderful interference of Providence. . . . The swelling began to subside instantaneously, and was visibly seen to diminish ; before night it had diminished five or six inches round the wrist ; there appeared no swelling at all at the end of four or five days." The author of Dr. Milner's life, Provost Husenbeth, adds that he accompanied Dr. Walsh, the successor of Dr. Milner, to the convent at New Hall in the summer of 1827, five years after the cure of Miss O'Connor. " She was sent by the reverend mother to make tea for us and two or three other visitors, that we might have ample opportunity of seeing and conversing with her. She was perfectly well, and very cheerful ; and her conversation was agreeable and edifying. . . . Miss O'Connor's hand and arm remained perfectly well until her death, which took place on the 22nd of May, 1837, fifteen years after her cure, and in the forty-fifth year of her age."

One other alleged cure is worth relating, though it rests not on medical testimony, but on the authority of the Roman Catholic Archbishop of Dublin. It is the case of Mary Stuart, of the Convent of St. Joseph, Ranelagh. According to the Archbishop's statement in a Pastoral Letter to the Clergy and Laity of his diocese, " she had been afflicted with sickness for the space of four years and seven months, suffering from frequent attacks of paralysis, each of which seemed to threaten her with immediate dissolution. For seven months she had been confined to her bed, wholly deprived of the power of assisting herself, or of moving out of the position in which she was laid ; when moved by her attendants, how gently soever, she not only suffered much pain, but was also liable to great danger, and to the temporary loss of speech ; and for the last five weeks she had lost the power of

articulation. Up to the morning of the 1st inst. she continued in this deplorable state, without any symptom of amendment, and apparently beyond the reach of human aid. On a certain hour that morning, as had been settled by previous arrangement, she united her devotion (as did also her numerous friends) with the holy sacrifice of the Mass, which was to be offered by Alexander, Prince of Hohenlohe ; with this view she received, though with much difficulty, the Divine Communion at the Mass, which was celebrated at the same hour in her chamber, for her recovery. Mass being ended, and no cure as yet effected, she was in the act of resigning herself, with perfect submission, to the will of God, when instantly she felt a power of movement and a capability of speech ; she exclaimed with an animated voice, 'Holy, Holy, Holy Lord God of Hosts,' raised herself without assistance, to offer on bended knees the tribute of her gratitude to Heaven, called for her attire, left that bed to which she had been for so many months, as it were, fastened, walked to the convent chapel with a firm step, and there, in the presence of community and congregation, joined her religious sisters in the solemn thanksgiving which was offered up to God." The Archbishop adds, "As soon as this statement reached us, we hastened to the spot to investigate the circumstances of this astonishing cure. We found the late invalid, seated in her parlour, surrounded by her friends ; she arose, she knelt, she resumed her seat, she detailed the history of her sufferings and cure. Her companions and attendants confirmed this account in all its details."

On the theological and ecclesiastical aspect of these events it is not necessary or desirable to say much. The most devout Roman Catholic will admit that the credit of the Church is in no way pledged to Prince Hohenlohe's power of working miracles ; and the most sceptical Protestant will hesitate to class him with the vulgar charlatans of whom this age has seen too many. Eighty years ago, no alternative seemed possible but either to accept the cures as evidential miracles, or to reject them as mere impostures. Accordingly, Roman Catholic writers use them as arguments of the authority of the Church in which alone miraculous powers subsist, while Protestants, refusing to discuss the evidence, dismiss them at once on *à priori* grounds as incredible. The more scientific and reasonable mind of the present day will

inquire, first—Is there such evidence that the alleged cures did actually take place as would satisfy a jury of clear-headed and unprejudiced men? and, secondly—If so, must we regard them as strictly miraculous, or can they be adequately explained by that mysterious power of the mind over the body which medical and mental science are now busily investigating, and on which it almost seems as if a new science and a new terminology is being built up? With regard, then, to the first of these questions, the difficulty arises that in most of the cases we are dependent entirely on *ex-parte* statements, that it is impossible to cross-examine the witnesses, and that their testimony, for the most part, lacks that scientific precision and detail on which its value so largely depends. But in the case of Miss O'Connor the evidence is unusually complete. We have the medical statement of the condition of the patient on the previous day, by a Protestant physician of high repute; we have his account of her condition a few days after, supported by another medical man, also a Protestant; we have the clear assurances of both of them that the cure was not to be accounted for by any ordinary means; and we have the testimony of a Roman Catholic prelate of the highest character that the cure was both complete and permanent. And if this is admitted, we may fairly assume, after making every allowance for popular excitement and possible exaggeration, that many at least of the cures related to have taken place in Germany were equally authentic.

The remaining question as to the *rationale* of the cures is one rather of psychological and medical science than of religion. As I have already pointed out, there seems reason to infer, from Prince Hohenlohe's own language, that the authorities of the Church discouraged the exercise of his supposed powers; indeed, how otherwise are we to account for the fact that, though he lived till 1849, his fame as a worker of cures seems to have utterly gone out after its first blaze of brilliancy? And in Meyer's *Conversations Lexikon*, an authoritative and impartial book of reference, it is stated that in July, 1821, he endeavoured to procure a recognition from the Holy See, and laid before the Pope a report of his cures; but that the Pope simply referred him to the decree of the Council of Trent,* that

*Conc. Trident., Sess. XXV., Decret de Invoc. Sanct. "Nulla etiam admittenda esse nova miracula . . . . nisi eodem recognoscente et approbante episcopo."

no new miracles are to be admitted, except with the recognition and approval of the Bishop, and to a bull on this subject of Benedict XIV. At any rate, shortly after this date † all public healings seem to have ceased, though he continued for a time to give the benefit of his prayers to persons at a distance, as in the case of the English and Irish patients. In some contemporary narratives we are told that when the number of applications for his assistance became overwhelming, he divided them into districts, and offered prayers for all the sufferers in a particular district at one time. It seems not unlikely that his zeal may have outrun his discretion, and that his ecclesiastical superiors may have found it desirable to relegate him to a position of obscurity. He appears to have withdrawn first to Vienna and afterwards to Grosswardein, in Hungary, where he became first Dean and then titular Bishop of Sardica. For the last twenty-five years of his life he devoted himself to preaching, and to publishing books of edification. It is curious that a brief memoir, prefixed to a selection from his works, published at Regensburg after his death, makes no allusion whatever to his early fame as a worker of cures.

Clearly then the Church is in no way committed to Prince Hohenlohe. And the facts, *mutatis mutandis*, so clearly resemble those of "Faith-healing" in later days and in other religious latitudes that we shall probably not be wrong in commending the case to those who are engaged in the investigation of psychical phenomena, as one of the many data out of which they will have to construct a theory of the relations between mind and body. It may be well, in conclusion, to point out some of the special features of Miss O'Connor's case which require to be taken into consideration. These are: 1. The anticipation and preparation, extending over several weeks, during which her mind and thoughts would be constantly directed to the hoped-for cure. 2. The solemnities of the Mass and Communion, gathering up, as it were, into one moment of trembling anticipation, the hopes of the previous period. 3. The momentary despondency, "Thou hast not thought me worthy

† In a German publication containing extracts from contemporary accounts, there is an epigram which appears to point not ill-naturedly to a certain want of success, and which may be thus rendered:—

"To thee, Prince-Priest, expectant came,
From far and near, the blind and lame;
How great the wonders wrought by thee!
The blind can walk, the lame can see."

of this cure." 4. The sudden sensation in the diseased arm. 5. The immediate relief and gradual subsidence of the swelling and other symptoms. 6. The nature of the disease, which Dr. Badeley only describes, but does not specify.

It would be easy, if it were necessary, to adduce instances of wonderful cures similar to those wrought by Prince Hohenlohe, the common feature in all of them being the requirement of firm faith on the part of the patients. In the words of Dr. Carpenter, "That the confident expectation of a cure is the most potent means of bringing it about, doing that which no medical treatment can accomplish, may be affirmed as the generalised result of experiences of the most varied kind, extending through a long series of ages." The miracle of the Holy Thorn at Port Royal, by which a niece of Pascal was cured of a painful disease of the eye by the touch of a relic, was attested by unassailable medical evidence; the peculiarity of this case being that the Jesuits were strongly interested in denying the reality of a miracle wrought in a Jansenist convent. But it is abundantly evident that the alternative of less scientific days, that such cures must be either accepted as miracles wrought to attest the claims of a Church or an order, or else rejected as imposture, carried out by hysterical women and designing priests, cannot be accepted as exhaustive. It may be that our attitude must, for the present, be one of suspended judgment; it may be that any theory formed to account for them must be more or less tentative; but we shall at least avoid the dogmatic incredulity of the *Edinburgh Review* and the dogmatic credulity of the *Catholic Miscellany*, and shall admit that "there are more things in heaven and earth than are dreamt of in our philosophy."

Hounds and Hunting in Essex.—Having undertaken the compilation of an historical account of hunting in Essex for the Victoria County History, I shall be greatly obliged for any assistance that can be afforded by readers of the *Essex Review* in the shape of allusions to hunting in former days, extracts from old hunting diaries, or mention of old hunting pictures, maps, etc. R. F. Ball, Epping.

SOME OLD ROOTHING FARMHOUSES.

(*Continued from vol. xii., p. 144.*)

BY MILLER CHRISTY.

II.—Rookwood Hall, Abbess Roothing.

ABOUT a mile and a half south-east by south, as the crow flies, from Colville Hall (described in my last article of this series*), but considerably further by the road, and about a mile south-west from Abbess Roothing Church, stands Rookwood Hall, now merely a small fragment of a once-fine moated Tudor mansion.

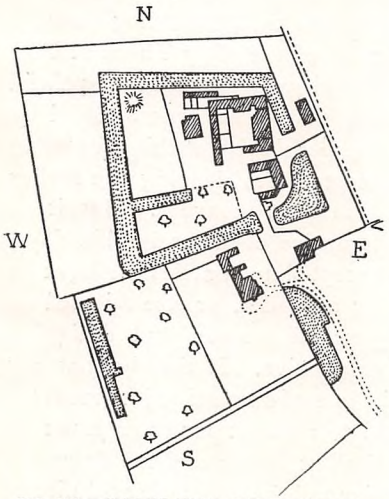


FIG. VII.—PLAN OF MOAT, BUILDINGS, ETC., AT ROOKWOOD HALL.

The house, or what remains of it, stands several hundred yards back from the road, within an extensive moat, which encloses also capacious farm buildings. These stand close to the house and prevent any part of it, except its two handsome chimneys, being seen from the road; but *New* Rookwood Hall, a modern farm house of red brick standing without the moat, is in full view.

The moat, of which a plan is given (Fig. VII.), is of large size, of considerable breadth, and lies approximately east and west, north and south. In shape, it is roughly rectangular, as are most of the very numerous domestic moats scattered through this part of Essex. It encloses rather more than three acres and a quarter of land, and is of such breadth that it extends to more than an acre and a quarter of water, including a spur which extends inwards from the western side. As to the age of the moat, it is difficult to speak with certainty. It may have been formed long anterior to Tudor times, as I am inclined to think were most of

* *Essex Review*, July 1903, pp. 129-144.

the larger moats in this county. On the other hand, it may have been dug when the mansion was built.

The area enclosed by the moat is now reached by two entrances —one, probably ancient, on the southern side: the other, probably modern, on the eastern. Of this enclosed area, the eastern half is occupied by farm buildings, which are modern and devoid of interest; the western half (where were once, no doubt, the gardens

FIG. VIII.—REMAINS OF ROOKWOOD HALL (NORTHERN END).
(*From a photograph by the Author.*)

of the mansion) is densely over grown with bushes—apparently an orchard run wild; while the remains of the house stand a little to the north of the centre. In the extreme north-west corner, which is not easy to reach through the thick jungle, is a high steep-sided mound of earth, like a tumulus, with an ancient yew-tree growing on the top. This formed originally, no doubt, part of some scheme of landscape gardening.

Turning to the house itself, we find it is (as stated already)

a mere fragment—perhaps only a wing—of a mansion which must once have been much larger. Probably, as the mansion fell to decay and the fine park which once surrounded it was cut up and devoted to agricultural uses, all of it was pulled down except this fragment, which was patched up to serve as a farm house. At all events, it was used as such until the new house was built, twenty or thirty years ago. Now, it is in the last stage of dilapidation and quite uninhabitable, though a labourer has occupied it within the last few years.

FIG. IX.—ROOKWOOD HALL (SOUTHERN SIDE).
(*From a photograph by Miss E. Rolleston*).

Archæologically, the chief interest of the house lies in its northern end (Fig. VIII.), which is of original Tudor brick-work and can boast of two very handsome brick chimneys. The rest of the building has been much altered from time to time. It contains a little panelling, some of which seems to be contemporary with the house and some much more modern, probably early Georgian. On the first floor has been a fine and lofty apartment, now divided. It retains a plain fire-place of carved stone. The southern side of the house is less interest-

ing, though equally picturesque, as will be seen from the accompanying photograph (Fig. IX.), for which my readers are indebted to Miss E. Rolleston, of Little Laver Hall.

The great feature of the place is, however, the two chimneys of moulded brick-work (Fig. X.)—certainly two of the most beautiful of their kind in East Anglia. They are of

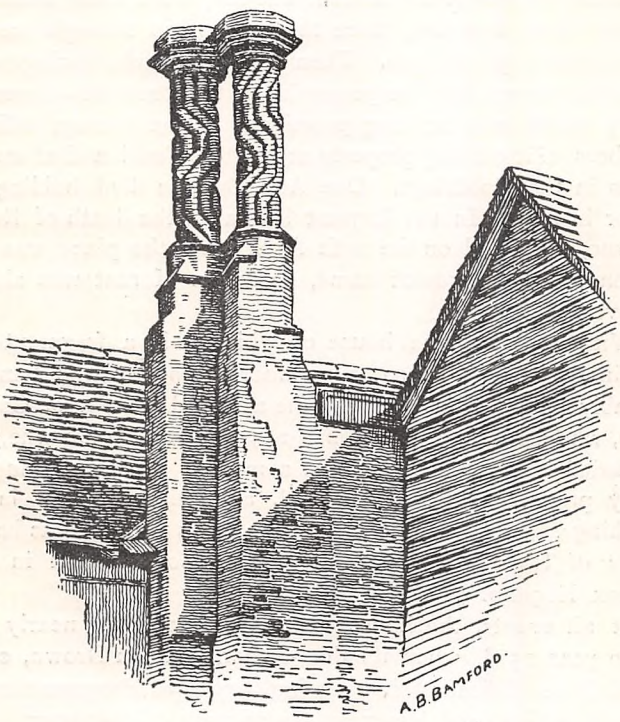


FIG. X.—THE CHIMNEYS AT ROOKWOOD HALL.
(*From a drawing by Mr. A. B. Bamford*).

exceptionally graceful design, and the zig-zag flutings by which they are ornamented are unusually bold and elegant. The resemblance of these chimneys to those on the older portion of Hampton Court Palace suggests identity of date and perhaps of architect. In any case, there can be little doubt the two in question belong to the early part of the Sixteenth Century—say, to the end of the reign of Henry VIII. or beginning of that of Elizabeth.

From the house as it exists now, let us turn next to the history of the place, as far as this is known.

Morant says* that Rookwood Hall "took that name from "some ancient owners," but he gives no indication as to when the Rookwoods owned it. Richard Symonds, who wrote about 1630, says† that, in his time, the arms of the family‡ appeared in the north window of the church, but they exist there no longer. Morant does, however, trace the ownership through various hands from 1250 to 1370. Then comes a blank, during which the estate passed into the possession of the Brownes—a wealthy family which was for long prominent in the county, different members of it owning property at South Weald and at several places in the Roothings. One Ann Browne died holding the manor in 1427. In the Inquest held after the death of Robert Browne, who died on the 20th April 1488, the place was first spoken of by its present name, so far as Morant was able to discover.

Without doubt, the house of which only a fragment now remains, was built by some member of the Browne family—probably either John Browne (the assumed builder of Colville Hall), who died the 27th October 1550, or Wistan Browne, who succeeded him. The latter was a man of wealth, owning the family property at South Weald, as well as much in the Roothings. In the Visitation of 1612, he is described as having been "of Rookewoods Hall or [? *and*] Covill's Hall in com. "Essex, Esquire."§

At all events, the house must have been pretty nearly new in the year 1578, when its then-owner, Wistan Brown, entertained Queen Elizabeth in it during her Royal Progress through Norfolk, Suffolk, and Essex, in the autumn of that year. The Queen visited Rookwood Hall on her return journey, towards the close of September, resting probably not more than one night. All we know concerning the visit is recorded by Thomas Churchyarde, who says‖ that, leaving Hadham Hall, in Hertfordshire, the Queen entered Essex and proceeded

* *Hist. of Essex*, i., p. 137

† In his manuscript "Collections" (vol. iii., fo. 99) preserved at Herald's College (*fide* Morant).

‡ Argent, six chess-rooks sable, 3, 2, & 1, bordered or.

§ *Visitations of Essex* (Harleian Society), p. 167.

‖ *A Discourse of the Queenes Maiesties Entertainement in Suffolk & Norfolk* (Lond., 4° 1578), fo. Hi., *obv.* See also Nichols' *Progresses & Public Processions of Queen Elizabeth* (Lond., 1823), ii, p. 222.

to Hide Hall [Sawbridgeworth], where I heard of no greate cheere or banketting. From thence to *Rockwood Hall**, but howe the trayne was there entertayned I am ignorant of. From thence to Mayster Stonar's, [at Loughton]†; and from thence to my L. of *Leycester's* house [at Wanstead], where the Progress ended.

The subsequent history of the place may be dismissed briefly. Wistan Browne died on the 1st August 1580, less than two years after receiving the Queen at Rookwood Hall. By his first wife, Mary (a daughter of Edward Capel, Esquire, of Rayne), he left two daughters and co-heiresses, between whom his property was divided. The elder, Catherine, married Sir Nicholas Waldegrave, of Borley, Essex. The younger, Jane, married, firstly, Edward Wyatt, Esquire, of Tillingham,‡ and, secondly, on the 6th September 1584, Sir Gamaliel Capel (fifth son of Henry Capel, Esquire, of Rayne Hall), by whom she had a large family. Sir Gamaliel Capel resided at Rookwood Hall, and died on 13th November 1613, holding a moiety of the manor and appurtenances, including Rookwood Park. His descendants (including several who bore the name of Gamaliel) continued for many years to reside at Rookwood Hall,§ and there are in the church fine monuments to several of them. About 1720, the estate went out of the Capel family and passed by sale through various hands. By one or other of these owners, the mansion was, no doubt, dismantled and reduced to its present size. One cannot avoid a sentimental feeling of regret that a once-beautiful house, in which a great English Queen has been entertained in State, should have fallen into so mean a condition as to be uninhabitable and surrounded by pigyards and stables.

Ultimately, the estate became the property of the late Sir Henry Selwyn-Ibbetson, first and last Baron Rookwood, of Down Hall (died 1902), who, when raised to the peerage in 1892, elected to take his title, not from his beautiful seat, but from this old manor house, the possession of which he valued highly. To his interest in it, we probably owe the fact that the small remaining fragment of the old house still stands; for he greatly admired its handsome chimneys and refused to have them and what remains of the house destroyed. The property now

* A journey of about seven miles.

† A journey of about thirteen miles.

‡ He died the 29th July 1584, and was buried at Tillingham, where there is a brass to his memory.

§ John Norden, writing in 1591 (*An Historical and Chronographical Description of the County of Essex*, p. 32; Camden Society, 1840), speaks of "Ruckwood" as "somtyme the Browne's: now Gamaliell Capell's." Norden's map shows the park belonging to the mansion.

belongs to his heir, Captain Horace W. Calverley, of Down Hall.

I am indebted to Mr. William Rowe, the present tenant of Rookwood Hall, for his kind permission to visit the house.

III.—Cammas Hall, White Roothing.

About as far from Colville Hall as Rookwood Hall (namely, a mile and a half), but north-east by north, instead of south-east by south, stands another picturesque old moated house, now known as Cammas Hall, but called in past times Cames, Kemys, Kemis, and even Camways Hall. It is the manor house of the small parish of Morrell Roothing, now merged into White Roothing. It stands on fairly-high ground, and its massive chimneys form a prominent landmark for miles around.

Morant says* that "Cames Hall" (as he calls it) derived its name "from some owner, probably of the great family of Camoys"; but he fails to show any connection between that family and the place, though very likely some connection once existed. In the beginning of the Sixteenth Century (continues Morant), the estate was held by one Andrew Prior, who died on 1st June 1507, and his son John held it after him. Later, it came into the possession of the Prest family, some member of which probably built the present house. John Prest, Esquire who died the 30th August 1546, appears to have left it to his widow Alice, who married William Blackwall and died the 8th September 1561. In the time of Charles I., we find the estate in the possession of the Luther family. Richard Luther died holding it on the 8th February 1638-9, and his descendants continued to hold it when Morant wrote at the end of the Eighteenth Century. It now belongs to the Fane family.

Cammas Hall is not in itself of much antiquarian interest. The plain, though handsome, brick chimneys are clearly of the time of Elizabeth or James I., but most of the rest of the house is of timber and plaster and probably of somewhat later date. The interior presents nothing out of the common—neither panelling, carved oak, or armorials. Probably it has never been the residence of anyone of greater wealth and social importance than a well-to-do yeoman or small squire.† Nevertheless, the exterior of the house, with its many gables, its fine

* *Hist. of Essex*, ii, p. 471.
† Norden does not include it in his list of Essex seats in 1591.

chimneys, and its walls covered with ivy and other creeping plants, is extremely picturesque, especially when seen from near the entrance and across the broad moat, covered with spreading water lilies and fringed with tall bull-rushes, as shown in the accompanying photograph (Fig. XI). None of the farm-buildings shows signs of being ancient. Morant, writing in 1768, says*:—"The little Church or Chapel belonging to this

FIG. XI.—CAMMAS HALL AND MOAT.
(*From a photo by the Author*).

"place was a framed timber building. It is now converted into a "pigeon-house and stands near Cames Hall." This building has disappeared, but its site is shown on the large Ordnance Map, a few yards to the west of the house and within the moat.

The moat in question (Fig. XII.) is, in several respects, much like that at Rookwood Hall. It is roughly rectangular; lies approximately east and west, north and south; and may be

*Op. et. loc. cit.

considerably earlier than the present house. It is, however, smaller and narrower, enclosing about two acres and a half only, while the water area extends to less than an acre. The enclosed area is now devoted to gardens and orchards, while the farm buildings stand without the moat, on the south side.

I am indebted to Mr. T. L. Lukies and Miss Lukies, the present occupants, for permission to inspect and photograph the house.

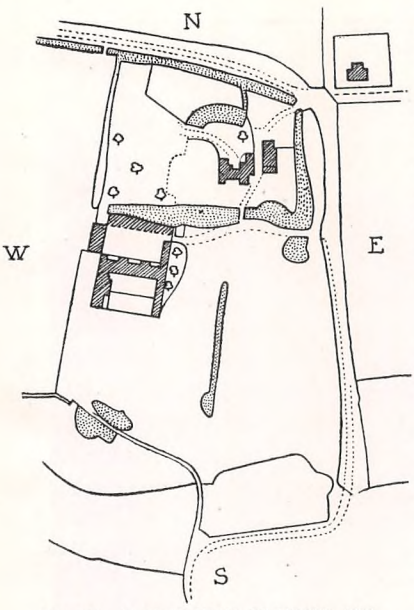


FIG. XII.—PLAN OF MOAT, BUILDINGS, ETC., AT CAMMAS HALL,

The next article will deal with New Hall, in High Roothing, a house of much greater interest than either of the foregoing—almost as great, indeed, as Colville Hall.

There are in the Roothgins not a few other old farm-houses, nearly all of them moated, which have evidently been, in former days, the homes of substantial yeomen. Such are Aythorp Hall and Friar's Grange (which once belonged to Tilty Abbey), in Aythorp Roothing; Long Barns, in Abbess Roothing; Mark's Hall, in Berners (often called Barnish) Roothing; Mascall's Bury and Berwick Berners Hall in White Roothing; and Garnish Hall, in Margaret Roothing. The last-named is, perhaps, the most pretentious residence in the Roothings, but it dates only from early-Georgian days. Another house of much the same type as the foregoing, though greatly reduced in size, is Leaden Hall, in Leaden Roothing. It is surrounded by a deep rectangular moat, which has been partially filled within recent years, and contains, I understand, an oak-panelled room. Another house, Broomshaw Bury, has been clearly a place of considerable importance, as is shown by the extensive moats, ponds, and

embankments around and adjacent to it; but the present house was built only some thirty years ago, and it stands, moreover, in the parish of Hatfield Broad Oak, though only a couple of hundred yards or so from the boundary of High Roothing parish. So far as I know, however, none of these houses possesses sufficient points of archæological interest to call for special notice.

If any of my readers should happen to know of the existence, in the Roothings, of other houses of real interest, I shall be grateful if they will communicate with me. Otherwise, the next article will conclude the series.

NEW PICTURES AT COLCHESTER TOWN HALL.

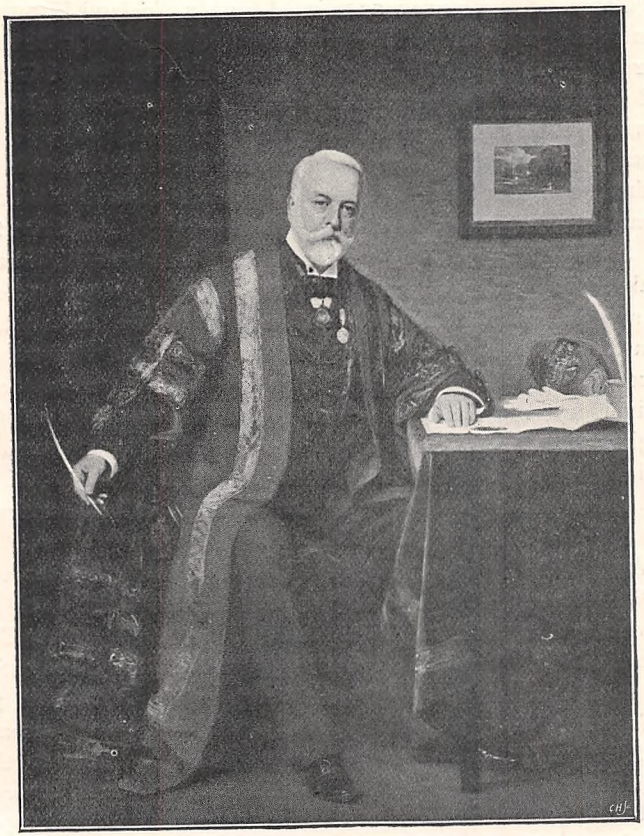
AT the close of last year three pictures of considerable interest were presented to the town of Colchester and placed in the Town Hall there.

The picture of "The Reception of the Dutch Refugees at Colchester" is the work of a Colcestrian, Mr. Harry Becker, of West Kensington, a young painter of very considerable power, whose abilities deserve wider recognition. The two Bailiffs of the town are seated at the table with the Town Clerk behind them. The representatives of the Dutch refugees have been studied with evident care and are typical of the people of the Netherlands as we know them in the prints and paintings of the 16th and 17th centuries. This painting has been presented to the town by Dr. C. O. G. Becker, the painter's father, a German by birth, who left his native land for England some forty years ago; he has offered this picture to the town of his adoption as a token of his gratitude and affection. The painting is a very strong piece of work, much in the broad, live style of Franz Hals and his school. The photograph, from which our illustration is taken, scarcely does full justice to the character of the faces, or the well controlled tones of the composition.

DUTCH REFUGEES PRAYING PERMISSION OF THE BAILIFFS OF COLCHESTER TO SETTLE IN THE TOWN, A.D. 1570.

 (From the Painting by Harry Becker, presented to the Town of Colchester by Dr. C. O. G. Becker.)

The second picture is the presentation portrait of Alderman Wilson Marriage, a well-known Colcestrian, who has twice been Mayor of the Borough, and has had much to do with making its modern history. The portrait is a life-size oil painting by Mr.



ALDERMAN WILSON MARRIAGE, J.P.,
PORTREEVE OF COLCHESTER.
MAYOR OF COLCHESTER, 1891-2, 1901-2.
(From the Painting by Frank Daniell, in Colchester Town Hall).

Frank Daniell, of Colchester, and is thoroughly successful as a work of art and as a likeness. It was subscribed for by the townspeople of Colchester.

In commemoration of the tercentenary of the death of Dr. William Gilberd, of Colchester, the members of the Institution of Electrical Engineers have presented to the borough a fine picture of Gilberd demonstrating experiments in frictional electricity and terrestrial magnetism before Queen Elizabeth and her Court. This picture was painted by Mr. Ackland Hunt more than thirty years ago, at the suggestion of the late Sir Benjamin Ward Richardson, who was an enthusiastic devotee of Gilberd, and who wrote and lectured about him in London and in the provinces. In the picture, Gilberd is represented holding a stick of sealing-wax, which, after being rubbed, attracts light bodies, feathers, etc. Lord Burleigh, standing near a chair, looks keenly towards Gilberd's demonstration. On the other side of the table are Sir Walter Raleigh (nearer the Queen) and Sir Francis Drake. The magnetic meridian needle and the dipping needle are shown in the picture. The chart drawn on a scroll is taken from Gilberd's book "De Magnete." The picture was publicly presented in London, on Dec. 10 (the three-hundredth anniversary of Gilberd's death), at the Institute of Civil Engineers, when Dr. Silvanus P. Thompson, who was the leading spirit in the matter, delivered an eloquent address on the importance of Gilberd's researches in electrical and magnetic science.

An interesting autograph of Gilberd has just been discovered by Dr. Fenn, of Alston Court, Nayland, formerly of Colchester, and has been by him presented to the Colchester Town Council. Dr. Fenn has had the document carefully restored and suitably framed, and it will hang in the Town Hall with other relics of Dr. Gilberd. By dint of great research, Dr. Silvanus Thompson has at length succeeded in unearthing two if not three signatures of Dr. Gilberd. None is known to exist among the archives of Colchester and this autograph is therefore a relic of special rarity and interest. The document to which the signature is appended runs as follows :—

To all Christian people to whome this present writinge shall come WILLIAM GILBERD of London, Esquire, sendeth greatinge in our Lord God everlastinge.

Whereas Richard Roberts of London, Tanner, by his deede of bargaine and sale bearinge date the day of the date hereof, for the consideracion therein mencioned hath gyven, graunted, feoffed, bargained and released unto the foresaide William Gilberd, his heires and assignes forever, all his right, title, clayme, and Interest, wchever he hadd, hath, or by any meanes may have

DR. GILBERD DEMONSTRATING EXPERIMENTS IN ELECTRICITY AND MAGNETISM BEFORE QUEEN ELIZABETH.
(From the Painting by Arthur Ackland Hunt, presented to the Colchester Town Council by the Institution of Electrical Engineers.)

in the capitall messuage or tenement and rents to the said capitall messuage on the parte of the North and Sowth, with all orchardes and gardens thereunto belonginge, with thappertenaunces, scituat, lyenge, and beinge in the parishe of St. Martyn in Colechester Abuttinge As in and by the saide deed more att lardge yt doth and maye appeare.

NOWE KNOWE yee me, the said William Gilberd, to have made and ordayned, And by theis presents in my steade and place putt and constituted my welbeloved in Christ Robert Middleton, of Colechester aforesaide, gentleman, my true and lawfull Attorney, to enter for me and in my name, into the saide capitall messuage, rents and other the premisses with thappurtenaunces or into any parte or parcell thereof, and the full and peceable possession and seizon thereof, for me, and in my name to take, Accordinge to the forme and effect of the saide deede of bargaine and sale, GYVINGE and hereby grauntinge unto my saide Attorney my full power and authoritie in execucion of the premisses, As fully in every thinge as the lawe will the same permitt and suffer, and as if I my selfe were there personaly present, ratefienge, confirminge and allowinge all and whatsoever my saide Attorney for me and in my name, shall lawfully doe or cawse to be done, in or aboute the said premisses, by vertue of theis presents.

IN WITNES whereof, to this my present writinge, I, the saide William Gilberd have sett my hande and seale.

Dated the One and Twentith daie of Aprill, In the Eight and Thirtieth yeare of the Reigne of our Sovereigne Lady Elizabeth by the grace of god Quene of England, Fraunce, and Ireland, defendour of the faithe, scilicet 1596.

W. GYLBERD

Sealed and delivered to the use of the saide Robert Myddleton in the presence of me

AMBROS GILBERD.

SEAL

Leonard Wallworth, scr.

The seal, apparently from a signet ring, consists of the crest of the Gilberd family, a demi-eagle displayed issuing from a mount. Ambrose Gilberd was brother of the great electrician.

Care Cloth (see *E.R.* xiii., p. 54).—In the excellent little *Handbook to the Parish Church of Saffron Walden, with illustrations and notes upon Local Church History in Olden Time* (Saffron Walden, 1884), published for private circulation by the Bishop of Barking during his vicariate of Saffron Walden, a description of the care-cloth is given as follows:—"A care-cloth was a strip of cloth three feet wide and six feet or so long, held over the heads of the bride and bridegroom during the marriage ceremony." The entry concerning care-cloth in the Church-warden's account book, preserved at Audley End, is not quoted, although many other extracts are made from it. Perhaps some local antiquary would look it up for us.—EDS.

"SQUIRE WESTERN."

BY MISS C. FELL SMITH.

THE manuscript collections, journals, letters, &c., of that universal favourite, Thomas Creevey, recently edited by Sir Herbert Maxwell, contain some interesting glimpses of Lord Western which may be added to the account of that fine Essex figure of a country squire, already published in these pages (see *E.R.* vol. x., pp. 65-78).

The reader will bear in mind the tone and fashion of the early nineteenth century, of which the letters present characteristic features. The practice of the day of giving nick-names to every individual, is amusingly illustrated by the amiable Creevey, and, if a recent writer on Society is to be believed, is by no means confined to the days of the Regency, when the pros and cons of many a deplorable court scandal were freely bandied about from lip to lip. The capitals and italics are also of the time.

Creevey had no pretensions to greatness; he was dependent on his wife for income; he had no influence or position beyond being the Duke of Norfolk's nominee for the borough of Thetford; he was a most unsafe confidant, an habitual gossip and diner-out, but he was everybody's favourite and in great request. His wife's daughters, the Misses Ord, settled after his death at Rivenhall, choosing this place, possibly, from their step-father's friendship with the Westerns.

The soubriquets bestowed upon the forty-two years member for Essex seem peculiarly appropriate, and reflect, perhaps, the worst that either friends or opponents could find to say against him. "Old Calibre," and afterwards "Lord Calibre," may have partially found its aptitude in the opening of the name, Callis Western, by which he was so long known before being ennobled in 1833; "the Squire" was quite non-committal; "Old Stiff Rump" was no doubt entirely expressive of his attitude on special occasions.

That some-time anomaly, a staunch Whig Protectionist and a prominent member of the anti-war party in the House of Commons, Mr. Western was a type of the old school, headstrong, immovable, scorning to be convinced, glorying sometimes in ignorance, as the following extracts from his letters show. I

offer no apology for his most effusive and convincing diction. His fox-hunting similes show him to be of true Essex breed.

The allusion in the first letter is to the famous duel between Canning and Castlereagh, and the war policy of the latter, which resulted in the sacrifice of 40,000 troops and a splendid fleet in the unfortunate Walcheren expedition.

FELIX HALL, 24*th September*, 1809.

"I wish that you may persist in your literary pursuits, and particularly directed as they have [been] to a comparative view of the conduct and character of modern statesmen with men of *better* times. By Heavens! the contrast is too disgusting. I know as little of history, even of my own country, as any gentleman need do, but it is impossible not to pick up enough to see and admire to an excess the sense and spirit of the old patriots, and certainly we have proof enough of the present men to make one dead sick at the very thoughts of them. . . . The *duel*! by the Lord, this surpasses everything. I have no doubt Canning was the aggressor, for the fellow is mad—evinced his insanity more than once last year. I delight in this duel. It is *demonstration* of the EFFICIENCY of our Councils. Here is an administration—the *King's Own*; the entire army is their sacrifice—the national character and safety too—and yet the Country *quite passive*. It is really too much to bear. And we are to have a Jubilee! It surpasses all imagination. I am expecting this loyal country to proclaim a subscription to illuminate, &c. I cannot really submit to it, though I shall be branded as a traitor. Do you think it could be morally justifiable to carry one's hypocrisy and acquiescence so far as to concurr, in ever so cold a manner, on such a diabolical measure? Let me hear from you in these extraordinary events.

The next letter refers to Brougham's speech on the Treaty of Paris, 9th February, 1816, and is addressed to Brussels, where Creevey was then living. The Squire's reference to agricultural prospects in Essex at the end is of interest.

February 9, 1816.

I have often marvelled at the *want* of sense, discretion, judgment and common sense that we see so frequently accompany the most brilliant talents, but damn me if I ever saw such an instance as that I have just witnessed in your friend Brougham. By Heaven! he has uttered a speech which for power of *speaking*, surpassed anything you ever heard, and by which he has damn'd himself past redemption. You know what my opinion of him has always been; I have always thought he had not much sound sense nor too much political integrity, but he has outstripped any notion I could form of indiscretion; and as to his politicks, they are, in my humble opinion, of no sterling substance (but that between ourselves). He has been damaging himself daily, but to-night there is not a *single fellow* that is not saying what a damn'd impudent speech that of Brougham's is—four or five driven away—even Burdett says it was too much. He could not have roared louder if a file of soldiers had come in and pushed the Speaker out of his chair. Where the devil a fellow could gêt such lungs and such a flow of jaw, upon such an occasion as this, surpasses my imagination. I was sitting in the gallery by myself, and he made my head spin in such a style I thought I should tumble over. He quite overcame one's

understanding for a time; but when I recovered I began to think—this will *never* do—impossible—I will go down and see what other lads think of it, perhaps my nerves are a little too sensitive. I soon found, however, that everybody was struck in the same way, and even more.

Now when I say that he has damaged himself past redemption, I mean as a man aspiring to be a leader, for to that his ambition aspired, and for that he is DONE now. By Heaven! you never saw men so chop-fallen as Ministers—Castlereagh beyond belief. I see it in every line of his face. They would have been beaten to-night, I do believe, again. Brougham has put them up 20 per cent.; that is to say by inducing people more to support them to keep the Opposition out, just as they were supported upon the Walcheren business to keep us out. Our fellows *all* run the savage too keen for the game to succeed in bagging it. There is never more skill necessary than when the fox is in view. They are for running in upon him at once, and they will run a chance of being totally thrown out in the attempt. They fought the Property Tax well, though it was done out of doors completely. *Glorious victory* that! If you are not set out, come directly, we shall have a famous session. . . . It is a pretty tight fitt for me, but ruin overwhelms the farmers. I feel convinced a national bankruptcy will be the consequence. I declare I believe it firmly. I shall drive at the whole of the Sinking Fund. . . . I have not any hopes of Midsummer rents, and the generality of landowners will be minus the best part of their interest without a wonderful alteration. . . .

The next letter presents us with a synopsis of the state of affairs generally—at home, waiting for the dawning of two master minds—Peel and his pupil Gladstone; abroad, for the coming of another revolution and the final triumph of the Republic of France.

HOUSE OF COMMONS, *February* 17, 1816.

As to the *general* proceedings of the Opposition, I can say little. There is no superior *mind* amongst us; great power of speaking, faculty of perplexing, irritation and complaints, but no super-eminent power to strike out a line of policy and to command the *confidence* of the country. Brougham has shown his powers rather successfully, and exhibits some prudence in his plans of attack; but I cannot discern that superiority of judgment and of view (if I may so express myself) which is the *grand* desideratum. Tierny is as expert, narrow and wrong as ever; Ponsonby as inefficient; Horner as sonorous and *eloquent*, I must say, but I *cannot* see anything in him, say what they will, though, he certainly *speaks* powerfully. A little honest, excellent party are as warm as ever, and only want a good leader to be admirable. Grenvilles and Foxites splitting—all manner of people going their own way. As to foreign policy I came to a conclusion that the Bourbons cannot keep their place, and that their proceedings are abominable, as I told you in a letter from Paris, and then what may happen no man can calculate. If they had any wisdom or firmness, they were safe, but they *must* kick the thing over.

In regard to our internal—Agriculture, &c., is getting into a state of DESPAIR absolutely, and distraction. . . . I assure you the landed people are getting *desperate*; the universality of ruin among them, or distress bordering on it, is *absolutely* unparalleled, and at such a moment the sinking

fund is not to be TOUCHED for the world, says Horner—no, not a shilling of it; and yet taxes to be taken off, rents to come down, cheap corn, cheap labour—how can a man talk of such IMPOSSIBILITIES. . . . Now cut the establishment ever so low, we shall have four times as much to raise as before the war. It is not to be done out of the same rents, &c., &c. It is absolute madness to talk of it. . . . By the bye, there never was [such] a moment for the exertion of your talents in the job-oversetting way, and fighting every *shilling* of expenditure. This is the time, never before equalled. They cannot resist on these points, and the carrying them is valuable beyond measure, *prospectively* as well as *immediately*. Whenever you blow one jobb fairly out of the water it presents a *hundred* others, and this is the moment!

On the subject of Queen Caroline's trial, Mr. Western, of course, felt strongly, his friends and neighbours, the Woods, being so intimately connected with the unfortunate lady's affairs. Two of his impetuous notes to Creevey on the subject, dated from Buxton and Brighton, in the autumn of 1820, are printed by the editor.

A large number of the letters being from Creevey to his step-daughters, the Misses Ord, it follows that when he was staying with them at Rivenhall, a gap appears in the correspondence. Could we obtain a view of letters written by him from thence we might hear how he occupied his time in the county. As it is, the only allusion to his doings in Essex occurs in his description of an introduction to Lord Clanricarde in Dublin, when "I threw off directly with—'The last time I had the pleasure of seeing you, my lord, was at the Race ball at Chelmsford'—'Yes,' said he, 'and I hope I shall have the pleasure of seeing you there next year, too, for I am Steward and I hope you'll patronise me."

ESSEX PORTRAITS.

VI.—EDWARD NORTH BUXTON.

AS the bodily form of the chairman of the Essex Education Committee towers above ordinary mortals, so do his extraordinary energy and perseverance in carrying out whatever he takes in hand, transcend those of the generality of mankind. With Mr. Buxton, advancing years bring no signal for relaxed enterprise; rather do they act as an incentive to increased public effort. The very defects of these qualities—dogged persistence and almost obstinate determination—force

"THE VERDERER."

DRAWN BY F. CARRUTHERS GOULD.

him to carry to a successful issue, tasks which other men would give up in despair.

Great-grandson of a High Sheriff for Essex in 1789, grandson of the famous Abolitionist, and third son of the member for South Essex in 1847, Mr. Buxton rejoices in the two christian names of his father (the second baronet), and was bred in the traditions of liberalism from his youth up. Not long since, his mother, a daughter of Mr. Samuel Gurney, of West Ham, celebrated her ninetieth birthday.

Although delicate as a boy, Mr. Buxton grew into an athlete to whom no form of muscular sport comes amiss. He explored untrodden peaks and passes in the Engadine, and described them in the pages of the *Alpine Journal* in the early sixties; he was led on to the pursuit of ibex in the Pyrenees, wild sheep in Sardinia, and all sorts of game in Asia, Africa and America. But the sport was his object, not the bag, as every reader of the fascinating pages of *Short Stalks* will acknowledge. These three aptly-named volumes, reprinted from the pages of the *Nineteenth Century*, contain the record of his brief excursions abroad, seldom or never more than three months in duration. When he took up the camera instead of the rifle, his shots preserved for us some of the most valuable studies of wild animals in their native haunts that have seen the light.

Mr. Buxton is a standing exception to the good old rule which says, "Do one thing at a time," for he can do many things together, and each with such thoroughness that nothing seems to suffer. The very exhaustiveness and conscientious detail with which he works up his subject effectually prevent him from ever being a rhetorical or popular speaker, but perhaps Mr. Buxton regrets less than anyone else the shortness of his parliamentary life. At any rate he has stubbornly resisted many attempts to lure him back. Far more congenial to his nature is the practical grip of administration in local politics.

He was an original member and chairman of the London School Board, and much more recently has come to the front as the indefatigable Chairman of the old Technical Instruction Committee. He has put in a solid six months' work in bringing the troublesome new Education Act into force. His energy and determination have been stupendous. When not at committee meetings in New Broad Street, he was motoring

about the county, personally enquiring into complicated points or smoothing away supposed difficulties, or found in close conference with officials of the Education Department. His good work as Chairman of the Education Committee has doubtless qualified him almost by tacit consent to the succession to his relative as chairman of the County Council. A slayer of big game but protector of small game, witness his action in the protection of birds, both in his own sanctuary and throughout the County. A thorough sportsman in every sense, he is followed by his sons, as members of the Essex Hunt and the County Cricket Club will all acknowledge. Nothing in the county probably interests him so much as the Forest to which he has written the best *Guide* (1st ed., 1884).

As Verderer of his beloved Epping Forest, he administers the people's estate with more solicitude than if it were his own. He has carried through a scheme for reafforesting a square of nearly 800 acres, at a cost of about £20,000, one of the greatest triumphs of "open spacing" ever carried out near London. Our illustration is a reminiscence of the visit of members of the E.C.C. to the scene of his beneficent operations on June 13th, 1902. Lambourne Forest and Fox-burrows farm were visited in a torrential downpour, but our benefactor and his daughters trudged through it cheerfully and as enthusiastic as ever.

AN ESSEX VILLAGE.

BY REV. E. G. NORRIS.

(*Illustrated from Photographs by Miss B. Hilliard.*)

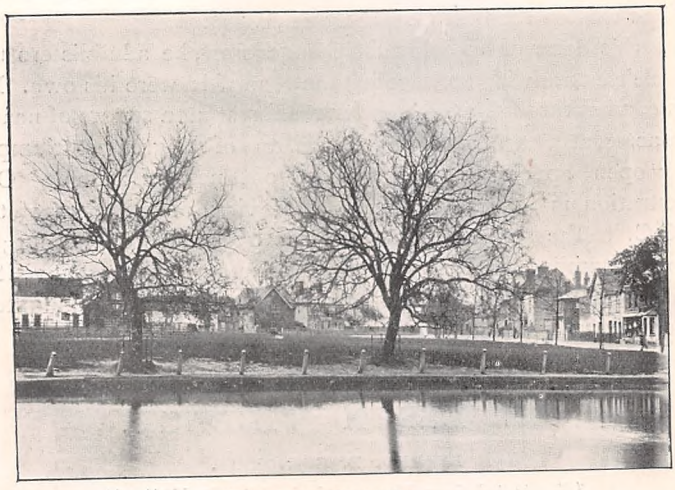
SOME three or four years back the present writer was chatting in the Common-Room of one of the Colleges at Oxford, and on his remarking that the scene of his daily labours happened to be a parish in Essex, the half-pitying rejoinder was made, "I wonder you are not always laid up with ague among those wet dykes and marshes!"

Now it is quite true that dykes and marshes are to be found in Essex, on the south-eastern coasts and along the river estuaries, but the greater part of the county stands high and dry—too dry, indeed, for the light-land farmers on "scaldy," gravelly soils during a droughty season. And as to ague—that is quite an obsolete complaint, though to be sure an old ploughman will

sometimes tell you that the wind blows "summat aguish," or "agrish," when it sets in damp and cold from the south-east.

The rapid spread of motoring has during the last three years done much indeed to dispel the prevailing ignorance concerning a county which is second to none in England in point of interest. The scenery may not be bold and striking, such as we get in the Mendips for instance, but there is a quiet and homely affluence about its gentle undulations which causes it to be an ideal country for the true lover of nature to delight in.

A typical Essex village is that in the parish of Writtle, which, though barely thirty miles from the metropolis, and only two



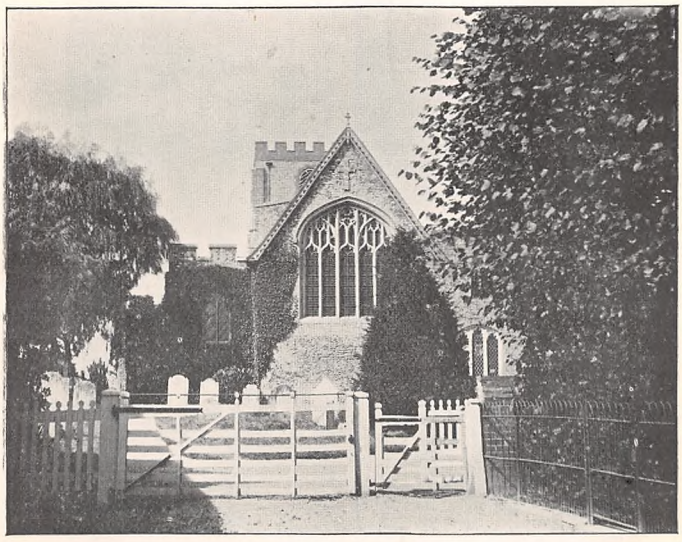
WRITTLE VILLAGE.

from the county town of Chelmsford, yet retains much of its ancient activity, and is full of interest for the antiquary.

On approaching the village from the direction of Chelmsford, the good old church of All Saints is seen on a slight rise beyond the river, embowered in trees. When the wayfarer at last comes upon the Village Green, with its pond, or "weir," as the local term has it, its weeping willows and its lime trees, its ancient houses with their uneven roofs, he cannot but stop and consider that for those who dwell around it, "the lot has fallen in a fair ground!"

But let us pass on to the church, the size of which proves

that Writtle has always been an important parish. The late Dean Stanley is said to have compared two cathedrals by saying that the one was all glorious without, and the other all glorious within. At any rate it may be said of Writtle church that the exterior, though dignified and interesting, does not by any means come up to the stately beauty of the interior with its lofty clerestory and unusually high nave arches. Those who are fond of brass-rubbing find much to interest them, there being here some particularly fine specimens of brasses. An allegorical monument to Edward and Dorothea Pinchon on the north side



"ALL SAINTS," WRITTLE.

of the chancel is an almost exact replica of a similar one in St. Saviour's, Southwark. Both belong to the middle of the Seventeenth Century, and contain what one might call a "sculptural catalogue" of all the agricultural implements in use at the time. There is a very curious Latin inscription on the one at Writtle. After enumerating the virtues of the departed Edward and Dorothea, it goes on to say "If you do not believe the sorrowing friend who writes these words, ask the neighbourhood whether they be not true; in the meantime take good care

that you say nothing *bad* about the departed ones, for even the dead have keen ears!"

King John is reported to have honoured Writtle occasionally with his not very creditable presence, and the moat of his hunting lodge still remains, opposite the "Lordship Farm,"

THE BRIDGE OVER MOAT: LORDSHIP FARM.

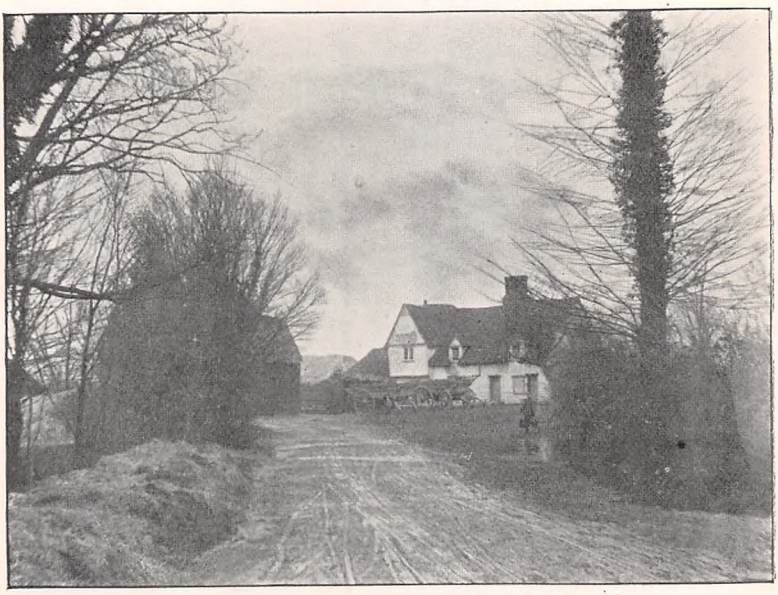
the very name of which suggests historical reminiscences. Here, when you have crossed the little bridge, seen in the accompanying photograph, and entered the path which takes you through the little wood, known as The Thrift, at the back of the site of the ancient lodge, you can picture the dastard King, casting off for awhile the burdens which must have weighed heavily upon his

conscience, and riding forth with his retainers to hunt the stag. The present writer has seen the modern staghounds drive through this little wood in full cry on several occasions, just as no doubt King John's great shaggy-haired, fine-eyed pack crashed after the wild deer centuries ago. It is not without interest to notice that the green lanes, which in some counties are called "ridings," "driftways," or "bridle roads," are called hereabouts by the name of "chaces," or "chace-ways," a term which surely points to the hunting proclivities of the dwellers in this part of Essex. We hear much nowadays of the scarcity of agricultural labourers and of the rapidity with which men are leaving the land. Mr. Rider Haggard in his great work, *Rural England* (1902), has many a gloomy tale to tell of land going "derelict," and farms half-tilled, simply for want of hands to work them. Here, as yet, the scarcity of labour has not made itself felt to any appreciable extent, in spite of the attractions which a rising town like Chelmsford must necessarily offer to induce men to leave the land and undertake some more profitable employment. There are still some splendid specimens of the old-fashioned agricultural labourer to be met with in Writtle—men who take a pride in ploughing their furrow as straight in the *middle* of the field where it cannot be seen, as at both *ends*, where it is well

THE LORDSHIP "THRIFT."

under everyone's eye. And no one who knows anything about the land can say that it is possible to get straighter and more level "stetches," water-furrows more accurate and drills more regular than in these parts. The land is also clean and free from "twitch" for the most part, and to see a newly ploughed field "hazelling," *i.e.*, drying gradually under the spring sunshine, is a study in colour fit to delight an artist's eye.

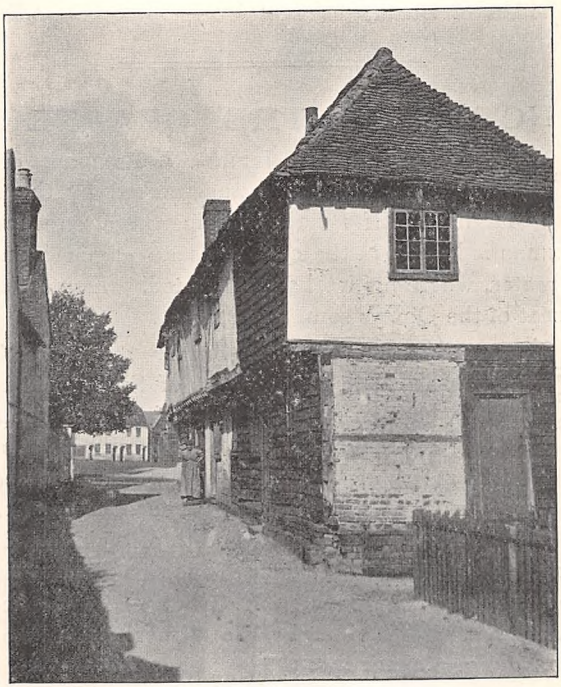
An agricultural critic from the shires will, no doubt, find fault with two operations, but these faults are common to the



OLD FARMHOUSE, NEAR WRITTLE.

greater part of the Eastern Counties. The first is that the thatching of the stacks is, to say the least of it, very "rough and ready." The second fault is a worse one—rarely, if ever, does the Essex hedger cut and lay his fence as is done so skilfully in most of "the shires." Instead of "nicking" and laying the binders, leaving a good stake every few yards, the Essex hedger cuts through everything without discrimination, and makes up his gaps by thrusting in a more or less untidy bundle of dead stuff in such a way as to make a hedger from,

say, the Vale of Aylesbury, positively shudder. "We Essex chaps have 'ollus done it so, and so we 'ollus shall, I count," the old man will say to you if you venture to suggest a more excellent way. However, when all is said and done, one might travel all over England, and fail to find better examples of a class which has been the source of many of Britain's greatest men—the agricultural labourer.



OLD COTTAGES, CHURCH LANE.

Our illustrations are typical specimens of the quiet and homely scenery of an Essex village, and for the most part they speak for themselves. The view of the east end of the church is taken, it may be mentioned, however, from what is known as "Roman's Place," a name which is interesting, as it preserves the historical fact that the revenues from it went to support the "Hostel of the Holy Ghost" in Rome, prior to the days of

William of Wykeham, who purchased the living, and assigned it to the use of the Warden and Fellows of New College, Oxford, for ever. The picture of the old cottages in "Church Lane" presents the usual type of old Essex cottages, being partially "wood-clad" or "weather-boarded." The particular group represented in our illustration are quite the oldest buildings in Writtle, with the exception of the church. They date back to the 15th Century, and are said to have once been the property of the Dukes of Buckingham.

NOTES OF THE QUARTER.

High Sheriff.

THE name of Mr. James N. Paxman, of Stisted Hall, near Braintree, was pricked by the King as High Sheriff for the ensuing year, on March 7th. Mr. Paxman is known in the county as an engineer and native of Colchester, where his works are situated. He purchased the family seat of the Onleys some years ago.

Ancient Relic found at Springfield.

AT the end of February an interesting find was made in the parish of Springfield by some workmen engaged in digging gravel on the high road adjoining the New Hall drive, near the boundary of the parish of Boreham. The object turned up by the pick was a cup or vase about 3½ inches in height, with a base of 2 inches diameter, and a mouth of 3¼ inches diameter. It is ribbed horizontally, the depth of the ribs being rather more than the eighth of an inch. Mr. Chancellor has interested himself in having it described by the authorities of the British Museum, who pronounce it of the bronze age, and possibly of the neolithic period. They assign to it a date at least a thousand years anterior to the Roman occupation. The drinking cup was found on land in the occupation of Mr. Charles Copland, who has presented it to the Chelmsford Museum.

Church Restorations, etc.

SANDON.—The interesting Norman church has been lately restored in a satisfactory manner. Two windows on the south side were dedicated on Jan. 7, by the Rev. A. J. Sacré, vicar of West Hanningfield and Rural Dean. The unsightly wooden frame, fixed some 150 years ago, in the larger of the two, has

been replaced by stone mullions as originally, and a copy of the oldest window in the church has been placed beside it. The plaster has been removed from the outside of the church.

HOCKERILL.—At All Saints church a Jubilee memorial window has been placed by public subscription, and was dedicated on Jan. 7, by the Bishop of Colchester. The church was built in 1853, during the vicariate of the Rev. F. W. Rhodes, father of Cecil Rhodes, who was born in that year.

HAVERHILL.—The tower of the parish church has recently been restored from base to summit by the liberality of the family of a former vicar (1820—1875), the Rev. Robert Roberts. Two bells have been recast and a new one added, so that the peal, which has been silent for thirty-five years, can now be safely rung again. They were dedicated by the Bishop of Ely on Feb. 10.

BOCKING.—The bells of St. Mary, the parish church of Bocking —situate in what is colloquially known as Bocking-church-street —have been re-hung, and their restoration inaugurated at a district meeting of the Essex Association of Change Ringers, held there on Feb. 8. Eleven towers, viz., those of Bocking, Braintree, Bentley, Coggeshall, Feering, Maldon, Rayne, Stebbing, Stisted, West Ham, and Writtle, were represented. All the members present took part in the ringing, and expressed their opinion that the peal of six at Bocking is now second to none in the county. The expense of re-hanging the bells has been borne by the Dean and Mrs. Carrington. A peal tablet of Gothic design was unveiled by Colonel S. G. Savill, churchwarden, on March 19.

STANFORD-LE-HOPE.—An interesting link with the older history of the village has come to light in the shape of a wooden tablet, recording the Elizabeth Davison Charity. The tablet has been missing since the restoration of the parish church by the late rector, Rev. Dr. Sedgwick, nearly twenty years ago. The inscription upon the tablet is as follows :—

The benefaction of the poor children of Stanford-le-Hope—June the 6th, 1789.—Elizabeth Davison, of St. Georges-in-the-East, in the county of Middlesex, spinster, bequeathed £950 in the Three per Cent. Consols, and also £300 in the South Sea Annuities to the Rector, Churchwardens, and Overseers of this parish for the time being, upon trust, for them to pay and apply the yearly interest and dividends thereof towards the education of poor children in the Protestant

religion in such manner as in their direction shall seem best; and the person to whom the education of such children shall be entrusted shall be obliged to attend with them at public worship on the Sabbath.

The board was found in the barn attached to the Rectory, where it had probably been lying since removal by the contractors for the restoration. We trust that it will be replaced in the church.

Obituaries. By the death on December 27, 1903, of Mr. JOHN GASPARD FANSHAWE, of Parsloes, a member of one of the oldest families now residing in Essex, is removed. Mr. Fanshawe was elder son of the Rev. Thomas Lewis Fanshawe, of Parsloes, who for forty-one years was vicar of Dagenham; his mother was daughter of Major-General John Gaspard Le Marchant, who fell at Salamanca. The son who succeeds Mr. Fanshawe at Parsloes, is the tenth Fanshawe owner in succession of that famous Essex seat. The elder branch of the family is, however, seated at Dengie Hall, in the neighbourhood of which the family has still longer owned property. Mr. Fanshawe was for thirty years in the Board of Trade. During his long life he acted as private secretary to a number of statesmen and public men. He was a member of several learned societies. He married a grand-daughter of the 7th Earl of Coventry; she predeceased him by nearly one year.

The death of Lord BRAYBROOKE, which took place on January 13, had been for some time anticipated, but was nevertheless matter for deep regret. With him another of the great men of the county is removed. Although hereditarily master of a Cambridge College, he was rector for fifty-two years of an Essex parish, much beloved there and identified with the affairs of the district, where his vacations were invariably spent.

A younger son of the fourth Lord Braybrooke, the Hon. Latimer Neville was born on April 22, 1827. He was educated at Eton and entered at Magdalene College, Cambridge, where he pursued the somewhat unusual course for a nobleman's son, of offering himself as a candidate for the Classical Tripos, in which he gained a high place in the second class.

He was ordained in 1850, and after a year's curacy in Berkshire, was instituted to the family living of Heydon with Little Chishall, which he held until his succession to the barony in 1902. He married Miss Lucy Frances Le Marchant in 1853,

and in June, 1903, they celebrated their golden wedding by a concert and reception in the College Hall. In 1853, about six months after his marriage, he was appointed Master of Magdalene College, that headship which has been called "the appanage of Audley End," and which, so far, efforts to detach from its private patronage have been unavailing. He was Vice-Chancellor of the University, 1859 to 1860, important years during which new statutes were substituted for those of Queen Elizabeth, the course of studies remodelled, and an attack on the proctorial system successfully resisted. Later, the Master saw the abolition of some ancient privileges, and the immemorial feud between town and gown allayed by a united representative system of local government. Many more recent reforms in the University Statutes have since been introduced, but through all the heated discussions, the courtesy and consistency of the Master, who was looked upon as the leader of the Conservative Party in the University, never failed. When in December last he completed his fifty years of headship, the Senate enacted a special grace, conferring upon him the unique compliment of an address of congratulation.

The sixth Lord Braybrooke was buried at Littlebury on 15th January.

He is succeeded by his son, the Hon. Henry Neville, who was born in 1855. He is a D.L. and J.P. for the County of Cambridge, and lives at Royston. It is understood that Audley End House is let, from March 25, to Lord Howard de Walden, in whose family it was formerly owned, who is shortly to take up his residence there.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

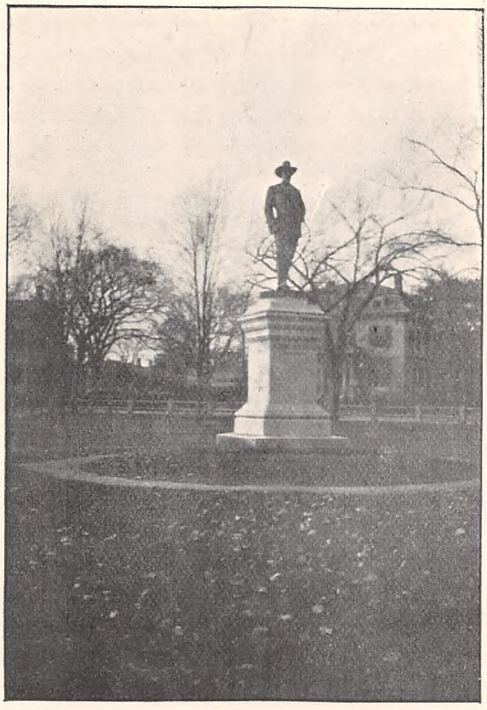
Colvile or Clovill.—I have read with interest Mr. Miller Christy's notes on "Some old Roothing Farmhouses" given in the July part of the *Essex Review*. As there seems to be some obscurity as to the origin of the name of "Clovills Hall," might I suggest that the ancient family of Clovile, Clouvile or Colvile may have given their name to this house. If reference is made to the *Visitations of Essex*, pp. 37, 180, although West Hanningfield is given as the principal seat of the Clovile family, yet in

the year 1443, we find Henry Clovile of Clovils Hall, and down to 1614 there appear to have been Cloviles thus designated, the Sir Henry Clovile of that date had, amongst other sons, one Henry, described as son and heire. A fact of some significance is, that William Clovile, of Cloviles Hall, married his daughter Mary to John Leventhrope, of Shingle Hall, in Essex (? Hertford), page 181, and that George Browne, of Clovile Hall in Abbotts Roding, page 362, married Elizabeth, daughter of John Leventhrope, of Shingle Hall, in Com. Hertford. The dates are not given, but it is possible that Elizabeth might have been the daughter of Mary Clovile and John Leventhrope. If this point be conceded, then there is some evidence of the connection of the Clovils with Clovil Hall. I find, however, that there was, and possibly is still, a manor called Clovilles in West Hanningfield; possibly the mansion house of this manor was called Clovils Hall; thus there might have been two halls in Essex similarly designated; the point appears to be worthy of consideration. It may be noted that the last mention of the Clovyle family is made in Bysshe's *Visitation of Essex* 1664-1668, page 22, Edward Cloyle's, of West Hanningfield, second son Henry, of Stisted, marrying Grace da: of Gilbert Brooke, of Witham. In *Dormant and Extinct Peerages of England*, I find the barony of Colvill or Colevill was created by writ in 1264. Robert, grandson of the fourth Baron died *s.p.* leaving the descendants of the sisters of the third Baron his next heirs. Nothing further, apparently, is known of them.

C. E. SHEFFIELD, Romford.

A Braintree Puritan in New England. — Perhaps some readers of the *Essex Review* may be interested by the enclosed inscriptions to an Essex "Pilgrim Father," which I saw in October last, upon the Common at Cambridge, Massachusetts, just opposite to the buildings of Harvard University. I walked up to the statue out of curiosity, and seeing that it was to a Braintree man, I took a snap-shot of him with a small "Kodak," a copy of which is here reproduced.

Inscription upon the pedestal of the statue of John Bridge (formerly of Braintree), now standing upon The Common, at Cambridge, Massachusetts, U.S.A.:—



JOHN BRIDGE.
1578—1665.
Left Braintree, Essex Co., England, 1631,
As a member of Revd Mr. Hooker's Company.
Settled here, 1632,
And stayed when that Company removed to Connecticut.
He had supervision of The first Public School
Established in Cambridge, 1635;
Was Select-man, 1635—52,
Deacon of the Church, 1636—58,
Representative of The General Court, 1637—41,
And was appointed by that body
to lay out lands
In this town and beyond.
This Puritan
Helped to establish here
Church, School, and Representative Government,
and thus to plant
A Christian Commonwealth.

T. L. PAPILLON, Writtle Vicarage.

Siege of Colchester.—The following inscription from a marble monument in Compton Wynyates church is interesting as identifying one of the Royalist commanders at the Siege of Colchester. It is taken from Dugdale's *Warwickshire*:—

P.M.S.

Here lyeth the body of Sr William Compton Knt, third son of the right honourable Spencer, Earl of Northampton, ingaged in the eighteenth year of his age in the civil wars for King Charles the First, by whom he was made governour of Banbury Castle, anno 1645, And in the year 1648 Major General of his Majies forces at Colchester, And upon the happy Restauration of Charles the second admitted one of the King's most Honble Privy Council, and Master General of His Majesties Ordinance. He married the right honble Elizabeth Lady Alinton, widdow of The right honble William Lord Alinton of Horseheath in the county of Cambridge, with whom he lived twelve years, and de--parted this life in the 39 year of his age, the 18th of October anno Domini 1663.

J. Horace Round, Brighton.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS, ETC.

Alumni Felstediensis: being a List of Boys entered at Felsted School from its Foundation to May, 1903. Edited by G. J. Hornsby-Wright. Felsted, 1903, post 8vo., pp. vii., 235.

We are justly proud of this little volume, and for several reasons. In the first place such a continuous record of the scholars of three centuries and a half shows amazing industry on the part of the compilers, who have succeeded, with very few exceptions, in tracing the parentage and after career of about 2,660 scholars. We fancy few other schools ranking with Felsted can produce so complete a list of *Alumni* in such available form. No school records prior to 1813 are extant; no names of pupils under the first four masters can be disinterred

—that is during a period of seventy-one years (1566-1637), until that worthy divine, Martin Holbeach, assumed the charge which he only laid down after twenty-two years, to retire to High Easter, and to be succeeded by one of his first pupils as head.* Mr. Sargeaunt's list of scholars before 1800 has been used, additional names have been rescued from the admission registers of Cambridge Colleges, others might probably be obtained from unpublished registers. A list of 64 boys at the School in December, 1710, preserved in the University Library of Cambridge, is the only complete list of Felsted boys earlier than the 19th Century. It is to the old Felstedian Society constituted in 1900, that we owe the present volume. It is edited by Mr. G. J. Hornsby Wright from materials compiled by R. J. Beevor, G. T. Roberts, and H. L. Mullins, and admirably have they carried out one at least of the objects for which the Society was founded, viz.:—"To maintain a Register of old Felstedians addresses."

In the second place we of the County of Essex have still more pride and pleasure in turning over the pages of this book, to see how many of the sons of well-known Essex families have received their first schooling and tuition here within the county itself, to become themselves, in many instances, men prominent in local affairs, or, in a wider sphere, known to posterity and fame. We look through the early pages and find the names of Sir Henry Mildmay, Member for the County from 1678-92 Isaac Barrow, Newton's teacher and the master of Trinity; William Fairfax, son of the famous General and afterwards 3rd Viscount, John Wallis, Savilian professor at Oxford, and George Thorpe, chaplain to Archbishop Sancroft. We wonder how it would have been if Cromwell's two elder sons had lived to fulfil the promise of their youth and the feeble Richard and the martial Henry had died young. For all four of them were Holbeach's pupils. We pass over Lumleys, Barringtons (one represented the county), Bramstons, Creffields, Gurdons, Tyrells, Abdys, and Bullocks, of Faulkbourne Hall, and come to the Strutts and Westerns. Two members of these families between them represented Essex in Parliament for 78 years Coming to later times, the names of famous *alumni* now living

*It is interesting to note that the Rev. Edward Gepp, after eight years as a pupil, and twenty-one as assistant-master, has recently retired to the same living, from which, however, we hope he will not, like his worthy predecessor, be ejected!

include those of coroners of Essex, a staff contributor of *Punch*, a Professor of Chinese at Oxford University, the editor of a Dictionary of medical terms in seven languages, headmasters of schools in New Zealand, Queensland, and the Transvaal, Generals who have distinguished themselves in India and South Africa, and men of steadily rising literary fame.

No tribute to the useful character of the education derived from this *alma mater* could we think be higher than a survey of the varied walks in life both at home and abroad, to which its pupils have been led, and in which not a few have really distinguished themselves. As a nursery of future colonists, Lord Rich's old school seems to have earned a debt of empire. A few pages taken at random, show us old Felstedians to be mining in Colorado, engineering in British Guiana and the Malay Peninsula; acting as judge in British Columbia or notary public in Chicago and Rangoon; serving in the Indian Army; acting as Town Clerk or resident Magistrate, or commissioner in Nigeria, Cape Colony, Burma, Singapore, and Manitoba; employed in the Customs at Shanghai; tea planting in Assam, and coffee growing in Ceylon; land surveying in Rhodesia, or holding medical or missionary appointments in these and many other foreign stations. On the whole perhaps a cursory glance would give engineering or law the predominance as favourite profession whether at home or abroad.

The editors show their acquaintance with the topography of the county, and the book is singularly free from errors of any kind. They have not, however, been consistently uniform in naming the Imperial Yeomanry in South Africa, which so many Felstedians joined during the war. The 43rd and 44th Companies (Loyal Suffolk Hussars), which comprised many Essex Volunteers, is variously written as squadron, regiment, and company. It should of course be the last.

[EDITORIAL NOTE.—Our space this quarter has not admitted of including, as usual, the elements of the new County Council, the election of which took place in March. Twenty-five contested elections show how keen is the competition for this form of public service. The list of new Councillors and Aldermen will be printed in the next number.]

THE ESSEX REVIEW.

AN ILLUSTRATED QUARTERLY RECORD OF EVERYTHING OF PERMANENT INTEREST IN THE COUNTY.

EDITED BY EDWARD A. FITCH, AND MISS C. FELL SMITH.

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All contributions, letters (for publication or otherwise), books for review, etc., to be addressed to the Editors, Mr. E. A. Fitch, Brick House, Maldon; or Miss C. Fell Smith, Great Saling, Braintree.

The Editors are always glad to receive photographs, articles, notes, or verses upon any subject relating to the county, or to consider papers upon other subjects written by persons closely connected with it.

Correspondence relating to subscriptions, advertisements, and all other business matters should be addressed to the publishers.

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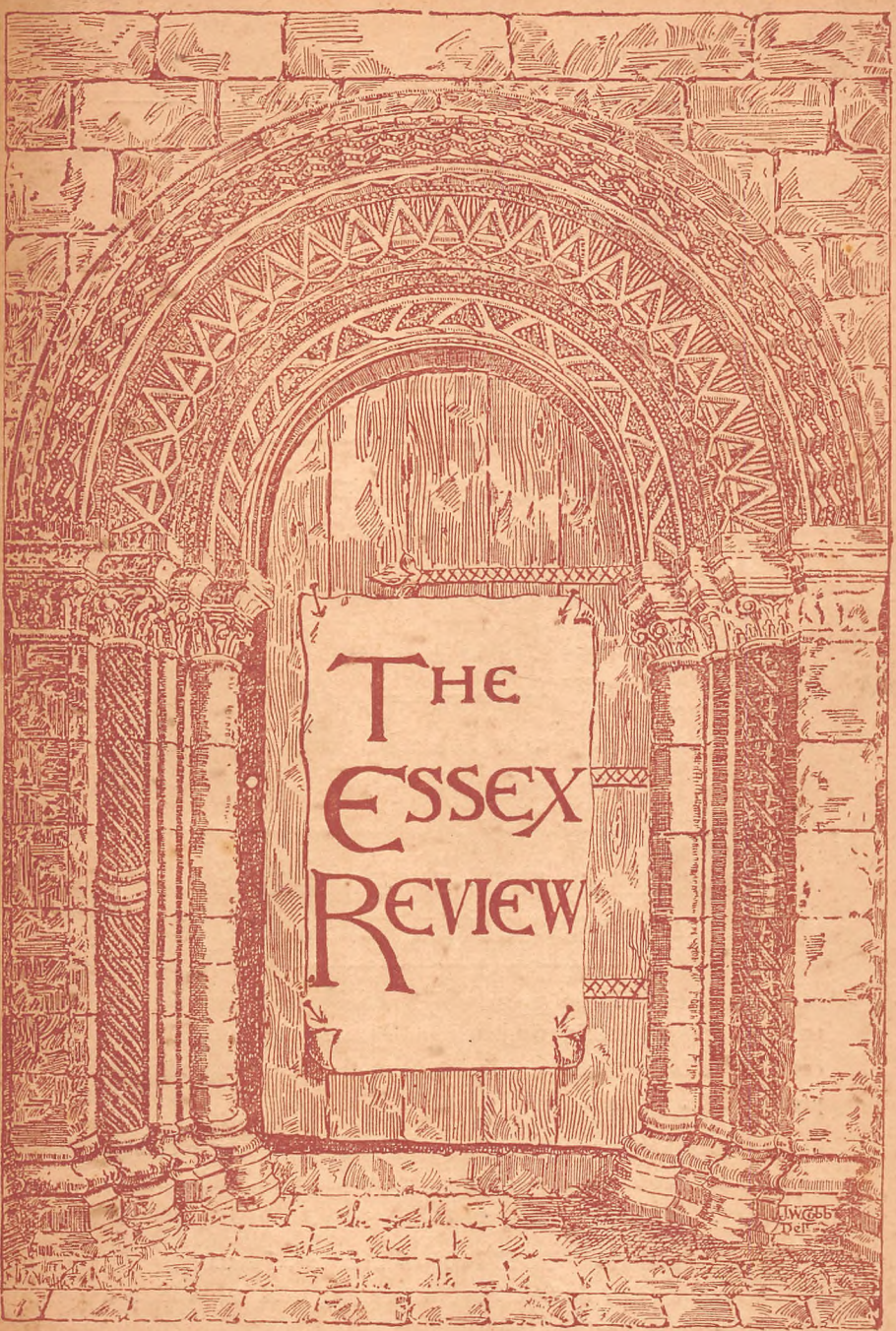

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THE VALLEY FARM, FLATFORD.

THE

ESSEX REVIEW:

A Quarterly Journal for the County.

No. 51.] JULY, 1904. VOL. XIII

GREAT WALTHAM FIVE CENTURIES AGO.

BY THE REV. ANDREW CLARK, LL.D.

(*Continued from p.* 80.)

FARMHOUSES AND COTTAGES.

WHEN we turn from the land to the houses, the rolls tell us but little. We are shown two distinct classes of houses, the farmhouses and the cottages. The farmhouses were the homesteads of the larger holdings, of the virgates (or yardlands) and half-virgates (freehold or copyhold). These we picture as scattered, at intervals from each other, along the main roads from which each was separated by its gate. Their names are all from former owners:—as Asselyne's, Benyngton's, Old Bernarde's, Berrene's, Young Kyng's, Mayhewe's, and similarly, Blecche's-gate, Poynant's-gate, Warner's-gate, Waterman's-gate.* Former owners, in the same way, gave their names to many of the lanes which wound among the fields:—Barone's-lane (John Baron, miller, 1413), Berrye's-lane, Welshe's-lane, Wrothe's-lane: but there are several exceptions, *e.g.*, Alcote-lane was named from a field, Copyndok-lane from a wood. The cottages were, perhaps, grouped together in the hamlets. They also are mostly named from former owners, Johne's, Maye's, John Molle's, Sabarne's; sometimes disguised, as Belerogers (for Isabel Roger's). An exception is the cottage called "le hole." Attached to these cottages were small copyholds of one to four acres or so, also named from former owners, *e.g.*, John Borell's, Agnes atte Hole's, John Russell's. The most frequent term † for

* Freynswell-gate, Sparhawkshey-gate were entrances to fields. So also, perhaps, Gorefeld's-gate.

† See ante, In line 20 of p. 14 alter "socland" to "cotland"; and in line 27, "cottage" "copyhold."

these is "cotland"; but we find also a "smallond" inherited in 1405 by Christina Bret from her father Thomas "Soutre," and "two smallmannes lond," together containing seven acres, called Old-Hamunde's and Reynold's, held in 1417 by John Strout atte Parkgate.

The reports of dilapidations made to the Court Baron dwell so continuously on carpenter's work and plaster as to make it plain that, both in farmhouse and cottage, the walls were a framework of wood, covered with wattle or shingles. Some of the more important buildings were tiled. In September, 1413, the bedell was ordered to provide lime, sand and tiles for repairs at Walthambury. Generally, however, the roof was of thatch. Thus, in May, 1420, John Strout, having no straw, had leave to put off till Michaelmas the repairs of his half-virgate, Trewe's. Houses built otherwise were so few that they received names from the fact. In 1416 Humphrey Clerk surrendered to John Curteys a cottage called Stone-house, with its three acres of land, and at the same date Henry Burdeyn bequeathed to John Stobert the Tyled-house, a cottage at Colyeres-hill in the North End.

SERVICES DUE BY THE COPYHOLDS.

At the first creation of copyholds, their holders were bound by their tenure to render on the demesne land so many days' work, in some cases so many days in each week, in other cases certain fixed days at particular seasons of the year along with certain other days when the lord pleased to require them. When the number of copyholds became large, the greater part of the work on the demesne land was done by these forced labours. A good example of a manor worked on this system is given in the survey (of Edward II.'s time) of the manor of Borley in North Essex, printed in Cunningham's *Growth of English Industry*, ii., 183. Afterwards, there were many cases in which these services were partially or wholly replaced by money-payments through bargains between tenant and lord; but at this period most copyholds were still subject to a great part of the old "works and services."

Those copyholds which at a very early period had been thus emancipated from forced labour, and come to be held mainly by payment of quit-rent, were called by the special name of "mol-land" (from a Kentish word *mal*, meaning a sort of rent,

as first explained in Vinogradoff's *Villainage in England*, p. 184), though they were still accounted copyhold and not freehold. They are very numerous in the Walthambury records. Two examples, an early and a late one, may be given. In 1399, John Pyg was admitted to tenure of four acres of molond, lying in four pieces, one in Holcroft, one in Cauealis-field, one in Garthons-croft and one in More-croft, paying 2s. admission-fine. In 1563 Richard and Clemence Everard held Sayer's quarter-virgate, by quit-rent of 6s. 8d., and Sayer's molond, a quarter of molond belonging to it, by quit-rent of 3s. 2d. We also find molond with some small services still attached to it. John Lefchild paying 4s. gersuma (admission-fine) was admitted to tenure of his mother's half-virgate of copyhold land held by services, and her "quarter-of-land of molond" held by service of 40d. rent a year, and the reaping of a rood of wheat and a rood of oats. The abbreviated citation on p. 14 is misleading. When I wrote it I had still to learn the importance of distinguishing mol-land from copyhold.

During Richard II.'s and Henry IV.'s reigns, the rolls have no notices of the copyholders' works and services. The letting-out of the demesne-land to a farmer involved the transference from the lord to the tenant, of these claims for work. In consequence of the greater stringency with which they were now exacted, interesting details about them are given in the earlier rolls of Henry V.'s reign.

May 7, 1413, the homage presented that John Glascok, the farmer of the Manor, extorted from the copyholders more than his due. For certain half-virgates* he exacted 8s. in money, and the reaping of two acres of barley; for certain quarter-virgates, 4s. in money, and the reaping of one acre of barley, or mowing of one half-acre of hay, or one day's work in harvest. John Somerford stated that for each day's work in winter he was mulcted 1d. Complaint was also made that the copyholders were summoned to do their work, and put off (the weather, no doubt, proving unfavourable), and then expected to attend again. John Fortheman had come, on summons, to carry grain in harvest, and had been sent home, but afterwards the farmer distrained on him for a money payment. So also John Tyler and

*Note that, in 1563, 13s. 4d. is the recognised quit-rent of the half-virgate, and 6s. 8d. of the quarter-virgate.

John Hunte, who came to reap, were sent home, and afterwards told they must pay what mulct the farmer thought fit.

September 7, 1413, the homage asked that the old allocation of one day's work for each virgate on August 29, and of one day's work with two men (duplex opus) due by each acre, should be restored, to protect them against the farmer's claims.

May 7, 1414, the homage presented that on the preceding Palm Sunday (April 1), the messor, by the farmer's order, during time of mass, had broken into John Bowyer's stable and taken away two horses (plainly to perform some specified work) and still kept them.

These services were enforced by the Court Baron by fines. On May 7, 1414, John Bowyer was mulcted 6d. for non-performance of his works when called on by the farmer. In May 1419, John Carter was summoned to answer for withholding the services due from his copyhold; in September, his sureties were mulcted 2d. for not producing him to answer; in November, he begged pardon in the Court Baron, and was mulcted 3d.

These services pressed very heavily on the smaller copyholds. In July 1415, we find Whyn's cotland (two cottages, and strips amounting to two acres) held by service of 41 days' work in winter and 8 in harvest. In 1413 we find Margaret Claver's five-acre cotland held by performance of two days' work in each week, except in the "three Festival weeks" (Christmas, Easter, Whitsun weeks).

Payments in kind constituted another form of service. Certain copyholds had to provide shares for the manorial plough. In 1413, Wystoke's cotland, 2 acres, was held by yearly rent of sixpence and one plough-share, by the lifting of half-an-acre of hay, by the reaping of half-a-rood of wheat and half-a-rood of oats, and by a day's work stacking hay, a day's work stacking wheat, and a day's work stacking oats. The day's work stacking oats was ad cibum domini, *i.e.*, the lord provided the labourer's food for that day. In 1417 we find Simon Gyn holding a bit of pasture near Church Mead "by service of one plough-share, value 6d." This pasture in 1563 still paid "one plowe shere, pryce 6d." Nowadays a plough-share costs about 7d., and when the land is wet may last nearly a week, but, when it is hard and dry, three or more may be

needed in one day's ploughing. Of these payments in kind the commonest was the payment of capons (a relic of serfdom, *v.*p. 14). November 8, 1413, the homage reported that no tenant could be found for Baker's garden at the old rent of 18d. a year and one capon, and advised a reduction to 10d. and no capon. 1414, John Honylee's small copyhold was held by rent of sixpence and two capons a year. 1421, Walter Goodmay, park-keeper of Apechild, leased "Freman's" copyhold, at the yearly rent of 10s. and one capon. In Scotland, where the same practice prevailed, "kain-hens," as those fowls were called which were thus paid in discharge of feudal obligation, became proverbial for toughness and poverty of flesh.

As was to be expected under these circumstances, there was at the beginning of Henry V.'s reign a rush to obtain, by favour or payment, release from the old feudal services. June 8, 1415, on the death of John Cornyssh, who held Adgore's half-virgate for life-rent "by service* of one bow," his widow Margaret was continued in the tenure, by special grace of the lord (William Bourchier, Comte d'Eu), on payment of 20s. yearly in lieu of all services. Nov. 1416, Alice, widow of Richard Scolder, the lord's valet, was, by special favour, allowed to hold her quarter-virgate on payment of only the quit-rent stated in the "extent" (survey) of the manor, and to be free of all other services. This old extent (of 2 Edward III., 1328) was in existence in 1563. 1418, Eva Artor, who held three-quarters of a virgate by services, was re-admitted (fine, 6s. 8d.) to life-tenure, paying yearly 18s. as "ward-silver" in lieu of all services.

FUNCTIONS AND POWERS OF THE COURT BARON.

We have next to put into shape what we learn about the chief institution of the age, the manorial court, and its influence on the people.

The Court Baron was managed by the Steward of the Manor, a professional lawyer, who rode in from the town where he lived, to hold this Court at Great Waltham, bringing his clerk with him. His services were requited by fees not recorded in the rolls. He may even have come from London. In Feb. 1418, John Tyrell, the Steward, charged 2s. for his and his clerk's

*This grant must have been made in a Court of which the record is lost. Mention has been made (*v.*p. 10) of the grant of Adgore's to Cornish on quit-rent. This pendant to the "syx barbed arrows" tenure (*v.*p. 11) gives occasion to note that Blecche's was still held in 1563 by that tenure, but then commuted at 2s.

expenses at holding the Court, and for his own expenses at Chelmsford on his way.

There were resident officials, the bedell, the summoners, crier, and others, who acted under the Steward's direction. The bedell exercised large powers of distraint and the like, and was responsible for the collection of dues and quit-rents. The office was nominally paid by fees, but these were quite inadequate to the duties, with the result that the bedellship was regarded as one of the feudal burdens of copy-holders. The bedell was appointed by the Court Baron. Thus, Sept., 1401, John Gyn, senior, was elected bedell in place of John Strout. We have, however, apparently disputed elections, which remind us of the "double returns" of old Parliamentary elections. Oct., 1414, the Court named five persons for the bedellship; July, 1416, six; and Sept., 1420, three—the decision in each case being left to the Steward. No doubt such "elections" mean that the copy-holders could not agree as to who should discharge this burden-some office. The election of 8 Nov., 1413, explains itself and much besides. John Pyg was then elected bedell *vice* John Gyn; but, on 30th Nov., he renounced all claim to his copy-hold quarter-virgate* rather than serve. His copyhold was thereupon forfeited, and John Adam elected bedell and sworn in. About 1503 a new system was agreed upon. The fifty-two (afterwards fifty, two copyholds being taken into the domain-lands) copyholds, which were liable to serve as bedell, agreed each to pay the lord 20s. when their turn came. In return they were excused collecting the quit-rents, and the manorial farmer received the 20s. and acted as collector. In Charles II.'s time we find this roster still religiously observed.

For clearness sake the functions of the Court Baron have been grouped under several heads, which present a strange picture of freedom in "Merry England." I fear that the gaps in later rolls will prevent our discovering the exact date at which these functions ceased to be exercised.

SUIT TO COURT.

All tenants, free and copyhold, were bound to personal attendance at each meeting of the Court Baron, and were fined if absent. Thus, in August 1380, Sabina Shergot, John

*The roll is careful to explain that there were no buildings on this holding. It was therefore less valuable than others of its size.

Wymark and others were mulcted 3d. each for default of suit to court, and the amount of these mulcts added in to the sum-total to be paid over to the lord.

Leave of absence from a given meeting might be obtained by application through a fellow tenant. A typical entry is;—"Essonium sectae: Johannes atte Noke de communi, per Ric. Parker, primo": *i.e.* (October 1396) said "John, through said Richard, was excused, on this first occasion, attendance at ordinary Court business." The tenant so favoured had to attend next court and make good his excuse. July 1402 John Porter was mulcted 3d. for neglect to attend and "guarantee the excuse asked for him by John Bowyer at last court."

Leave of absence (respite of suit to court) for a year might be obtained, on payment of 12d. or so. Such payments, called suit-fines, are very numerous. Thus, in the sum-total of the Court Leet and Court Barons for 1414, we have, separately noted, the "common" (Court Leet) fine, 9s. 10d.; suit fines, 9s. 6d.; and admission-fines to copyholds, £8 17s. 8d.

This obligation to attend court must have been a grievous burden. The Court met at least four times a year, and its business, as a rule, filled up all the working hours of a day.

OBLIGATION TO SERVE ON THE MANORIAL JURY (THE HOMAGE).

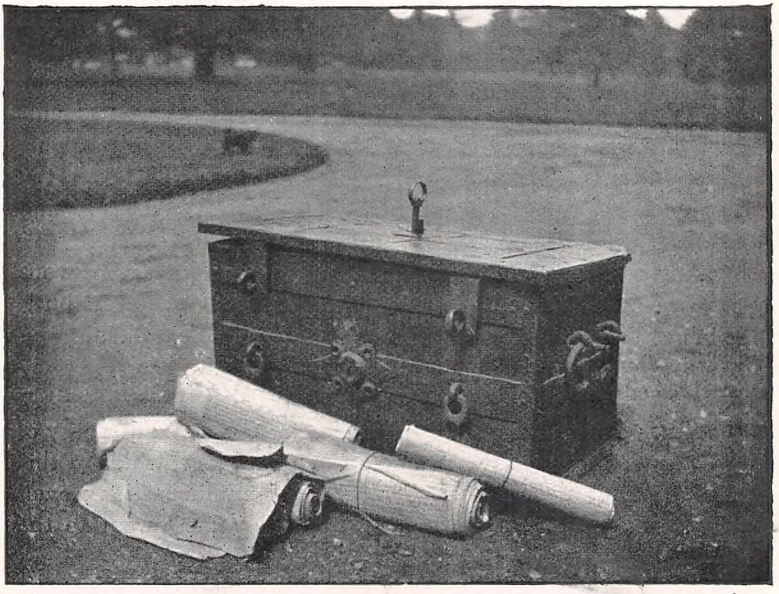
Further large demands were made on the time and energy of those copyholders who served on the manorial jury, which at this period was always of 12. They had no remuneration; even where their services were charged for, the "fine" went to the lord.

We find them called upon to decide, by out-of-court investigations, a multitude of questions in the lord's interest.* July, 1402, the homage had to report on the pasturage of the manor, both on the demesne-land and in the parks, and on all grants made by Duke Thomas and Duchess Eleanor (v.p. 12). January, 1408, they had to report fully on all dilapidations on the lord's cottage property, as well as on the condition of all hedges, ditches, or other division-marks (whether between copyhold or freehold lands) within the manor July, 1417, they had orders to have ready, before next Court-day, a statement of all the petty

* A later instance of this occurs in 1563, when John Cooke, Steward for Richard, first Baron Rich, the new Lord of the Manor, called on 42 tenants to give sworn testimony to enable him to bring up to date the 1328 survey of the manor.

customs of the manor, a return which would have been of interest and value had the result of their labours remained to our time. July 1418, under penalty of 40d., they must assess the dilapidations of John Gyn on his copyhold, Swetyng's, Jan. 1420, they must discover who had removed a fence (perhaps resented by the villagers as blocking a right of way) recently put up in the field called Wasshter; and Dec., 1421, detect the remover of the fallen gates of the manor-farm.

A special form of their service was the investigation of title,

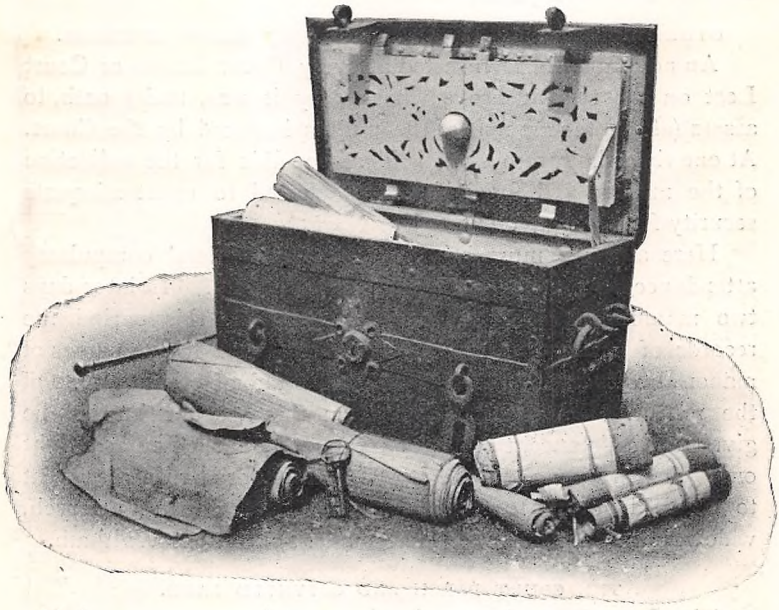


ARMADA CHEST AT LANGLEYS
(*See page 4*).

where that was called for either to exclude some possible rival claim, or to satisfy the Steward. Feb. 1396, Joan, daughter of Thomas Prow, paid the lord 12d, to have examination of her title to six copyhold acres, called Schache's. She claimed as heiress of her uncle. Walter Sach, on extinction of his widow's (Elizabeth) life-interest, said Elizabeth having been remarried to John Grendhey. Similarly, before 1398, the virgate called Adgore's had been seized into the lord's hands, and had since been granted out on life-tenure and on lease. In April 1422, Alice, wife of John

Sandre, claimed it, as being daughter and heiress of Alice, wife of Richard Adgor. The fee for investigating title was not exacted, because the claimant was poor. The claim was allowed, and the admission-fine fixed at 13s. 4d.

Much more oppressive than these direct manorial claims were the jury-sessions, dozens of times every year, to decide actions between tenants. August 1408, Robert Page and others of the homage were mulcted 3d. apiece for non-attendance



WALTHAMBURY COURT ROLLS
(*See page* 4).

on a jury ordered to decide a trespass-action between John Pyg and Roger Wodeham. September, 1416, a mulct was threatened if the jury failed to come to a verdict in a suit by John Deve against John Loofham for 9d. claimed as balance of rent for a garden, and 8d. asked as damages for "detention" of that 9d. Those jurymen, who at Chelmsford this year (1904) felt the burden of their enforced attendance in County Court business, will derive small comfort from the knowledge that their grievance is of five centuries' standing.

Even where the litigants obtained leave to settle their difference by private bargain, copyholders had sometimes to act as unpaid arbitrators. Thus, February 1403, four of the homage were directed to arrange privately a settlement in a trespass action between Anne Kyng and John Warenger.

Audible dissent from arrangements made by the Steward was punished as contempt of court. In September 1410, John Tyler was mulcted 3d. for complaining in open court that the Steward did him injustice.

OTHER BURDENS OF TENANTS IN COURT BARON BUSINESS.

An additional burden rested at every Court Baron or Court Leet on the two affeerers, whose duty it was, under oath, to assess (affeer) the amount of the mulcts imposed by the Court. At one time they were even held responsible for the collection of the mulcts, and fined if they neglected to exact adequate security for their payment.

Here also we must bring in the copyholders' compulsory attendance, as witnesses, at sick-bed surrenders. In later days two manorial witnesses were sufficient. At this period the records of such surrenders generally recite six to ten names of manorial witnesses with a comet-tail "and of other tenants of the manor." Where attendance, on this account, had to be given at a distance, this burden cannot be looked on as a light one. Thus, May 1397, the bedell and manorial witnesses went to Hatfield Peverel to accept the surrender by Joan Parterych, widow, of her messuage (called Saunder's) in Great Waltham.

THE COURT BARON AND COPYHOLD LAND.

The Court Baron kept a sleepless watch over all copyholds, large and small, reporting dilapidations, infringements of feudal custom and the like, and insisting that all transferences whether permanent by alienation or temporary by lease, should take place only in and through the Court itself.

Where it was known that the copyhold was held for life-term only, a sharp look-out was kept for the death of the copyholder in order at once to seize the land into the lord's hands. In February 1393, the copyhold Hamund's was seized, on the death of "Magister" John Ferour, who had only a life-grant of it. In 1400, on the death of Margery Alysaundre, who held the virgate called Alysaundre's as her jointure, seizure was ordered.

The lapse of these life-rent holdings supplied the lord of the manor with a convenient means of rewarding faithful servants. In January 1416, the lord (William Bourchier, Comte d'Eu), of his special grace, as reward for faithful service, granted Thomas Frome a lapsed cotland in the North End, to be held for his life-time free of all rent, services and customs. Again, November 1418, of his special grace, he conferred on William Wylyngham, otherwise called Willelmus de Camera, for his good service, the copyhold called Mumme's half-yardland, lately held by Thomas Warde, to be held for his life-time free of all services and dues, except that of keeping the buildings in repair.

Provisions of the statute-law were taken advantage of. July 1400, seizure was ordered of the lands in the South End, called Prest-lond, "which the chaplain celebrating divine service in the chapel within Plecy Castle holds and draws the profits of," because said chaplain had not obtained leave to hold them from the feudal superior, as required by the statute about clerics (religiosi). These lands were probably afterwards released to the chantry. In 1563 the manor began its "decayed rents," *i.e.*, quit-rents which it was unable to levy, with 18d. due from four acres, called Pattyngton's and Common Cookes in the South End, being "Chantry lands or College lands," which the Crown had seized, either at the suppression of Pleshey College by Henry VIII., or at the plunder of the chantries by Edward VI.

Possession not being as yet nine-tenths of the law, copy-holders were continually called on to prove their title. In August, 1380, Robert Stonhach was required to show by what title and by performance of what services he held two acres, called Brewer's acres. In January 1416, John Grendhey was called on to show how he held two acres of molond in the fields Rydene and Crowenhull. He had probably lost his papers, since in November following he paid 6d. fine to have the rolls of Richard II.'s time searched for his title.

THE COURT BARON AND INHERITED COPYHOLD.

The death of a copyholder was reported in the next Court after it had occurred, and the heir was expected to be then present to take up the holding by copy. Feb., 1393, death reported of John Strode; his son John was present to claim his cottage, acre and purpresture; and was admitted to tenure,

paying 2s. fine. If the heir was absent, the holding was seized into the lord's hands. In 1380, on report of Stephen Coap's death, seizure was ordered of his ten daywerks (ten strips, as much as a man could plough in a day).

Most of such seizures were merely formal, and the copyholds were afterwards given up to the heirs, on claim being made and established. We have instances of this being done even after a long interval. The virgate, called Palmer's, which had been granted for life-term to John de la Saucerye, as a lapsed copyhold, was again seized into the lord's hands on John's death in 1399, but in Sept., 1401, Joan Sponer, of Bocking, proved herself heir to Margaret Palmer, who had held it before the first seizure, and was admitted to the tenure.

THE COURT BARON AND TRANSFERENCES OF COPYHOLD.

The rule of the Court was that the copyhold should be surrendered in Court, and the assignee be present there and then to take it up. May 1397 John Marchaunt surrendered Outgate's quarter-virgate in favour of John atte Melle, who was admitted for himself and his heirs paying 6s. 8d. admission-fine. If the assignee were absent, the copyhold was seized into the lord's hands till all formalities were observed. May 1413, John Blecche, of Oldefelde Street, was not present to take over Oldefelde's (12 acres), which John Wolston had conveyed to him; the land was therefore seized.

Copyholders were constantly endeavouring to pass on to others their bits of land by private sale, without the expense of going through the Court; but the Steward set his face like flint against all such transactions. Most rolls have records of fines and seizures on account of out-of-Court sales. In Sept. 1380, four acres were seized, because acquired by John Crooksman from John Hamond, without leave of Court. In Jan. 1395, John Frey was mulcted 1d. for acquiring privately a daywerklond below Prill Mill (here, a strip of meadow as much as a man could mow in a day) from William Cowland, and the meadow was seized. Nov. 1418, Agnes Horsnayle's cotland was seized, because she had conveyed it without leave to her son William. Such seizures were no doubt temporary, and resorted to for the purpose of forcing the conveyance to be effected in Court.

One instance of transference in open court merits citation,

because of the strange story connected with it. On June 4, 1393 (the roll of the Court is now missing), William Blecche, who had married Joan Sawen, is said to have appeared in Court, surrendered all his copyholds, and received them by re-grant to himself and his wife Joan in fee simple. On William's death Joan remained in possession, and shortly afterwards married Thomas Neel. On April 4, 1408, Joan Neel attended Court, surrendered the half-virgate called Sawen Blecche's, and received it by regrant to her husband, Thomas Neel, and herself. On October 22, 1414, Joan, wife of John Tavener, attended Court, and was admitted to tenure of Lytel-med, which she she claimed as heiress of Joan Neel deceased, being granddaughter of Joan's brother, Thomas Sawen. In 1415, John Kyng claimed both properties, being grandson of William Blecche's sister Christina. He alleged that in 1393 William Blecche was non compos mentis, was bound with chains and brought into Court by men who dictated to him what he should say, and was utterly incapable either of making surrender or receiving a re-grant. The manorial jury decided for Kyng in both suits, and he obtained possession of Blecche's half-virgate on July 4, 1415, and of Little Mead (owing to the law's delays) on March 1, 1417. We have here all the elements required for the sordid plot of a realistic novel of Plantagenet days, an old man in his dotage, an intriguing young wife, a covetous second-husband-to-be; but what sinister influence can we allege to account for the Steward of 1393 and the homage in open Court becoming parties to so gross a fraud?

THE COURT BARON AND LEASES OF COPYHOLD.

The copyholder who wished to lease his land, even for a short term, had to do so through the Court. This compulsion brought plenty of business and fees to the Steward, but was a heavy burden on the copyholders. February 1418, John Hyde paid 3s. 4d. for leave to take on lease for two years Rede's virgate from Margaret Rede, widow. November 1420, John Bode paid 1s. 8d. for the same leave. Neglect was visited by mulct and seizure. February 1393, seizure was ordered of copyhold-land let, without leave of Court, to William Reve. May 1413 John Honylee was mulcted 2d. for letting without leave, and Stephen atte Hyll, 2d. for renting, Oldebery croft. The

lessee, who held his land by leave of the Court, could transfer the remainder of his lease. November 1417, John Russell paid 1s. 8d. for leave to take Riche's half-virgate on three year's lease, from Edmund Hervy, and November 1419 he paid 6d. for leave to transfer the remaining year of his lease to John Dryver.

SURRENDERS OF COPYHOLD OUT-OF-COURT.

Several customs of the Manor provided for those cases in which by illness or absence the copyholder could not attend personally to give up his holding, in the normal way, "in open Court, into the hands of the lord represented by his steward."

For some unknown reason, the most natural method, by power of attorney, was carefully avoided. Only two instances of it are found. In July 1402, William Gauge, by John Frey, his attorney, surrendered an acre, once Richard Stubber's, lying in High Easter.* May 1414, Margaret Colet attended Court to surrender an acre of meadow, bringing a letter of her husband, John Colet, citizen of London, consenting to her act.

The customary method was to send for the bedell (otherwise called the bailiff) and make the surrender to him in presence of several copyholders of the manor. If the bedell could not be got, any person might act for him. In 1395, John Pretter, grievously ill, surrendered to John Rede, bedell, his quarter-virgate called Pretter's, in favour of his son Adam. 1413, Thomas Lurdynden, on his death-bed, surrendered to the "messor" (as into the lord's hands) his cottage in favour of feoffees.

Such out-of-Court surrenders arose in most cases from a desire to interfere with the law of inheritance for the purpose of benefiting some individual by the creation of a life-rent or an entail.

MARRIED WOMEN'S PROPERTY.

Some manorial customs in respect of copyholds deserve notice, as constituting a primitive Married Women's Property Act.

Where the wife's name was joined to the husband's in the grant, or where a female copyholder had subsequently married, the copyhold could be surrendered only after the wife, in her husband's absence, had been questioned in Court as to whether she understood the nature of the transaction, and agreed to it.

* Detached portions of manorial land lay outside the parish boundary.

In Nov., 1395, John Berdefelde and Agnes, his wife, attended Court to surrender a meadow ; Agnes, "examined by herself in open Court," signified her assent to the transfer. Out-of-court this examination could be conducted only by the steward or his deputy. We thus find very elaborate proceedings scored out as "contrary to the custom of the manor." In May 1416, entry is made that Matilda, John Loofham's wife, was examined apart from her husband by John Strout, bedell, and William Folkes, bailiff of the Honour of Maundevylle, and that Matilda and her husband then surrendered out-of-court certain cottages in How Street to the bedell, in presence of manorial witnesses. But the transfer was disallowed.

In grants of the same kind, if the husband died first, the widow was continued in tenure of the copyhold, paying no admission-fine, but simply attending Court to do fealty. January 1397, Agatha, widow of John Badyngham, showed by copy of roll of Court that she and her husband had held their cottage jointly, and did fealty. This cottage, at the east end of Great Waltham church, retained its old name "Badyngham's" to the eve of the Commonwealth period.

On certain copyholds the widow was entitled to claim as life-interest the whole, or portion, of the copyhold as "dower" or "free bench." Where the claim was for the whole, the widow paid a heriot, but no admission-fine. The case of Margery Alysaundre (*v.* p. 16) is an instance. If the widow declined the tenure, the copyhold passed to the eldest son of the deceased, who paid admission-fine, but no heriot. In 1417, Simon Gyn, copyholder of the three-quarters virgate called Reynold's, died, but no heriot accrued to the lord, because, "according to the custom of the manor," John Gyn, Simon's son, paid admission-fine. In Elizabethan times this claim for full dower seems to be no longer recognised. The other dower-custom, for one-third of the holding, continued on many copyholds. Originally, we find the widow granted an actual third of the houses and the lands. In Charles I.'s reign the dower was limited to one-third of the profits. This life-interest was forfeited by a second marriage. In 1403, Anne, widow of John Kyng, who by free bench had held certain copyholds after John's death, but had forfeited her status by marrying again, petitioned the Court for leave to remain tenant till John's heir came of age. In early times some

doubt seems to have existed as to whether the widow might not claim dower in copyholds once held by her husband, but parted with during his life. We find numerous instances in which the assignee of a copyhold is careful to obtain from the assigner's wife formal renunciation of all claim to dower in it. The difference of custom, between full dower and one-third dower, was derived from early manorial custom in respect of marriage between serfs.

BURDENS IMPOSED BY COPYHOLDERS ON THEIR LANDS.

The copyholder, who submitted to the forms of the Court Baron, had large liberty in tying up his copyhold after his decease or his alienation of it.

(*a.*) A very frequent burden is the imposition of a life-interest. January 1399, by the out-of-court surrender of John Claver, his widow Margaret was installed in life-tenancy of his holding, with remainder to John's right heirs.

(*b.*) Not uncommon is the imposition of a life-annuity. October, 1398, John Wryghte and his heirs were admitted to tenure of Kytte-croft, subject to payment of 5s. yearly to Margaret Cavel, who surrendered it.

(*c.*) In some cases we have an amusing multiplicity of reservations. In December 1379, John Oseward, on surrender of Agatha Crouchman, was admitted to Crouchman's (a messuage, 9 acres arable and a half-acre meadow). Said Agatha for her life-term was to have (*a*) sole use of one room and a solar (upper room) over it, (*b*) reasonable access to the rest of the house, (*c*) easement in the kitchen, with use of the lead and the mill when she required them : meaning, probably, use of the oven for baking, of the copper for brewing or washing, and of the hand-mill for grinding her corn, (*d*) room in the out-houses for a cow or two, a pig or two, and half-a-dozen sheep, (*e*) room in the barn for her grain, (*f*) sole use of Home-croft and Writer's-acre, except that the straw there grown may be claimed for thatching of the holding, (*g*) payment (in yearly instalments) of 12 marcs. Here, the large admission-fine (13s. 4d.) marks an unusual concession. A second case may be given, of interest as showing the purchasing power of money 500 years ago. July, 1401, John Parker, senior, surrendered to his son John, and said son's wife, Cristina, his messuage and quarter-virgate of copyhold, conditionally that they "shall keep John (senior) in food

and clothes (both linen and wool) well and sufficiently for the rest of his life," or else, at John's (senior) option, pay him 10s. a year. Ten shillings, as a fair equivalent for a whole year's liberal board, lodging, clothing and washing is noteworthy.

(*d.*) Imposition of a mortgage. In November, 1394, John Hubert surrendered his cottage to Thomas Thrower conditionally on payment of £12 in half-yearly payments of £1. In January, 1399, payments being in arrear, Hubert resumed possession.

(*e.*) Creation of a perpetual rent-charge. In June 1380, on surrender of John Fortheman, Ralph Warenger and his heirs were admitted to tenure of a portion of Aleyne's-croft, conditionally on Ralph and his heirs paying to John and his heirs 4d. yearly. This alienation of a portion of a copyhold, on imposition of a quit-rent, is usually accompanied by the transference of manorial dues from that portion to the main holding. We can understand that this was insisted on in the lord's interest, to save the collection of minute dues from small patches of land. It became extremely common. An early instance is this :—In May 1399, Stephen Hunte acquired a field called Coue-lyegh from John Pyg, covenanting to pay 5s. yearly to Pyg and his heirs in the messuage called Moose's (or Mose's), which messuage became for ever responsible to the manor for all services due by Coue-lyegh.

(*f.*) Creation of an entail. The most complicated example of this is concerned with the widow and children of John, called from his occupation and residence John Tanner del hoo, but apparently surnamed Saunder. In May 1397, Joan Parterych, widow, surrendered the messuage and 2 acres called Saunder's in favour of Alice, widow of John Tanner del hoo, for her life-term, with remainder successively to the children of said John and Alice Saunder, viz., to John and the heirs of his body; whom failing, to Thomas and the heirs of his body; whom failing, to Alice (the daughter) and heirs of her body; whom failing, to revert to the right heirs of Joan Parterych. The amount of the fine (26s. 8d.), "to obtain these provisions" marks the entail as something exceptional.

(*g.*) Creation of a trust. In November 1395, Thomas Brabourne, chaplain, surrendered his cottage and curtilage called Lytel-Apechild, in favour of John Hereward, John atte hill, and Richard Adgor.

(*h.*) The quaintest condition which occurs in these rolls is that imposed by John Fortheman, in 1420. On his death-bed he surrendered his croft, called Smeth-legh, to his wife for her life-term, with remainder to his right heirs, conditionally that the holder of the said croft should find beer to be given to everyone who came to the house of his half-virgate on the Conception of Mary (8th Dec.) " in the name of God," according to the custom of said John and his forbears.

(*i.*) Copyhold might be destined to religious uses. In April, 1422, on his death-bed, John atte Rothe surrendered his half-virgate to his mother, stipulating that she should sell it for its full value, and spend the proceeds in masses, almsgiving and other charitable works for said John's soul and the souls of his benefactors. In Henry VI.'s time provisions of this sort are numerous.

DILAPIDATIONS IN COPYHOLDS.

The Court dealt sharply with dilapidations, and was prompt to distrain or forfeit on this account. A good example is that of the copyhold, Palmer's. In Nov. 1379, William Randolf, the holder, was ordered to repair its buildings before Christmas, under penalty of 40s. In June 1380, the Court distrained on 5 acres 1½ roods of wheat, 3 acres of barley, 1 acre 1 rood of pease, 3 acres of peasemong, and 3 of benemong, altogether valued at £4 6s. 8d., as security for the repairs. The distraint was removed in Aug. 1380, on report by the homage that the repairs had been well executed. Again, in Jan. and in July, 1395, the tenement called Herrye's, in the North-End, was presented as ruinous. In Nov., 1395, first proclamation was made for a claimant of it, and second proclamation in Feb., 1396 ; in Oct., 1396, it was declared forfeited.

There are indications that in this matter the Court had to be on its guard against reckless or dishonest copyholders. In Nov., 1406, the homage presented that out of the copyhold, called Lambherde's (a cottage and three acres), Hugh Power had sold the doors, windows and gates, and had cut down and carried off the fruit-trees.

At a later period, a copyholder was allowed to fell timber growing on his copyhold for the necessary repairs of the buildings belonging to it. At this period this might not be done

without the leave of the lord. One instance shows that it was necessary to keep watch over the timber so felled. May, 1419, John Hawkyn, who had had leave to fell timber to repair his copyhold building, and had sold 12d. worth of it out of his holding, was summoned to attend Court to answer for his offence, and was mulcted 2d. for failure to complete the repairs ordered.

The materials of decayed copyhold buildings were a perquisite of the lord. Feb., 1403, John Trot was called on to pay 2s., value of timber bought by him from a tumble-down cottage, and Isabella Gybbe, who had presumed to sell it, was mulcted 2d. In 1411, the bedell, by seizure of the cottage, called Russell's, which John Fuller had allowed to go to ruin, obtained 1,000 shingles, some pieces of timber, and some straw.

Copyholders often paid a fine for leave to pull down instead of repairing. In such cases, it is generally added that, without the building in question, the housing is sufficient for the land. 1409, William Cosyn paid 40d. for leave to take down a ruinous building, called Herrye's, on the lord's bondage.

During Henry V.'s French wars, William Bourchier, Comte d'Eu (*v.* p. 12) was absent in France, and had with him in his train two Walthambury tenants, Jeffrey atte hill (holder of the virgate Palmer's), who was "the lord's baker," and William Crawland (tenant of the half-virgate Wryghte's), whose office is shown in his appellative, William de la Boterye. Many times, in the year 1415 to 1420, Jeffrey was presented for dilapidations, but excused because "with the lord" or "with the lord over sea," and similarly Crawland, in the years 1415 to 1417.

FIXTURES ON COPYHOLDS.

There were certain "instruments and utensils hereditary and customary," which a copyholder must leave in his holding in good repair. For the house there were the lead and the hand-mill (*v.* p. 144); for the land, the carts and the plough.

September, 1380, Anis Pool, widow, having removed the lead from her copyhold, the bedell had orders to have it brought back.

In 1415 John Kyng (*v.* p. 16) having received by a law-suit Blecche's half-virgate, the manorial jury awarded him 2s. 8d. to make good the damage done to the fixtures since 1393, when they were a lead, value 3s. 8d.; a hand-mill, 2s.; and an old dung-cart, 1s. For repairs of the carts and plough, copyhold timber might

be had, by leave. In 1416 John Yonge was called in question for felling without leave three ashes (value 8d.) and two oaks (value 8d.) on his bondage called Algore's. His plea was that he needed the wood to mend his cart and plough. The Court allowed him the wood, but mulcted him 6d. for felling it without leave.

THE FORMULA OF COPYHOLD TENURE.

From a venerable parishioner of Great Waltham, long "crier" of the Court, definite information has been received about the symbolic "rod" of the copyhold formula. On his way to every meeting of the Court, the crier provided himself with a willow wand, peeled it, and laid it conspicuously on the table in front of the steward. A copyholder, making surrender of his holding, lifted the rod from the table and put it into the steward's hand. A person, taking over a copyhold, received the rod from the steward's hand and laid it on the table. My informant believes that a rod of any wood would have done as well. His choice of a willow-wand was due to his passing a basket-maker's on his way to Court, and his peeling it came not from any traditional custom, but from a sense of neatness.

TREATMENT OF FORFEITED COPYHOLDS.

Copyholds, which by defect of heirs, as punishment for dilapidations, or other cause, had been forfeited to the lord, were, as a rule, kept in hand for some time, being at most leased out for a term of years. By this precaution the copyhold was kept unencumbered, to be restored if a claim were established. Thus in 1398 John Colman took to farm for three years Thomas Soutre's copyhold land, forfeited for non-payment of dues, bargaining to pay all the old services. More commonly a quit-rent replaces the service. In 1398 Jeffrey Davenish took to farm for fifteen years John Russell's four-acre cot-land, forfeited because unclaimed, paying 6s. 8d. yearly.

Afterwards, the forfeited holdings were given out by new grant. May 1398, John Porter, paying 20d. admission-fine, was admitted for himself and his heirs to tenure of Huntelee's crofts (5 acres), long forfeited by defect of heirs, to be held by payment of all the old services.

An indication of the arbitrary (ad voluntatem domini) nature of copyhold tenure is afforded by the necessity, on a change of

lord, of obtaining from the new lord a re-grant of a lease. In March, 1421, William Cosyn took an eighteen years' lease of Stryke's lands, then in the lady's (Anne, Countess of Stafford's) hands. In Trinity Term, 1421, these lands were seized into the King's hands, the new lord's. On July 26, 1421, they were restored to Cosyn on a new lease.

A DAY IN CONSTABLE'S COUNTRY.

WRITTEN AND ILLUSTRATED BY ALFRED BENNETT BAMFORD.

STOKE-BY-NAYLAND.

COLCHESTER is a good starting point for Constable's country, whether we intend to drive, cycle, or walk. If we are not cyclists, and prefer to walk, the most pleasant way of reaching our goal is to take the train to Manningtree station and stroll across the meadows to Flatford Bridge, a distance of about two miles.

In doing this one has to remember that these meadows at certain times of the tide are flooded, though not to any great extent. Still, the plank causeways, here and there, will not always be sufficient to keep the pedestrian from getting wet feet. It may become necessary to remove shoes and stockings and wade through the water, but this is not a very great hardship, and the chance ought to deter no one on a summer's day from taking this delightful walk across the fields.

Pollard willows mark the course of the river Stour, which is some little distance from the footpath, gay flowers bloom in the ditches and at the edges of the dykes, and lazy cattle graze on the rich grass on either hand, or cool themselves in the water and stare at you with soft, sleepy eyes as you cross the little plank bridges that span the side streams. After walking about a mile, the fine tower of Dedham church comes in view some distance on the left; then we have the first sight of Flatford Mill on the

right, though all, except the ugly shaft of the modern steam mill, is hidden by the pollard willows that edge the Stour. A little farther on the footpath turns to the right to cross a pretty little stream with yellow lilies floating on its surface. This is not a cut dyke, but a backwater to the river, and soon we get a sight of Flatford bridge, a picturesque wooden structure, very similar to the old Dedham bridge, before the County Council improved

FLATFORD BRIDGE

it away, substituting a hideous iron construction which from an artist's point of view has entirely ruined the view from Dedham Lock. We must not, however, wander away to Dedham yet, but may take a brief rest on the stile by Flatford bridge to observe the Lock, little altered since Constable painted his picture now hanging in the National Gallery, except that the trees have grown up and hidden the mill-house from our sight. We can then stroll down the towing-path, past the lock

and look at the old mill, now idle and fast falling into decay, but full of reminiscences of Constable and his time. Retracing our steps we cross the bridge, pass the old thatched cottage, turn sharp to the right and soon come in sight of the Valley Farm. It looks much the same as when Constable painted it, but is now hidden by trees from the spot whence he took his sketch for the picture in the National Gallery. Both this picture, "Dedham Vale," and "The Cornfield" are faithful representations of "Constable's country," and are dear to all who love the Stour.

FLATFORD MILL-HOUSE.

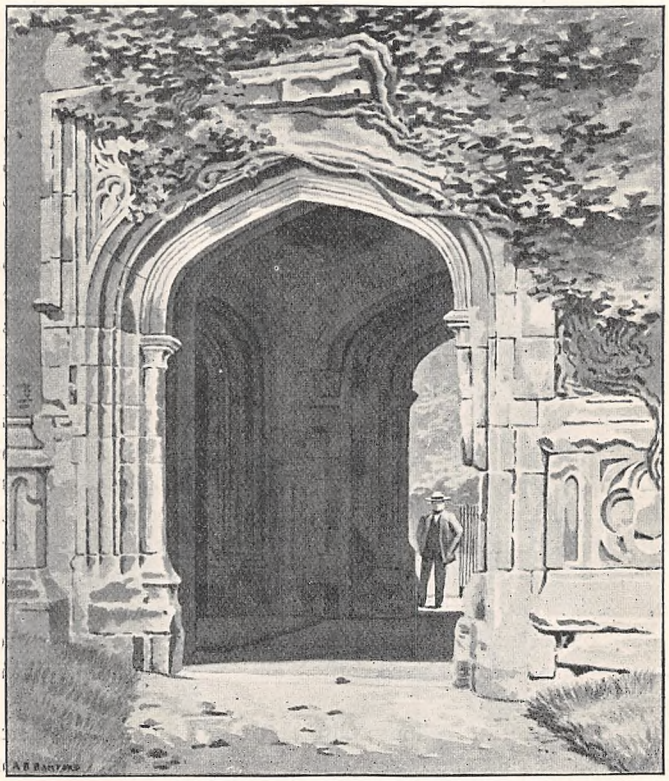
Passing on, and looking back from the Valley Farm, we get the view of Flatford Mill, shown in our sketch. The mill looks cool and pleasant with its festoons of creepers and the pond in front, even on a hot summer day, for only the early morning sun shines on this side of the house. Again retracing our steps as far as the bridge, we pass up a typical Suffolk lane with high banks on either side and trees that meet overhead, so that on the hottest day one is sheltered from the sun in this cool retreat, if only for a few minutes. Soon we are out into the sunshine again, and reach East Bergholt after a mile's walk, partly by lane and partly by meadow, from which is a lovely view over the Vale of

Dedham. The church towers of Dedham, Langham and Stratford St. Mary are visible, and far away in the distance stands the fine tower of Stoke-by-Nayland. If we look in the opposite direction, towards the south-east, the Stour, where it widens out below Manningtree bridge, glitters in the sunshine. East Bergholt, with its fine late-perpendicular church, has a ruined tower which was begun in 1522, left unfinished in 1525, and which has so remained until the present day.

"The oldest inhabitant" in the village would tell you that the reason of this incompletion was that the work the masons put up in the day was pulled down by his Satanic Majesty during the night, and that at last the construction of the tower was given up in despair. There is another more credible story, that Cardinal Wolsey commenced building the tower at East Bergholt, but that owing to his fall he was unable to complete it, and no one else came forward to do so, perhaps in the first place for fear of offending the King. Soon after came the Reformation, when the rich and noble were more eager to pull down the houses of God than to build them.

The bells, five in number, are hung in an open wooden shed, or "cage," in the churchyard to the north of the church. The tower was a favourite subject with Constable, and there are several sketches of it, by him, in South Kensington Museum. Constable was born at East Bergholt in 1776, and most of his early sketches were taken in this neighbourhood. His father was a lighterman and miller, Flatford Mill being one of his mills. He at first wished his son to be either a clergyman or a miller, but young Constable preferred art. He was at last allowed to cultivate it, and after three or four years of more or less serious study in London and at his native place, he was admitted a student at the Royal Academy in 1799, where for a time he attempted portrait and historical painting. Landscape he felt was the work for him; not as it had been done in the past, in those conventional compositions with classic ruins, but, following in the footsteps of Gainsborough, he looked to nature for his guide, and studied from her, feeling sure that in the end his works would be appreciated by the public, though they might not be in his lifetime. "I feel more than ever convinced," said he, "that one day or other I shall paint well, and that even if it does not turn to my advantage during my lifetime

my pictures will be handed down to posterity." Constable married in 1816, and for some years lived in Charlotte Street, Fitzroy Square. From there he removed to Hampstead. He was elected an Associate of the Academy in 1819, and became a Royal Academician ten years later. The public appear to have thought



EAST BERGHOLT CHURCH.
North entrance to the ruined Tower.

Constable was "lucky to be elected." His pictures were not appreciated, they did not sell, and his house was crowded with them. Constable died suddenly in London, April 1st, 1837, and was buried at Hampstead.

We must now hasten our steps, as we are still some distance from Dedham. We have no need, however, to return to

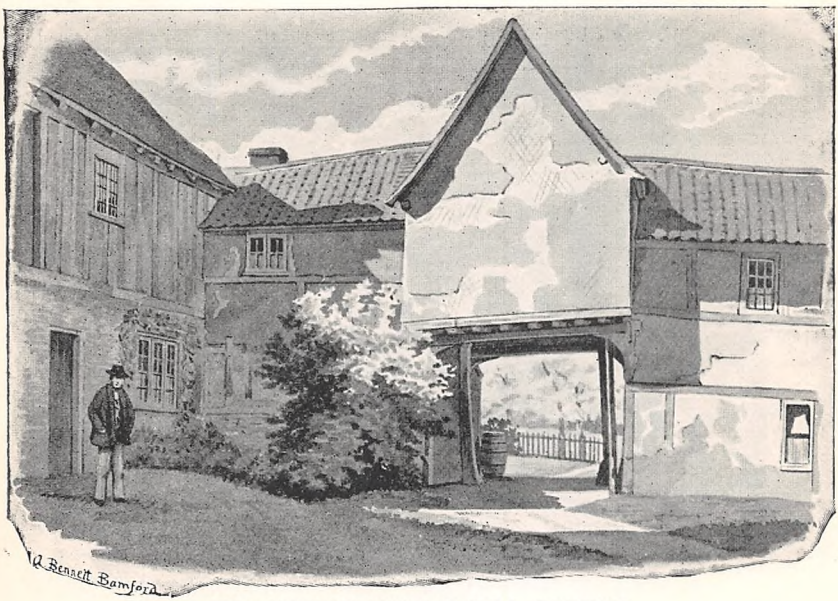
Flatford bridge, but we can cross the river by a somewhat similar bridge nearer to Dedham, passing down a picturesque little lane, from which I believe "The Cornfield" was painted, though Dedham Church cannot really be seen from that spot. After crossing the bridge we take the path to the right across the meadows, and enter the town a little to the east of the church, passing the Grammar School, where Constable was educated. The church is a fine large building with a western tower of flint, 131 feet high, battlemented, with corner pinnacles and containing eight bells. It is built in perpendicular style of the time of Henry VII., and was founded by Thomas and John Webbe, woollen merchants, whose merchant marks, with portcullis and roses, are to be seen on the tower and upon a canopied tomb in the nave.

Dedham was once an important seat of the woollen trade, and at a short distance to the south of the Church stands a picturesque old Bay and Say mill, now divided and let as cottages; it has been recently partly restored, but fortunately our sketch of part of the courtyard was taken before the hand of the "restorer" had touched it. The upper stories on each side of the gable over the gateway were formerly open galleries, such as are still occasionally seen in some of the old inn yards in the country and in London, though they are fast disappearing. The Bay trade, which once was such a flourishing industry in this part of Essex, has entirely died out; it was languishing a hundred years ago. There is a small piece of the manufactured material in the Colchester Museum, for which it was procured with some difficulty by Dr. Laver, the energetic and painstaking Honorary Curator.

But to return to Dedham Church and its fine tower, which is remarkable in that the lower part is formed into an open porch, with a doorway leading into the nave. Similar examples exist in other parts of the country, and it may have been a Galilee.

The founders' tomb is in the North aisle, covered by a fine stone canopy, but the brass inscription is lost. Opposite to the Church is the Sun Inn, whose picturesque yard is well worthy of notice, and is a favourite subject for artists. On the western side is a curious external staircase like those occasionally seen in other old inn yards, leading up to the gallery. There was until recently an example of such a staircase at the Dolphin inn at

Romford. That house, which had been disused as a hostelry for some years and had fallen into decay, was not long since taken down and rebuilt. "The Marlborough," at the corner of the road leading down to Dedham Mill and bridge, has little external evidences of antiquity, but there are some fine carved beams in one of the rooms. Dedham bridge, as we noticed before, has been improved away, and the mill cannot with any truth be called picturesque, but Dedham lock must be visited, and though its picturesque surroundings have in a measure gone, it still has



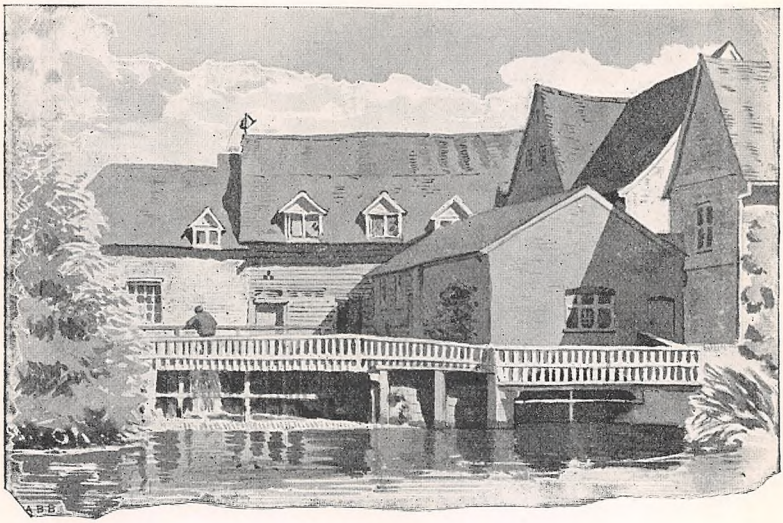
THE OLD BAY AND SAY MILL, DEDHAM.

a fascination for the artist, who in mind's eye can yet see it as Constable saw it.

We must not, however, linger long at Dedham, though its rural beauties would tempt us to do so, if we are to see Stoke-by-Nayland. This village is too far from Dedham to visit in one day, unless by cycling through Constable's Country. In that case, instead of going to Manningtree, we visit Dedham first. Starting from Colchester we should ride along the Ipswich road to the Essex side of Stratford bridge, where a turn to the right is

for Dedham. There we leave our cycles, for Dedham Vale, Flatford Mill and East Bergholt cannot be viewed successfully except on foot, or partly by water. Boats can be hired at Dedham, and it is a pleasant pull down the river to Flatford Bridge, where the boats can be left, and the Mill, the Valley Farm, and East Bergholt visited. If we return by boat to Dedham, the pretty lane, the probable scene of Constable's "Cornfield," must thus be missed, unless it is arranged for the boats to meet us at the bridge, half way between Flatford and Dedham.

In riding from Dedham to Stoke, we cross Dedham bridge



FLATFORD MILL.

and pass through Stratford St. Mary and Higham. Stratford Church is a good building of the 15th century, standing flush with the road, which is not common with country churches. There is a curious inscription in flints on the water-table, to "Edward Mors, and Alys hys wyf."

Stoke church tower is a landmark for many miles round, and may be seen from Harwich, a distance of twenty miles. The Church is a fine brick building in the perpendicular style, and stands on a terrace overlooking the Stour Valley. Stoke-by-Nayland village is most picturesque, and it is not to be

wondered at that Constable found many subjects for sketches in it and its neighbourhood. The ride from Stoke to Nayland is all downhill, for Nayland lies in the Stour Valley. As we cross the bridge over the river the village looks very pretty to our right, with the cattle in the foreground standing in the stream below, cooling themselves in the water, or feeding in the green meadows; in the middle distance is the winding river, with red-roofed houses nestling in the trees on the farther bank, and beyond them the rising ground, blue and purple against a sunset sky. A run of seven miles along a good, though not a level, road brings us once more to Colchester, and those of us who are returning to town will not be sorry that North Hill has not to be climbed in order to reach the railway station.

ONGAR.*

BY JOSIAH GILBERT.

ONGAR is certainly a place of great antiquity. It is enough to point to the indications of Roman occupation to assure ourselves of that. There are traces of a Roman camp, a permanent camp which would have its streets some 50 feet wide, cover much ground and possess some substantial buildings. The fosse which defended it is still to be recognised, Roman bricks may be seen in the walls of the church, Roman urns have been dug up.

But how came the Romans to fix upon this spot? The presumption is that it was because the Britons had been here before them with a fortification of their own, tempted by the bit of rising ground at the confluence of the two streams which we now call the Roding and the Cripsey brook, in the midst of a great forest of which Ongar Park Wood and the High Woods of Blackmore are the relics. Marshes bordering the two sluggish streams would add to the defences, and the place would become one of a chain of posts between London and Colchester, the existence of which is attested by various remains of earthworks,

* These unpublished notes on Ongar, by the late well-known author and writer on art in Italy, Mr. Josiah Gilbert, son of Ann Taylor, have been kindly sent us for publication by his widow, Mrs. Gilbert, who has long been one of our readers and subscribers, *cf. E.R.* ix. 117. In substance the notes made part of an address read at the opening of the Budworth Hall.—EDS.

and by the fact that Boadicea made the south of Essex the scene of her last great conflict with the Romans.

There are earthworks at Ongar besides those which are clearly Roman, but these (antiquaries tell us) have more the appearance of Saxon works, consisting of a very curious congeries of circular entrenchments in the Castle fields. These were probably stockaded, and would form a sufficient protection against Danish marauders, the chief danger in those days upon this eastern coast. Indeed a field at Stanford Rivers bearing the name of Danesfield, and the tradition of a battle thereabouts, would suggest that the Danes at one time were not far off. The British fortifications, if there were any, would have been destroyed by the Romans. The Roman camp would have been plundered and burnt at the end of the Roman occupation, and the Saxons when they wanted it, would construct the sort of defence they were used to.

But we know very little about the Saxons here. One very interesting circumstance alone illuminates those dark periods. In the year 1013, when Greenstead and Ongar were one parish, the corpse of Edmund, a Saxon king, martyr and saint, enclosed in a chest, was carried by slow stages from London back to St. Edmund's Bury in Suffolk, whence it had been taken three years before for safety during a Danish invasion. After having been hospitably received (as the old chronicle has it) by a certain person at Stapleford (now, in connection with this circumstance, called Stapleford Abbots) the body was also hospitably received at Ongar. That is the tradition attaching to the most interesting object in our neighbourhood, the little wooden church at Greenstead, erected perhaps as a special act of devotion to the saint by the people of Ongar on an adjoining open green "stead" or place, where neighbouring trees could be conveniently felled and not sawn, but trimmed by the adze into half-rounded planks. The marks of that rough and primitive tool are plainly to be seen to this day.

Ongar, it seems, was then on the high road between London and Suffolk, and if it be asked why could not the body be accommodated in the church at Ongar, the answer possibly is that there was no church at Ongar at that time,* nothing

* Antiquity of Ongar Church—Waller: pre-Norman from some of its windows and Roman bricks.

perhaps but a private chapel connected with the Saxon Thane's house within the moats. This suggestion is supported by the statement that the church at Ongar was built about the end of the 12th Century, in the reign of Henry II.

It was in Saxon times probably, that a market, a cheping, or cheapening place, was established at Ongar under the protection of what we may call the Castle, though the Castle proper was not built till the Manor of Ongar had come into possession of Richard de Lucy,* Lord Justice and, for a time, Lord Lieutenant of the kingdom. The manor had been apportioned at the time of the Conquest to Eustace, Earl of Boulogne, whose grand-daughter brought it by marriage to her husband Stephen, afterwards king of England, whose son gave it to de Lucy. This eminent nobleman, making use of the old Saxon mound, erected a regular Norman castle, a lordly keep, with its deep moat and all its due accessories of courtyard, gateway, drawbridge and a postern gate issuing upon an open space in the town, which some of us can remember and of which there are still traces. The only portion of masonry belonging to the Castle now remaining is a fragment of this postern gateway. All this dates from somewhere about 1180, as also does the Church built by the same de Lucy. The narrow slits of windows belonging to its earliest portion appear to have been intended as much for defence as for light—a practice common in those stormy times. Stanford Rivers church shows similar marks of antiquity. At Ongar the walls are of the same kind of rubble mixed with Roman tile as in the Castle postern.

Yet Castle and town are singularly destitute of history. We have only the names of successive owners, but all of high rank; knights and their retainers must have swarmed about Ongar. More than once it was in royal possession, but it was finally

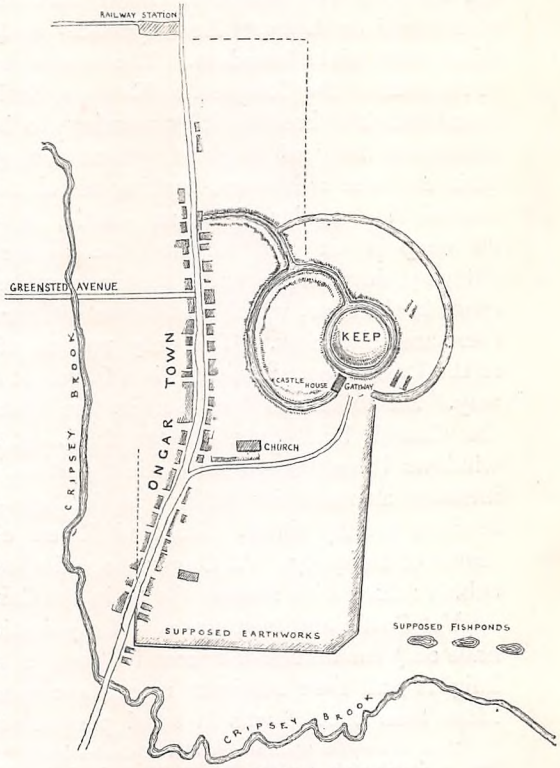
* Time of Stephen enormous number of Castles built. Richard de Lucy—Justiciar at close of Stephen's reign—retained it 25 years under Henry II. Held at one time town of London and Castle of Windsor. These belonged especially to the Justiciar. *See* Rymer, *Fœdera*, Vol. i., p. 18, and Stubbs, *Const. Hist.*, Vol. i., p. 449, note 1.

Henry II. said to the Justiciar on occasion of appointing Thomas Becket Archibishop of Canterbury: "Richard, if I lay dead in my shroud would you earnestly strive to secure my first-born on my throne?" "Indeed I would, my lord, with all my might." "Then I charge you to strive no less earnestly to place my Chancellor on the met-chair of Canterbury." Richard and three Bishops hurried to Canterbury to obtain election of primate from Chapter—a strong party now protested against the worldly Chancellor, but were silenced by arguments of Richard. Norgate, *Augevin Kings*. Vol. ii., pp. 2-3.

As Justiciar he was a sort of Viceroy during Henry's absences on Continent and during war with the barons one of the first to make circuits—the only one he could always trust, termed Richard de Lucy the Loyal—but in the summer of 1179 to his master's great regret, after 25 years, he resigned his office and retired to end his days a few months later as a brother of an Augustinian House which he had founded at Lesnes in Kent to the honour of S. Thomas of Canterbury. *ibid*, p. 176.

bestowed by King Henry VIII. upon a commoner, and presently lost all its baronial importance.

If I am not mistaken, however, Ongar in the old feudal times once saw a memorable sight. Froissart tells us how King Richard II. rode down to Pleshey one summer day, "the weather being fair and hot" (about the year 1380), and persuaded his uncle, the Duke of Gloucester, youngest son of Edward III., to return with him to London. They did not take the high-way by Brentwood, but what is called the plain or low way by Bondelay in Fyfield Manor, to Stratford; what could that be but the road through Ongar? If so, the king and his company and his "murdered man," some dozen horsemen in all, passed through about eight in the evening, the Duke never to return. The Earl Marshal was waiting in ambush for him near Stratford; the king riding past went on to London, not heeding his cries, while his victim was smuggled on board ship in the Thames, taken to Calais and there done to death, smothered in his bed, a dreadful scene, of which there remains the narrative of an eye-witness.



PLAN OF ONGAR CASTLE.
Drawn by Josiah Gilbert.

Near upon 200 years afterwards Ongar saw a victim of a different sort depart for London. This was during the Marian persecution, "the rage and vehemency of which," we are told,

did chiefly light upon Essex. It was then that Ongar sent a martyr to the stake at Smithfield. He was but a poor serving man, one Thomas Jackson. All the more honour to one who could look to no renown in this world by giving up his life at the voice of conscience. He had not even the honour of a stake to himself, for he was burned along with twelve others, two of them women, on the 27th of June 1556, the eleven men chained to three stakes, the two women loose in the midst!

In the brighter days of Queen Elizabeth, Ongar witnessed a royal progress. That great queen breakfasted at Shelley Hall; tradition says she visited the Castle House and even the old farm then called New House on the Stondon Road. Perhaps she condescended to quaff a tankard of ale at one or the other.

The next event of importance in the history of Ongar was the arrival of a band of Huguenots somewhere about the end of the 16th century, refugees from France, after the revocation of the edict of Nantes. Numbers of these unfortunate persons settled in Essex, and certain names in Ongar, as well as a distinct cast of features, betoken that De la Motte, Penson, Baretrop, Bretton, and several others Huguenot families found a home here.

In Ongar church there is an interesting inscription recording the burial of an aunt, I believe, of Oliver Cromwell, and of her husband, Tobias Pallavicini, of Cambridgeshire—a Horatio Pallavicini is, according to another epitaph, also buried near. The Pallavicini, a singular name to find in these parts, came originally from the Valtellina, a long mountain valley descending to the Lake of Como. An important branch of the family settled in Austria, where a few years ago the Margraf (Marquis) Pallavicini, a man of great daring and many Alpine exploits, perished upon the Gross Glockner, the highest snow mountain in Austria. Another branch flourished, I believe, as Florentine bankers, with perhaps an agency in England, for Henry VIII. remitted large sums of money through a Pallavicini to the Emperor Maximilian. They may have been first established in England then, but more likely in the 17th century, as the Valtellina was a Protestant valley and subject to much persecution at that time. In Nottingham a street is called Count Street, from a Count Pallavicini who once lived there. How any of them came into this neighbourhood, where they lived

and why they should be buried at Ongar it would be interesting to know.

In the reign of Charles II. was passed the Act of Uniformity, by which every beneficed clergyman was compelled to declare his unfeigned assent and consent to everything contained in the then newly-revised Prayer Book, on pain of forfeiture of his living. This a large number of Essex clergymen declined to do, and resigned their benefices in consequence. Among them were the rectors of Ongar and of High Ongar, their action giving rise to the first body of Nonconformists in these parts.

In connection with this body, but some 150 years afterwards, the Taylor family came to Ongar. They were all writers, and became known far and wide as "The Taylors of Ongar." "Twinkle, twinkle, little star," and "Little Ann and her mother" were not written at Ongar, but their authors wrote other things after they came here, and it may interest some persons to know that a book, very famous in its day, *The Natural History of Enthusiasm*, was written by the most noted member of the family, Isaac Taylor, in a room of the house where are now Mr. Gibson's offices.

Of course, the greatest literary celebrity connected with the neighbourhood of Ongar was John Locke, who spent the last fourteen years of his life at Otes, near High Laver, the seat of the Mashams, now, like so many old houses in this part of the country, pulled down. He was fond of riding about the country, finding the Essex air of much benefit to his asthma, and no doubt was a familiar figure in Ongar, though how far his relation to the *Human Understanding* was appreciated there may be doubtful. He died at Otes in 1704.

Another man of literary note was Bishop Newton, the author of a well-known book on the Prophecies. He dwelt for some time at Shelley parsonage with his friend Mr. Trebeck, the rector. He liked the place, it is said, for being what it still is, a quiet retreat. Mr. Newton, a late rector, it may be mentioned, was an Oriental scholar. A rector of Stanford Rivers, Dr. Tattam, explored the Natron valley in Egypt and brought home valuable Coptic MSS., now lodged in the British Museum. But of all the eminent clergy who have lived in the neighbourhood of Ongar none can compare with the late Bishop of Oxford,

Dr. Stubbs, who was formerly vicar of Navestock. He was at that time librarian at Lambeth Palace, and some of us have ridden on the top of the coach with him, as he went to and from his duties there by way of Brentwood. That he would be known as one of the most learned of our historians was at that time not surmised.

Some other remarkable visitors to Ongar or its neighbourhood may be mentioned. Edward Irving, when at the height of his fame in London, preached once at a Sunday School Anniversary in the nonconformist chapel here. The windows were taken out and an awning spread outside to allow the enormous crowd to hear something of a sermon, near two hours long, upon the battle of Armageddon. I heard that sermon, but must confess that I carried away no distinct impression of what it was about, but then I was a boy at the time. Dr. Chalmers again, after preaching before the Queen Dowager in Regent Square, came down and officiated at a private service at Stanford Rivers. David Livingstone, who now lies in Westminster Abbey, lived for two years in a small lodging in Ongar street, pursuing his studies preparatory to entering upon a missionary career. There is something characteristic of the great traveller in the fact that he delighted to strike right across country by compass, over hedge and ditch, in walking to and from London. On one such occasion, making use of a little surgical knowledge, he set the broken leg of a poor woman who had met with an accident by the way.

Two other names occur to me. The elder Disraeli, the author of the *Curiosities of Literature*, occupied for a summer an old Hall at Fyfield, now most of it pulled down. He was accompanied by his two sons, and one of them, afterwards the famous Lord Beaconsfield, was well remembered by an Ongar tradesman as frequently riding his pony into Ongar and stopping at his door.

[Isaac Disraeli had four sons, of whom Benjamin, reversing the scriptural order, was the eldest. His daughter, Sarah, ministered to her father during the last ten years of his life, when he became totally blind.—Eds.]

"SIR WALTER."

DRAWN BY F. CARRUTHERS GOULD.

ESSEX PORTRAITS.

VII.—SIR WALTER GILBEY, BART.

FEW men there are of seventy years and more, who bear them as lightly as does Sir Walter Gilbey. An open air life, a career of unceasing industry, several hobbies and a sportsman-like devotion to agriculture, are these his secrets for the preservation of youth? Himself the parent of many sons and daughters, he was born the sixth son of Henry Gilbey, of Bishop Stortford, on May 2, 1831. He was early at work in a London estate agent's office. and was little over twenty when he volunteered for the Army Pay Department on the outbreak of the Crimean War. It was in the commissariat of one of the hospitals that he showed what stuff he was made of, and gained the experience of trading and export put into practice when he soon afterwards founded, with his brother Alfred, the firm of wine merchants, whose name is known over most of the world.

Sir Walter's hobby of horse-breeding is almost as widely familiar. At his country seat, Elsenham Hall, where the pretty grounds are everywhere set with hedges of Provence and Bordeaux roses, brought from their native home amid Gilbeys' vineyards in western France, is the famous Stud Farm, which we are not without hope he may some day write about in these pages. For Sir Walter wields the pen of a ready writer, and a long list of books stands to his credit, beside many and frequent magazine articles. The large horse, the small horse, the pony, the race horse, carriages and roads from early times, upon these as an authority he is *facile princeps* in the kingdom. He has also strayed into the paths of biography, and given us a life of George Stubbs, the learned author of the *Anatomy of the Horse*.

The somewhat opposite tastes of a connoisseur of art are combined with his outdoor sports, and at his London house at the corner of Regent's Park Sir Walter has a rare collection of articles of the collector's envy. He has been president of all the " horse " societies, from the Royal Agricultural downwards, and founded the Cart Horse Parade Society.

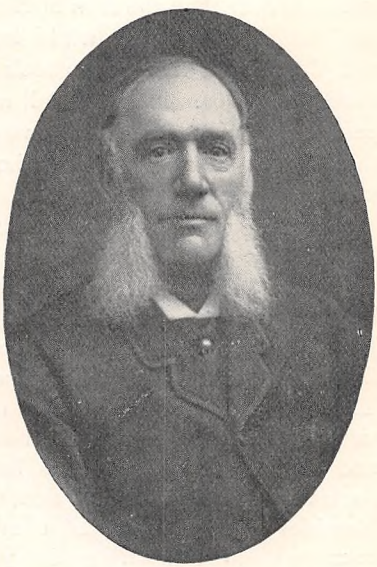
The baronetcy bestowed in 1893 was a fitting acknowledgement of Sir Walter's truly patriotic efforts in the improvement of our national breed of horses.

W. Gill, Photo. 130,000 ROSE PLANTS.—A FIELD AT BRAISWICK, COLCHESTER.

COLCHESTER ROSES.

BY W. GURNEY BENHAM.

IT would probably surprise even well-informed and patriotic natives of Colchester to know that within the borough boundaries quite a million separate rose trees grow in the grounds of the professional rose-growers of the town. The fame of Colchester roses is a comparatively modern event in the long history of the borough. Just about sixty years ago the late Mr. Benjamin Cant began to give his serious attention to rose-growing. His firm has been established upwards of 140 years, but for the first eighty years of its existence it flourished rather as an ordinary nurseryman's business. It is said that Benjamin Cant was chiefly persuaded to make a speciality of growing roses by the enthusiasm of the late Mr. Penrose, of Dedham, who, in the year 1853, brought home from France some notable and new varieties there produced. Mr. Penrose induced Mr. Cant to take up the culture of these roses, and their success was immediate. In the year 1879, the old "nursery business" was entirely discarded, and a move made to fresh grounds, in order to devote all time and attention to the rose only. Year by year Benjamin Cant increased his fame and his business as a rose-grower, and his family still maintain the high reputation which he established for Colchester roses. This reputation was the outcome of skill, judgment, and enterprise, but it is also undoubtedly due, in no small degree, to the special characteristics of the soil and the



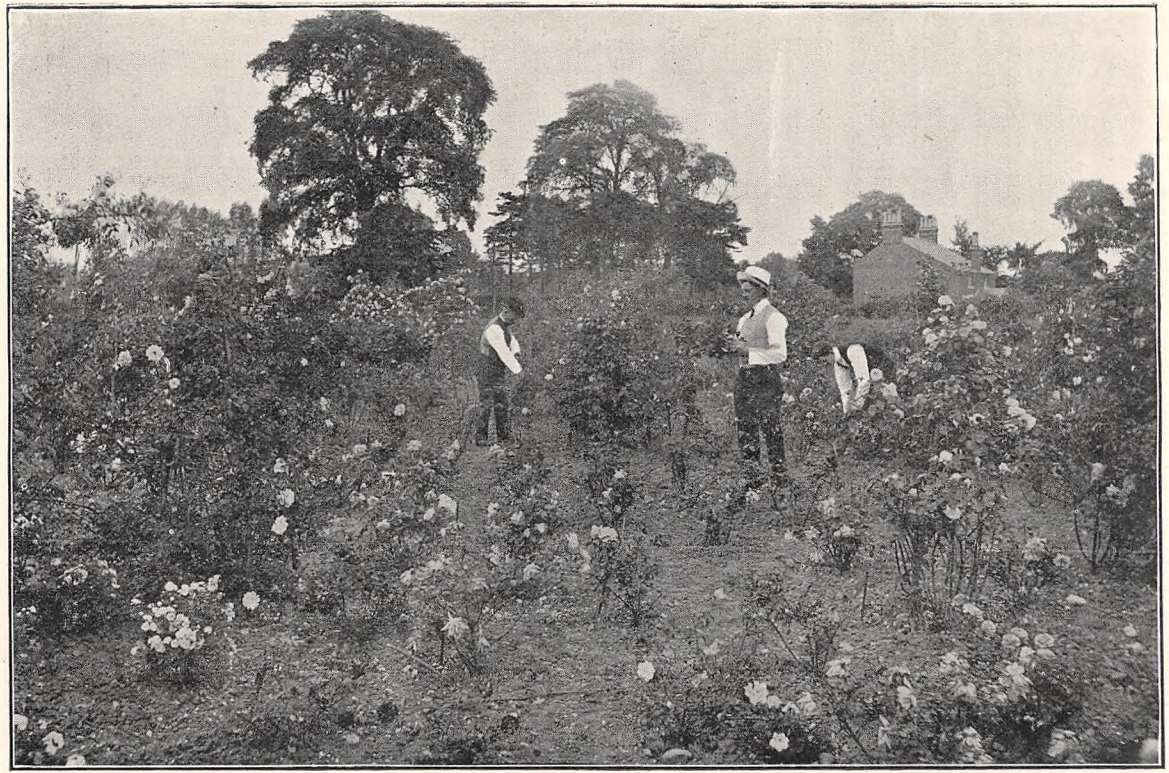
MR. BENJAMIN REVETT CANT
(*Died July 17, 1900*).

air of Colchester, which are undeniably favourable to the production of this national flower—the queen of all flowers. In the opinion of some experts, the breezes, which come fresh and strong from the sea, are an even more important factor than the soil.

Many times in succession Benjamin Cant's firm won the Grand Challenge Trophy of the National Rose Society, given year by year for the finest exhibit of seventy-two distinct varieties of roses. Mr. Frank Cant, his nephew, has also been the holder of this premier championship of rose-growing on many occasions. As an example of the Cants' prowess it may be mentioned that from 1881 to 1899 the firm of Benjamin R. Cant and Sons won the Trophy nine times; whilst from 1888 to 1902, Frank Cant and Co. won it five times, took second place four times, and third place once. It is no small undertaking to show on one day perfect specimens of seventy-two distinct varieties of roses, and the number of rose-growers who are in a position to enter for such a competition is limited.

The rose grounds of Benjamin R. Cant and Sons are at Mile End, not far from the railway station of Colchester. The average output of this firm is 300,000 plants per year, in addition to a large number grown and retained as stock plants in the grounds. Its roses have been awarded considerably over two thousand first prizes, including silver cups, pieces of plate, medals, &c. The hybridising of roses, with a view to introducing new varieties, has been part of the business carried on at Mile End, and the following new kinds have resulted: Prince Arthur (a dark velvety crimson rose), Ben. Cant (rich dark crimson), Blush Rambler (a blush-coloured climbing rose), Maharajah (a rich crimson pillar rose, with golden yellow stamens), and Mrs. B. R. Cant (a pink tea rose).

The rose-grounds of Frank Cant and Co. are at Braiswick, in the parish of Lexden and within the borough limits. In fact they are within about a mile of Colchester Town Hall. Here may be seen field after field laid out, with wonderful precision and economy of space, with hundreds of thousands of rose-trees. In the principal field, a large sloping enclosure, well protected on the north and east, there may be seen at the present time at least 130,000 rose-trees, including almost a thousand different varieties. An illustration of this field, from a photograph taken on June 22, 1904, is given on p. 166.



W. Gill, Photo.

A CORNER OF THE BRAISWICK ROSE GARDENS.

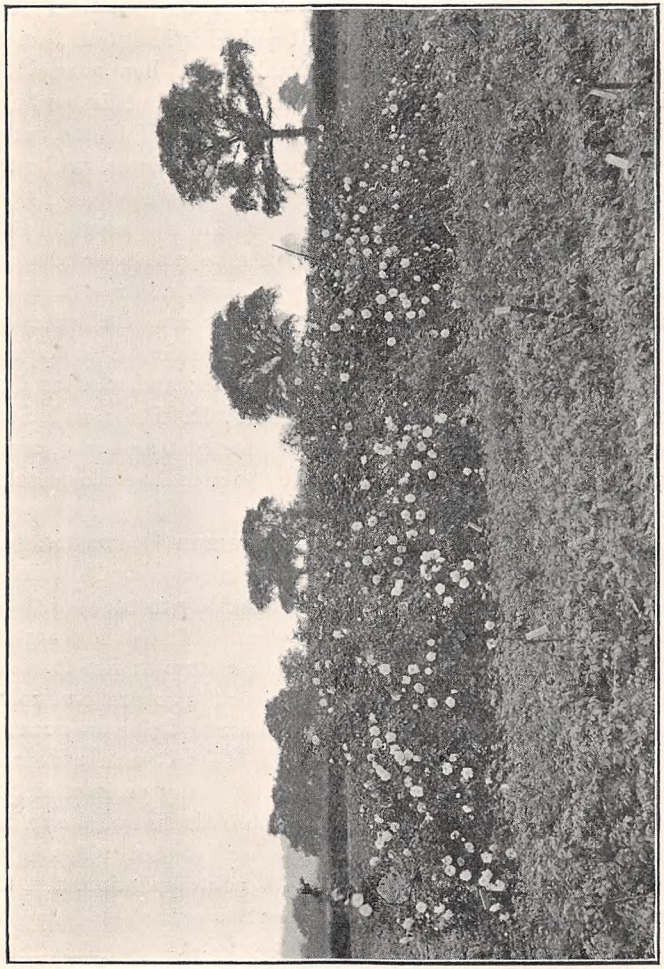
The one thing which immediately strikes the visitor is the hardiness and healthfulness of the plants. The soil looks unpromising and rugged. As a matter of fact it is a sandy, gritty loam, with abundance of stone lying about its surface. The stone is valuable, Mr. Frank Cant states, as a help to drainage, and also as assisting to keep moisture in the ground. The tawny-coloured rough-looking soil is ploughed up and liberally manured. Otherwise it is left very much to itself. The roses planted in it are taught to be hardy. They are allowed to grow in a natural way. Many of the plants are never pruned at all, beyond topping. Here in the open air, with only the natural protection of a few trees and hedges, they produce blooms which many who see them only in the horticultural shows imagine to be grown under glass. A great number of men are, of course, constantly employed in tending the plants and in protecting them from their many natural enemies. These range from the microscopic insect to the rabbit. Rose leaves — the foliage and not the roseate petals—have a strong fascination for the rabbit tribe, and so serious have been their ravages at Braiswick that some miles of wire netting are now in use, surrounding every rose-field. The rose plants at Braiswick appear to be utterly free from every variety of green fly and caterpillar. But this freedom is only secured by constant vigilance and prompt and thorough dippings and applications of the syringe.

MR. FRANK CANT.

At the present time a fashion prevails for single roses, and at Braiswick may be seen some wonderfully perfect and beautiful specimens. The Penzance briars and Japanese roses, quaint in their simplicity of form and colour, are also in high favour.

But the queen of flowers is seen in perfection in the wonderful convolutions and beautiful symmetry of the many varieties of double roses. It is said that there are now over three thousand named varieties of double and single rose. In

Mr. Frank Cant's grounds over a thousand varieties may be seen, some grown from seeds, and others by budding upon stocks. A large portion of one of the fields at Braiswick



CLUMP OF ROSES AT BRAISWICK.

W. Gill, Photo.

is given up entirely to the growth of stocks for budding purposes.

Every year new varieties of roses are added to the long

list. As has been mentioned, many of these new roses have come from Colchester in recent years. Beside those already named, a fine new variety—Lady Roberts—was produced by Mr. Frank Cant in 1903, and had the unique honour of winning two gold medals—one from the National Rose Society and the other from the Royal Horticultural Society. Another new rose, which Mr. Frank Cant has named the Braiswick Fairy, has not yet been shown, but is probably destined to receive special honour. It is a beautiful rose, rather large and full, and of dazzling and perfect whiteness, without a shade of colour or even of "creaminess."

In the Braiswick grounds may be seen, at the height of the season, about a quarter of a million rose plants—and many millions of blooms. The sight of these acres of roses is not to be forgotten. But within a few furlongs are the extensive grounds of B. R. Cant and Sons, already referred to, equally covered with wonderful plants and blooms; and, not far from them, the large rose-gardens of Messrs. D. Prior and Sons, whose stock of plants consists of nearly 200,000, and who, during the past sixteen years, have won over 800 prizes at the principal rose exhibitions.

There are other successful rose-growers in Colchester, both professional and amateur. Among the latter Mr. Osmond G. Orpen, of West Bergholt, has been specially to the fore. His name is famous amongst rose-growers. Tea roses are his speciality, and he has held the amateur championship for these during six out of the last nine years. For the general championship class Mr. Orpen has only shown twice and on each occasion he has been awarded second place. He has won numerous prizes at all the more important shows for many years past, and is the holder of over fifty medals. He has also introduced a new variety, a fine damask rose, which has been named "Mrs. O. G. Orpen"; it has received the award of commendation, and this year the gold cup of the National Rose Society.

The pride of Colchester people in the fame of their roses has been lately demonstrated by the adoption of a rose—heraldically displayed—as a modern badge of the town. This emblem has been freely introduced in the ornamentation of the new town hall at Colchester, side by side with that more ancient symbol of Colchester—the wheat-ear—which is almost invariably found in

bold relief on the ancient coins of Cunobeline of Camulodunum. The conjunction is of some significance. It is not improbable that the same strong soil and the strong air, which made Colchester and Essex famous as a great wheat-growing district, have also been the secret—or at any rate the stimulus—of the success which has attended the cult of Colchester roses.

HORNCHURCH CHURCH.

NOTES ON ITS ORIGIN.

BY THOS. L. WILSON.

LIKE many other of our county churches, a degree of uncertainty prevails among all historians who have written upon the church of Hornchurch as to who were the originators of that beautiful old edifice. It is, however, generally admitted that the leading promoter was the celebrated William of Wykeham, Bishop of Winchester. Evidence in plenty might be adduced in support of this, but it will be quite sufficient to quote the opinion of Mr. Chancellor, certainly one of the highest in the county, as given in the *Essex Review* (vol. v., p. 28), where after a very interesting and exhaustive description of the church he writes:—"I cannot leave this part of the subject without drawing attention to a series of facts which seem to point to the suggestion that the perpendicular portions of the church, especially the tower, were built under the immediate supervision of William of Wykeham, if not from his designs." He also says "Wykeham purchased the Hornchurch property in the time of Richard II., who reigned from 1377 to 1399." There is a very old and wide-spread tradition that says the necessary funds for the erection of the church were provided by a lady. Not one, however, of the many public writers who have accepted and quoted this theory has, so far as I know, ventured a suggestion in reference to the identity of this mysterious benefactress, and this is what I purpose doing in the present article.

Towards the end of the long reign of King Edward III. —1327 to 1377—his Queen Phillippa engaged as a maid of honour one Alice Perrers who, repute says, was endowed with extraordinary beauty and accomplishments. The place of her birth

is a matter of doubt. Historians differ about it; one, however, who affects to write with some authority, says she sprang from the parish called Holt in Norfolk, and that the manor of Holt-Perrers was the property of her family. Be that as it may, Alice, confident of personal security in her already exalted position and actuated by an insatiable ambition, went a step further, formed an intrigue with the king, and so far ingratiated herself in the affections of his majesty as to seriously compromise those of Queen Phillippa, her royal mistress.

This, however, by no means satisfied her, for shortly after the queen's death, which took place in 1369, by giving unlimited rein to her determined will and with indomitable courage, she soon became the absolute and arbitrary controller of her royal lover. By the king's favour and the means she employed, she ingratiated herself into the chief management of the councils and revenues of the Kingdom, even to the exclusion of the Black Prince and the Duke of Lancaster, the king's two sons. Another of the enormities she practised was to present herself in the courts of justice and to give authoritative instructions to the presiding judges with reference to their decisions in cases in which a personal advantage might be secured by her interference, wholly regardless whether those instructions were in harmony with what they might consider an honourable discharge of their public duty or not. There were, occasionally, cases in which, for conscientious reasons, Alice's orders were disregarded and decisions were given in accordance with what appeared to be just and right. In such cases as these it was her practice to go at once to the king and demand the dismissal of the offenders. Then, under the degraded position to which through her influence he was reduced, his majesty was obliged to comply.

Lowth, who in 1759 wrote the *Life of William of Wykeham*, Bishop of Winchester, says:—"Alice Perrers was either the niece or sister of that prelate, and it was through the confidence the King placed in him, that she was introduced to royalty." If, however, such were the case, she showed anything but gratitude in return, for from the same authority we learn that "Wykeham was banished from court and stripped of his temporalities by the united influence of Alice Perrers and the Duke of Lancaster, and there is unquestionable authority to prove that Alice was at one time Wykeham's avowed and bitter

enemy." Here at once was a cause, if there were nothing else, for the unwarrantable action to which I have already referred, and this was actually put in motion and accomplished in 1372, when Lowth adds, "Alice Perrers caused Wickham to be banished and then he dwelled in Normandye and Picardye about seven years."

So much for the case now under discussion, for it would occupy too much space to relate how Alice conducted—or rather misconducted—herself until, through "interfering so greatly with the course of justice, she was proceeded against by the famous parliament of 1376, and was then compelled to remove herself from the king, but she afterwards returned and was at Shene when Edward died in 1377. She fled after the king's death having robbed him of his finger rings." This latter operation took place on his death-bed, of which there is an illustration in first volume of Cassell's *History of England*.

It was probably rather earlier than this that Alice Perrers, by some means, acquired the freehold and manor of Gaynes in Upminster. In passing, it may be mentioned, in evidence of the importance attaching to Gaynes, even at that early period, that it could already lay claim to a distinguished antiquity which exceeded 350 years. Weever, in his *Funeral Monuments* (pp. 651-3), says:—"The mannor of Gains, called also the mannor of Upmenster lying within the same, to which mannor as long tradition hath left to posteritie, there is a little Isle or Chappell standing on the north side of the Chancell of the same Church belonging and time out of minde appendant to the mannor of Gains aforesaid and appropriated to the Lords of the same for their particular place of buriall of themselves and their issue. The mannor of Gains alia Upmenster was afterwards in the possession of Alice de Perrars."

Alice was at some time married to Sir Wm. Wyndesore, Knight, but the date of marriage is not clear. Sir William's will, which is nuncupative, is dated September 19, 1384. In it he makes no mention of his wife, whom he predeceased. As there are only a few bequests to his brothers and sons, it would seem that her estates had been secured to her prior to the marriage. Nor would it appear that the union was a very happy one, the notoriety of the wife overshadowing the personality of the husband.

According to the best information to hand, Alice Perrers in later life gave signs of an evidently sincere regret on account of her past misconduct, and expressed a desire, in propitiation thereof, to make what restitution she could to those she had formerly injured. As it is clear that William of Wykeham was released from his banishment in 1379—some three years before the expiration of his sentence—I would ask through whose instrumentality such release would probably be affected, and who was the lady to whom tradition refers as the party who supplied the money for the erection of Hornchurch church if it were not the now sorrowful and repentant Alice Perrers? Defoe, in commenting upon her action in these charitable and propitiatory matters, somewhat ungenerously calls it "giving to God what she had stolen from Kings."

Some may possibly ask, Why should Hornchurch (if it were so called in the 14th century) be chosen as a desirable spot for this lady's benevolence? In reply to this it can be readily pointed out that both William of Wykeham and the parish of Hornchurch were closely connected with New College, Oxford, of which the Bishop was the founder. The college was, and still is, an extensive landowner in the parish. At the same time, not only was the site selected for the new edifice incomparably the best in the neighbourhood, but it is within about a mile of Gaynes, the suggested donor's then residence, a matter of some importance considering the difficulty of travelling in those early days, for, shrewd woman as she evidently was, she would probably like, personally, to see that her money was being wisely expended

Having for many years, at odd times as opportunities offered, made researches in reference to local historical matters, I have, amongst others extracts, met with and taken note of the foregoing facts, which appeared to me more or less to apply to Hornchurch church. These I have frequently thought should be pieced together and published, but not until recently when reading a speech of the vicar, in which he referred to the many things of an historical nature in connection with that grand old church and its surroundings (chiefly the horns at the east end which attest its antiquity), have I sought an opportunity of doing so. If after perusing these lines the readers of the *Essex Review*, familiar as the majority of them are with the study and solution

of newly-discovered facts of ancient or modern history, should, as I do, believe in their truthfulness and their special applicability to the case in question, or unless a contradictory, or an equally conclusive competitive series of facts be produced, I think many of them will admit that the identification of the wealthy and hitherto unknown lady who provided the necessary funds for the erection of what the vicar calls "this grand old church" has, so far as strong circumstantial evidence goes, been partially established.

If this should be the case, it seems, without saying a word to detract from the honour so worthily accorded to William of Wykeham, that that edifice may not unreasonably be regarded as a noble monument of the beneficence of a lady of the 14th century, who lived at what is now known as Gaynes Park, Upminster. She died 504 years ago, and in pursuance of her own instructions, was buried, according to the manorial right to which I have already referred, in "the little Isle or Chappell" in Upminster church. Her will, dated August 15th, 1400, was proved in the following February, when it was found to contain seven bequests to Upminster. Unfortunately all further trace of these is lost. The following copy of it has been kindly sent to me by one of our present Metropolitan magistrates:—

"Alice, widow of William Wyndsore, Knight, at Upmynster, on the Assumption of the Virgin Mary, August 15, 1400, I, Henry IV. My body to be buried in the parish church of Upmynster on the north side before the altar of our Lady the Virgin; to the said church one of my best oxen for a mortuary; for wax to burn about my body, forty shillings; for ornaments to the said church, ten marks; for repairing the highways near the town, forty shillings; I will that ten marks be distributed to the poor on the day of my sepulture; to the Chaplain, six marks; to John Pelham, Sacrist of that Church, three shillings and fourpence; to Joane, my younger daughter, my manor of Gaynes, in Upmynster; to Jane and Joane, my daughters, all my other manors and advowsons which John Wyndsore, or others have, by his consent, usurped, the which I desire my heirs and executors to recover and see them parted between my daughters, for that I say, on the pain of my soul, he hath no right there nor never [had ?] to my manor of Compton Murdac; to the poor of Upmynster, XX. shillings. And I appoint Joane, my youngest daughter, John Kent, mercer of London, my executors, and Sir John Cusson, Knight, and Robert de Litton, Esquire, overseers of this my Will."

NOTES OF THE QUARTER.

Essex County Council

THE following is the constitution of the Council elected in March last, too late for inclusion in our April number :—

CHAIRMAN :

Alderman Andrew Johnson, Woodford Green.

VICE-CHAIRMAN :

Alderman William Wallis Glenny, Barking.

COUNTY ALDERMEN.

Beal, Edmund John
Buxton, Edward North
Hasler, Robert
Lennard, Sir Thomas Barrett, Baronet
Marriage, Lawrence
Morgan, David John, M.P.
Musgrave, Christopher George
Rasch, Sir Carne, Bart., M.P.
Round, The Right Hon. James, M.P.
Taylor, Vero William
Whittingham, Walter Basden
Burrows, John Henry
Christy, Reginald William
East, Joseph Thomas
Fitch, Edward Arthur
Joslin, Henry
Kemble, Capt. Horatio Fraser, R.N.
Lockwood, Colonel Amelius Richard Mark, M.P.
Portway, Charles
Russell, Champion Branfill
Smith, Joseph, jun.
Smoothy, Frederick
Strutt, The Hon. Charles Hedley, M.P.
West, Frederick

ELECTORAL DIVISIONS.	COUNTY COUNCILLORS.
Baddow . . .	Craig, Robert
Barking, South .	Jackson, Daniel Thomas
Barking, North .	Jackson, George
Belchamp&Bumpst'd	Brewster, Charles Edward
Billericay . .	Wells, William Clement
Bocking . . .	Brise, Archibald Weyland Ruggles
Braintree . .	Bartram, George Thomas Thorpe
Brentwood . .	Horton, John Henry
Brightlingsea . .	Bateman, John
Chesterford . .	Stanley, Alan Sidney Wentworth
Chigwell . . .	Savill, Alfred
Coggeshall . .	Price, Thomas Phillips

Dagenham . .	Williams, William Varco
Dedham . . .	Nocton, William
Dunmow . . .	Frankham, John Barnabas
Epping . . .	Marsh, William Swaine Chisenhale
Grays . . .	Brooks, Herbert Edmund
Halstead . . .	Portway, Harry Harvey
Ham, East—	
Beckton & North Woolwich . .	Pratt, George
Central West .	Anstead, Oliver Robert
Central East .	Brooks, John
Manor Park . .	Osborn, Harry
Plashet, East .	Clover, Henry Charles
Plashet, West .	Langham, William
Harlow . . .	Edwards, Frederic Chaplin
Hedingham . .	Goodchild, Thomas
Heybridge . .	Belsham, Oliver Daniel
Hornchurch . .	Gardner, Thomas
Ilford, Central . .	Griggs, William Peter
Ilford, Hainault .	Stroud, Robert
Ilford, South . .	Bailey, Benjamin
Leyton—	
Cann Hall . .	Slade, Benjamin James
Central . .	Shadrake, William George
Grove Green .	Atkins, William
Forest . . .	Alexander, Edward Reuben
Harrow Green .	Waller, Willie Rowland
Lea Bridge . .	Ward, Richard
Leyton . . .	Davis, Edward James
Leytonstone . .	Chapman, Mark
Wanstead Slip .	Spurgeon, Joseph
Mistley . . .	Brooks, Charles Norman
Ongar . . .	Raby, George
Orsett . . .	Eve, William Skinner
Radwinter . .	Taylor, Edward
Rochford . .	Baker, Samuel Sidney
Romford . . .	Porter, Arthur
Shoebury . .	Wedd, Edward Arthur
Southminster . .	Rome, William
Springfield . .	Ridley, Charles Ernest

Stanstead . .	Green, Harford
Stanway . . .	Fairhead, William Golden
Thaxted . . .	Lee, George
Tilbury . . .	Kerly, Alexander William
Tollesbury . .	Fairhead, Ernest Alfred
Waltham Abbey .	Lawrence, Walter, jun.
Walthamstow—	
High Street, East.	Ling, Robert
High Street, West	Sansom, John Hunt
Hoe Street, North	Bridge, William Thompson
Hoe Street, South	Good, Edward
St. James St., N..	Woolley, Richard Groves
St. James St., S. .	Anderson, John
N'th Walthamstow	Oakden, Amos
Wood Street. .	Shurmur, William
Walton . . .	Lilley, Thomas
Wanstead . .	Pryke, William Robert
Witham . . .	Hutley, Philip
Wivenhoe . .	Hawkins, John Bawtree
Woodford . .	Reynolds, John Roberts
Writtle . . .	Marriage, Henry
Boroughs:—	
Chelmsford . .	Wells, Henry Collings
Colchester—	
East Ward . .	Marriage, Wilson
North Ward. .	Benham, William Gurney
South Ward .	Wicks, James
West Ward . .	Egerton-Green, Claude
Harwich . . .	Groom, William
Maldon . . .	Bland, Thomas Elsey
Saffron Walden .	Atkinson, Dr. John Parkinson
Southend—	
East . . .	Ingram, James Colbert
West . . .	Draper, Edward Herbert

The election was remarkable for the number of contested seats (see *infra* p. 128).

Gilbert Tercentenary.

We have already alluded in these columns to the tercentenary of Dr. William Gilbert's birth at Colchester celebrated in November last (*E.R.*, xii., 253 ; xiii., 104.) A further ceremony occurred on July 11th,

when a large company, including the President and Society of Electrical Engineers, attended by invitation of the Mayor of Colchester to witness the unveiling of the picture they presented (reproduced on p. 105 *infra*), which has now reached its destination in the Town Hall of Gilbert's birthplace. A large party of visitors inspected Tymperleys, and afterwards drove round "Constable's Country," being entertained with much hospitality by the Mayor and Corporation of the town. The borough electric power station was visited, and the overhead cable tramways, now in course of construction, seen with interest. A replica of the picture has been despatched to the St. Louis exhibition, where it will doubtless create an interest in the Essex borough, which owns no less than six namesakes in the newer world.

Churches, Restorations, &c.

GREAT WARLEY.—A new parish church dedicated to St. Mary the Virgin was consecrated on 1st June by the Bishop of St. Albans, attended by two chaplains and in the presence of a large number of the neighbouring Essex Clergy. The edifice is the gift of Mr. Eveline Heseltine, of Goldings, Great Warley, and is in memory of his brother, Mr. Arnold Heseltine. It will accommodate 167 worshippers and is built of brick, covered with rough cast. A nave of 58ft. long by 24ft. wide opens from a chancel 30ft. long, with a Byzantine apse at the east end. An organ chamber and vestry open from the chancel, on the north side. The window dressings are stone ; the woodwork used is walnut except for the south porch, which is of a heavy oak timber, carved with the legend, "Enter into His gates with praise." Above the porch is a tablet with the following inscription: "This church was built in the year A.D. 1902, to the glory of God and in memory of my brother, Arnold Heseltine, born 18th January, 1852 ; died 13th March, 1897." Two of the windows are in memory of the Rev. Hammond Roberson Bailey, M.A., who was thirty-four years rector of Great Warley, and died in 1900.

BOCKING.—On June 11th, the two treble bells, which have been recently hung in the tower to complete the octave, were dedicated at a special service. The old bells have recently been re-hung (see *E.R.* xiii., p. 121) at the cost of the aged Dean, and the

peal is now completed by Mrs. Carrington, to mark the diamond jubilee of the Dean's residence in the parish. His daughter, the Countess Martinengo Cœsaresco, who resides in Italy, performed the unveiling of a tablet on the belfry wall, which bears the following inscription :—"To the glory of God and to commemorate the 60th year of the Very Rev. Henry Carrington, M.A., as Dean and Rector of the parish of Bocking, these two treble bells are erected by Mrs. Carrington, to complete the octave. Dedicated June 11th, 1904." Then follow the names of the eleven ringers, and of two churchwardens. A similar inscription is upon each bell. The service of dedication was performed by the Rev. C. Hutchinson, rector of Rayne, and the Rev. E. V. Casson, curate of Bocking. Bocking bells have long been known as one of the sweetest peals in the county. That they are now second to none, few who heard their silver tones rung during the day of dedication will dispute.

CHELMSFORD.—The annual choir festival was held on June 13, when members of twelve choirs from churches in the Chelmsford district were present to take part in the choral celebrations, in which about 260 voices were united, including a number of female voices and boys. A sermon was preached by the Ven. Archdeacon Taylor, precentor of St. Saviour's, Southwark.

WOODHAM WALTER.—A memorial tablet to a young soldier who died of enteric fever at Kroonstad has been erected by his comrades in the chapel at Woodham Walter, and was unveiled by Mr. Edward A. Fitch, Mayor of Maldon, on June 15. Corporal Arthur W. Trowles, of the 14th King's Hussars, was a native of Woodham. He went out to South Africa at the beginning of the war, and was about to return home when he died on March 1, 1903.

ST. ALBANS.—The episcopal throne and canon's stalls, which have been erected as a memorial to Bishop Festing in the cathedral of the diocese, were dedicated on 16th June at a special service by the Bishop of St. Albans. At the same service, the Rev. H. A. Lake, rector of Chelmsford, was installed as honorary canon, in succession to the late Lord Braybrooke.

The throne is surmounted by a figure of St. Alban, above which rises a graceful spire some 36 feet in height. The stalls are in carved oak, canopied, and with the crest or badge of the

donor upon the central boss of the canopy. Each has been named after some saint or church dignitary who figures in the history of the church and monastery of St. Albans. Thus, the stalls occupied by Essex clergymen and their occupants are :—St. Michael, the Archdeacon of Essex ; St. Stephen, Archdeacon of Colchester; St. Aidan, Canon Fraser; St. Erkenwald, Canon Scott ; Edmund, king and martyr, Canon Norman ; Willegod, Abbot, Canon Ingles; Nicholas Breakspear, Adrian IV., Canon Quennell ; Paul de Caen, Abbot, Canon Nairne ; John de Cella, Abbot, Canon Corbett; William de Trumpington, Abbot (see *E.R.* xiii., p. 23),Canon Pelly ; Hugh d'Eversden, Abbot, Canon Fisher; William de Walyngford, Abbot, Canon Hutton. Four stalls have been given in memory of the late Archdeacon Mildmay, one is in memory of Archdeacon Ady, and one is to commemorate Captain R. G. E. Campbell. A number of donors and subscribers were present at the service, at which an address was delivered by Prebendary Blomfield Jackson, who made an allusion to Bishop Festing as one whose ambition was to do his duty rather than to fill a distinguished place in the world.

Woodford.—A mission church of corrugated iron with pine lining, dedicated to St. Barnabas, and capable of accommodating about 240 worshippers, was consecrated on June 25 by the Bishop of Barking.

Halstead. — A memorial window with the following inscription has been placed in Holy Trinity Church, and was dedicated on June 25 :—

For he was a good man, full of faith, St. Barnabas. To the glory of God, and in ever-loving memory of Arthur Griggs, who entered into rest September 29, 1898, aged 53 years Churchwarden of this parish, Easter 1880, September 1896.

Colchester.—The Roman Catholic church of St. James the Less, Priory Street, was re-opened on June 28, after enlargement and renovation. An apse adding eight feet to the length of the church has been built in Norman style, and within is an altar in stone and marble, erected to the memory of the parents of Rev. J. J. Bloomfield, of the Presbytery adjoining the church. A new red and white marble pulpit has been placed on the south of the entrance to the apse. A sermon was preached at the opening service by the Archbishop of Westminster.

STOCK.—An addition to the churchyard was consecrated by the Bishop of Barking on June 28. It consists of half an acre of ground, given, it is understood, by a Roman Catholic. The ancient parish church is now being restored and enlarged by an organ chamber, and a bazaar and fête inaugurated in aid of funds was opened the same day by the Bishop.

ST. ALBANS.—The brother and sister, with a few friends, of the late Bishop of St. Albans have presented to the lady chapel of the Cathedral a memorial in the shape of an altar cross and a silver chalice and paten, to commemorate Dr. Festing's episcopate. His episcopal ring is incorporated into the stem of the chalice, and his pectoral cross is set in the altar cross, which is fashioned of polished walnut-wood inlaid with ivory and mother of pearl.

Obituaries.

THE REV. ROBERT HART, M.A., vicar of Greenstead Green, Halstead, died there on June 10, after almost a life-long connection with the county. Born in 1833, Mr. Hart was Spencer Scholar of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, where he graduated in 1860, being placed among the junior optimes in the Mathematical Tripos. After his ordination by the Bishop of Rochester in 1886,he served curacies at Furneaux Pelham, Herts, Gestingthorpe, Gillingham, Kent, and Great Maplestead. In 1868 Bishop Claughton appointed him to the vicarage of Takeley, where he remained over twenty-eight years. He became closely connected with the Dunmow and District Friendly Society, and was on the board of management. In 1885 he was appointed its hon. secretary, a post he retained until his death. He was rural dean of Newport from 1886 to 1896, and for twenty years an inspector of schools for the diocese of St. Albans. In 1897 he was appointed by Bishop Festing vicar of St. James', Greenstead Green. At this place he died, but was buried with his wife and two daughters at Takeley on June 15, a memorial service being held simultaneously at Greenstead Green.

THE REV. PHILIP MELANCTHON HOLDEN, 44th rector of Upminster, who died on 6th June, was the last of three successive rectors of that parish who were members of one family, and whose three incumbencies covered a period of 124 years. The living, which is valued at an annual income under the Tithe

Commutation Act of £1,052, belongs to the Holden family, whose longevity is remarkable. The Rev. John Rose Holden was appointed rector in 1780, but resigned in favour of his son and namesake in 1799. The son, who was instituted on the 10th May of that year held office for 62 years and eight months, and died at the age of 89. On March 4, 1862, the lately deceased rector, nephew of his predecessor, became rector, and at his death, aged 83, had held the charge for forty-four years. In 1841 he was a Theological Associate of King's College, London, ordained in 1854, curate of Hammersmith, and minister of St. Paul, Great Portland Street, London, 1856—1862. His father, a brother of the second rector, died at 88, and his two brothers, Canon Henry Holden, of Durham, and Luther Holden, senior surgeon of St. Bartholomew's Hospital, are still living, aged respectively 90 and 86. The late rector performed his duties until some months ago, when failing sight compelled him to relinquish them. He was buried in Upminster churchyard on June 11. The Rev. H. H. Holden, curate of St. Alban's, Leyton, succeeds him as rector of Upminster.

GEORGE ALAN LOWNDES, Esq., D.L., J.P., who died on the 23rd of June, was the eldest son of Mr. William Clayton, of Lostock Hall, Lancashire, by Mary, daughter of Edward Gorst, of Preston. He was born in 1829, and succeeded to the estates of his cousin, Thomas Lowndes, of Barrington Hall (whose name he assumed by royal licence), in 1840. He was prominently associated with Essex county affairs; he qualified as J.P. for Essex, February 22, 1853, and for Herts some five years later. He was very regular in his attendance on the bench (he was chairman at Bishop Stortford) and at the Court of Quarter Sessions, taking considerable interest in the county business, and seconded many propositions during his extended career. On the formation of the Essex County Council, Mr. Lowndes was elected one of the original Aldermen in 1889, and retained that office until the recent statutory meeting of the Council this year. He was High Sheriff of the county in 1861, was the senior member of the Dunmow Board of Guardians, one of the Governors of Felsted School, and a representative on the Lee Conservancy Board. Mr. Lowndes was a man of considerable learning, he was B.A. Trinity College, Cambridge, 1853, M.A.,

1856, and gave special attention to historical and archæological subjects. He was actively instrumental in saving the Bartlow Hills from destruction by a railway enterprise. He had a fine private collection of MSS., was a regular attender of the meetings of the Essex Archæological Society and a contributor to its *Journal*, so that when Sir Thomas Sutton Weston, Bart., died, Mr. Lowndes was, on August 30, 1877, elected president, an office he retained until last year. He was twice married, but was a widower, and leaves one son, Major A. H. W. Lowndes, J.P., of The Priory, Hatfield Broad Oak, and one daughter. Mr. Lowndes resided at Barrington Hall, which he restored in 1863, until about two years ago when he removed to the Priory, where he died; he was buried, amid every mark of respect, in Hatfield Broad Oak churchyard, on June 28.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

Audley End House.—The following quotation from Mrs. George Bancroft's letters, recently published, will probably interest Essex readers who may not have come across the book. Mr. Bancroft, it will be remembered, was United States Minister in this country from 1846 to 1849. Audley End House impressed Mrs. Bancroft more than any other house that she stayed in in this country.—BETA.

"The house is of the Elizabethan period and is one of the best-preserved specimens of that style, but of its vast extent and magnificence I can give you no idea. We arrived about five o'clock, and were ushered through an immense hall of carved oak, hung with banners, up a fine staircase to the grand saloon, where we were received by the host and hostess. Now, of this grand saloon I must try to give you a conception. It was, I should think, from seventy-five to one hundred feet in length. The ceiling overhead was very rich with hanging corbels, like stalactites, and the entire walls were panelled, with a full-length family portrait in each panel, which was arched at the top, so that the whole wall was composed of these round-top pictures with rich gilding between. Notwithstanding its vast size, the sofas and tables were so disposed all over the apartment as to give it the most friendly, warm and social aspect. . . . Lady Braybrooke herself ushered me to my apartments, which were the state rooms. First came Mr. Bancroft's dressing-room, where was a blazing fire. Then came the bed-room, with the state bed of blue and gold, covered with embroidery, and with the arms and coronet of Howard de Walden. The walls were hung with crimson and white damask, and the sofas and chairs also, and it was surrounded by pictures; among others a full-length of Queen Charlotte, just opposite the foot of the bed, always saluted me every morning when I awoke, with her fan, her hoop, and her

deep ruffles. My dressing-room, which was on the opposite side from Mr. Bancroft's, was a perfect gem. It was painted by the famous Rebecco who came over from Italy to ornament so many of the great English houses at one time. The whole ceiling and walls were covered with beautiful designs and with gilding, and a beautiful recess for a couch was supported by fluted gilded columns ; the architraves and mouldings of the doors were gilt, and the panels of the doors were filled with Rebecco's beautiful designs. The chairs were of light blue embroidered with thick, heavy gold, and all this bearing the stamp of antiquity was a thousand times more interesting than mere modern splendour. In the centre of the room was a toilet of white muslin (universal here), and on it a gilt dressing-glass, which gave a pretty effect to the whole."

Essexiana from Augustus Hare.—*A Ghost Story at Second-hand. Where is the Essex House ?* Mr. Austen, rector of Whitby, said that Professor Owen had gone to stay at a house in Essex, where the hostess apologised for putting him into the haunted room. The next morning he was asked if he had heard anything. "Yes," he said, "I have heard something, but I should like to say nothing about it till I have slept in that room again." The second morning he said that each night he had heard loud cries of a child, proceeding from the hearthstone, and begged that a mason might be sent for and the stone removed. This was done, and the skull of a child was found beneath the stone. They buried it in the garden, and the cries have never been heard since.—Hare, *Story of My Life* (vol. 5, pp. 317-18).

Latimer Chapel, Stepney.—While turning over a parcel of old Minute-books concerning the history of the Independent Church here (which dates from cir. 1670), I came upon a "Book of Precedents, Josh. Pitts, 1748." This of course has strayed into a rather incongruous company, for of lawyers—well, of many such—is not the kingdom of heaven. Naturally I turned over the forensic pages and met references to (i.) the great Zephaniah Marryat and his brother Obadiah; (ii.) an apothecary's bill unpaid and sued upon (1734); and also (iii.) a marriage settlement dated May 3, 1742, the parties being Jacob Fowler (St. Andrew Holborne), gent.

"Sarah Smith of the prsh. of Saint Martin in the Fields, . . spinster and only dau. and devisee and also executrix of the last Will and Testament of Thos. Smith, late of the said prsh. . . . Apothecary, her late father now deceased. . . . . Whereas a Marriage is intended shortly to be had and solemnized by the Permission of Almighty God. . . . ."

This is continued for 850 lines of small lawyers' writing. Sarah was an heiress indeed :

Realty: Holles St. The Strand. Brookfield St. (? Brook St.) St. Albans. Crawley. Rickmansworth. Essex. Pattiswick. Bradwell. Gt. Coggeshall.

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Is anything more known about her?—STANLEY B. ATKINSON.

Canmers, Essex: Where is it?—The Rev. John Howe writes to the Rev. Mr. Thornton, from Love Lane, Aldermanbury, under date August 16, 1694, thus:—

"I lately met in the street (which you may please, with the tender of my humblest services, to let my Lady Russell know) Mrs. Howland in her coach, which she suddenly caused to be stopped, and told me that, being shortly to take a journey to Canmers, in Essex, she desired to see me at Streatham before she went, etc., etc."

Can you say where Canmers is to-day?—W. W. GLENNY.

A Cartoon of Gilray.—"Grace before meat or a Peep at Lord Petre's" was suggested by a visit with which the King and Queen honoured Lord Petre at Thorndon Park on their way to attend the review on Warley Common in 1778. His lordship was the first roman catholic peer who had been so honoured since the Hanoverian succession, and the scale of his preparations gave additional notoriety to this exceptional event. Sixty upholsterers were at work for a month, and a state bed which cost 2,000 guineas was set up; but their majesties brought their own travelling bed with them and slept in it. Taken in connection with a proposed measure for roman catholic relief, the royal visit caused grave umbrage to the friends of the Protestant succession, to whom Gilray's cartoon was addressed. It represented the King and Queen seated at Lord Petre's dinner table (under a canopy bearing the Royal Arms) with their hands folded, whilst a sorry-looking monk with a crucifix is invoking a blessing on the meal. Lady Petre, Lady Effingham, and Lord Amherst are among the guests, all broadly caricatured.—BETA.

REVIEWS OF NEW BOOKS.

Marsh Country Rambles, by HERBERT W. TOMPKINS. Pp. 307, post 8vo. London: Chatto and Windus. Price 6s.

ESSEX natives may, perhaps, bridle with some objection to the term marsh as applied generally to our county, but it will only be before they have read this very pleasant book, for we hasten to assure them that its author, a practised rambler and scribe, confines himself throughout its pages to the true marsh-country of Essex, outside which he scarcely ventures to stray.

It is true his final chapter is devoted to John Ray, whose native village and later home lie far from the coast, but his excuse is that Ray was the most notable marsh country rambler who ever lived, and one in whose steps he would fain follow.

Mr. Tompkins brings to the task of writing such a book as this that love of nature and of books in equal proportion which is perhaps the happiest equipment for any writer of a topographical kind. He sees the charm of common things, he can describe them with a polished pen, he has a ready store of legend, allusion and quotation, which people the lonely haunts he visits with memories and visions of the past. He wins the confidence of the natives among whom he passes, and evokes from them scraps of folk-lore and old-time custom which lend enchantment to his pages. He opens by telling his readers that he will endeavour to interest many classes of readers, and will not hesitate to record trivial incidents or wayside stories, especially when peculiar to the coast of Essex. "We now recognise," he adds, "that the highways, by-ways, and waterways of our own country, 'the land we love the most,' deserve to be explored before we travel further afield, and have discovered that our antiquities and folk-lore are at least as worthy of study as the customs of cannibals, or the superstitions of Malays and Bushmen."

As to his district of marsh-country, he takes all that lies east of the road from Prittlewell to Maldon and Colchester, and south of the road from Colchester to St. Osyth. This wedge of Essex includes all the main portion of its coast. The low-lying pastures which border on the saltings, or tidal-covered grazing land, once supported a considerable industry of cheese-making. The name or suffix of Wick, which signifies a dairy, is frequently found between Shoebury and Colchester, and on Canvey Island especially, the names of North Wick, Monk's Wick, Farther Wick, and Knight's Wick still survive. Norden, as we are here reminded, did not think much of the cheese, which he qualifies with the remark "cheese, such at it is." In Great Wakering churchyard, Mr. Tompkins found some singular epitaphs which he copied, in their original spelling, to enliven his page. The longshoreman with a basket full of "ox-birds," with whom he passed the time of day on Wakering Marsh, is another of his human interests.

"The gulls made a continual piping as we talked, flight after flight of dunlins (local, ox-bird) came up the creek from the direction of Wakering Steps, and sometimes, as the shallow water was ruffled by the wind, we found it difficult to discern these erratic flutterers. Sometimes, too, they swerved suddenly and showed a twinkle of white as they turned their breasts to the sun; then they dropped down upon the oozy shore, and spread themselves abroad—an army of dark specks upon the mud. Facing us was Havengore Island, a wilderness upon which I could discern no living thing except birds. Inshore the wind sighed softly among the sedges, and larks flitted restlessly from place to place. In the west, heavy clouds were gathering ominously, already a few drops of rain pattered upon the ditches on the marsh. I looked for dirty weather, and picking my way over the rank grass seemed to encounter the spirit of desolation with little before me saving a blank appalling solitude of rain. But the weather changes quickly on such spots as Wakering Marsh, and before I had passed the farm near the southern extremity of Potton Island the clouds had hurried seawards with the wind."

Mr. Tompkins visited all our islands, Canvey, Foulness, Mersea, New England, Potton, and Havengore. These he is content to name as he writes, but there is another island whose name and locality he jealously guards from the public. It is "my island," and thither this nature-loving saunterer resorts to watch the sea birds and to spend happy hours "face to face with nature." One of the most charming chapters in his book is that devoted to this small bare grassy spot. The concluding paragraph shows the author's capacity for simple yet picturesque description which carries the reader "right there."

When the saltings on my island are bared by the retiring tide, a soft salt breeze, very pleasant in the nostrils, comes towards me from the long stretch of foreshore, where many seaweeds lie. At times this breeze can barely sway the bulrushes in the dykes; at times, again, it blows so boisterously that only the sea-fowl delight to make headway against it, and every pool and creek shivers continually in silvery agitation. But my island is sheltered between two mainlands, and often enough the unclouded sun looks down upon it hour after hour, while the bee hastes from petal to petal, and the larks circle upwards in the blue, mingling their voices with the sound of the mower as he whets his scythe on the marsh.

Mr. Tompkins is familiar with all the writers, recondite and recent, who have written upon our county. He alludes to Defoe, Arthur Young, Gerard, Mr. Beckett, Mr. Barrett, Mr. Christy, and Mr. Fitch, each and all with an equal friendliness which is quite captivating. Recently he has made one of the little coterie of literary folk who have taken up their abode near Southend. He frankly owns that it was reading Buchanan's *Andromeda* and Coulson Kernahan's *Captain Shannon* that first fixed his interest on the county which he has now adopted, and

through which he is such a delightful guide and peripatetic mentor. We may single out "In the Valley of the Crouch" and "the Romance of Maldon" as two exemplary chapters, packed with information, but imparted with such charm that the average reader never suspects he is being instructed. Mr. Tompkins is a good botanist and does once remark (p. 251) that he hopes "you," the reader, "have a British flora on your bookshelf at home."

The printing and paper of the book cannot be too highly praised. The frontispiece, a photo of St. Botolph's Priory, seems rather wanting in novelty, though not in interest.

Report on the Sea Fisheries, and Fishing Industries of the Thames Estuary. Part I., demy 8vo., 250 pp.; Maps and illustrations. London: Waterlow Bros. and Layton, 1903.

This report, prepared by Dr. James Murie, of Leigh, at the instance of the Kent and Essex Sea Fisheries Committee, has recently been issued, under their direction; the object being the better knowledge and understanding of the various occupations of our coastal fishermen, with the most likely methods which can be suggested, by which they might be developed and improved.

By way of introduction, some useful information is given concerning the origin of the Thames estuary, the influences of tide and wind, the currents of the North Sea, the effects of *detritus* brought down and silted up by the rivers Thames and Medway; with the many changes which have occurred. The importance of Leigh as a fishing community for many centuries is also duly recorded. The larger portion of the volume contains a detailed description of the fauna known to occur in these waters.

The whales and seals head the list, and the principa captures of these warm-blooded mammals are duly noted—the porpoise, various species of dolphin, and such occasional visitors as the immense sperm-whale (so valuable for the oil, and the spermaceti contained in the huge head), of which a few stragglers have reached our shores, one in the year 1762, and another in 1829, the latter measuring over 62 feet in length. Other of the "toothed" whales, Orca and Hyperoodon, have been captured during recent years.

Of the various species of Baleen (whalebone) whales, at least three of the four known Rorquals have, on sundry occasions, been stranded or captured on the Essex and Kent coasts, and elsewhere. These large mammals are, however, of small commercial value here, save for museum purposes.

The bulk of the volume contains descriptions of the various kinds of fish, and their economic value, the flat fish (turbot, sole, plaice, etc.) and the rounder forms (cod, sturgeon, whiting, herrings, eel, etc.) which are so valuable as food supplies, and give employment to a large fishing population.

Concerning these, the questions of distribution, migration, feeding, the spawning and fishing grounds, with the various means employed in their capture, with such information as should be useful to all so employed, is, as far as may be within the 135 pages devoted to the subjects, accurately stated.

Some of these fish do not occur in sufficient quantity to be useful as food, while others have no market value ; but their occurrence, we think, is very rightly included, being of interest to all who study the fauna of our sea-coast.

The fifty pages devoted to the numerous Mollusca forms are also of much interest; embracing such important sources of supply as the Oyster, Scallop, Mussel, and Cockle among bivalves, and Whelk and Periwinkle among univalves. The Clam (Mya) also abounds, but this is little used as food, though forming an important bait for many fishing purposes; while many of the Cuttle-fish (Cephalopoda) and the borers (Pholas) are also used largely for the like purpose.

The last section contained in the Report—the Crustaceans—is also of great gastronomic importance, as it includes the Lobster, Crayfish, Crab, Shrimp, and Prawn.

The mass of information and detail, thus brought together, will doubtless prove of deep interest, not only to the scientific enquirer, but to all who gain a living thereby ; and we think the Joint Fisheries Committee have done good service in printing the Report for circulation

To those engaged in any industry connected with fisheries it should be of practical aid, not only in the better understanding of the present status of our sea-fisheries, but as a means of estimating the future prospects and requirements of an extensive though but little known or appreciated employment.

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THE ESSEX REVIEW.

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EDITED BY EDWARD A. FITCH, AND MISS C. FELL SMITH.

CONTENTS.

Frontispiece: Valley Farm, Flatford.

Cartoon: "Sir Walter."

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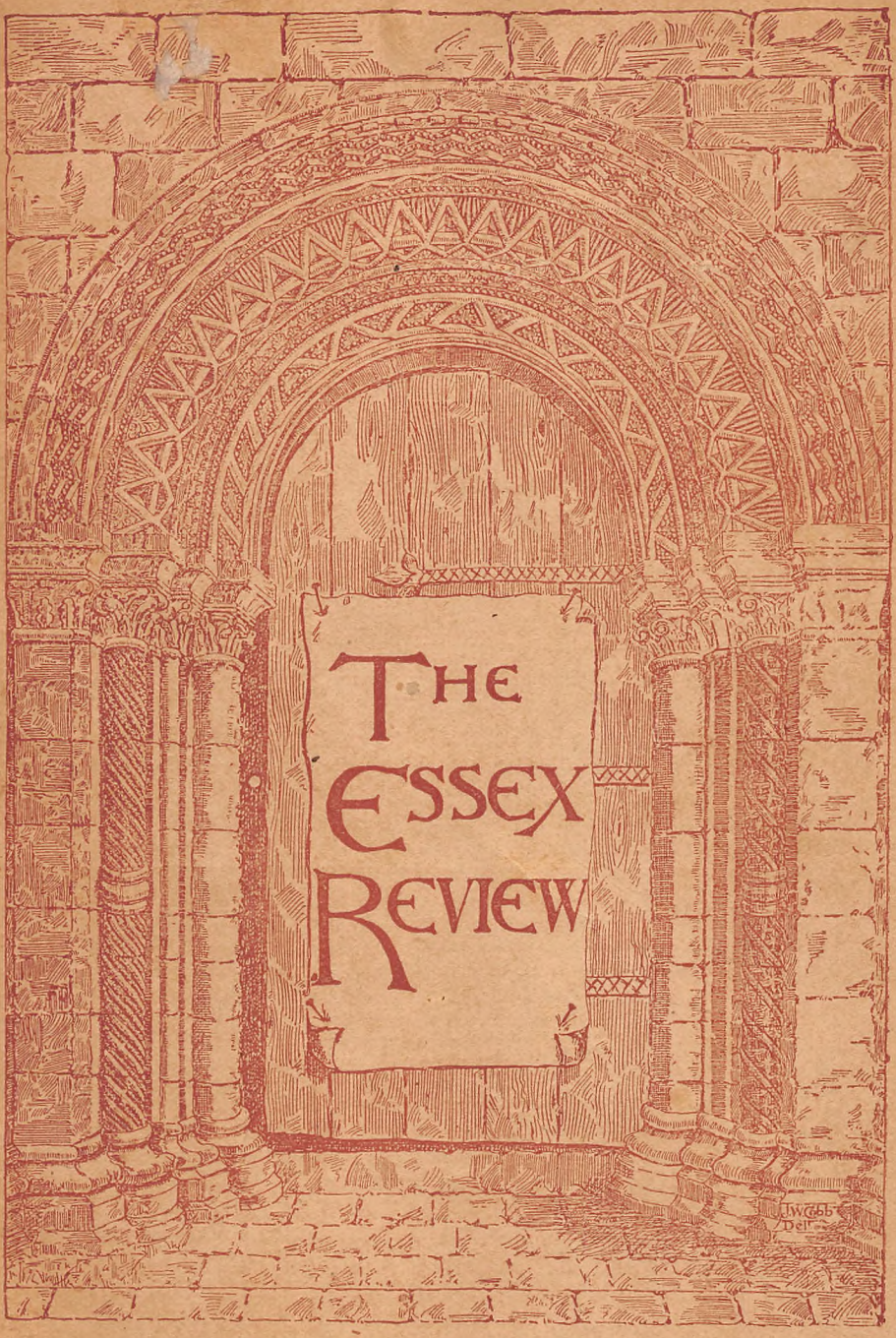

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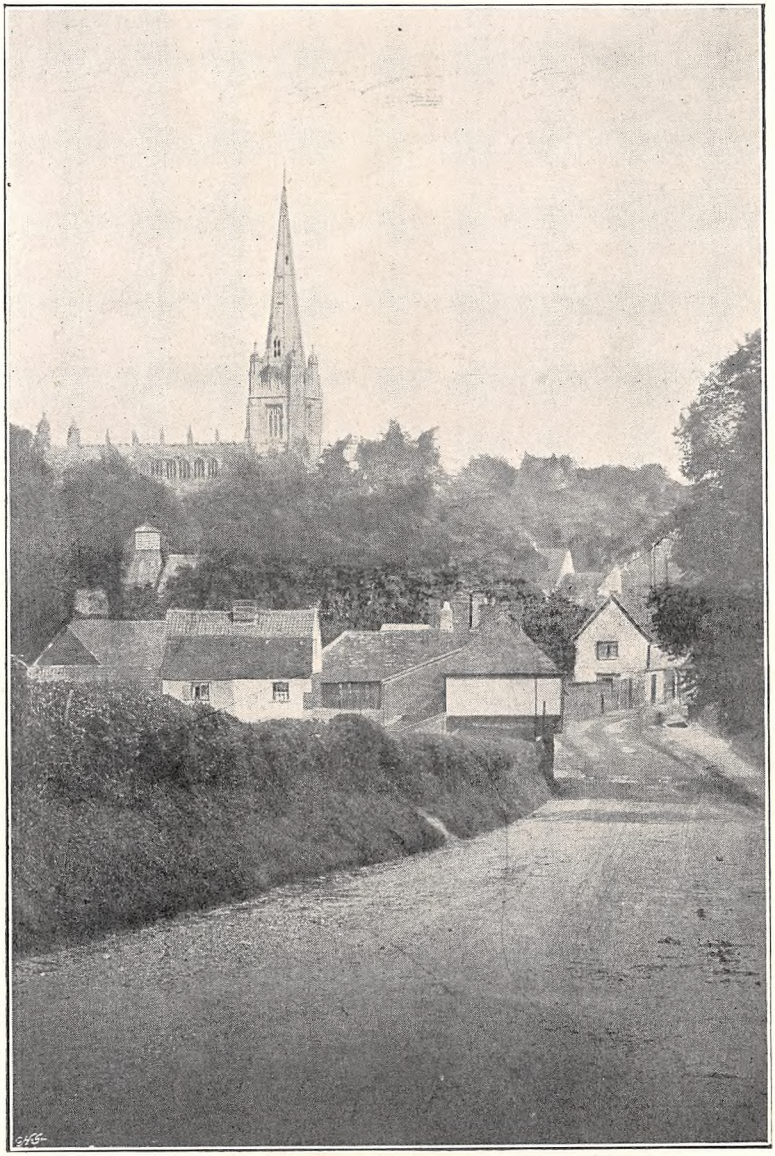

Photo by *Mr. W. J. Francis.*

THE WINDMILL HILL, SAFFRON WALDEN.

THE

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"HAVE WITH YOU TO SAFFRON WALDEN!"

Thomas Nashe, 1596.

BY CARA ACKLAND.

UNSPOILED by jerry builder, or aggressive tripper, nestled in the wooded valley from which it derives its name, lies the little town of Saffron Walden. For the further enlightenment of any unwitting readers, we will add that it is within less than fifty miles from the metropolis. It is small wonder therefore that we resent the opinion expressed by a man fresh from the whirl of wheels in the North Country, that its quietude is oppressive. Moreover, one of the most active public spirits of our times regards it as having "picturesquely posed" for the last 300 years.

Sir Walter Besant styles its market place "a dream." Very wide awake (albeit in an undemonstrative manner) is that same market place on one day in the week, and sorely tempted are we to flaunt in the faces of our detractors a long roll of honourable names, and list of deeds, extending over many centuries, which although not all those of high romance, still live and bear fruit in the hearts of those who, from generation to generation, realize daily that "the finest deeds consist in doing finely a multitude of unromantic things."

Probably the town is not greatly changed since the days when Ansgar, Master of the Horse to King Edward the Confessor, rode up the wide street bearing its name to his castle, the fine old remains of which still crown the grassy rise.

By another route to the Castle we pass the picturesque "Sun Inn," the headquarters of Cromwell in 1647. Very upsetting to

the even tenour of the lives of the townsfolk must have been the presence in their midst of the stern Ironsides—not all of whom took life quite so seriously as their earnest leader; and although we may not infer that their advent was welcomed as a pleasing excitement, that their occupation was not resented may be gathered from the fact that Fairfax was petitioned "not to disband so faithful an army." Hard by is the "greate Church" where the council of forty-three officers met in February 1647.

Photo by THE CASTLE OF ANSGAR. *Mr. W. J. Francis.*

Truly it is one of the finest in England and the crowning beauty of the town. Built between the years 1320 and 1547, "in the style of architecture called Perpendicular, as it prevailed in its greatest purity towards the close of the fifteenth century," its beautiful proportions never fail to rouse the keenest interest and admiration in a stranger. To all Waldenians it has ever been an object of loving veneration, where, too, so many rest, who, as the old tomb expresses it, "have finished a faire pilgrimage to a joyful Paradice." Here "Crumwell stoode up and made a long,

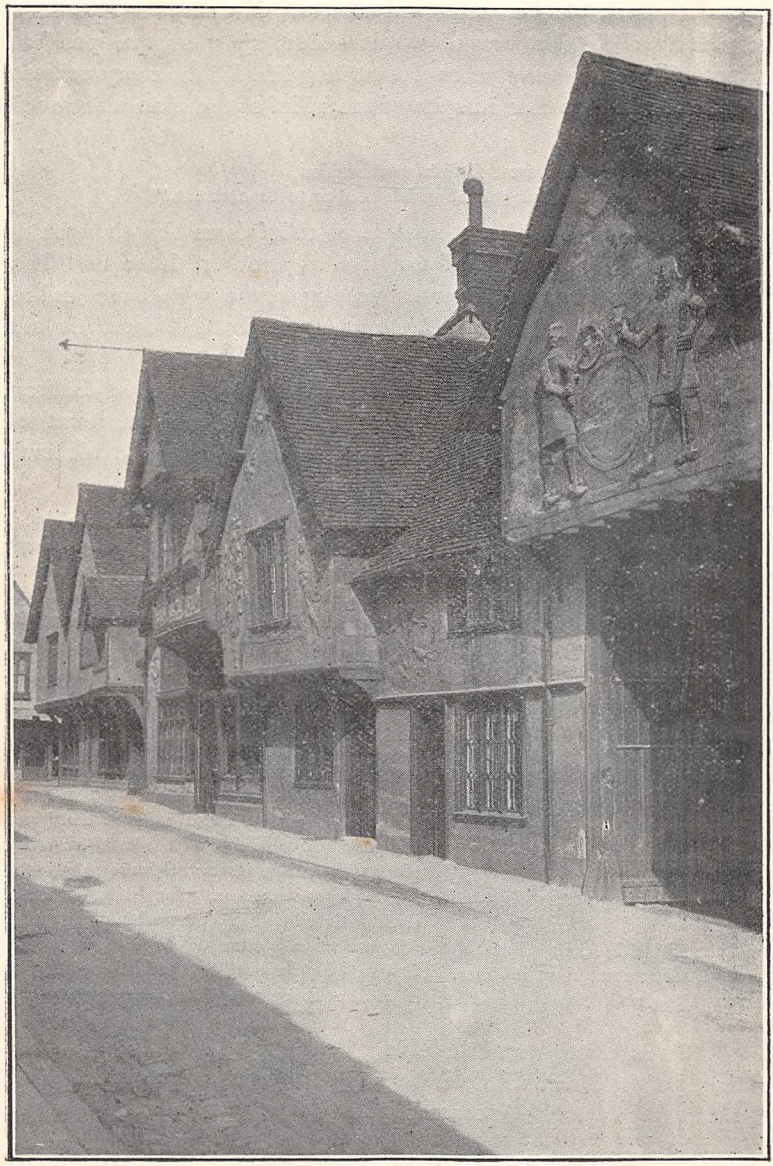


Photo by THE SUN INN. *Mr. W. J. Francis.*

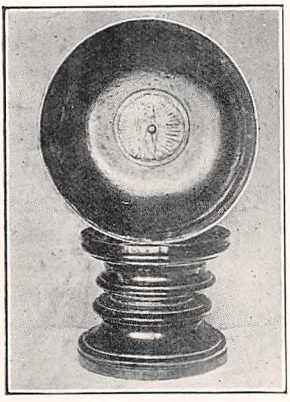
Headquarters of Oliver Cromwell 1647.

grave speech" to his assembled officers. Near by lies Spenser's "Hobynoll," * his war of words ended, his "critique pen" at last still; how many years of that long life did the sorry contest with Nashe embitter, in spite of the belief of the man who loved him that he

> "Ne fearest foolish reprehension,
> Of faulty men, which danger to thee threat."

One turns with almost a sense of relief from the thought of such envenomed strife of tongues to another, later and less vituperative contest of words waging in the wide nave, and to the clamorous cries of the Volunteers for Ireland for their old leaders, "Fairfax and Cromwell and we *all* go."

The year 1659 finds the ubiquitous Pepys at Saffron Walden; his inimitable account of his visit must be given in his own words:—



THE MAZER BOWL, *circa* 1400.
Photo by Mr. V. Kingsland.

February 27th, 1659. Up by four o'clock, and after I was ready took my leave of my Father, whom I left in bed, and the same of my Brother John, to whom I gave 10s. Mr. Blayton and I took horse and went straight to Saffron Walden where at the White Hart we set up our horses. . . .

In our going my Landlord carried us through a very old hospital or Almshouse, where forty poor people was maintained; a very old foundation, and over the chimney in the mantle piece was an inscription in brass "Orate pro animâ Thomas Byrde etc." and the poor box was also on the same chimney piece with an iron door and locks to it, into which I put sixpence. They brought me a draft of their drink in a brown bowl, tipt with silver, which I drank off and at the bottom was a picture of the Virgin and the child in her arms, done in silver. So we went to our Inn, and after eating of something and kissed the daughter of the house, she being very pretty, we took leave.

The inscription and the Mazer Bowl are still in King Edward the Sixth's Almshouses, a beautiful relic in maple wood (date about 1400) exactly corresponding to Pepys' description (*see Illustration*).

The Market-place is picturesque, and has quite a mediæval air. The Empress Matilda granted a license for "the Chepe" to

* Gabriel Harvey, see Mr. A. R. Godard's article in *E.R.*, vol. vii., p. 13.

be held here on the Sunday and Thursday in each week. Both market days are now changed and on the latter day the little town indulges in the excitement of a mid-week half holiday.

On our way from the Market-place we pass the merchant's offices in which Robert Lloyd passed his dreary time of probation, dutifully trying to acquire business habits while his literary aspirations rebelled against his environment. How Charles Lamb's heart must have ached for his friend as he writes to him from his "ever dear London," "Courage, you will soon be emancipated."

This is but a glimpse of Saffron Walden and in no sort a description of its many objects of interest and of antiquity, for it is a veritable happy hunting ground to the person of antiquarian tastes. A great charm hangs round the old-world spot, and they who know it longest love it most increasingly. Did not even that gallant and warlike Knight, William de Mandeville, 3rd Earl of Essex, 1189, a Crusader and owner of its Castle, send his loyal heart to be buried here while his body rests overseas?

GREAT WALTHAM FIVE CENTURIES AGO.

BY THE REV. ANDREW CLARK, LL.D.

(*Concluded from p.* 149.)

ENCLOSURE OF WASTE.

STRIPS taken from the highway, called purprestures, are found in existence, enclosed (on condition of paying a small quit-rent) at periods earlier than these rolls. Thus, in 1403, Richard Rolfe took over, at 2d. a year, a purpresture (two perches long by one wide) formerly Katherine Rolfe's.

New purprestures were created by the Court Baron. Sept., 1410, Thomas Josep, paying 1d. a year, was allowed to enclose a piece of land, a perch long by a perch wide.

FREEHOLD LANDS SUBJECT TO THE MANOR.

Vague notices of the freeholds occupy much space in the rolls. Their holders appear constantly as fined for failure to pay suit of court, or as purchasing exemption from attendance. Great

difficulty was experienced in discovering when they changed hands, so that the Court Baron might exact the "relief," or additional quit-rent, which then became due. Even greater difficulty was found in inducing the new holders to attend court and take the oath of fealty. Hence we find the Court Baron continually ordering distraint on freeholds until the freeholders proved their title, or did fealty. Disputes were frequent as to whether particular pieces were freehold or copyhold, and these could be settled only by production of the deeds by which they were held. Thus, in Feb. 1393, the Court Baron ordered seizure of two pieces of land in the field called New-land, till it were determined whether they were held by the rod as the manor claimed, or freely as their owner, John Warner, asserted. There were also disputes as to the amount of quit-rent. In 1418 and subsequent years the Court Baron tried to recover 3s. rent issuing out of a cotland, formerly the dowry of Petronilla, wife of Sir John Cokysworth, payment of which was refused by South House.

The acquisition of the Walthambury manor by Henry V. brings into prominence four of the freeholds, as held by the old tenure of knight's service. So long as the lord of the manor had been a subject, the "homage" due under this tenure had remained in abeyance. Now that the king was lord, it was exacted. On July 26, 1421, the first court Baron of Henry V. was attended by John Warner, Esq., and John Langley, tenants of this manor "per servitium militare." They then and there did fealty, but their homage was respited till the king's return to England. At the same court distraint was ordered to obtain the fealty and homage of Thomas Gyssyng (in right of his wife) and Edmund Bybbesworth, holding by the same tenure, who were absent. John Warner's holding was Aslyn's (united to Warner's), a virgate and a half, held (1328) of Walthambury by 30s. annual quit-rent and knight's service, etc. John Langley's holding was Langley's alias Marescall's, a half-virgate and a water-mill,* held (1328) of Walthambury, without quit-rent, by the tenth part of a knight's fee, suit to court, and fealty. Thomas Gyssyng seems to be husband of the heiress of the Hyde, 3 virgates, held (1328) of Walthambury by quit-rent of 8d. and

* This explains Thomas Berwyk's mill (v. p. 74). I was also wrong in inferring (p. 3) that the Langleys were not tenants.

the eighth part of a knight's fee. Edmund Bybbesworth owned South House, 5 virgates, held (1328) by knight's service, quit-rent of 6s. at Easter, 6s. at Michaelmas, 1lb. of pepper at Christmas, and 6s. 8d. for a leet at Whitsunday. These four no doubt represent the four subordinate manors, which are mentioned under Walthambury in Domesday (Morant's *Essex*, ii., 83). Chatham Hall is then mentioned as independent (Morant ii., 84). The Rectory manor was carved out of Walthambury at a later date.

The relations of the manor of South House with Walthambury are peculiar. Boycroft manor, in Little Waltham (Morant, ii., 93), was owned by the Bybbesworths of South House, and the Boycroft homage, after meeting on their own land, adjourned to South House. Now in these rolls we find that although the headmen (2 in 1421, 1 in 1422) of the pledge of South House attended the Waltham Court Leet, they were (probably because of the 6s. 8d. mentioned above) exempt from contributing to the Common Fine. But the subordinate Boycroft is no doubt to be identified with "the fee formerly of William Botevyleyn in Little Waltham," all the tenants of which were mulcted in a joint mulct of 40d. for failure to attend the Court Leet of 1417, and whose headmen (2 in 1421, 1 in 1422) attended the Court Leet to pay the 1d. per head for themselves and their tithing-men, exactly as the Walthambury headmen did. Why these should be mentioned thus specifically then, and in no earlier roll, I cannot guess.

THE DEMESNE-LANDS.

These consisted of the manor-farm and farm-steading, let to a tenant (764 acres, of which 431 arable); of the three mills (v.p. 74), let to tenants; of the parks (Apechild, 306 acres; Littley, 21 acres pasture and 47 wood; the Old Park, size not stated); and of the lord's rights of "fowling, hawking, hunting, and fishing." They came into Court Baron proceedings much more frequently than might be expected, chiefly because at this time the manorial jury acted as official informers in the lord's interest against all neglect or suspected malversations of farmer and park-keepers and all trespasses of all and sundry, but partly also because all leases of demesne property were completed in the Court Baron.

Thus, in 1400, the jury presented that Jeffrey Curwen was to pasture 120 sheep on the manorial pasture for a year, from

Michaelmas 1399, paying 40s. only, in consideration of his folding them on the land and paying the shepherd, and that John Paskan, for 120 sheep at pasture (May to Michaelmas 1400), was to pay 20s.

In 1407, seven acres arable of demesne-land in Wasshter were let on lease at 8d. yearly rent an acre, and three acres arable in Adames-feld, at 7d. an acre, both common rates; but in 1409, four acres arable in Lymberboo attained the most unusual rate of 1s. 6d. an acre.

Michaelmas 1419, Jeffrey Dunhed, miller, took a seven years' lease of Little Waltham mill, at eight marcs a year, a marc being 13s. 4d.

8 June 1415, William Cosyn, of Great Waltham, carpenter, appointed by the lord's warrant pale-mender ('paliciator,' in this place: v. p. 66), of Apechild Park, for life, took the oath of that office, in the Court Baron.

8 November 1413, Richard Parker, of Barnston, was mulcted 2s. 10d. for trespass with four hogs and nine pigs in Apechild Park during pannage-time. The pannage of Apechild Park in the winter of 1419 amounted to 7s. 5d.

In the Elizabethan survey it is stated that the "aysings and agistments in the parks" were then no longer used.

In Henry VI. time the aysing (avesagium) slightly recovered itself (v. p. 69). In 1413, it was only 1s. 7½d., seven copyholders paying for 14 porci and 11 porculi. In 1421, it is stated to have been due on St. Luke's day (18 October); and the custom is called *Carsanese* in the body of the roll, but *Avesagium* in the margin, and it yielded 5s. 6d., 25 copyholders paying for 57 porci and 18 porculi.

One aysing notice shows how the lord never suffered through the fault of his officers. January 1421, four copyholders, brought to court for non-payment of their avesagium at the proper time, pleaded that they "sought to pay several times, but the bedell refused to accept payment, because he had not a clerk to make the writing." They were all mulcted: Edmund Drake, *e.g.*, 6d. for a sow and two hogs.

The agistment of Apechild and that of Littley in Henry V.'s time appear only in occasional trespass-notices, chiefly by the park-keepers having more beasts at pasture than they were entitled to.

Sales of wood are regularly reported. In 1417, 1,000 faggots were sold for 7s. 6d.; 300 for 3s. 6d.; 150 for 21d.; an ash-tree for 8d., an elm for 4d.

4 July 1415, the homage presented that William Huberd with two dogs and one "lacesca" takes ducks and other water-fowl in Mychel's-pond and other parts. March 1417, on report that John Wolston, miller, and John Wolward, junior, with "lacescæ," go round the hedges of the lord's tenants, Wolston begged pardon and was mulcted 2d.

Easter 1419, Richard Waltham took, on a ten years' lease, at a yearly rent of 3s. 4d., the fishing of the river from the bay of Little Waltham mill to the floodgates of the fulling-mill in Little Waltham parish. For a lease of another portion, see p. 80, note 4, where Mascalles-melle is the old name for Langley's mill.

On Sat., Su., and Monday, June 29-July 1 1415, in the field called le Flassch, William Bregge messor, and 3 others, cut through a bank, drained a pond, and there took tenches, roaches, and eels. In 1418, the homage complained that in the river and the pools at Champney's-mill, Stephen atte hyll, in defiance of John Abbot the miller there, had persisted off and on for two years in taking fish by "spertes, lammes, and schoffnetts."

TRESPASSES AGAINST THE LORD.

Mulcts for these occupy a large space in the Court Baron proceedings, and several sorts have been already mentioned Some others may be cited.

A large section of them have reference to the timber and underwood on the copyholds. In Feb. 1393, John Fortheman was mulcted 1d. for selling an oak without leave. In 1410 John Rede was mulcted 2d. and William Davenysh 1d. for topping willows on copyhold to the amount of 2 cartloads of "splent," and the two were ordered to pay the value (8d.) to the lord. On the same occasion Adam Warenger had to pay 6d. as value of the fuel he had cut on his copyhold, and was mulcted 1d. May 1416, William Bryd, who had cut down 6 oaks growing on Souter's land, was ordered to pay their value 40d., and was mulcted 4d. May 1414, William Horsnayle was mulcted 6d. for cutting down his hedges at Barrettes-croft at an unseasonable time. Feb. 1418, John Gyn senior was mulcted

12d. for cutting down a hedge on Swetyng's and leaving it unfenced, so as to endanger the re-growth, and was put under penalty of 20s. to have it safely fenced before May.

Other mulcts deal with the retention of manure on the land, according to old farming rules. July 1414, John Bregge was mulcted 12d. for removing compost from the lord's bondage on to free-hold. So also, in Littley Park, Thomas Lynghey, the

WALTHAMBURY.

park-keeper, was challenged, Sept. 1413, for removing manure out of the park.

The crop of straw (vestura) in the same way, and for the same reason (v. p. 78), was kept most strictly on the copyholds. Nov. 1413, John Gyn was mulcted 40d. for carrying the crops of 5 acres off Riche's copyhold on to non-manorial land. An excuse is sometimes specified. Thus, Nov. 1416, John Yunge pleaded that he had sold the crop of 2 acres of barley, and of 3 acres of oats from Algore's, in order to have money to pay his dues to the manor ; but he was mulcted 6d.

Destruction of boundaries occurs, a grave offence in those days of open fields. In 1417, William Levegor was mulcted 2d. for rooting up a hedge between the lord's copyhold and the Abbot of Walden's (Rectory manor) freehold. In April 1418, he was proceeded against for ploughing in the same season copyhold land of Walthambury and land of the Rectory manor, so that the strips could no longer be distinguished.

Land-grabbing is found. Feb. 1418, Adam Eldefeld was asked to show how he came to hold a grove, which he said belonged to his copyhold, Graunger's half-virgate. 1420, William Frey was proceeded against for daring to plough up a "dola" (? distinguishing balk) between the arable and the meadow of his copyhold.

Fines were imposed for carelessness by which the lord received damage. Aug. 1380, the shepherd, John Gungy, was mulcted 3d., for losing the profit of 9 hurtards (rams) for the year. Sept. 1413, James Porter, who had bought the hedge-growth next Littley Park palings, and left the faggots there, so damaging the re-growth, was mulcted 6d.

Breaking pound, *i.e.*, removing animals, etc., under distraint, appears. Dec. 1379, John Yenge was mulcted 6d. for removing firewood, which had been distrained on by the bedell. Dec. 1400, Walter Yenge was mulcted 12d. for removing 3 pigs under distraint.

Petty thefts occur. Nov. 1394, William Sadler's servants were mulcted for gathering rods in the lord's enclosure. Sept. 1399, Margery Shergot's maid was mulcted 1d. for taking grass out of Apechild-mead.

MISCELLANEOUS PERQUISITES OF THE LORD.

We may bring together here some quaint customs of the manor, adding also a few fresh facts about several already mentioned.

In 1328 return was made of 6d. as the average annual value of the custom that "every copieholder that doeth brewe bere or ale to sell shall paye yerely in the moneth of harvest one penye called *Cestre-penye*." In October 1421, the jury presented that seven copyholders had brewed and themselves retailed their beer, so owing the king (as lord of the manor) 1d. each by the custom called Systerpeny. This was on August 1.

During Richard II.'s reign, but seldom after it, there is constant mention in the rolls of *morina*. The homage was expected to present at the Court Baron the number and nature of the animals belonging to the demesne, which had been found dead, so that the lord might have their fleece or hide, and be assured that their death was not from malice of enemy or neglect of servant. These notices are specially minute in respect of sheep. May 1397, in morina in February, were 2 horses; in March, 2 calves of a year old; in May 2 hoggets (ewe-lambs) and 6 ewes (4 before lambing, and 2 after lambing, but before shearing), "not through anyone's neglect or for want of good keeping." In June 1399, the report was: in morina in January, 1 horse; in May, 1 calf of this year and 8 ewes (4 before lambing and shearing, and 4 after), as also 8 ewe-lambs (jerciæ.) Dogs were found eating the carcases of three of these ewe-lambs, "therefore let enquiry be made whether they were worried because badly watched by the shepherd."

Of *treasure-trove* there is an amusing story. In the spring of 1413 John Grenelane, servant of John Glascok (farmer of the manor), found in the thatch of an old building at Walthambury 47 shillings and 2 pennies, which Glascok impounded. In May 1413 the Court Baron ordered the headmen of the pledge to find out before the Leet Day how much had been found, and who found it. The Court Leet, 15 June 1413, ordered Glascok to pay over the find to the lord.

About *rights over serfs* (v. p. 15) we may add these three notes. In May 1413, with what result is not stated, seizure was ordered of John Kyng, junior, a serf, who had left the demesne and settled in Danbury. In May 1416, on the death of John Kyng, junior, the homage was ordered to find out which was his best beast, that the lord might have it as a heriot. When Henry V. became lord of the manor, there was still a resident serf, John Kyng of the North End, who took his oath of fealty as a born serf.

Other claims of the lord were, in manorial phrase, to "eschetes, felons' goods, wayfes, and strays." Escheats were property seized by the lord on some legal condition of forfeiture. Thus the property of persons illegitimate, dying intestate, passed to the lord. In Sept. 1407, a freehold called Tye-lond, 5 acres valued at 20d. net a year, a croft called Loveday's, valued at 4d.

a year, and Sawyer's copyhold quarter-virgate were escheated to the lord, as having been held by deceased Thomas Celer (or tanner, or Waltham), of illegitimate birth. In this case the forfeiture was afterwards partly removed. In May 1420 John Gawge, of High Easter, having proved that Thomas Celer only rented Tye-lond and Loveday's croft, and was not the actual holder of them, obtained possession. The property of persons convicted of felony was the perquisite of the lord of the manor in which it was found. Febr. 1405, Richard Gernon, adjudged a murderer, who had taken sanctuary at Westminster, had left behind a gown (value 7d.), and a bill-hook; order was made to secure these for the lord. Waifs were goods or cattle, abandoned within the manor by forgetful people, or people hurrying to escape pursuers. A good example occurs in 1448, when four tenants valued at 15s. 2½d. a pack, bound with hempen cord, left behind by Thomas London, of Kent, containing three bed covers, blue, red, and white; three pairs of linen sheets; one pair of blankets; and a gown, particoloured blue and murrey. The pack was ordered to be kept safe, and if unclaimed handed over to the lord. Animals which had come stray into the manor were kept a year and a day, probably in the Walthambury pundfold (v. p. 78), during which they were proclaimed "in churches and markets." They then became the property of the lord. May 1401, the Court Leet reported that at Christmas last a white horse and a ram had come stray, and ordered proclamations to be made that the owners might claim. June 1408, a stray bay horse, having been kept for more than a year, its net value (sixpence!) was now ordered to be paid over to the lord.

COURT BARON JURISDICTION IN CIVIL CASES.

For actions about debt, breach of contract, compensation for damage, and the like, the copyholder had at this time to make use of his feudal lord's Court Baron. A few typical suits will show the wide range of this jurisdiction. Dec. 1379, John Reve sued John Hamond for 5s., price of 10 bushels of wheat. Feb. 1393, John Kyng sued John Paskan for value of a horse, which Paskan had hired, cruelly beaten, and left out at night without food. Feb. 1393, John Yonge sued Thomas Baker's executor for delivery of a sword which Yonge had lent Baker. Oct. 1396, William Longe demanded damages from Simon Gyn for

impounding his cattle. Jan. 1397, John Bowyer claimed 6s. from John Adam for 6 lambs worried by Adam's dogs. July 1400, William Cosyn sued John Ferour for 3s. 5d., balance of 20s. (Cosyn's wages for serving Ferour for a year in his carpenter's shop). Oct. 1414, Andrew Hereward asked 20s. damages from John Herlawe for interfering with a right of way. He was awarded 4d. damages, there being always a remarkable discrepancy between the damages claimed and the jury's assessment of them.

Outsiders might sue a tenant in the manorial court. June 1399, William Ingelond, of Little Leighs, sued Robert atte Bregge for a debt. Less successful were attempts by a tenant to bring an outsider into this court to answer for a debt. The years 1413 to 1415 are occupied with an action for debt by John Glascok, junior, against John Spycer, of Chelmsford, which makes no progress through Spycer's non-appearance.

The procedure* may briefly be stated. The defendant might (*a*) pay a small fine to settle the case by private treaty, (*b*) elect to have the case tried by the manorial jury. If the verdict were in his favour, the plaintiff was mulcted for his "false-claim"; if against him, the bedell was instructed to levy from the defendant the amount decreed for, and a small court-fine was also imposed.

Some queer notices indicate that, when the suit was begun, the bedell impounded property equal to the amount claimed and the court-fees. Feb. 1420, in an action for debt against Joan Parlybyen, widow, the bedell impounded a jar (olla) and a saw, value 20d.

ASSISE JURISDICTION OF THE COURT BARON.

The assise was an old system devised to secure for the people the necessaries of life good in quality and at reasonable price. In the case of bread and malt-liquors, the sale-price was to vary from time to time according to the market-price of wheat and barley, in terms of a sliding-scale said to have been of local origin (Winchester perhaps) but adopted by royal ordinance over the whole kingdom as early as King John's reign, certainly before what are now recognised as "Statutes," which begin in Henry III. In other trades the only indication of price I have

* The details may be put together from many fragmentary notices, and are interesting, but too minute and technical for this place.

found is in the Court Leet of 1422, when the "excessive" price of the tanner's wares is defined to be "a profit of more than a penny in the shilling." By this system certain tradesmen, resident within the "view," i.e, within the jurisdiction of the Court Leet, were made subject to the manorial court.

The trades brought under the assize fall into two classes. Those connected with food, viz., brewers, tipplers (i.e. beer-retailers), bakers, butchers, cooks, fishermen, and other victuallers. Those connected with leather, for shoes, for gloves (for outdoor work and travelling, to a far greater extent than now), and for garments; viz., the tanners, tanners of white-leather, and shoemakers.

Of these, in the earlier rolls, cooks and victuallers are absent from Walthambury manor. There is nothing to be added to the notices already made of the tanners (p. 71), and fisherman (p. 75). The shoemakers are clever enough to appear only once as breaking assise. In Court Leet, May 1402, Stephen Fabyan and John Copyn were mulcted each 4d. for selling shoes too dear. In later rolls the "dealbatores corei" (p. 71) are often mulcted for selling harvest gloves "badly sewn, to the deception of the people."

The control of the assise of bread and ale and of beer-retailing rested in special officers called ale-tasters. In some manors leather-searchers (Seebohm's *English Village Community*, p. 10) had charge of the leather-trade. I have found no trace of them in Waltham, and conclude that here the constables had charge of all those trades which were not by the assise "statute" subjected to the ale-tasters.

Everything tends to show that the assise-system was by this time obsolete for practical purposes. The tradesmen are mulcted so invariably, as to make it plain that the fines were accepted as a natural incidence on their trades. The ale-tasters are all six of them mulcted in every successive court, most frequently sixpence or fourpence each, for neglect of their duties, from which we may infer that they accepted the office as an unavoidable and unpleasant burden of their copyhold tenure, and discharged it badly, in hope of speedy dismissal from it. In keeping with this, we find men paying to be excused from it. December 1402, William Longe paid sixpence to be removed from the ale-tastership, and John Soneman was elected to the office and sworn in.

The ale-tasters' oath bound them (i) to see that ale and beer were wholesome, and sold at the assise-price; (ii) to see that bread was baked of the proper kind of flour, weighed by just weights, and that the penny-loaf was of the weight fixed by the assise.

Assise-business in Walthambury was transacted twice a year: in summer (May or June) by the Court Leet; in the fall (October or November) by the Court Baron. It seems, however, that the Court Baron restricted itself to the trades connected with food, leaving the leather-assise to be dealt with once a year, by the Court Leet.

The assise-officers (the constables and ale-tasters) were elected as a rule by the Court Leet, and held office during its pleasure. Elections by the Court Baron are also found, possibly only in case of accidental vacancies. Thus, in August 1408, the Court Baron elected John Smyth constable in place of John Gyn atte Wode, and appointed John Drake and Richard Warrenger ale-tasters in place of William Drake and John Wrighte, deceased,

THE ASSISE IN GREAT WALTHAM.

The immense parish of Great Waltham (with the single exception of Writtle, the largest in Essex) is popularly (Morant's *Essex*, ii., 83) divided into eight hamlets. For our present purpose we must certainly exclude from our view Chatham End, as belonging to a distinct and independent manor (v. p. 199), if not also Langley's, Aslyn's, South House, the Hyde, and the Rectory manors. The remainder of the parish was, for assise-purposes, divided into three Ends:—(i.) the North-End, including Roughey (now Rophey) End, and Forth (now Ford) End; (ii.) the South-End, including Church-End; and (iii.) Littley-End, including How Street. Each of these three districts was in charge of one constable, and of two ale-tasters.

Each had its five "common brewers," *i.e.*, persons who brewed regularly, with occasional brewers * who brewed at irregular intervals. From the way in which they are mentioned in the earlier rolls it is plain that the brewers were all married women or widows, and that they carried on their trade for many years. Thus, Isabel Rede occurs 1394 to 1414, and Audrey,

*Thus, in 1395, 15 common, 2 occasional, brewers.

wife of William Byckener, from before 1401 to after 1422. Each half-year most of the brewers are mentioned by name as mulcted for breach of assise from 1d. to 8d. at the discretion of the affeerers. Fifteen regular brewers in a portion of one parish is startling. We have to remember that, in the ages before tea and coffee, ale was the ordinary liquid at every meal, and also that, hops being unknown (S. R. Gardiner's *Student's History of England*, p. 274), ale kept about three days only. In Oxford, the brewers were required to brew on fixed days in rotation, so that the city might have a constant supply of fresh-brewed ale. In Great Waltham, probably, each common brewer had her brewing days assigned her on a similar roster. The number of brewers points also to a tide of road-traffic flowing north and south through the manor between Chelmsford and Dunmow.

Most brewers retailed their own stock. There is, however, one retailer, who bought from the brewer and sold at a profit, an economic process which the then common-law detested. She is therefore stigmatised as a "regrater," an enhancer of price ; her ordinary legal title would have been "tippler." In 1401, and often afterwards, Margaret, wife of John Burre, tailor, was mulcted 4d., as a "regratrix" of beer who has broken the assise. Her place is taken in 1413 by the wife of John Pyryman, who is mulcted 2d. for this offence.

The bakers in Great Waltham were at least three in number, presumably one for each End, but in some years four or five occur. They are often quaintly termed "bakers of human bread," because there was a coarse stuff called "horse-bread," baked of bran and bean-meal, and corresponding roughly to the modern oil-cake for cattle. Sometimes all three bakers are married women or widows. As a rule, the half-yearly presentment is that the bakers (names given) have "broken the assise," and mulcts are imposed, varying from 2d. to 4d. In 1416, when a stranger seems to have acted for the steward, the mulct was 12d. In 1421, the specific charge is added "they have sold bread of false weight, against the ordinance of the statute." The trades of baker and brewer (as by Christina Gernon, 1394) and of baker and butcher (as by Robert Frenshman, 1395) were often combined.

Each half-year five or six butchers were mulcted, for selling too dear, in mulcts varying from 2d. to 12d.

THE COURT LEET FOR GREAT WALTHAM.

Walthambury Court Leet was held on Thursday in Whitsun week, at this period always at Pleshey Castle, under presidency of the Steward of the Manor. This Court Leet exercised jurisdiction not only over Walthambury manor, but in some respects over those manors which had originally been parts of it (v. p. 198), viz., Langleys, Aslyns or Warners, South House, the Hyde, the Rectory. Chatham Hall manor held its own Leet at that Hall on Easter Tuesday, but its tenants were often porceeded against in the Walthambury Court, for trangressions within the Walthambury "View."

The chief officers of the Court Leet were the Constables, elected by itself (but see p. 3) and holding office at its pleasure. Thus, in June 1395, it elected as constables John Drake, smith, of Lytelhey, John Frey, of the North End, and John Ramme (presumably of the South End). The Constables' office was probably not sought for, but submitted to as a burden of copyhold tenure. The Constables' oath bound them, among other duties, to search out and present breaches of the peace, especially those in which blood had been drawn. Part of their duty consisted in summoning the tradesmen of the "view" to hear the terms of the assise, whenever that was changed. In 1410, the three Constables were mulcted 12d. each for neglecting to "call together and order the workmen and craftsmen to keep and take the assise for their work and craft, as is appointed by statute." We find a Constable carrying out an order of the King's justices and the Court Leet mulcting resistance to him. 1421, John atte Wode, of the South End, was mulcted 40d. for breaking the seal placed on his door by John Blecche of the South End, constable, acting under precept justiciariorum Domini Regis.

The Court Leet was attended by the 30 headmen of the pledge (v. p. 17), whose presence was enforced by mulct. It was by their "presentments" that the business was transacted. One note gives us a pleasing hint of the bustle incidental to the meeting of the court, where the tenants greeted each other heartily, exchanged jocular experiences, and were slow to settle down to business at the call of the impatient Steward. June 7, 1433, John Goldston was mulcted 4d. for disturbing the View by chattering and continuing the narration of a story, after the call

for silence to let business begin. In this case speech was "silvern," to the tune of a groat.

The Court Leet was still attended by a considerable number, if not by all, the ordinary tithing-men (v. p. 18). In the record of the Court Leet for 1418 we discover the reason for their presence. After the headmen had finished their presentments, a jury of twelve tithing-men was put on oath to declare that they agreed with these presentments and knew of nothing further that ought to have been presented. This was called the *Inquisitio posterior*, and is a fine example of the way in which feudal custom made every man keep watch over his neighbour.

Of the Court Leet business, enough has been said about the Common Fine (v.p. 18); the oath to the King (v.p. 16); and the assise (v.p. 3). It may, however, be noted that the 1d. per head of the Common Fine, which in 1328 was reckoned to produce never less than 20s., and so to imply the residence of 240 males between the ages of 12 and 60, in 1395 yielded only 10s. 3d., *i.e.*, from 123 males—a dwindling in which we are perhaps to trace the lingering effects of the Black Death of 1348, and subsequent great epidemics. Later returns leave us in doubt as to whether we ought to think of rural depopulations or of slackening of the bonds of feudal obligation. In 1563 the Common Fine had fallen to 7s., 84 males; in 1663, to 4s. 4d., 52 males.

CARE OF THE ROADS.

Much of the Court Leet records is concerned with mulcts imposed for those multitudinous acts of carelessness or selfishness which interfered with public rights in, or public use of, the highways. These mulcts supply many most interesting place-names. We must content ourselves with a few typical sorts, and with one instance of each sort.

May 1407, Thomas Gyssyng was mulcted 2d. for having a ditch not cleared out between Seynt-Mary-croft and Wode-feld. This is the most frequent offence. Next to it in frequency is stopping a water-course, for which offence in 1422, John Turnour was mulcted 1d., the stoppage being caused by a "carte-gappe" at Southous-feld. Frequent also is neglect to repair a "wolve" (a word still in regular use in Essex, meaning the short drain under a cart-way into a field). 1421, John Sponer was mulcted 2d. for a wholve unrepaired between Martyne's and

Pawe's. The converse to the first offence mentioned is fairly common, viz., leaving on the highway the earth thrown out of a cleared ditch. 1414 John Yunge was mulcted 1d. for this offence at Algore's-gate. Other common offences are exemplified in the mulcts of 3d. on Stephen Hunte, 1396, for a manure-heap on the road-side, and of 1d., on James Bertlot, for a pile of poplar trunks. Digging material out of the road-side and leaving the pits open is a not uncommon fault. In 1410 John Dene had dug up clay at the "High Cross" at Walthambury. He was mulcted 3d. and threatened with a penalty of half-a-marc, unless he filled up the pit at once. 1413, Thomas Doryvall was mulcted 3d. for the same offence near Stone Cross. Appropriation of public roads to private use occurs several times. 1395, Thomas Wayte was mulcted 2d. for stopping a common way in Gren-stret. 1413, the tenants of Abbot's were mulcted 4d. for ploughing up forty perches length of a foot-path leading to church, market, and mill, and were ordered to restore it under 40s. penalty. Neglected hedges must not be omitted. 1420, Cristina Roper was mulcted 3d. for having, for 20 perches length on each side of a lane at Brode-feld, too-spreading hedges. In 1421, this mulct of 3d. was repeated, the hedges being still untrimmed.

CARE OF COMMON BY THE COURT LEET.

The presentments under this head run parallel with those about roads, and refer probably to spaces by the roadside. Where purprestures had been made without leave the Court Leet was prompt to order their removal. 1408, the bedell was ordered to destroy an encroaching fabric of William Pole's, and to sell the materials for the lord's benefit. 1422, Joan Cowland was mulcted 2d. for enclosing a piece of land at Webbe's-house by a "dead hedge" (paling), and ordered to remove the fence under 6s. 8d. penalty.

The Court Leet, however, was willing to sanction purprestures. In 1408 Thomas Joseph was mulcted 2d. for placing a pig-stye on common next his barn, and in 1409 for repeating the offence with a cart-shed; but in 1410 he was allowed to annex the strip, on payment of 1d. a year. This particular purpresture we find paying its penny a year in 1609 and after.

CRIMINAL JURISDICTION OF THE COURT LEET.

The Court Leet rolls contain also the "Police News"

of the day. At every Court Leet, presentments were made of breaches of the peace, apparently of the whole year since last Leet, with an indication in each case of such circumstances as aggravated the offence. Mulcts were inflicted, apparently on some scale which was thought proportionate to the gravity of the case, but, in cases of assault by weapons, very insufficient in our eyes. Effusion of blood generally adds 2d. to the mulct.

1397, David de Stabul was mulcted 1d. for assaulting John Nyghtynghale with a baselard (a short sword), and William Shangman, 6d., for assaulting John atte Rothe with an axe. 1413, John Loofham was mulcted 6d. for assaulting Thomas Wodeham with a bill-hook, and for setting his dog on him. 1414, Thomas atte More was mulcted 3d. for assaulting John Lyndsaye with a stick ; and John Hawkyn, 6d., for throwing stones at John Wolward. 1417, Edmund Wolward was mulcted* 12d. for assaulting Edmund Drake and drawing blood ; and Thomas Spryng, 3d., for assaulting John Deve with a bill-hook. In this last case the weapon (value 2d.) was also forfeited.

Apparently, if the person assailed had raised the hue and cry to call the assailant's attention to the illegality of the threatened assault, the fine was doubled. 1397, Jill (Egidia) Nevyle was mulcted 3d. for assaulting Rose Mychell, and a further 3d. because said Rose " justly raised hue and cry on her." We find also mulcts for threatened violence which caused the hue and cry even in cases where this outcry averted the assault. 1399, John Drake was mulcted 3d., because William Randolf " justly raised hue and cry on him when he was, with bow and arrows, blocking a path."

A special Saxon name and an increased penalty attached to violence, if offered on the premises of the aggrieved person. 1412, John Carter was mulcted 4d. for hamsoken on John Bowyer, having entered his close at night and there used threats. 1413, John Loofham was mulcted 8d. for hamsoken in John Porter's close, by assault with a bill-hook.

The Court Leet also took cognisance of, and punished, larceny. 1406, Joan Brode was mulcted 6d., for having gone on John Melle's land and carried off two lambs, value 4d. 1417,

* It is amusing to notice that this shindy between two boys drew attention to the fact that they had disobeyed the order (made in 1415) to put them into a tithing (v. p. 16). Their fathers were now mulcted, William Drake 2d. and Thomas Wolward 4d., for harbouring their out-of-tithing sons, " contrary to law."

Alice, wife of John Tanner, of Littley, was mulcted 4d., as being communis extorcionatrix, "taking candlesticks and other petty household goods without leave." She may therefore be pilloried alongside of Allan Gregor, notorious in Highland proverb for "finding" (by another man's fireside) a pair of tongs. The following case shows the long interval, which, by reason of the yearly Court, often intervened between the offence and the trial. On 21 September 1420, John atte Wode carried off a bushel of wheat (value 6d.) from Richard de Bury's premises and John Coks and Joan Brode received it. The Court Leet, 15 May 1421, fined atte Wode 40d., and the resetters 6d. each, and made Coks give two sureties for his future good behaviour. Very lenient is the punishment in a case of tavern-breaking. 1397, John Sutton was mulcted 1d. for "breaking Agnes Drake's window at night and consuming meat and beer without leave asked or payment tendered."

The Court Leet had also cases not unlike the modern "bound over to keep the peace." In June 1411, John Testepyn was mulcted 8d., and his wife 4d., as being "common tatlers and disturbers of the peace with their tongues." Next year, Agatha Carter was mulcted 3d. on the same score, with the addition "and she makes much dispeace among the neighbours."

THE COURT LEET AND TENANTS' PERQUISITES.

On one occasion the Court Leet is found asking restoration of a perquisite suppressed by the lord. In May 1401, "the whole homage of Waltham" complained that for several years they had been deprived of the custom called *medram* (= mead-ram), viz., "concerning the lord's best hurtard and his best cheese with salt to the same." In the survey of Borley manor we learn that when the copyholders had finished their forced labour in making and inning the hay on the lord's mead, they expected a jollification, to which the lord contributed a sheep's carcase, a big cheese, and a sufficiency of, that then scarce commodity, salt. The same Leet asked the allocation of the fifteenth of Waltham manor for the exoneration of all the tenants, as the lord used to pay to the king in old time. Thus ancient is the difficulty of apportioning taxes between owner and occupier!

"JACOBS," AND OTHER OLD HALLS.

WRITTEN AND ILLUSTRATED BY MAJOR J. E. BALE, A.R.I.B.A.

THE Beriffes, of Jacobs, Brig'htlingsea, in their day, owned much property in Essex, and their connection with the Bay and Say manufacture, once the staple industry of Colchester, made them men of prominence in that town.

The house in question at Brightlingsea is situated on the south side of the main thoroughfare of the town. The entrance to the hall is in the north front. The south front overlooks the creek and the river Colne, with its extensive marshes and wooded uplands. The house is timber-framed in oak, standing on plinth of bricks and septaria. Its construction is best seen in the northern elevation (see plate drawn to scale). The brick-built turret for outside staircase, and moulded and carved timbers in the central hall, indicate the time of Edward III.; it is still sound in substance and construction. These and other details (all to scale) are shown on page 218. The house, however, is probably of still earlier date. The great hall had evidently a hearth, or brazier for fire, in the floor, the smoke escaping by a louvred lantern in the roof; the ridge to this portion being lower than that of the two wings to the building, and originally open. The central tie-beam, also base to king-post, is moulded. Its present position is scarcely four feet above the floor over the ceiling to the central hall. A partition alongside the tie-beam forms two chambers, with modern ceiling, up in the roof. The height from the pavement on the floor of hall to the ceiling between the beams is but seven feet. The interpolations mentioned necessitated building a chimney over the fire hearth —though not central, the floor space not admitting this.

It may be mentioned that at St. Clair's Hall, St. Osyth, about four miles distant, the chimney is central, as there is ample floor space, the chimney having been built over at a later date, when the hall was divided into two rooms and chambers formed over it, with separate fire-places provided for the lower and upper rooms.

At Crowhurst Place, Sussex, again, the hall to a moated grange was similarly treated. There is an outboard chimney stack built for fire-places to rooms. The original vaulted and panelled oak ceiling of the hall remains, having a vacant panel

JACOBS, BRIGHTLINGSEA.

From a drawing by Major Bale.

at the apex, as an outlet for smoke. This vaulting now forms ceilings to the upper rooms.

At Penshurst Place, Kent, remains a complete example of the central hearth in the great hall, with an open roof and louvred lantern for the exit of smoke.

One sees, by the way, in such old houses, the significance of the traditional expression, "sitting round the fire," which was literally the custom with a central open fire-hearth, as it still is in gipsies' tents, in the natives' thatched huts in West Africa, and in the "black houses" of the Highlands of Scotland, covered with thatch of heather, through which the smoke from the peat fire escapes. The thatch of these dwellings is renewed each spring, the old thatch being valuable for manure in proportion to the quantity of soot it contains.

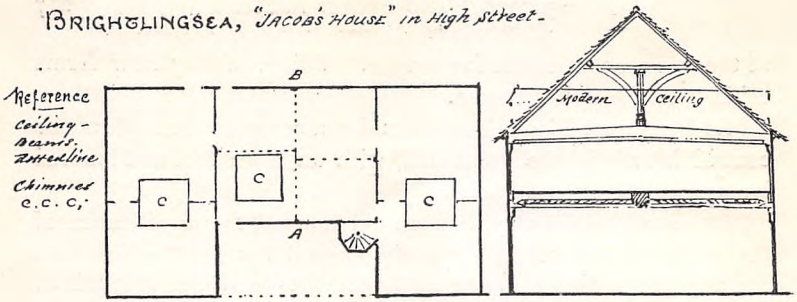
The plan of these old halls is generally the same, viz., at or towards one end the front entrance door; vis-a-vis, the back door for access to the grand staircase; beyond were the kitchen and other domestic offices; a gallery at the same end of the hall gave access to various upper rooms.

Gifford's Hall, Suffolk, is a good example of a large mediæval mansion. The great hall has a fine open hammer-beam framed roof; the fire-place in the south wall, with outside chimney, has two flues, one serving as an uptake for hot air and smoke, the other as a downcast shaft for fresh air, which is partially warmed in transit. Thus the hall is naturally ventilated sufficiently, and the open fire-place never causes smoke in the room.

In Colchester, a mansion, also of the time of Edward III. (now the "Marquis of Granby" tavern), has a hall with a front doorway from the street—a four-centred arch, in oak, the spandrils boldly carved with grotesque heads and conventional foliage; a door opposite gives access to the court and offices at the back, which are now let separately as tenements; a partition has been built across the end of the room, to make a public passage-way, the moulded ceiling joists showing themselves identical with those in the room; in a spacious room, now an above-ground cellar, is a large beam, originally moulded, and at a later date sculptured with grotesque figures; the beam rests on the original wall-posts, with carved brackets.

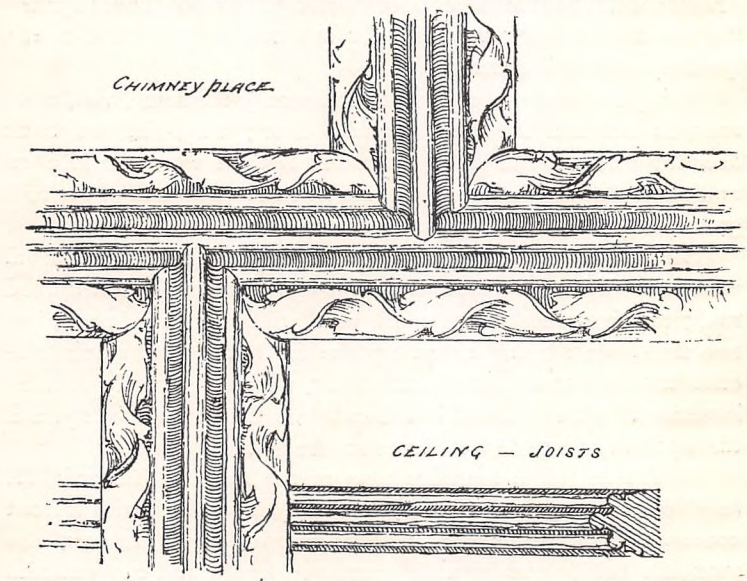
These great halls commonly had dwarf screens between doors, with gangway to the room. A survival of this is to be

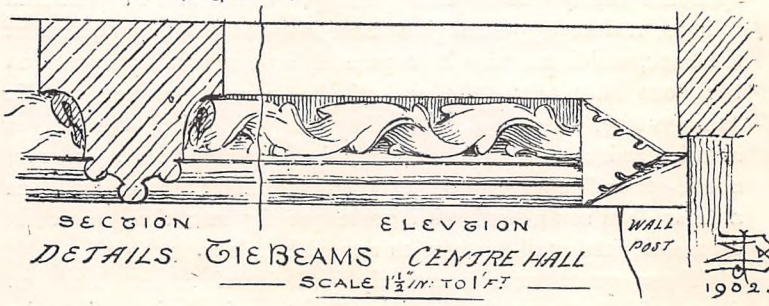
BRIGHTLINGSEA, "JACOB'S HOUSE" in High Street.



GROUND PLAN 16 FEET TO 1 INCH SECTION, A.B. 8 FT. TO 1 INCH

PLAN OF CEILING BEAMS AT INTERSECTION





DETAILS TIE BEAMS CENTRE HALL

SCALE 1½ IN. TO 1 FT.

1902.

found in old village inns, such screens, fitted with seats inside, being called "settles."

In most old timbered buildings, the wood-work is sound, after four hundred years and more, where not excluded from natural air. Outside wood, however much weather-worn, will be found sound at heart; it decays when cased over, and the more quickly in proportion to its previous length of weathering.

The "classic craze" in England, with its false fashions, was responsible for the disfigurement and destruction of much good mediæval domestic architecture, by covering constructively characteristic woodwork in walls with pseudo-classic fronts. The economical, and hence prevalent, method was to employ for this purpose lath-and-plaster, mostly lined out to represent blocks of stone, and then to add something like a cornice moulding, topped by a lath-and-plaster parapet, "to make the whole look bolder," as still expressed in builders' vernacular. All the outer walls were, for uniformity of style, plastered. The more costly sham of facing with brick-work is equally destructive, by causing dry rot in old wall timbers.

Fitness for purpose and adaptation to site characterised most mediæval buildings; in towns, the Factory and the Guildhall were equally ornate, and it is evident that local materials were used to the best advantage. Timbers, for instance, were judiciously selected; naturally grown bent timbers being used for arch ribs in roofs, for spandril braces, arch-headed doorways, cantilevers to overhangs, etc., as such timbers have the maximum of natural strength, and do not warp or deflect. The mechanical tools used were chiefly the axe, adze, chisel, and gouge. Scantlings such as joists, were cleft or riven to required sizes in section; moulded soffits, for ceiling joists, while carrying the floor boards to rooms above. Thus there was no false ceilings to harbour dust or vermin. Wood for panels was riven to required thickness and faced with the adze; in the joinery only wooden pins or trenails were used. The work was integral carpentry and it is noticeable that the same methods were practised in housebuilding as had been in wooden shipbuilding, to ensure rigidity in framing. Some such houses, known to be at least five hundred years old, are still used preferentially for granaries or warehouses.

A common material for filling in spaces between studs of

wallings was stiff clay, mixed with dry cut grass, bedded on a foundation of hazel sticks and faced with rough lime stucco on the outside, and floated with fine mortar, or partly flush with face of studs inside, and sometimes ornamented with coloured patterns.

This method was varied by local custom, as in old timbered houses of the Tudor period, in Brightlingsea. In place of hazel wood, rough oak laths were sometimes used, being held vertically by tieing to cross laths with spun yarn, the cross pieces slotted into the sides of the studs.

A fragment of such spun yarns taken from a Tudor house at Brightlingsea, now alas! demolished, is sent herewith to the editor. It is well preserved, and the oak laths were all in equally sound condition.

Several old houses in Brightlingsea, a little town which is now developing its industrial and residential prospects and is attracting visitors, afford an object lesson to property owners. And one very practical reason for bringing them into notice is that, whereas Colonists and Americans are now largely adapting types of English mediæval domestic architecture for rural places, of course with the addition of some modern improvements—a fashion which is reflecting its influence in England itself—it is well to know of any localities where there is scope for the study of extant examples, which may afford hints in the matter to qualified architects and competent builders.

BERIFFE FAMILY OF BRIGHTLINGSEA.

BY THE REV. ARTHUR PERTWEE.

A NUMBER of memorial brasses of the Beriffe family are to be seen in Brightlingsea church, to which the Beriffes were considerable benefactors, and on which they have left their mark. There are six brasses which are identified as follows, though only one of them, the latest, retains its proper inscription :—

John Beriffe, and his three Wives ...	A.D. 1497
Mary Beriffe	1505
Margaret Beriffe	1514
John Beryff, and Mary and Alice, his Wives	1521

William Beryff, and Joan, his Wife ... 1527
John Beriffe 1542

This last brass has the following inscription below :—

John Beriffe of Jacobs died the xx of Maye, A° 1542. Here lyeth William Beriffe his eldest sonne who hath been Deputie of Bryghtlyngsee XII yeares, who had Issue by Ann his wiffe ii sonnes and iii daughters, who died y^e IX of Maye anno domini, 1578.

The following extracts from the wills of some of the Beriffes are interesting, especially as showing their benefactions to their parish church :—

JOHN BERIFFE (Will dated 20th January, 1497).

Item lego ad comp'nem duarum campanarum cētum marc' quas Will'mus Bounde et Rob'tus Barlowe michi debent pro uno pacto salis Proviso semper qd p'ochiani de Brikilsey p'dict' volu'nt totalit' p'fice re et consummare in omnibus novum opus campanilis ib'm bene inchoati prout michi promiserunt, quia si hoc facere et consummare recusav'int extunc, volo quod non habeant quicqm

Also I bequeath for the purchase of two bells one hundred marks which William Bounde and Robert Barlowe owe me for one lot of salt, Provided always that the Parishioners of Brikilsey aforesaid are willing entirely to carry out and complete in all particulars the new work of the bell-tower then well begun, as they promised me, for if they should refuse to do and complete this forthwith, I will that they shall not have anything.

JOHN BERYFF (Will dated 25th August, 1521).

"Item I bequeth to Bryghtlyngsey Church towards lengthing of our Lady Chapell according to the Chancell iii. quarters of the ship called the Trinitie if God sende her well home. And if she come not well home, which God forfende, then I give and bequeth to Bryghtlyngsey Church xl^li sterling to the use aforesaid out of the Barbara and the Mayflower, if God send them well home."

The nature of this extension of the Lady Chapel, on the north side of the Chancel, can be clearly made out.

WILLIAM BERIFF, "Waterman," (Will dated 26th July, 1527).

"Item I will that my shipp, now of the newe amaking after that she is fully furnisshed and made the incontinent she be sold by myne executores to the best advantage they can and of the money thereof coming I geve and bequethe to the use of the said Church of Brightlingsey fourty pounds to be emploide after this manner, that is to say to the paynting of the roof of the said Church xx^li,, and for an awter-table xx^li."

The said roof of the Church unhappily fell in 1814. An old gentleman, living in Colchester when the present vicar came to Brightlingsea thirty-two years ago, but who had formerly been resident here, remembered hearing the crash of the roof, as it fell in, on a Monday afternoon in March. Another old parishioner at

that time, who had been a painter by trade, had a distinct recollection of this roof, and used to describe it as covered with gold and colour. When the Church was reseated in 1879, some of the roof timbers, with colour still remaining on them, presumably the "paynting" of William Beryff, were found, forming the joists of the old square deal pews.

The "Awter-table" (Altar-table) doubtless signifies what would now be termed a reredos. Of this nothing now remains.

WILLIAM BERYFF, the elder, yeoman, in his Will dated January 9th, 1542, makes the following curious bequest:

"Item I bequethe to Thomas my soon . . . . . and a noother pcell (parcel) called turners keaping them well in reparacion and allso keaping a dryncking on gang Munday at this crosse in turners . . . . . so that whoso ever shall enjoye the said lands and tenements shall be bounde to keap the foresayde dryncking on gange Mundaye at the saide crosse."

This "dryncking on gange Mundaye" signifies the necessary refreshments for those who took part in the religious processions and "beating of the bounds" on Rogation Monday.

ENGLISH SURNAMES IN ESSEX, A.D. 1400.

BY REV. ANDREW CLARK, LL.D.

THE origin and use of English surnames are subjects which are not yet fully explained. The perusal of the Walthambury Court-rolls (*E.R.* xiii., p. 4) for the period Richard II. to Henry V. suggests some points which may be worth stating.

It is plain that before 1400 surnames were well-established, and that many of those now widely common in Essex were as widely common then. When we find in a parish one man habitually mentioned as John Chyld of the South End, and another, by way of distinction, as John Chyld of the North End, we cannot question the existence, more than five centuries ago, of the surname Child, used exactly as we use it now.

It is, however, equally plain that, about 1400, the surname was readily displaced by a word describing the person's occupation, residence, or provenance. Isabel Pundyng Wyf can hardly be other than Isabella, the woman in charge of the pound for stray cattle. Other instances are almost as certain. In 1408 when

Gilbert Parker is ordered to repair the pales of Apechild Park, we naturally hesitate at the coincidence of surname and occupation, and are not surprized to find that he is really Gilbert Shergot, "parker." So also, Jeffrey Tayllor occurs several times, but in a test place he appears as Jeffrey Lytel, tailor. In more than a score of places we find John Tanner, but, in a legal document about property, he is shown to be John Saunder, tanner. The presumption is thus raised that in Plantagenet times whenever we have second names describing work, Baker, Bowyer, Meller, Sadler, Souter, Tyler, Wheler, and the like, these are not surnames but descriptions of trade.

The most interesting case of the kind is presented by the fealty-lists (*E.R.* xiii., p. 12) of July and December 1400. In July, we read Elias Leche; in November, in the same relative place, Elias Aynolf. This baptismal name was then so unusual that it is beyond belief that in five months one Elijah could have gone out of the Manor, and another, of the same seniority, have come in. We are thus forced to take Leche as "leech," *i.e.*, physician, and to regard Elijah Aynolf as a practitioner of the mystery of physic, resident in Great Waltham.

Some combinations are noticeable We find John Kyng Webbe, John Drake Smyth, John Gyn Carpenter, John Whyte Fuller, John Rede Souter. These must be weaver, smith, carpenter, fuller, shoemaker, added to the surname by way of distinction from others of the same name and surname. This was especially needed with the Christian name John. In December 1400 out of 119 names of men on the fealty-list, 67 are named John. Of these combinations those which specify carpenter and smith are much the most frequent, reminding us of the Hundred Rolls period (1279) when these two craftsmen held their land in most manors on condition of keeping in order the woodwork and iron work of the manorial plough (Seebohm's *Early Village Community*, p. 70).

In a multitude of cases the baptismal name is followed not by a surname but by a note of the person's abode. The most distinct instance is one of the bakers in 1397, who is described as "Richard, living at Foxtone's." John Foxtone then held a daywerkat of land at Wynkeforde-bregge (now Little Waltham bridge); so the locality of this house is undoubtedly that still so named (Mr. F. J. Rust's) on the slope on the Chelmsford side of

that bridge. The common binding element between name and abode is the English *atte* (at, or at the). The following explain themselves:—Robert atte Bregge (bridge), John atte Forthe (ford), Henry atte Grene, John atte Hall, John atte Hel (hill), John atte Melle (mill), Walter atte Parke, John atte Woode. The hill, and the park, of these may perhaps have reference to the farms in Great Waltham still called Park Farm, Hill Farm. Others of the same type have certainly reference to local circumstances, *e.g.*, William atte Fanne (a meadow so called, not wood, as in *E.R.* xiii., 70), Agnes atte Hole (*ibid.* p. 129), Thomas atte Hyde. Unexplained as yet are William atte Narme, John atte Noke, John atte Rothe.

These names have all a homely English sound, as becomes country tenants of an Essex manor. There is another set which reminds us of the great household at Pleshey Castle (*E.R.* xiii., 4), where French was the language used. It will be remembered that, after his piratical seizure (1405) of the heir of Scotland when on his way to France, Henry IV. excused the prince's captivity by the jest that at Windsor he would have as good opportunities of learning French as he could have had at Paris. We have William de la Larder, Howell de la Oakhous, John de la Sawcerye, and William de la Boterye (whose surname was Crawland).

The fealty-lists mentioned above suggest an odd addition to this list. In 1395 we have Robert Frenshman, combining the trades of baker and butcher. In July 1400 fealty was done by Peter Frenshman, but in November by Peter Bret. It is possible that the surname was Bret; that the father was a Frenchman, who came to Essex as a member of the Duke of Gloucester's household, set up in business in Great Waltham, and was known by nickname from his nationalty.

Most interesting are the surnames, in use about 1400, derived from places in Essex:—Bardfield, Barnston, Canewdon, Coggeshall, Dunmow, Hadstock, Lindsel, Rothing, Stebbing, Sutton Ulting, Waltham.

The few surnames which are derived from places outside Essex invite conjecture as to how they came into these parts:—viz., Arundel, Canterbury, Cornish, Frome, Kent. John de Bohun, Earl of Essex, who died 1335, and Humphrey, last Earl of that family, who died 1372, both married daughters of the

Fitzalan family of Arundel Castle. The surname Arundel in humble cirumstances in Great Waltham suggests the descendants of some man-servant who had followed one of these countesses from her Sussex home. John Canterbury occurs as a tenant in Great Waltham, by personal grant of Duke Thomas (*E.R.* xiii., 9), and he may well have been brought to Essex, from Kent, by service in the Pleshey household. "Canterbury" died in 1401, and it is not impossible that the person who appears in 1402 as John Hammond de Kent, in 1405 as John de Kent, and later as John Kent, was a relative come over the Thames to inherit Canterbury's holdings. John Cornish was settled on the manor by Duchess Eleanor for faithful service (*E.R.* xiii., 10), and Thomas Frome, in the same way by William, Comte d'Eu (*E.R.* xiii., 139). They may therefore have come from the west country, to fill some post at the Castle.

The surnames of serfs invite attention. We find, as names of actual serfs, Artor, Levegor, Durame (reading doubtful), Eldfield, Rede, Russell, Strout, and, strange to say, King. Also, several times, atte Wode, which as already noticed is not a surname. Levegor is explained, on the best authority, to be the old English Leofgar. Other names found in Great Waltham with the same ending are Adgore, Algore, Sygore, which are the old English Eadgar, Ælfgar, Sigegar.

The surname Artor is the strangest of all, being apparently a baptismal name taken as a surname. The facts are these. November 1394, Arthur Levegor was mulcted 4d. for trespass with two foals in Cherche-mede. Before October 1398, Arthur Levegor, on his death-bed, surrendered his three-quarters of a copyhold virgate to his wife Eva for her life-term, with remainder to his own heirs. Ever afterwards the family is called not Levegor but Artor. January 1399, Eva Artour paid 4d. suit-fine. September 1399, Eva Arthour was fined 4d. for trespass with 20 sheep on the manorial pasture in Wasshter. April 1408, John Artor, son of Arthur Levegor, was warned, as a serf, not to depart from the manor without leave. We have here an Essex parallel to the Welsh name-system, in which John Evans was originally John the son of a man named Evan, and Evan Jones, Evan the son of John.

SOME OLD ROOTHING FARMHOUSES.

(Concluded from vol. xiii., p. 101.)

BY MILLER CHRISTY.

IV.—New Hall, High Roothing.

DIFFERENT in many respects from any of the old houses described in the earlier articles of this series,* but in no way inferior to them in interest, is the last house I intend to describe—namely, New Hall, High Roothing.

New Hall lies in the bottom of the valley of the Roding, near the western extremity of the parish of High Roothing, a mile or so west from the parish church, and about a mile and a half north-east from Cammas Hall, noticed in my last article. As in the case of Rookwood Hall, the present house is only a fragment—apparently little more than a third—of the original, which seems to have been a comfortable manor-house of moderate size, built wholly or mainly of brick, and probably of the time of Henry VII. or Henry VIII. What remains of the house may be regarded as one of our finest specimens of *early* brick architecture. The many larger and more pretentious houses of Tudor brick-work in which the Eastern Counties are (and Essex, in particular, is) so exceptionally rich are nearly all, I believe, of later date, being mostly of the time of Elizabeth. The house stands within a small moat, fed from the river Roding, which runs within one hundred yards. Near the house, but not within the moat, stands a fine Tudor barn, of timber and brick,

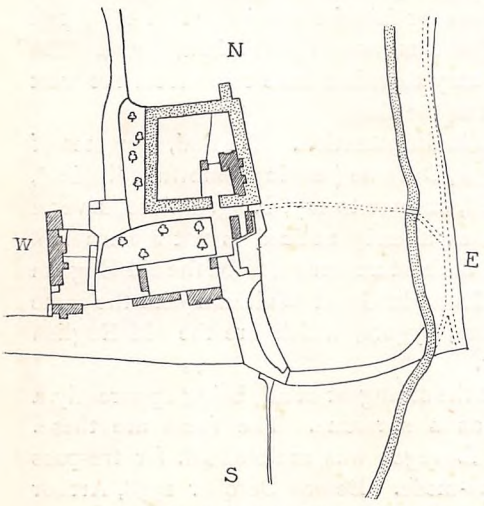


FIG. XIII.—PLAN OF MOAT, BUILDINGS, ETC., AT NEW HALL.

* See *Essex Review*, xii. (1903), pp. 129-144, and xiii. (1904), pp. 92-101.

larger and less well preserved than that at Colville Hall, but of the same kind and clearly of the same age.

The moat, of which a plan (Fig. XIII) is given, is much smaller than either of those at Rookwood Hall or Cammas Hall, for it encloses only about seven-tenths of an acre (against as much as three acres and a quarter at Rookwood Hall), and its water-area is considerably less than half-an-acre. In shape it is nearly square, and its sides lie almost due east and west, north and south, respectively. Its banks, unlike those of the

Photo by *Mr. A. W. Brunwin.*

FIG. XIV.—NEW HALL FROM THE SOUTH-EAST.

moats above mentioned, are bricked on their inner faces and partly so on their outer. The enclosed area is used entirely as garden ground, with the exception of that portion on which the house stands. The only access to it is by means of a modern brick bridge, which crosses the moat on the southern side. Immediately to the north of the existing moat are traces of another, of about equal size, which probably originally surrounded the garden of the mansion. The plan given above does not show it, with the exception of one small portion which

still holds water. The rest is now dry and forms part of a meadow.

The house stands in the extreme south-east corner of the moat, its outer walls rising sheer from the water. By far the most pleasing view of it is from the south-east. From this point, it presents (Fig. XIV) a fine stretch of walling, broken by various small projecting gables, buttresses, and chimneys, which, seen across the moat, is extremely picturesque. The photograph, though giving an excellent general view, hardly does justice to the picturesqueness of this side of the house, as it is necessarily taken from a point which does not show the water in the moat. This is seen, however, in Mr. Bamford's excellent drawing (Fig. XV) of a portion of this side of the house. The fewness and smallness of the windows on this outer face is remarkable, and suggests that the builder had in mind the defensive requirements of the time. The chimneys, though not ornamented (as are many Tudor chimneys of later date in Essex), are well-proportioned and handsome. Everywhere the brick-work seems almost as sound as on the day when it was laid.

The southern end of this portion of the house possesses, as will be seen, a very handsome projecting gable-end. This is depicted much more clearly in the next view (Fig. XVI), which shows in detail all its picturesque features—its cut-off corners; its two square three-light Tudor windows; its "crow-stepped" machiolated gable, and the stem of a broken pinnacle which once crowned the whole. Altogether, this projecting gable-end forms a charming piece of brick-work. It is still sound and perfect, except that the pinnacle is lost and the windows bricked up.

The other (or western) side of the house presents few features of interest, being much modernized.

Standing some few yards west of the house and near the centre of the area enclosed by the moat is another very picturesque feature—a small brick building, so thickly overgrown with ivy (Fig. XVII) that its features are almost concealed. On its south side, however, is an arched Tudor doorway of brick, giving access to a small chamber on the ground floor, now used as a tool shed, and having a handsome inner doorway of brick, now mured. Over the outer doorway, there is a square two-light window giving light to a small upper chamber. There are also windows at the sides of the building, both on the

lower and the upper floors, but all are now mured. They are entirely of brick and of good design. Both the inner and outer doorways are of excellent design, the brick-work showing many mouldings. The summit is crowned by a weather-vane. This small building appears as though it might have been originally a porch over the main entrance to the house from a quadrangle or front court-yard; but it is now called "the Chapel," and may have formed the porch to a chapel, now demolished, which once belonged to the mansion. Morant says* that the house originally had a chapel belonging to it, but he does not give his authority for the statement.

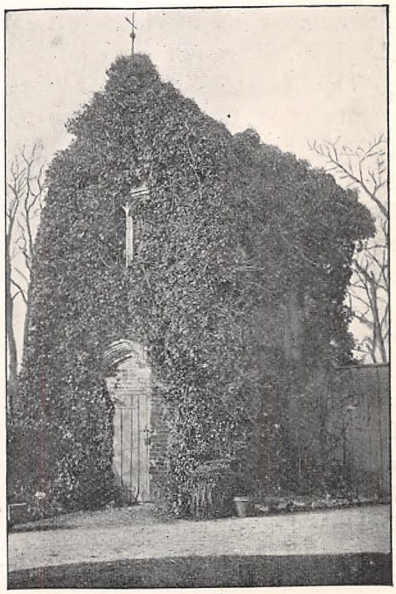


Photo by *Mr. A. W. Brunwin.*

FIG. XVII.—ORIGINAL PORCH OF NEW HALL, OR OF THE CHAPEL BELONGING THERETO.

The present house is probably (as stated above) little more than a third of the original. Morant, writing in 1768, says† (again without citing any authority) that formerly "it was a large house, with a court and a chapel, but [is] much decayed." Probably the house formed, when complete, three sides of a court-yard, the open (or southern) side of which was formed by that portion of the moat which is now crossed by the brick bridge. If so, the western side of the house has disappeared completely; the northern side has gone also, with the exception of the porch and a small portion which joins on to the existing house; while the eastern side alone remains. The foundations of those parts of the house which have been removed are often discovered when digging in the garden within the moat.

**Hist. of Essex*, ii, p. 466.

† *Op. et loc. cit.*

Leaving the house and its history for further notice hereafter, I turn next to another interesting feature of the place—the Tudor barn, already mentioned, which stands about one hundred yards south-west from the house and without the moat.*

This barn (Fig. XVIII) is larger than that at Colville Hall, already described, but the two buildings are so similar in all essential details of design and construction, and are so near together (being scarcely two miles and a half apart), that one cannot doubt that both were built about the same time and by the same architect. There are in Essex no other barns at all like them, so far as I am aware.

The New Hall barn is about seventy yards long by about twenty wide. Its back (as in the case of the similar barn at Colville Hall) is of no interest, being constructed of plain weather-boarding. Its front, here shown, is strikingly picturesque. Originally, without doubt, it was straight and unbroken, for the two gables (or "bays," as they are called locally), with boarded sides, which now project from it are clearly later additions.

The lower course, or foundation, of the walls is of solid brick-work, its outer face sloping slightly inwards. Above this, the walls proper rise straight to the roof, there being no projecting upper storey, as at Colville Hall. They are constructed of a framing of stout oaken timbers, the narrow spaces between the uprights being filled with brick "noggin work," the bricks being laid in various ways for the sake of effect, as in the barn at Colville Hall. The courses of timber laid horizontally are three in number, and constitute a sill, a wall-plate, and an intermediate course. The upright timbers are set twelve or fifteen inches apart; and the whole framing is tied at the corners and elsewhere by diagonal struts.

The great feature of the building is the effect produced by varying the lay of the bricks which fill the numerous compartments of the oaken framework. In nearly all of these, the bricks were laid diagonally, but the number of different patterns formed by bricks all thus laid diagonally, though in different ways, is surprisingly great—much greater than in the similar barn at Colville Hall. In some compartments, all the bricks are simply laid diagonally (the slope being sometimes one way, sometimes the

* On the plan already given (Fig. XIII.), it is the large building, standing nearly north and south, close to the letter W.

Photographed by FIG. XVIII.—THE BARN AT NEW HALL. *Mr. A. W. Brunwin.*

other). In most compartments, however, the pattern is more elaborate. In some, the bricks are laid so as to form chevrons (sometimes the right way up : sometimes inverted), giving what is often called "herring-bone work." In other compartments, the bricks are so disposed as to form a zig-zag pattern (the zig-zag being sometimes one way : sometimes the other). In yet other compartments, the bricks form patterns which are more difficult to describe. Again, in some compartments, we find the various patterns combined in several different ways. The number of different ways in which the bricks were laid is, in fact, extraordinarily great. It is said locally that, on the whole barn, there are not two compartments in which the bricks are laid alike. This is, however, an exaggeration; for most of the patterns are, in fact, repeated several times at least in different compartments. Nevertheless, it was clearly the intention of the builder that (as in the barn at Colville Hall) the pattern in each compartment should differ from that in the compartment on each side of it. This fact may not be obvious, perhaps, from a first glance at the accompanying illustration, owing to the large number of compartments (many of them adjacent to one another) in which the bricks are now laid horizontally, in the usual manner. In some of these compartments, the bricks were laid so, no doubt, at the outset, in order to add one more variety of lay ; but there can be no doubt, I think, that, in most, the bricks were originally laid diagonally in patterns, but that they either fell out through decay or were taken out during repairs, and were relaid horizontally, it being thought too much trouble to replace them in their original positions. At the present time (as will be seen), several compartments lack their filling-in of brick-work, the bricks having fallen out and not been replaced.

The general effect produced by this studied variation of pattern is very pleasing, and must have been originally much more so. Unfortunately, the barn is far less well preserved than the house, the brick-work having suffered in some places through a slight sinking of the foundations. Even in its present condition, however, the barn is extremely interesting and picturesque.

Next, one may consider the question: When and by whom was New Hall built? Fortunately, we are able to answer with some certainty.

THE

ESSEX REVIEW:

AN ILLUSTRATED QUARTERLY RECORD

OF EVERYTHING OF PERMANENT INTEREST

IN THE COUNTY.

EDITED BY

EDWARD A. FITCH, F.L.S.,

AND

MISS C. FELL SMITH.

VOLUME XIII.

"*He who recalls into existence that which has vanished enjoys a bliss like that of creating.*"—NIEBUHR.

COLCHESTER:

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*** *Entries in Italics refer to Notices of Books.*

FIG. XV.—PORTION OF THE EASTERN FACE OF NEW HALL
(Drawn by Mr. A. B. Bamford.)

Morant, writing in 1768, says that "It seems to have been built by some of the [Joscelyne] family, in the beginning of the last century, for their residence." This is, of course, absurd; for, manifestly, the house was built much earlier than the beginning of the Seventeenth Century. Probably, indeed (as stated already), it was built about the beginning of the Sixteenth Century—that is, about the same date as Colville Hall. Mr. Rider Haggard (who visited New Hall during his recent agricultural tour through England), put the date of the house at "about 1480," and assumed that it had once been a monastery. For this assumption, however, there is no authority.*

Nevertheless, there can be little or no doubt that Morant was correct in stating that it was built by some member of the Joscelyne family, which still owns it. This family (of which the Earl of Roden is the head) has owned Great Hyde Hall, near Sawbridgeworth, in Hertfordshire (about five miles from New Hall), from a very early period, and has also long owned property in Essex, including New Hall.

Morant says also that, "In the windows of the hall and parlour, there are (or lately were) several coats of arms."† He gives the blazon of these coats and the names of the families (ten in number) which bore them. They were (according to Morant) those of Joscelyn,‡ "impaling and quartering" those of nine families with which Joscelyn had intermarried: namely Tylbury§, Vagga‖, —— (?)¶, Molinvers (? Molineux)**, Jorre††, Battell‡‡, Patmere§§, Branktree‖‖, and Bardolph¶¶. The presence of these shields of arms affords further proof that New Hall was built by a Joscelyn.

The county historians give no information as to when the Manor of Davies Hall or New Hall Joscelyn (as the place was

*_Rural England_ (1902), i., p. 474. I should have stated in my last article that Mr. Haggard also visited Cammas Hall, which he describes as "one of the most beautiful old Moated Granges that I ever saw, especially at that season of the year [June], when the water lilies and the roses were in bloom." He gives also a figure of it.

†He is quoting, I believe, from the Holman MSS. (about 1710) at Colchester; but I have had, whilst writing, no opportunity of referring to these. There is now no trace of the shield or shields in question.

‡Azure, a circular wreath, argent and sable, with four hawks' bells joined thereto in quadrature, or. Crest: on a wreath, a hawk's leg erased gules [Burke says proper], belled or.

§Party per fess dancettée, or and gules.

‖Argent; a saltire engrailed azure.

¶Gules; two lions passant argent; on the uppermost, an annulet gules.

**Azure; a cross moline or, pierced sable; on the right side, a demi fleur-de-ly or.

††Azure; a lion rampant argent, the head gules.

‡‡Gules; a griffin segreant or.

§§Gules; three chevronels argent.

‖‖Argent; a cross engrailed sable, with five estoiles or.

¶¶Azure; three cinquefoils or.

called formerly) came into the possession of the Joscelyns, but presumably this was before or about the beginning of the Sixteenth Century. The name Davies Hall (now totally forgotten), was derived, doubtless, from some earlier owner, of whom nothing is known: that of New Hall Joscelyn (now always shortened to New Hall) was bestowed, no doubt by the builder of the present house—probably Sir Thomas Joscelyn, or possibly his father, John Joscelyn, who died in 1525.

Sir Thomas Joscelyn, only son of John Joscelyn, was one of forty knights made on the 20th February 1545-6, at the Coronation of Edward VI. He married Dorothy, daughter of Sir Geoffrey Gate, of High Easter, by whom he had six sons and seven daughters. In the Visitations of 1558 and 1612, he is the first of his family to be described as "of High Roodinge," which may be taken as further evidence that he was the builder of New Hall.* At the time of his death, on the 24th October, 1562, he held the Manor of High Roothing,† as well as other property (including the manor of Davies Hall or New Hall Joscelyn) in that parish and in the parishes of Aythorpe Roothing, Hatfield Regis, and Canfield.‡

Sir Thomas was succeeded by his second son, Richard, an elder son, Thomas, having died young. Another son, John (1529-1603), was secretary to Archbishop Parker and one of our earliest and most learned Anglo-Saxon scholars.

Richard Joscelyn also probably resided at New Hall, for Norden, writing in 1594, says§ that "New Hall Joscelyn" (which he marks on his map of Essex) was then occupied by "— Joscelyn." He died possessed of the place in 1605,‖ and was succeeded by his son Richard, who also is described as of New Hall Joscelyn. Then come several other members of the family, all of whom seem actually to have lived at the Hall. One of them, Robert, was created a baronet in 1665. He died in 1712, and was succeeded by his son, Sir Strange Joscelyn, who was succeeded by several other baronets in turn. In 1770, his direct line failed, and New Hall passed to the heir of one Robert Joscelyn, a young brother of Sir Strange. It was at

* See *The Visitations of Essex* (Harl. Soc., 1878), p. 225.
† He purchased it from Sir William Stafford, who sold it under a license, dated 9th March 1554-5 (Letters Patent. 32 Henry VIII., 1 Mar.)
‡ Inq. Post Mort., 5 Eliz., no. 14
§ *Descript. of Essex* (Camden Soc., 1840), p. 33.
‖ Inq. Post Mort., 3 James, 2 Nov.

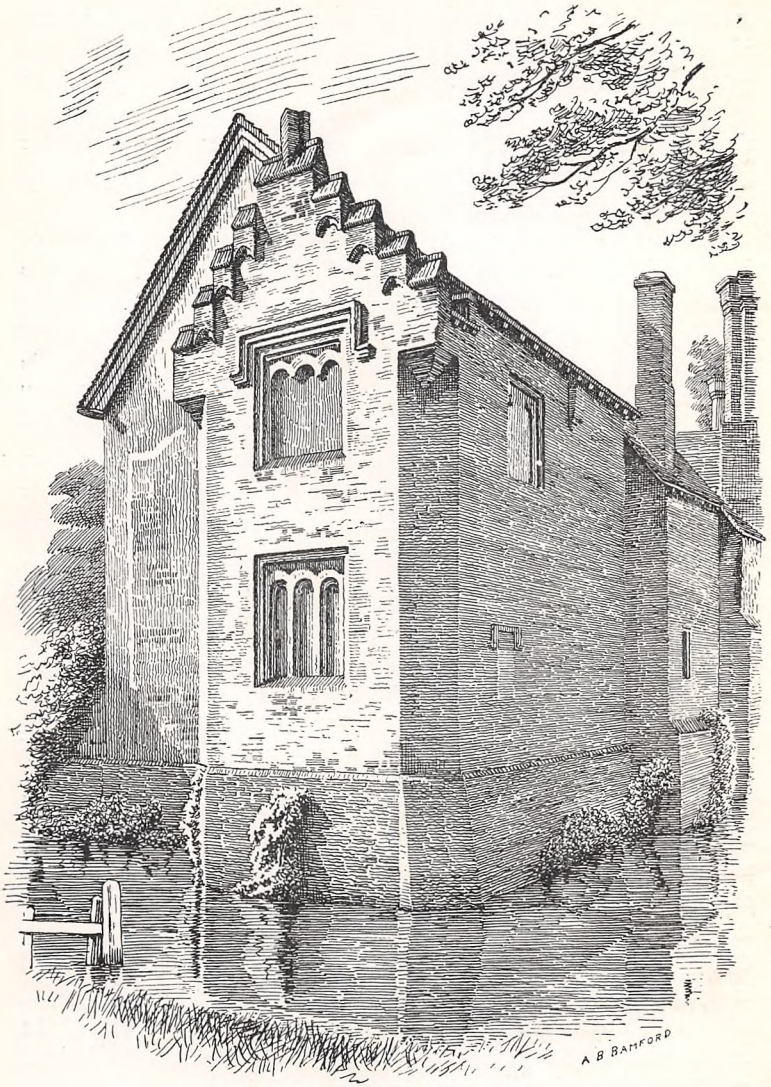


FIG. XVI.—PROJECTING GABLE AT SOUTHERN END OF NEW HALL
(Drawn by Mr. A. B. Bamford.)

the time of this change, in all probability, that the Joscelyns ceased to live at New Hall and that the house was reduced to its present dimensions.

The Robert Joscelyn (1688?-1756) above-mentioned was an eminent man, becoming Lord Chancellor of Ireland. In 1743, he was created Baron Newport, of Newport, in the County Tipperary, and, in 1755, Viscount Joscelyn. Dying in 1756, he was succeeded by his son Robert, who, on 1st December, 1771, was created Earl of Roden, of High Roding (or Roothing), in the County of Essex (*not* in the County Tipperary, as it is stated in G.E.C.'s *Peerage* and the *Dictionary of National Biography*), thus taking his title from the old manor-house which had been built and so long occupied by his ancestors. The peerage is, however, an Irish peerage, which fact probably led to the mistake. It is a curious coincidence that, of the four old houses I have described in this brief series of articles, two have given a title to a noble family.

The late (sixth) Earl of Roden owned New Hall and the Manor of High Roothing, but he resided in Ireland. On his death he left the place to his widow, who now owns it : not the present Earl. Unfortunately, New Hall is never likely to be occupied again by any member of the family which built it and has owned it so long. It is now a comfortable farmhouse and has been occupied for many years by Mr. John Wilson and Mrs. Wilson, to whom my thanks are due for their kindness in allowing me to visit and inspect it more than once.

As a conclusion to this short series of articles on Some old Roothing Farm-houses, I may fitly quote the impressions gathered by Mr. H. Rider Haggard during his visit to the Roothing District in 1900 and 1901. He writes in *Rural England* (1902, i., p. 472) :—

"Although it lies within thirty miles of London, I do not think I have ever visited any place in England that impressed me as so utterly rural—so untouched by the push and bustle of our age. It is easy to imagine that these Roothings look to-day very much as they must have done in the time of Elizabeth."

MR. CLAUDE E. EGERTON-GREEN, OF COLCHESTER.

OUR cartoon of this month was to have been a drawing by Mr. F. Carruthers Gould of Mr. Claude E. Egerton-Green, of East Hill House, Colchester, a prominent county man, specially well known in East Essex. The picture had been engraved and the character sketch had been written, and was in the editor's hands, when the sad and startling news arrived of Mr. Egerton-Green's sudden death. Mr. Gould's portrait was from a sketch which he made in 1902 after a visit to East Hill House. Though it is a life-like and kindly caricature sketch, we naturally withhold it for the present. The news of Mr. Egerton-Green's death has caused a widespread feeling of the deepest regret. The loss of a man so devoted to public work, so full of vigour, and so much regarded for his personal qualities, is very keenly felt throughout Essex, and especially in Colchester and the district.

MR. CLAUDE E. EGERTON-GREEN.

Born on May 31, 1863, Mr. Claude E. Egerton-Green was the son of the late Mr. Henry Green, of King's Ford, Colchester. Educated at Eton, and afterwards at Balliol College, Oxford (during the headship of Professor Jowett), Mr. Egerton-Green was for a short time a student at the Inner Temple. He subsequently became a partner in the banking firm of Round, Green, Hoare and Company, Colchester, now Barclay and Com-

pany, Limited. At an early age he entered public life. He was twice Mayor of Colchester (1894-5 and 1900-01), and last year, when his uncle, Mr. Horace G. Egerton Green, retired from the aldermanic bench of Colchester, Mr. Claude Egerton-Green was unanimously elected to succeed him. He was a Justice of the Peace and Deputy-Lieutenant for the County of Essex, and also a Justice of the Peace for the borough of Colchester. For about four years he had been a member of the Essex County Council. He had been chairman of the Colchester Public Library Committee since the Library was opened, and his considerable literary tastes and abilities specially fitted him for that position. He was particularly well known in Essex as a prominent and ardent Freemason. His masonic career commenced at the university. He had twice been W.M. of the well-known Angel Lodge at Colchester, and in 1894 he became Provincial Grand Treasurer for Essex. In 1897 the Earl of Warwick appointed him Provincial Senior Grand Warden, and he subsequently became Deputy Provincial Grand Master in the Province of Essex. In 1887 he married Miss Alice Helen Coope, youngest daughter of the late Mr. O. E. Coope, of South Weald.

Mr. Egerton-Green's death was due to sudden heart failure whilst he was cycling in the neighbourhood of St. Osyth, on Sept. 12, as one of the civil compensation officers in connection with the Essex manœuvres. He was apparently in perfect health and spirits, and his death occurred without the slightest warning. He fell from his bicycle and died almost instantaneously. It is a strange and sad coincidence that his father died with equal suddenness, just twenty-two years before, on the same date, Sept. 12, whilst shooting with a party in Kent.

Mr. Egerton-Green was buried on Sept. 16, at the family burial-place, All Saints, Stanway, the ceremony being attended by a large number of Freemasons and others. The service was conducted by the Bishop of Barking, the Rev. G. G. Brown, and the Rev. R. Bashford. A memorial service took place at the same hour at St. James's Church, Colchester, when the Mayor and Town Council attended in state, and a very large congregation of the principal inhabitants of Colchester assembled.

"A BOLD (BUT NOT BAD) BART."

DRAWN BY W. GURNEY BENHAM.

ESSEX PORTRAITS.

VIII.—SIR CLAUDE CHAMPION DE CRESPIGNY, BART.

SIR CLAUDE is one of the hardest and pluckiest men in England. He would probably be quite ready to box, ride, walk, run, shoot (at birds for preference now), fence, sail or swim with anyone of over fifty years of age on equal terms. A thorough sportsman in every department, he is always ready for a sporting match of any description or for any adventure, preferably with a certain spice of danger, such as, for instance, his ballooning feats with Mr. Spencer and others.

His mother was the second daughter of Sir John Tyrrel, of Boreham House, who was M.P. for the County and North Essex from 1830 to 1857. Like the old true blue "he is one of the race, to go the pace."

Serving as he has done both in the Navy (1860-65) and Army (1866-70), he is a capable critic of service matters, and those who have heard his after-dinner speeches, or read his press letters, know that he does not attempt to gloss over his points or stint his language. As lately as the South African war he was very anxious to get a commission. Failing this he went out with his son, but his years, which he doesn't feel, were against him. If he had succeeded in getting a company, "De Crespigny's Horse" would doubtless have had lively times. His antagonists might be slim, but Sir Claude would have been slimmer, and he would certainly have proved their equal in resource and endurance. Since residing at Champion Lodge, Heybridge (a place likely to be soon relinquished, as his eldest son does not take to it), Sir Claude has shown himself to be not only the considerate and kindly county gentleman, but the genial host of many distinguished service men and others. Only last month he there entertained the foreign attachés during the Essex manœuvres. He knows how to conduct a race meeting, and make and organise a shoot with considerable success. He is a born "raconteur" and can tell a yarn with point and gusto. Some of the most spicy tales of sporting expeditions in out of the way corners of the globe, contributed to *Baily's Magazine*, are from the facile pen of this keenest of sportsmen. R

The fourth baronet of an old Norman family, who left their home at Fonteney and settled in this country after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, is in many respects a remarkable man. How he won the Indian Grand National, and was more than once unexpectedly foiled of winning our own great race ; how he fell twice in a field of five at Colchester and then won ; how he fought for an hour and twenty minutes with a broken finger ; how he swam the Nile rapids ; how he sailed from Heybridge to Portsmouth and crossed the Channel from Folkestone to Boulogne in a small open boat, and many other adventures and escapades in India, the States, Egypt, Spain, Ireland and at home, are they not written in the book of the Memoirs of this bold Baronet ?

CRICKET IN ESSEX:

A RESUMÉ OF THE PAST SEASON.

BY ROBERT COOK.

IF one were to select a text whereon to base a retrospect of the doings of the Essex Cricket Eleven in 1904, it would be : " Unstable as water, thou shall not excel." It was not that the eleven were incapable of doing great things, for they provided some of the most sensational batting feats of the season, but with all their talent they never shaped like a winning team. A drop from eighth place in the championship table to fourteenth, in one season, is in itself bad enough in all conscience, but the knowledge that the fall was largely due to slovenly and careless fielding adds an additional bitterness to the cup of disaster.

The resignation of Walter Mead, to which I referred last year, unfortunately was not withdrawn, and whilst I should be the last person to believe that one man ever made a team, I have no doubt that the absence of the chief bowler of previous seasons made a big difference to the side. Mead's absence, however, was the only dark spot in the prospects of the eleven at the commencement of the season. Carpenter was back in all his best form ; Sewell started exceedingly well, and at one period promised to be the first Essex player to reach his thousand runs. He failed, however, to stand the wear and tear of the season, and finished up rather poorly, with five batsmen in front of him. Then,

again, Mr. A. J. Turner, who had been doing duty with the West African Frontier Force, returned to England, and although the season had sped some of its course before he was able to play, his bright and attractive batting took him into fourth place in the county averages. Mr. Turner is one of a large family of cricketing brothers, and in his younger days was considered the poorest bat of the lot. Luckily for Essex, one of them, C. W. D. Turner, is coming on, and after figuring second in the Essex Club and Ground averages, with 44·30, his promotion next season ought to be a certainty. The brothers were all born at Colchester, and learned the rudiments of the game at the local Grammar School. It is just as well that these facts should be recorded, for there is too general an impression that no good cricketers can come out of North Essex.

The Rev. C. G. Littlehales, who made a promising appearance at the end of the season, also comes from the same district—Mistley—and he is well worth a place in the eleven. One of the most pleasing features in the batting of the ground staff was the steady form displayed by E. J. Freeman, the son of the groundman. The confidence and clean hitting which he showed on several occasions, when more experienced batsmen were taking part in a "procession," gave good reason for hoping that he will be worth playing regularly in future.

There was another side to this picture. Following the absence of Mead, "Dr." Young, from whom so much was expected at one time, and who, when picked up by Mr. Green, was a born bowler, was dropped in the very early stages of the season, and the fact that he bowled only 26 overs tells its own tale. The retirement of C. J. Kortright, the ex-captain, turned out to be a great loss, for, apart from his plucky batting, his services in the slips were greatly missed. Buckenham would have had a very different analysis if Mr. Kortright had been in his old place to have held some of the catches which went that way. The loss of Tom Russell from behind the wickets caused several changes to be made in that position, and in each instance it was a change for the worse. The absence of Mead and Young from the attack gave an opportunity to Reeves and Buckenham, and both secured over one hundred wickets in the championship. The former, indeed, took nearly as many wickets as did Mead in the previous season, but at just about double the cost. Some of

this difference was due to the improved wickets in 1904, and some to the many dropped catches. Buckenham was, perhaps, the unluckiest in this respect, and there is no doubt about the fact that, until there is greater keenness and smartness put into the fielding, the Essex Eleven will not occupy the position to which their batting entitles them. On a good pitch it is hard enough to get wickets in these days, and it is simply heart-breaking to a bowler to fag away at, providing his colleagues with catches, only to see them misjudged or dropped.

Altogether, F. L. Fane had not a happy time during the first year of his captaincy, but, personally, he left nothing to be desired in the matter of generalship, or play. Of the 20 matches played, only three were won, whilst ten were lost and seven drawn; the matches won being against Surrey at the Oval, Sussex at Leyton, and Leicestershire at Leicester. The Rev. F. H. Gillingham, whose duties as curate of Leyton prevented his playing as frequently as could have been wished, came out top of the batting, with an average of 55 for eleven innings. He twice topped the century, and his 201 against Middlesex was the greatest innings of his life. As he has accepted an invitation from the Chaplain-General to become an Army Chaplain, his removal from Essex will create a void which will not be easy to fill. He was greatly attached to the Leyton people, and it was not until the Chaplain-General pressed his invitation for a second time that he answered the call. P. A. Perrin—it used to be "Percy" at one time, but Perrin, like McGahey, had a second initial trotted out last season—figured next on the averages, his most conspicuous innings being 343 not out, against Derbyshire. On only three occasions had this score been previously beaten, and it set a high pinnacle upon his already brilliant career as a batsman. Perrin was rather erratic in his scoring, his five best innings yielding 910 runs, whilst his other 27 innings brought only 576. C. H. McGahey, who has evolved from the simple "Charlie" McGahey, made a score of over 200 for the first time, viz., 225 against Notts, and, with Perrin and Carpenter, compiled an aggregate of over 1,000 runs. R. P. Keigwin, another Colchester "native," was played on several occasions, and gave a good account of himself with both bat and ball. His highest contribution was a 75, but he will go more than one better than that if he is given further opportunities. A. P. Lucas,

the most polished of batsmen, played only three times. He played one fine innings of 44, but the other two only furnished "ducks," and I expect that his future county cricket will consist of recollections! C. D. McIver, the Old Forester, who made a name for himself at his University, had a very poor season after his return from footballing, and his single appearance for Essex did not yield a run.

With regard to the bowling, the brunt of the attack fell to Reeves and Buckenham, although altogether sixteen players had a hand in the trundling, sometimes as many as nine in a single match. Tremlin actually headed the averages, but as he had only 16 wickets, his figures were quite overshadowed by those of Reeves, who came next on the averages with 106, taken at an average cost of 26·16. Buckenham's 66 cost 30·78 apiece; and of the rest little need be said except that at the end of the season Benham created a pleasant surprise by taking eight wickets at a cost of a little over 26 runs each. From a perusal of all the facts I have mentioned, the first thought one is likely to have is that Essex is strong enough in defence, but weak in attack. The second half of that proposition will be admitted by all, but is the first one quite sound? The highest score of the season was made by P. A. Perrin; two "two hundreds" were made by C. H. McGahey and Rev. F. H. Gillingham; and there were 14 "centuries." Batting talent enough here, surely, one might exclaim! So it would be with most counties, but what can one say of a team which scores 597 in its first innings, and then is defeated by nine wickets, as was the case with Essex at Chesterfield on July 3. The only answer I can suggest is the one I have given in opening.

"The play is the thing," said Hamlet, but in County cricket the finances have also to be taken into consideration, and in this matter the County has not had the success that was hoped for. The action of the Committee in abolishing the entrance fee led to a considerable influx of new members, but they are still short of the number required to place the Club on a satisfactory basis. Essex, unfortunately, had the worst of the weather last season, for most of the rain experienced fell when the County were playing at home.

The ground is to be used for football again this winter, and this will help to replenish the coffers of the Club.

The Corinthians, the leading amateur football team in the world, have made the ground their head-quarters, and they will provide Essex people with an opportunity of witnessing matches with some of the premier professional teams in the country.

The London Football Association and the Essex County Association may also be able to arrange fixtures on the ground, and if they do, well, so much the better for the Cricket Club!

In conclusion I would express a hope, in which I feel sure I shall be heartily joined by all lovers of our national summer game—that all prosperity and success may attend the Essex County Cricket Club in the future.

NOTES OF THE QUARTER.

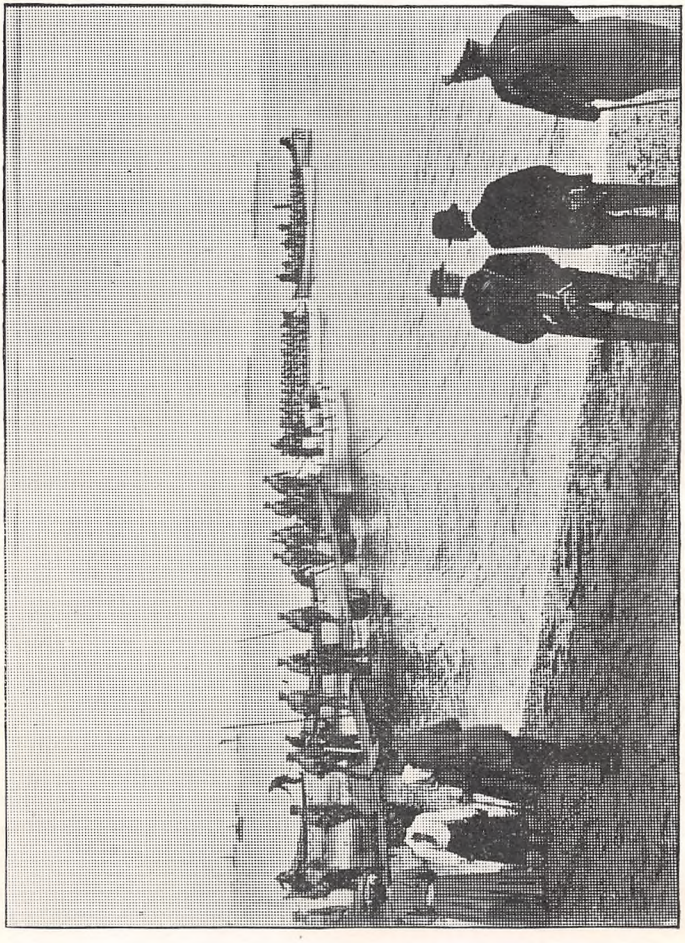
The Health of Essex.

THE returns compiled by Dr. Thresh from the reports of medical officers in Essex show that in the year 1903 the Essex death-rate was only 11·6 per thousand, an unprecedentedly low figure. In 1902 the figures was only 12·6 per 1,000 against 16·3, the average for England and Wales, and Dr. Thresh then remarked that "the statistics for the past twelve years tend to prove that Essex is one of the healthiest counties in England." The 1903 rate—11·6 per 1,000—compares with 15·4 for England and Wales. Dr. Thresh is inclined to doubt whether a lower average death-rate than that now recorded for Essex in 1903 "can ever be looked for under any improvement of conditions which we can imagine at present." It is certainly a wonderful figure, especially when it is compared with the average death-rates of 26·7 in Austria, 22·3 in Germany, and 21·5 in France. It means that over 10,000 persons were alive in Essex at the end of 1903, who would have been dead and buried if—for example—the German death-rate had been reached. The decreased Essex death-rate is largely due to the diminution in infant mortality. The infant deaths in Essex numbered 101 per 1,000 births in 1903, against 109 in 1902, and 129 as the mean of 1890—1901. But it is also satisfactory to note that in 1903 the zymotic death-rate for the county was the lowest on record, both for urban and rural districts.

The Manœuvres in Essex.

Essex looked at its best during the manœuvres which took place during the first two weeks in September, and it is to be hoped that the invasion by imaginary enemies may have made some real friends for the county. It is noticeable that many of the numerous "war correspondents" who described the proceedings were pleasantly surprised by the scenic attractions of the country and the antiquarian and artistic interest of the towns and villages. The landing of the "expeditionary force," under command of Lieutenant-General French, took place at Clacton-on-Sea and Holland Gap, and commenced about 8 a.m. on Wednesday, September 7. The operations were covered by six cruisers, and by the evening 11,000 men had been landed, as well as a very large number of horses, artillery, transport and stores. The landing was effected in excellent order and with great celerity. The services of the bluejackets were invaluable, and they deserve all the praise which has been lavishly bestowed upon them for their display of energy and general handiness. General French made a night march upon Colchester, and had captured that town by 5 a.m. on Thursday, the defending force under Major-General Wynne retiring to Lexden, from whence they were rapidly driven back upon Braintree and Witham. The Colchester bridges were supposed to have been blown up by the defenders and were duly labelled to that effect, but an entry was made by Middle Mill, and the bridges being then temporarily repaired—in imagination —the whole of the expeditionary force found its way into the borough. General French's dashing advance was checked after a time by the supposed arrival of news of the defeat of another "expeditionary" force in Surrey, a contingency which necessitated an immediate retreat to Clacton. Early on Sept. 10 Colchester was evacuated. It is alleged that the 5th Lancers, who formed part of the defending force, succeeded in capturing General French's cavalry camp at Ardleigh, and that the umpires accordingly ordered the cavalry of the invaders "out of action," holding that they were taken. Some good ballooning exploits were accomplished by the aeronautic section of the Royal Engineers on behalf of the defenders. The use made of bicycles and of motor-cars and traction engines was another very notable circumstance in connection with the manœuvres. The

re-embarkation of the expeditionary force took place on Tuesday and Wednesday, Sept. 13 and 14, at Clacton. It was assisted by a smooth sea and passed off without a hitch. Unfortunately, however, between the landing and the re-



ESSEX MANŒUVRES.—RE-EMBARKATION FROM CLACTON BEACH, SEPT. 13, 1904.

embarkation a number of transport horse-boats which had been left off Clacton and Holland Haven were wrecked, the total damage being estimated to amount to several hundreds of pounds. A few accidents occurred to the men during the manœuvres, but

on the whole the number of casualties was surprisingly small. Amongst the officers who were present as umpires or in other capacities were H.R.H. the Duke of Connaught (Umpire-in-Chief), Prince Francis of Teck, General Sir Bruce Hamilton, Major-General Baden-Powell, General Walter Kitchener, and a large number of foreign attachés. The Duke and Duchess of Connaught, and their daughters the Princesses Margaret and Patricia, made Frinton their head-quarters. The Earl of Warwick (Lord Lieutenant of Essex) and Lady Warwick witnessed some of the most interesting portions of the manœuvres.

New Bridge at Ilford.

A NEW bridge, erected over the river Roding at Ilford, was opened on 14th July, by Mr. Andrew Johnston, Chairman of the E.C.C. It has been thirteen years in course of erection, and is to replace the three-arch brick structure which has been in use for 120 years. The new bridge has cost £12,620, towards which sum the Ilford Urban Council and the East Ham Council will contribute a part. It is constructed of steel girders upon brick, with concrete abutments, and a floor of steel decking and concrete. The roadway is 40 feet wide, with footways of 12 and 8 feet wide respectively on the north and south sides.

Earls Colne Grammar School.

AT a cost of £2,600 a new wing has been added to this school with the object of making it complete for purposes of secondary education. The new building provides accommodation for a science lecture-room, a physical laboratory, a chemical laboratory, a balance-room, a photographic dark room, and an art room. A large amount of scientific apparatus has been provided, and the art room is well equipped with plaster casts, geometrical models, and other necessaries for art teaching. Towards the cost the Essex County Council has given £1,000, and the remainder has been defrayed by Mr. Reuben Hunt, Chairman of the Board of Governors, who had already been a most generous benefactor of the school. On August 17 a large company assembled, by Mr. Hunt's invitation, to inspect the schools. The principal speakers at the luncheon which followed the inspection were Mr. E. North Buxton (chairman of the Essex Education Committee), Mr. E. A. Fitch (Mayor of Maldon), Mr. G. W. Taylor (Mayor of Chelmsford), Mr. Wilson Marriage, Mr. James Wicks, and the

Rev. D. Methven (vice-chairman of the Board of Governors). Mr. Buxton described the Earls Colne Grammar School as a model school, and he hoped that the splendid example set by Mr. Reuben Hunt might be copied in other parts of the county.

Electric Tramways at Colchester.

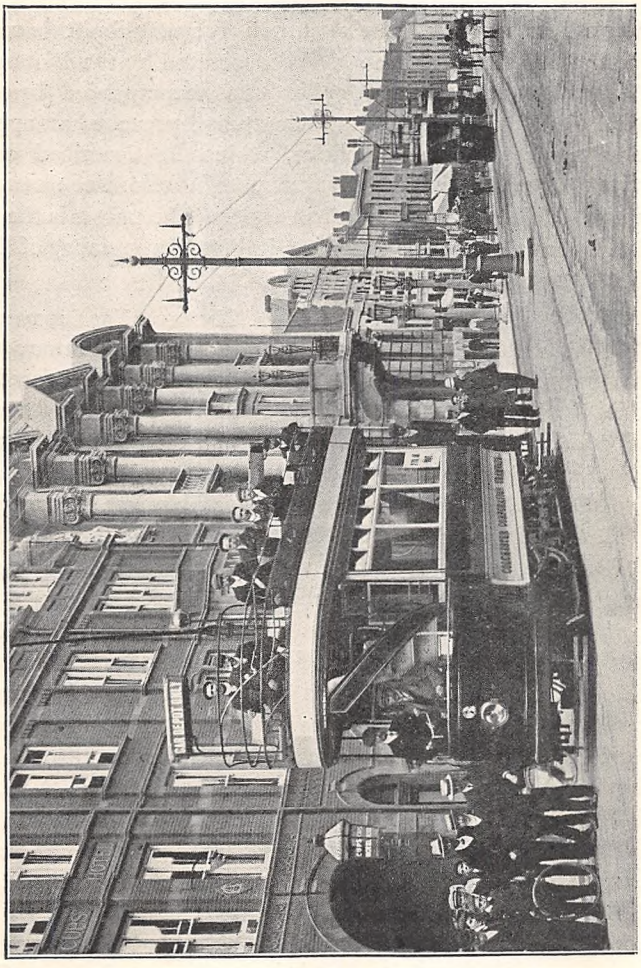
THE electric tramways which have been constructed at Colchester by the Town Council were opened on July 28, the first car being started and driven by the Mayoress (Mrs. E. H. Barritt). The route extends north, south, east and west of Colchester, the total distance being about 5½ miles. The capital outlay has been nearly £70,000. So far there seems to be every probability of the tramways being self-supporting, if not actually remunerative, the average receipts having been about £350 a week. This is about twice the estimated revenue. On the other hand the estimated working expenses have been considerably exceeded. The overhead system has been adopted, and, thanks to the broadness of the thoroughfares in Colchester, little had to be done in the way of street-widening. A double track runs from the railway station up North Hill to High Street, and from High Street cars run to Lexden, to the Hythe, and the further end of East Street. The appearance of the cars considerably alters the hitherto somewhat somnolent character of the Colchester streets, and gives the town a busy and lively aspect. Though there was originally much opposition to the tramways—chiefly on financial grounds—it is now generally conceded by the townspeople that they are a great boon to the town, and that they are likely to prove an excellent investment for the ratepayers. The electric current is supplied from the Corporation Electric Lighting installation. Our illustration shows the cars in High Street near the new Town Hall. In the background may be seen the white stone façade of the new Grand Theatre which has been built in High Street.

Churches, Restorations, &c.

SAFFRON WALDEN.—A fine east window has been placed in the parish church by Florence, Lady Braybrooke, in memory of her husband, the fifth Lord Braybrooke, and of their only child, the Hon. Mrs. R. Strutt, who died before her father. It was unveiled and dedicated by the Bishop of Barking on 27th July,

who at the same time dedicated two windows in the north chapel, which have been restored by the congregation and friends as a public tribute to the memory of the deceased peer.

WAKES COLNE.—The church here, which was originally early



W. Gill, Photo. ELECTRIC TRAMWAYS.—HIGH STREET, COLCHESTER.

Norman and which contains interesting traces of almost every subsequent period of architecture, has been recently completely restored. The shingled spire has been raised to something like its original height, the flint walls cleared from the decaying

plaister, and the stonework round the old Norman windows again exposed to view. The Bishop of Colchester attended on 12th August to hold a thanksgiving and re-opening service, when the rector, the Rev. Dr. Bartrum, received and entertained a large number of the clergy and other visitors to the parish.

WEST BERGHOLT.—A new church recently built here to replace the old parish church was consecrated by the Bishop of St. Albans on 12th August. He was accompanied by the Chancellor and Registrar of the Diocese, and preached an appropriate sermon. The new edifice, which he described as a "section" of a church (for it is constructed to admit of extension at the east end), is Early English in style. The pulpit is the gift of Mr. J. Horace Round; the font is given in memory of Mr. Wythe, for 21 years master of the parish school.

Obituary.

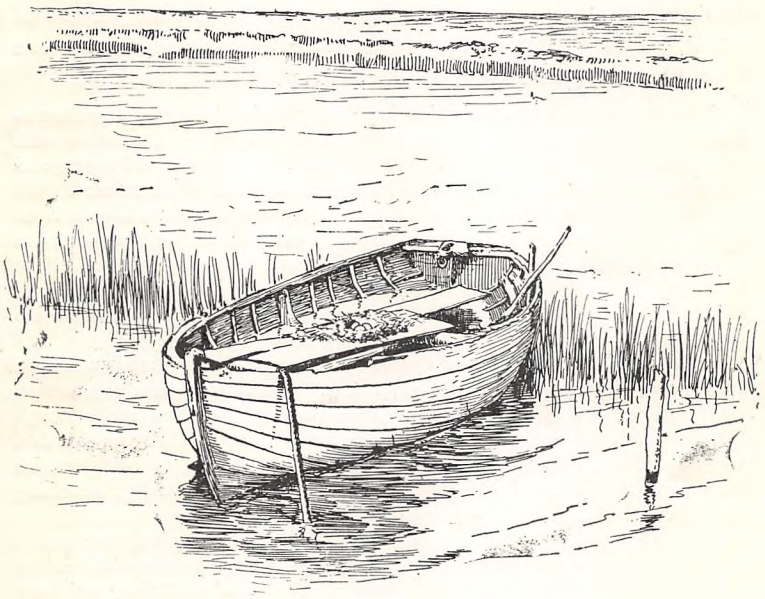
THE death of the Rev. HENRY WARBURTON at Sible Hedingham on September 5 removes a familiar figure from among the Essex clergy. He has passed 56 years in active duty as rector of the living, which he himself owned, and for some years has been assisted by his son as curate.

Born in 1824, Mr. Warburton graduated from Exeter College, Oxford, in 1846, and was ordained priest in the year 1848, when he succeeded his father as rector of Sible Hedingham. Of fine presence and genial disposition, and much toleration, Mr. Warburton was popular among all classes. A Conservative in politics, he was a prominent and attractive speaker at the annual banquet formerly held in Hedingham Castle. He refused many times to be made a Magistrate thinking the duties of the office hardly compatible with keeping on good terms with his large and mixed congregation. Mr. Warburton was the author of one or two collections of verse, which he published under the name of Horace Walton. He married in 1852 Agnes, second daughter of Thomas J. Ireland, M.P., of Owsden Hall, Suffolk. The well-known barister-at-law, Mr. H. P. Warburton, is his son.

In 1898, as a memorial of his jubilee at Sible Hedingham, he restored the parish church, and added a handsome window. The most interesting feature of the church, it will be remembered, is the fine canopied cenotaph to Sir John Hawkwood, the famous condottiere, who was born at Sible Hedingham. Mr. Warburton was identified with every movement for the benefit of his parish and its neighbourhood.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

Curious Nesting-Place.—I managed to secure some photographs of a Black-headed Gull's nest in an old boat at Tollesbury a season or two ago, and now send them for your *Review*. Curiously enough, the birds built two years running in the same derelict craft, the second year when it was, as the photograph shows, partially submerged. Later in the season



of the earlier year, I saw a newly-hatched young gull running about on the bottom boards where the nest was placed.—C. E. W. Hawkins. One of the photographs being very faint, we give a line illustration drawn from it.—Eds.

Bocking Church Clock Bell.—In the article on Essex Church Bells by Messrs. Wells and Deedes (*E.R.*, ii., 110, 1893), this bell is stated to bear the following inscription:—"Cast by John Warner and Sons, London, 1883." But the recent addition of two new bells to the peal, as described in the last number of the *Essex Review* (p.121), afforded an opportunity of

examining this bell, which is in a not easily accessible situation, and it is found to bear an old and much worn Latin inscription, which has been deciphered as follows:—"Nomen si quæris cujus vocor ipsa Richardus," from which it may perhaps be inferred that Richard was the name of either the donor or the founder of the bell.—H. S. TABOR, Fennes, Bocking.

Essex Roads in the Eighteenth Century.—The following extract from Count Frederic Kielmansegge's *Diary of a Journey to England in* 1761-2," gives a more favourable picture of Essex roads and travelling arrangements generally than one would have expected at that date.—H. S. TABOR, Bocking.

The quantity of carriages which had been hired this day by travellers to London obliged us four countrymen to undertake the journey in a landau, with only two servants and one box. We left the other servants and luggage to follow next day in a specially-ordered stage-coach, hired for six guineas. We paid five guineas altogether for our landau, and as we were able to keep it open in fine weather, it was possible for us to enjoy and admire the fine scenery in comfort; it was invariably splendid the whole way, and was a source of delight to us, owing to its novelty. It is 72 English miles to London, each of which is marked by a large stone, on which the figures of the distance from London are cut.

At Colchester and Ingatestone we got fresh horses, which are ready when you arrive; no country is so well arranged for comfort and rapid travelling as this. At Colchester, a pretty town 22 miles from Harwich, we dined, and although this delayed us two hours, owing to the quantity of guests dining on that day, we nevertheless made the 50 miles to Ingatestone in 10½ hours. We left Harwich at eleven, and reached Ingatestone soon after nine in the evening, remaining there the night.

The whole of this country is not unlike a well-kept garden; you pass a succession of towns, boroughs, country houses, meadows between hedges and fields in which all kinds of cattle are grazing. The broad road along which we drove is as even and as well kept as our Herrenhausen Allée. All this keeps the attention of the traveller occupied without intermission, and adds considerably to the pleasure of the journey, while the somewhat hilly country gives you the impression of so many green amphitheatres. The roads are always kept in good order, with coarse or fine gravel or sand, and the slightest unevenness is mended at once; the broad wheels of the carts and vans, which measure nine inches wide, act as rollers to level the ruts cut by the other carriages.

Ingatestone, in which we spent a very comfortable night, although only a borough, contains very neat houses."

REVIEW OF NEW BOOK.

Charters of the Borough of Colchester. Printed by order of the Council of the Borough. Pp. 219; Preface and Glossary, 6; Index, xi. Demy 4to. Red cloth, £3 3s.

In connection with recent litigation the Colchester Town Council found it necessary to have accurate and full translations made of all their charters, dating from 1 Richard I. (Dec. 6, 1189) to 58 George III. (Feb. 20, 1818). These charters number twenty-six, of which all but two—those of 1763 and 1818—are in Latin. Only sixteen of the charters are now in the possession of the Council, but office copies have been obtained from the Record Office of the other charters, excepting the first of all, that of 1 Richard I., which is lost. As however the contents of this charter are recited word for word in that of 36 Edward III. (July 8, 1364) (the oldest charter now in the Council's possession), it has been possible to make the translations complete. There is indeed reason to suppose that there must have been earlier letters patent granted to the town or to its feudal lord, for there is evidence, both internal and external, that many, if not all, of the privileges conferred by the charter of Richard I. had previously existed. There is documentary testimony, for instance, of the existence of Bailiffs of Colchester before the year 1189, and Richard's charter expressly refers to the fishery rights of the town in the River Colne, from North Bridge to West Ness, as having existed "in the time of the lord the King our father, and in the time of Henry his grandfather"—that is in the time of Henry I. The powers which the Bailiff and burgesses possessed under the charter of 1189 were so very considerable that it is hardly likely that they were the first beginning of local self-government in Colchester. The burgesses were empowered to elect from amongst themselves "whomsoever they will" for Bailiffs and a Justice of the Peace, and no one else was to be allowed to be Justice in Colchester. All kinds of law-suits could be heard and settled by the Bailiffs and Justice of the Peace. They had even power to levy distraints in other counties or places, in the event of defendants, who had been alleged to owe money to Colchester burgesses, failing to attend and defend themselves at the Colchester court. The burgesses were free from all tolls and customs throughout the realm, including sea-ports. Within the

limits of Colchester there was to be no restriction upon th forest lands, and the burgesses might hunt "the fox, the hare, and the cat" at their pleasure within the banlieu of the town. The system confirmed by the brief charter of Richard I. was little amplified or modified by his successors until on March 26, 1447, Henry VI., "at the humble supplication of our beloved, the burgesses of our vill of Colchester," a new charter was granted, one reason assigned being that "on account of the obscurity and difficulty of the words," and "for want of a full declaration of the intentions of our said father and progenitors," the rights and privileges of former charters did not "stand validly." The charter of 1447 accordingly set forth the powers of the Bailiffs and Justices (increased to six in all) with considerable detail. But the government of the town was much the same as in feudal times, and was not materially altered until the second charter of Charles I. (July 9, 1635), when the Bailiffs were replaced by a Mayor, and a Council of forty-one members was constituted, and a High Steward, Recorder and other functionaries were ordained. By this charter the powers of the Mayor and Council were defined, and in some respects enlarged. It is of some special interest now, in view of the new Licensing Act, to note the beginning of municipal licensing law in Colchester, as contained in this charter: "And in the Borough aforesaid lest anything be admitted whereby the burgesses of that Borough fall into vice, or disturbance of our peace should be brought into that Borough, we will that the justices to keep the peace in the Borough aforesaid for the time being shall not henceforth permit any person to sell within that Borough, beer hopped or not hopped without lawful license in that behalf first had and obtained, nor rashly and unadvisedly grant license to such one. And if they do grant it, yet the same license shall be put in writing and be subscribed by the hands of two of the justices aforesaid, of whom we will the Mayor to be one, otherwise that license shall be void." This charter also ordained that no Alderman should be a beer-brewer or tavern-keeper, a regulation which had previously been observed in the borough, though not contained in any previous charter.

These translations of the Colchester charters have been collated by Mr. Isaac H. Jeayes, of the British Museum. A preface and glossary are supplied by Mr. W. Gurney Benham, and an excellent index has been compiled by Mr. W. Smith, Committee Clerk to the Town Council.

Saffron Walden Grammar School.

FOUNDED A.D. 1423.

PREPARATION FOR THE UNIVERSITIES, ARMY, NAVY, CIVIL SERVICE, Etc.

THE School is situated about 40 miles from London in a beautiful and very healthy district.

The buildings, which include a very fine Gymnasium, Laboratory, Fives-Court, etc., afford every convenience for Boarders.

The Grounds comprise 11 acres, giving every facility for games, which are compulsory.

SCHOLARSHIPS.—One Boarding Scholarship of £20 per annum, and two of £15 per annum, open to boys under the age of 14 who have resided in the County of Essex for at least 2 years previous to gaining Scholarship. These are tenable for three years, and may be further renewed in suitable cases.

For particulars of these and other Scholarships, Prospectus, etc., apply to the Head Master.

Interviews with the Head Master by appointment.